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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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12 April 1984

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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[Article by O. N. Melikyan: "A Crucial Choice (The Antiwar Movement and Paths to Security)"]

[Text] In our times the world is living through one of the most critical periods of history. Speaking figuratively, mankind's home has become extremely explosive since in its giant cellar there are thousands upon thousands of nuclear charges of various types and systems as well as other weapons of mass destruction. The possibilities, properties and strategy of employing nuclear weapons involve a previously unforeseen absolute sort of destruction. This applies primarily to Western Europe where large urban areas are located in the true sense of the word just a "half-kiloton" apart, and not more.

In Europe which has been overloaded with weapons of death and destruction, the NATO imperialist circles have begun to increase the American medium-range nuclear weapons. But rising against the turning of Europe into the hostage of the White House's nuclear strategy are those who do not wish voluntarily to head toward catastrophe. These are the heirs and successors of the noble traditions of European culture and persons of different social, political and religious background. In acting against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, militarism and social revanchism, they thereby make the only correct choice in favor of life on earth. Their struggle for peace and against the arms race has led to a drawing together of European peoples, to a growth of mutual interest, to better mutual awareness and, ultimately, to a growth of mutual sympathy and feelings of friendship.

The policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is aimed at achieving precisely these goals, said the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov, in his statement. "Our course," states this document of enormous political significance, "as before is aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, at a lessening of tension, at checking the arms race and at broadening and deepening cooperation between states."¹ Profoundly in sympathy with the thoughts and feelings of the Soviet leadership and all our people was the highly humane appeal of the members of the world peace movement, that is, to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Like all persons of good will, they can be confident that "the USSR in the future will do everything within its power to lessen

international tension, to check the arms race--be it on the ground or in space --and not permit a nuclear conflagration."²

Thus the documents of the Soviet leadership disclose in all its diverse importance the vital dialectics of the interaction of the revolutionary and peace-loving forces in the struggle against military danger.

The ideologues of militarism, in elaborating a refined system of deceiving the working masses, have proposed a thesis of a nuclear missile crisis in Europe as the consequence of the "Soviet threat," in endeavoring to persuade the peoples that this crisis has no bearing on the aggressive foreign policy of the U.S. Republican Administration. However, even in the bourgeois mind the present nuclear missile crisis in Europe is becoming evermore clearly a crisis of the imperialist approach to the problems of international relations and not the enforced interruption in the functioning of the supposed peace-loving foreign policy of the Western powers, primarily the United States. The prominent American politician and former chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee W. Fulbright, has directly stated that the danger of the existing nuclear missile crisis rests in the intention of the U.S. political leadership to follow a path of exacerbating relations with the Soviet Union and has called upon Europe to overcome its internal contradictions, to unite and "put pressure on America."³ Peaceful coexistence is objectively aided by the military strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism and, as was confirmed at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Union will not allow this equilibrium to be upset. At the same time, if it were possible to prevent the deployment of the new American missile systems in Europe, to reduce the level of weapons and military expenditures of both sides and to make a start on disarmament, this would be a great good. But this largely depends upon the good will of both sides. However, even now it is clear that the positions of certain Western powers on the problems of nuclear weapons in Europe are devoid of common sense. There is not even the slightest reasonable grounds not to count, for example, the English and French missiles in the total European balance of nuclear weapons of the opposing military blocs and likewise not to consider the proposals for nuclear-free zones which the peace-loving forces of Europe favor or to freeze all types of nuclear and conventional weapons as well as military expenditures. This meets the interests and hopes of millions of supporters of peace, including in the United States.

The United States and its allies have blocked a whole series of initiatives by the USSR which proposed not to be the first to use nuclear weapons or military force generally and to abandon the deployment of new medium-range missiles, to significantly reduce and destroy the contingent of that type of nuclear weapons which had already been deployed on the European continent and eliminate the dividing of Europe into hostile blocs. The true importance of these proposals for the subsequent development of international relations is difficult to overestimate. It is quite apparent that the very fact of the Soviet initiatives touches on the most vital and immediate problems of our times--the question of how to prevent a new and extremely dangerous increase in the nuclear weapons race in Europe. Each step along this path is taken at a price of a stubborn and difficult struggle against the unconstructive and one-sided position of the reactionary and militaristic forces.

Millions of people, in being concerned by the deployment of the American "Euro-missiles," have come out on the streets of the cities in Western Europe, the United States and Japan, demonstrating their protest against an increase in the arsenals of lethal weapons and demanding their radical reduction and the use of the freed funds for the immediate needs of economic and social development. A barometer of the mood of the masses of people can be the so-called municipal antinuclear revolution, the pacifist coup and other actions related to a spontaneous, nonviolent movement to declare as nuclear-free zones cities and entire regions in both Europe as well as the United States where this movement has developed in parallel with the struggle to freeze the nuclear arsenals. Even more decisive forms of escaping from the nuclear missile crisis have been proposed by those trade union activists in Europe which in the context of the nuclear threat have come out with the ideas of a general strike and conducting nation-wide referendums.

At present, probably the most decisive period has arrived in the stormy history of the antiwar movement of the 1980's. Its role has increased immeasurably in the practical solution to the problem of the fate of all mankind. At present, the antiwar movement is an active participant in international policy and has a noticeable impact on the balance of peace-loving and aggressive forces throughout the world.

The entry of the broad masses of people onto the arena of the struggle for peace clearly refutes the numerous versions of imperialist propaganda on the "accidentalness of detente," the "fatal inevitability of the costs of modern civilization," "the reality of nuclear missile war in the next decade" or that "a state of war is inherent to mankind" and other such the irrational sense and purpose of which are apparent even from their very names.

In the present taut situation, particularly apparent are the humanistic essence of the struggle for peace and the reactionary nature of the attempts to oppose this struggle with the imperialist doctrines of "limited and unlimited nuclear war," the "secondary importance of peace," "the dependence of peace upon increasing the nuclear weapons race" and so forth. The simple instinct of self-preservation under the conditions of our nuclear age has caused people to fight against the application of these doctrines in practice, for a right to life and peaceful creativity. Having won these "natural rights of man," people have drawn closer to the triumph of the age-old aspirations of establishing an age of peace. "The greatest manifestation of democracy," said V. I. Lenin, "is in the basic question of war and peace."⁴ This Leninist concept gained adequate realization even in the Peace Decree and in our times in the Peace Program proposed at the 24th CPSU Congress and further developed in the decisions of the 25th and 26th Party Congresses. These are documents reflecting the basic traits in the present-day stage of the struggle for peace.

In referring to the ideas and conclusions from these party congresses, it is possible to define the antiwar movement as a social complex involving broad masses of people who actively oppose the Cold War and the dangerous balancing of imperialism on the brink of a "hot" war. The movement of all the people against the nuclear arms race started in Europe, it gained broad scope here and spread to the United States. At present, it involves the most diverse social forces and strata, starting with the communists and Social Democrats, the trade

union masses, the liberal intelligentsia and students and ending with such, seemingly, traditionally conservative forces as, for example, the American Catholics. Scientists (particularly physicians), a number of the Western military specialists and representatives of various world religions have played a prominent role in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. Clearly there are definite differences between the participants of this antimilitaristic bloc and their views and interests do not coincide in various areas of economic, social and political life. But in the mass antiwar movement, of crucial significance are not the differences or clashes of interests but rather what unites the people, the maintaining of peace and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

At present, the movement to prevent a nuclear war and for the right of peoples to a peaceful life operates on the international scene as a new international, dynamic force. It has become one of the characteristic traits of modern times and has been turned into an important factor for the defense and development of relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and for checking the aggressive intrigues of imperialism.

In analyzing the impact of this complex and diverse phenomenon on political life it is important to bear in mind two opposite trends. One of them is manifested in the gaining (under the influence of the threat to the very existence of life on the earth) of a new content in the actions of the peace-loving forces which are endeavoring to find a way out of the evermore intolerable and dangerous confrontation on the international scene. The other trend reflects greater activity on the part of the militaristic upper clique of the ruling circles, particularly the upper echelon of American authorities which has recently undertaken a true crusade against the forces coming out for peace and social progress.

The opposition of these trends effects the course of the antiwar movement, accelerating the involvement of new forces into it and simultaneously correcting its slogans. At present, the struggle of the different political or ideological forces in the antiwar movement is occurring under such slogans as: "No to nuclear weapons in the East and West, throughout the world!" "The immediate freezing of all nuclear arsenals!" "Peaceful political talks and not military confrontation!" "Yes to effective talks on reducing all types of nuclear weapons in Europe!" "Yes to nuclear-free zones!" and others. The quantitative and qualitative composition of this movement has been substantially increased and the forms and methods of the struggle against nuclear war have been enriched with a new content regardless of those limits which have been placed by the ruling circles in the West on the growth of antiwar actions. The diversity of the forms and methods of these actions and their unprecedented scope have been very, very unexpected for many scientists, politicians and journalists, including communists, too.

The antiwar movement of the 1980's provides us with a picture of unsurpassed scale of the unstinting actions of its participants to prevent a nuclear war. More and more it is proving to be a dynamic principal of international relations which, like it or not, must be considered by the bosses of NATO on both sides of the Atlantic. Often the actions of the antiwar movement are prepared

ahead of time, considering both the national and continental features and are timed to more or less significant events or holidays. Thus, in Western Europe during the "hot autumn" the participants of new mass worker demonstrations took on the baton of the Easter peace marches which were widely held at the beginning of April 1983.

The unprecedented scope of the mass actions by the European and world community aimed against the growing threat of nuclear war can be seen from the fact that these involved at least 25 million people in September-October 1983. Great demonstrations and meetings were held in the Soviet Union and the FRG, Belgium and England, France and Spain, Greece and Italy, in the Netherlands, Canada and the United States. The largest of them was held in the Soviet Union with an antiwar parade of 800,000 persons in Moscow on 1 October and in the FRG on 22-23 October, when more than a million strongly protesting peace supporters marched through the West German cities. The large October demonstrations running from 100,000 to 500,000 antiwar demonstrators were held, for example, in Bonn and Leningrad, Brussels and Kiev, Paris and Madrid, London and West Berlin, Athens and Vienna, Minsk and the Hague.

The massed demonstrations by the workers against the arms race were major political events. They were greeted with dissatisfaction by one part of the community and welcomed by another. Official, ruling America, and not just it, showed unrestrained hostility toward the antiwar protests. One Europe (reactionary and conservative) has been in the forefront of the militaristic policy of the U.S. administration under the banner of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. In the mood of another Europe the dominant theme is not the shabby myths about the "communist danger" but rather a real concern over the threat of nuclear war. Progressive, democratic Europe and America see in the antiwar actions of millions of people an imperative demand not to allow a repetition of the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to freeze nuclear weapons and to begin their reduction. At present, there no longer can be any discussion of whether or not one likes the actions of the fighters for peace in Moscow and Rome, Paris and London, Lisbon and Athens. The active involvement of the masses of European peoples in solving the problems of world policy has become an indisputable fact. Their impact on the bourgeois parliaments and on the general course of the struggle to prevent a nuclear war is becoming ever-weightier. This has all the more importance as along with an unprecedented pitch of the actions by the community of European and other countries against nuclear war, an acute struggle is developing among the workers and their political vanguard for a democratic alternative to escape from the tight grip of capitalist crises. It is no accident that certain circles in the West are following with concern the changing relationship between the depth of the movement for peace and the increased struggle for social changes. With the development of the antiwar movement, the pace of the evolution of political awareness among the masses is quickening. In considering the existing situation, leaders of the bourgeois reformist stripe have endeavored to keep this movement within certain limits and above all to block its unifying with the workers movement.

The development of the antiwar movement in the West can be viewed as an important step along the path of overcoming the desire of the professional bourgeois politicians to have a monopolistic say in determining the fate of peoples and

to democratizing international relations. A growing awareness on the part of the masses of people of the urgent need for a peaceful way out of the nuclear missile crisis, the high intellectual level of the members of the antiwar resistance and the drawing together within this complex social organism of various political and ideological elements not connected within it by any rigid program ideas have led to a concentrating of efforts by the various currents in the peace movement on the main area of world policy. At the same time, in the course of the development of the antiwar movement, certain problems of an ideological nature have arisen. This is the question of attempts by certain circles to represent it as an "affiliate" of the communist movement or reduce it to the level of rudimentary pacifism.

The coinciding of the slogans of the antiwar movement, as a component part of the general democratic forces, with the initiatives of the communists can be explained primarily by the fact that the communists are the most consistent, steadfast fighters and the heirs of the centuries-old humanistic principles and traditions evolved by mankind. It is a question of the manifesting of a general ardent concern on the part of persons from different generations, social strata and cultural traditions to prevent war. However, the most noteworthy thing is that the communists have always been fighters against suppression and the exploitation of man by man and now they are fighting also to maintain human civilization and for the right of man to life.

The communists are endeavoring to turn the concern of peoples over the growing threat of war into practical deeds. And this places a real and firm basis under the general democratic principles of the struggle for peace. The Soviet Union, like the other socialist nations, considers as its duty (in the same interests of maintaining peace) to keep the permanent military might of socialism on a proper level. Due to this mankind for almost 40 years has been freed from a third world war which has been so many times announced by the "theoreticians" of militarism. At present, the forces of peace and socialism have an opportunity (this opportunity has already been tested out in practice in the postwar period) of bridling the imperialist warmongers.

Certainly, among the participants in the antiwar resistance are many who act in favor of peace from standpoints of the "moral advancement of mankind" and the observance of an "universal" abstract "morality," that is, from non-class positions. However, it is essential to bear in mind that in the course of the extended struggle to prevent a nuclear war, the pacifistically inclined masses in the antiwar movement frequently overcome their abstract notions of war and peace and become politically more insightful and steadfast. The persons participating in the struggle for peace each day are more acutely aware of their responsibility for what the turn of events is today, that is, whether the world will advance along the path of a further suicidal escalation of the arms race or whether it can be checked and peaceful conditions of life ensured. Many pacifists feel that they are obliged to do everything possible so that mankind could choose the second way. As a result, the stereotype notion of them is being changed.

Imperialist propaganda is endeavoring to reduce the growth of antiwar attitudes to supposedly communist-directed actions as if these attitudes could be cultivated and exported from country to country. The true reasons for these

attitudes remain completely clear and understood even by persons who are far from communism. These are profound socioeconomic factors including unemployment and inflation which are exacerbated by militarization and the related constant "shake-up" of social expenditures. In taking up these factors, the newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE recently stated that as a result of the massed pumping of resources into the defense sphere "the unemployment problem cannot be solved."⁵ It is a question of the constant narrowing of the non-military sector which inevitably leads to a constant or increased level of unemployment. A monstrous and essentially paradoxical situation develops where the presence of an army of so-called surplus people mirrors the growth of the military bureaucratic apparatus beset by a thirst for political power, expansion and wealth. Just what a large amount the military psychosis gives the military-industrial complex can be seen from the profits (from 50 to over 500 percent) of the U.S. defense industry corporations. And virtually everyone loses, including the financial and industrial circles which compete with the military-industrial complex. A course oriented at military-political expansion causes dissatisfaction even in the ruling circles of a number of the U.S. allies since precisely Washington imposes unrestrained militarization on their economy, thereby exacerbating the already difficult economic situation of these states. The arms race intensifies their destabilization on the social level and these assume more real presence under the conditions of a drive for military supremacy.

The protest is being made not only by broad masses of people who must shoulder the basic burden of the arms race but also influential bourgeois circles not directly related to defense business. All of this cannot help but bring closer various parties, currents and organizations in the struggle for peace. The question of the existence or death of civilization has forced various ideological and political currents to reassess the basic sense of their interaction against the threat of a world war and the plans for waging it. The plans worked out by imperialism for a "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war everywhere have caused a feeling of concern and protest among the broadest strata of the population and an understanding by them of the imperative need to act for the sake of maintaining and strengthening peace and actively opposing the "war parties." The latter are betting on the disunity of the antiwar forces.

An analysis of the economic and political, social and ideological factors in the antiwar movement discloses new aspects of fundamental capitalist contradictions, for example, between the increased militarization and the growing antiwar attitudes.

Being complex and diverse, the contradiction between the forces of militarism and the antiwar movement, on the one hand, becomes a sort of factor for educating the masses of people and, on the other, gives rise to dangerous phenomena which contribute to the growth of militarization. These are:

- 1) The definite development of a psychology of hopeless social pessimism and fatalism, as well as a passive perception of the urgent problems of preventing nuclear catastrophe;
- 2) Increased alarmist, ultranationalistic passions, attitudes of chauvinism, xenophobia and hostility toward persons living under the conditions of a different social system;

3) Increased activity by the conservative forces and a revival of ultrarightist and neofascist movements.

The real content of the consequences of militarization, of course, are significantly broader than may seem from the list of designated phenomena. This list considers only the generally accepted viewpoint shared by a majority of the Soviet researchers on problems of social awareness (A. A. Galkin, G. G. Diligenskiy, P. N. Fedoseyev and others).

The special, better wage conditions for employees at military enterprises and other related political, propaganda, psychological and other factors lead to a situation where the social movement for disarmament and peace does not penetrate the walls of these bastions of militarization. In holding a privileged position in the system of capitalist reproduction, the military sectors accumulate and foster an apolitical attitude, social limitedness and inertia, a corporation spirit and the noninvolvement of comparatively large masses of workers in the movements developing on an antiwar basis. The military-industrial circles endeavor to split and destroy the positive moral-psychological potential which has been accumulated by peoples and all mankind in the process of the long desire for peace, detente and disarmament.

The ideologues of militarism proceed from the fact that an awareness of the scale and nature of the nuclear missile threat certainly does tell on the psychology of many people. But this coexists nevertheless with a desire to have a good time and drive disconcerting thoughts from the sphere of one's experiences. Many persons perceive even the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a very abstract manner, as something of the past. Here the qualitative distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons is not perceived and not fully realized by them. As are shown by the results of public opinion polls conducted among large masses of people in the West, many directly state that although they fear the danger of the possibility of nuclear war, they try not to think about this. Into the formed "vacuum," the propaganda apparatus of the military-industrial complex feeds the ideas of the acceptability of nuclear war and its fatal inevitability over the coming decade. The risk from a nuclear war, as the spiritual fathers of militarism preach, differs only in quantitative terms from the risk of an automobile accident or death in a peacetime situation such as on the job, in transport, from sickness and so forth.

The ideologues of the military-industrial complex have constructed all sorts of models for the survival of mankind as a result of nuclear catastrophe. The authors of the given models make a mental "jump" to the position of outside observers of the nuclear war and even begin to estimate human losses. Thus, at the beginning of the 1960's, the now-deceased R. Aron and H. Kahn escorted hundreds of millions of people on their last journey to the oblivion of a nuclear explosion and then with the same casualness "were able" to restore the losses in the world's population and the world economy.⁶ However, the most noteworthy thing is that such futurologists as H. Kahn and R. Aron, in formerly being among the creators of various doctrines for the "containment" and "throwing back" of communism and based on the use of military strength, including a preventive nuclear attack, in the 1970's began to conclude that in our nuclear age a world war is fraught with the threat of reducing civilization to nothing.

A rational policy actually cannot allow this. But certainly a policy can also be suicidal. "After us the deluge!" were the cynical words ascribed to Louis XV and they in the 1980's have become the motto for the creators of all sorts of new doctrines which provide for a preventive nuclear attack. Thus, the ideals of the ruling feudal class of the mid-18th Century are being resurrected in today's reactionary mind but on a completely different level of socio-economic development and scientific-technical progress. But just as in those distant times the peasantry resisted the merciless feudal exploitation, so in our times millions of people on all continents of the planet are coming out to fight the new feudal lords, the kings and barons of the military-industrial complex who live for today without thinking about the future and without wishing to draw lessons from the past.

The idea of employing nuclear weapons is monstrous. For this reason, alarming presentiments constantly run through the world community, assuming a varying emotional tint even to the point of popular performances on the squares of European cities where they often play out scenes of atomic and neutron tragedy. The witnesses of these scenes compare them with the prophecies of Charles de Coster who in the legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel strung out a story of gloomy dawns the dull rays of which illuminated corpse-heaped roadways.

In fearing a world-scale conflagration, people experience fear and uncertainty when confronted with the anticipated disasters. But among the consistent fighters for peace--both the principled and the flexible--there are a strong character and strong nerves. They are aware that you cannot ask for peace from the imperialists. The path to the strengthening of peace is difficult and rocky. There cannot be any easy victories on this path. But the more imperialism brandishes its nuclear weapons the greater the level of intrepid and aware resistance to its aggressive policy must be.

In the existing alarming situation the forces of peace act contrary to the tendencies of the militant imperialist circles, offering a real alternative to sliding into nuclear catastrophe. However, the U.S. and NATO leaders, as before, continue to speculate on old dogmas: "If you want peace, then prepare for war." In order to impose this on the broad masses, imperialism has resorted to an old tested means. Under the cover of ultrapatriotic and chauvinistic demagoguery, the reactionary propaganda reinforced by police repression (primarily in the United States, England, the FRG and Italy), directs its poisoning primarily against those participants of the antiwar actions which conduct energetically and consistently an uncompromising struggle against the aggressive plans of imperialism.

Confronted with the growing antiwar protest, a myth has been created about a "beseiged fortress" in line with the so-called Soviet threat which the West should parry at whatever the cost with superior force. Reactionary propaganda has shifted to the "external enemy" the blame for the difficulties of the daily life of the workers, thereby endeavoring to attain a dual goal: to justify the increased allocations for the arms race and thereby direct the social discontent and protest of a portion of the masses into a channel advantageous for the ruling circles of imperialist powers, primarily the United States, and to fan the militaristic attitudes which serve the interests of the military-industrial

complex. The ideological and propaganda apparatus of this complex is endeavoring to persuade a certain portion of the population that responsibility for the present increased tension lies not so much with the West as with the East. In some places such views have penetrated the working class organizations and the antiwar movement.

At the same time, the supporters of the retrograde direction of the ideological struggle are spreading the "big lie" about the possible consequences from the growth of antiwar attitudes. They have endeavored to create the impression that they are concerned with the questions of maintaining peace while the actions of the antiwar forces supposedly come full circle and end up, as was the case in the past, with a world war. It is noteworthy that R. Reagan has even considered it possible to openly and constantly consider as equal those who are endeavoring to support the European edifice which has been shaken by the oversaturation with nuclear weapons and the Munich appeasers. Here some historical and literary associations are brought to bear. The label of quixoticism or even vagrancy is stuck to the participants of the struggle for peace. For example, the reactionary press described the peace marches in this manner.

With a superficial look at the course of the historical process, the impression is created that the struggle for peace has far from always been effective. Neither the previous intensity of antiwar passions nor appeals to reason were able to prevent two world wars. Seemingly the logic of history leads one to the notion of the inevitability of a new world war, regardless of all the efforts of the supporters of peace. But to think in this manner means to give way to historical pessimism. But most importantly it means to ignore the reality of the nuclear age when war is knocking at the door not merely "as a continuation of politics by other means" but as a clear threat of mankind's total extinction. "The nuclear age requires a doctrine of collective security because it is impossible to be victorious anymore by employing force," asserts the well-known West German politician, E. Bahr.⁷ In other words, the state of collective security presupposes the abandoning by both sides of attempts to use the force of arms to resolve the historic clash in their favor. On behalf of socialism there has constantly been a readiness to do this. The situation is quite different for imperialism. For this reason, collective security can become a reality if all the powerful forces of the world are put into motion. There is no other way.

In our times the problems of the alliance of these forces are assuming ever-greater significance. The solidarity, unity and alliance of all good-willed persons in the struggle against unprecedented danger are becoming the main, decisive task of the moment. "Mankind cannot infinitely tolerate the arms race and wars if it does not want to wager on its future," pointed out Yu. V. Andropov.⁸ For this reason, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have repeatedly appealed to all states, primarily to the NATO countries, to soberly and objectively weigh the threatening trends in the development of international relations on the European continent and throughout the world and before it is too late, to show political wisdom and force the search for mutually acceptable solutions and agreement. If things take a turn for the worse, then the aggressive circles of imperialism bear full blame for this.

Of particular importance at present is, on the one hand, a profound understanding of the particular role and responsibility of the communists as the most consistent antiwar force and, on the other, full consideration of the fact that for preventing a war and for halting the arms race there must be international collaboration among all (and not some or individual) detachments of the peace-loving forces, primarily the working class. "We are firmly convinced that with all the diversity of political views, working people always are working people and they have many common interests," emphasized Yu. V. Andropov in meeting with the American trade union and public figure W. Winpisinger. "At present, this common interest consists primarily in defending peace and preventing the catastrophe of a new world war...."⁹

The duty of all the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces to the present and future generations is to unite and put an end to the nuclear threat and achieve nuclear disarmament. This progress will help the peoples also in managing other acute global problems.

Up to the mid-1970's, the economy of the Western European region was developing at a significantly faster pace than the United States. As a result of the economic crisis, recently Western Europe has fallen behind not only Japan but also its main overseas partner in economic development rates. In the course of the exacerbation of interimperialist contradictions, each of the competitors has sought and found its own Ariadne's thread to escape from this labyrinth.

Whatever the case, Europe cannot tolerate even the very idea of its possible conversion into the hostage of Washington's nuclear ambitions. Quite naturally, in the atmosphere of the present-day exacerbation of international tension and interimperialist contradictions, certain Western information sources have directly linked the political and economic differences between the United States and its European NATO allies to a growth of neutralist tendencies among the latter largely under the impact of the antiwar resistance movement.

Thus, the former Bundeswehr general and one of the authors of the famous Krefeld Appeal, H. Bastian, who was elected a Bundestag deputy on the list of the "Greens" Party, in his book "To Ensure Peace" has directly stated that the FRG could serve as an exemplary model for turning the state from a nuclear and other weapons dump into an unaligned state which is free of weapons and at the same time unthreatened and which could perform the role of a connecting link between East and West, between North and South. The historically tested policy of nonalignment with the aggressive blocs of imperialism must aid in solving a whole series of problems of both a political and economic nature.

As for the given trends, many Western political commentators have interpreted this new phenomenon on the European continent differently. This is explainable by the very contradictory nature of so-called European neutralism and primarily by the very fact of the membership of the European capitalist countries in NATO. As is known, the economic aspect of "European neutralism" has found its clearest expression in the "gasline" deal and in the sharp polemics which arose over this between the politicians of Europe and the United States and which reflected the reticence of the European partners of the United States to sacrifice their economic interests in the competitive struggle with American capital.

Frequently the so-called European neutralism is a mixture of shabby Cold War myths and the advancing of real factors which reflect contradictions between the United States and Europe. This is approximately the case with the arguments of the author of the book "Here and Now": "Soviet expansionism," he states, "has forced us to strengthen our defenses but does not threaten our economic independence; American imperialism does not threaten our territorial integrity but is endeavoring to seize our agricultural and industrial resources and is forcing us to organize economic protection."¹⁰ Let us leave to the author's conscience his interpretation of the myth of the "Soviet threat." Let us turn to the real threat deriving from Washington which is deploying its nuclear missile weapons in Europe.

In the first place, this action involves a heretofore unforeseen danger of turning Europe into an obedient executor of U.S. political will. In actuality, just what sort of lack of threat from American imperialism to the territorial integrity of Europe, what sort of political neutralism and what sort of sovereignty can it be if the American president will control the nuclear weapons deployed on European territory without any right of voting or veto from the Western European governments?

Secondly, with the deployment of the new American missiles, the threat of actually employing the doctrine of "limited warfare" in Europe is increased and at the same time so is the risk of turning it into a nuclear wasteland. As is known, this class of missiles can reach the intended target in 5-7 minutes. They exclude the possibility of any correction and other steps for preventing all-out war. There is no fire department nor will there be one capable of extinguishing the nuclear conflagration if it actually breaks out. The putting of these missiles into service in Europe will lead to a new escalation to the even more amoral concepts of conducting a nuclear war here. The sights will be set on not what is but rather what even newer types of weapons must be more quickly deployed in Europe by the other side to count on victory.

Thirdly, with the new weapons the American "cowboy" will endeavor to gain the capacity for the unexpected destruction of strategic targets on the other side of the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But, having twirled and thrown the nuclear "lasso" over Europe, he cannot even imagine who will perish along with him in the flames: enemies, friends, allies or simply neighbors, close or distant. The deployment of the American Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe, as Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at a reception for American senators, will inevitably involve the United States. "Americans also will feel the difference between that situation which existed prior to the deployment and after it."¹¹

Fourthly, the deployment of the new missile systems threatens not only European security but also international security as there is a dialectical interdependence between them. For this reason, the question of European security is also a key problem, a number-one problem among the other acute military-political problems. At the same time the involvement of significant nuclear missile forces from the United States in Western Europe not only does not aid in resolving this problem, as the extremely conservative American circles have asserted along with the Western European ones, but on the contrary, undermines this very significantly. The deployment of the Pershings and the cruise missiles obstructs the disarmament talks to the limit.

"Here there should be complete clarity," explained Yu. V. Andropov in replies to questions from the newspaper PRAVDA, "the appearance of the new American missiles in Western Europe makes impossible the continuation of the talks presently underway in Geneva. On the other hand, the Geneva talks can be continued if the United States does not begin the actual deployment of the missiles."¹²

Fifthly, the new American nuclear forces in Europe are to be assigned a direct role as a weapon of political blackmail against the European countries and the possibility of their combat employment is not to be excluded. This Washington policy is dangerous in the fact that it in the event of realization can significantly complicate relations between the European socialist and capitalist countries.

Sixthly, in the arms race unleashed by U.S. imperialism, in Europe a definite role will be played by considerations of an economic sort. To create additional difficulties for the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to force them to divert more of their resources into the military production sphere in order to thwart the economic programs for increasing the standard and quality of living for the workers--this task for the aggressive U.S. and NATO circles will interject additional elements of tension into the situation developing on the European continent.

Seventhly, the nuclear missile fence is being actively employed as a means of U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis its allies. With the aid of the "Euromissiles," the American ruling circles are endeavoring to compensate for a decline in their political specific weight in Europe. It is important also to bear in mind the other foreign policy gains which the United States is endeavoring to obtain as a result of the nuclear missile policy on the territory of its allies, including by means of campaigns involving the fostering of a military psychosis in order to gradually instill in the minds of the European masses that the "Euro-rockets" not only can but under certain circumstances even must be employed in the course of combat operations.

The European antiwar movement undoubtedly has many opportunities to help change the present situation. Here it can play its main role precisely as a force placing an ever-greater pressure from the "have-nots" on the conservative "haves" who are stubbornly imposing on the peoples of their countries an approach to European security questions from a standpoint of nuclear supremacy and who are disrupting the entire mechanism for resolving the urgent problems of European security. The responsibility of the antiwar movement participants has increased a hundred-fold particularly now when mankind has been confronted with an absolutely unprecedented task:

- 1) For the first time it is a question of an unprecedented choice--the choice between life or death for all mankind;
- 2) Less and less time remains for making this choice, particularly if one considers the progressing development of dangerous processes, a development which threatens to become unpredictable and uncontrollable;

3) At present, people do not have the right to a new testing by the "trial and error method";

4) The superdanger requires superefforts and supermobilization.¹³

The acuteness and complexity of the problem are that the evolution of this new perception of the unity of mankind, the indivisibility of peace, an awareness of the danger for all mankind and the search for an immediate, error-free saving solution are occurring with all the historically determined and presently continuing social, class, ideological, political, national and state differences, contradictions and conflicts. All these contradictions which characterize the present existence of mankind are in no way eliminated, although they cannot help but be altered under the impact of an awareness of the threat of nuclear war.

The extremely dangerous aggressiveness for all mankind of the reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism is encountering and will encounter strong resistance from the peoples. They, stated Yu. V. Andropov, cannot be indifferent to what attempts are made for the sake of interests alien to Europe to eradicate all the positive that has been created by the joint efforts of the Western and Eastern countries of Europe for the sake of a peaceful future of our continent.¹⁴

In actuality, can it be considered an accident that in the West, particularly among the workers parties and organizations, realistic trends have been further developed in the rapidly changing situation of international relations and that leaders are emerging on the political scene who are capable of considering these trends and who understand the necessity and mutual benefit of protracted peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems? Obviously, their weighty word in the defense of peace is still to come.

More and more clearly one can see an important change, for example, in a number of the socialist and social democratic parties, toward a more active struggle to prevent the threat of a nuclear war. Aside from the ruling Greek socialists and Swedish Social Democrats who have come out against the plans for deploying the new American nuclear missiles in Europe, the West German Social Democrats and the English Laborites are beginning to assume an evermore decisive position.

At present, when the aggressive forces headed by U.S. imperialism are brandishing nuclear weapons, of particularly important and fundamental significance is the thesis of V. I. Lenin on the presence of two opposite trends--militant and moderate--in the policy of the capitalist camp. V. I. Lenin drew a clear distinction between the aggressive and nonaggressive groupings of the bourgeoisie. He repeatedly pointed out that the threat to peace comes precisely from the war parties and the adventurist cliques. As for the "enormous part of reasonable representatives of the bourgeoisie and governments," V. I. Lenin recommended working along with them toward peace, disarmament and security.¹⁵

Finally, it remains to put down one other generalization which possibly is no less important than the others. It consists in the following. In flaunting the will of the peoples, the Reagan Administration and the ruling circles of

certain European countries have commenced deploying the new American missiles in Europe. Thus, a challenge has been thrown down to the peoples and Europe must make a crucial choice. Time will show whether this is to be a path of confrontation or the path of a joint constructive solution to the difficult problems confronting the European peoples; feverish arming and the sliding to the dangerous brink of nuclear war or detente and an extended development of the process of peaceful coexistence. This is the cardinal question of our times, the axis of modern world politics and the frontline of the ideological struggle.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ PRAVDA, 29 September 1983.
- ² Ibid., 30 October 1983.
- ³ WELTWOCH, 8 June 1983.
- ⁴ V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 92.
- ⁵ INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 12 April 1983.
- ⁶ H. Kahn, "On Thermonuclear War," Princeton, New Jersey, 1961; R. Aron, "Paix au guerre entre les nations," Paris, 1962.
- ⁷ SOZIALISTISCHE TRIBUNE, No 9, 1983.
- ⁸ PRAVDA, 18 August 1983.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ F. Mitterand, "Ici et maintenant," Paris, 1980, p 252.
- ¹¹ PRAVDA, 19 August 1983.
- ¹² Ibid., 27 October 1983.
- ¹³ See VEK XX I MIR, No 3, 1983.
- ¹⁴ See PRAVDA, 21 September 1983.
- ¹⁵ V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 44, p 287.

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'GROWING INTEREST' IN MARXISM BY FRG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS EXAMINED

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[Article by B. S. Orlov: "Social Democracy and Marxism (Certain Problems of Today)"]

[Text] The enormous and ever-growing attention throughout the world in the theoretical heritage of K. Marx was noticeably stimulated by the 165th anniversary of his birthday and the centennial of his death in 1983. Social Democracy also took a more active role in this area. In theoretical publications by the socialist and social democratic parties, articles were published devoted to the memory of Marx and various measures were carried out in the parties themselves. At the birthplace of Marx in the city of Trier, upon the initiative of the SDPG [German Social Democratic Party] two scholarly meetings were held: an international congress on the subject "Karl Marx in Africa, Asia and Latin America" (March 1983) and a colloquium "Marx in Our Times and Social Democracy" (April 1983). At the colloquium the paper "The Heritage of Marxism and the Tasks of Democratic Socialism" was given by the SDPG Chairman W. Brandt. One of the prominent theoreticians of the Spanish socialists E. Tierno-Galvan took up the question: "The Significance of Marxism for the Socialist Parties of Southern Europe."

At the international scientific conference "Karl Marx and the Modern World--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" held in April 1983 in Berlin, along with delegations from the communist and workers parties, the revolutionary-democratic parties and the national liberation movements, representatives from a number of the socialist and social democratic parties also took part.

All of this shows that the social reformist current in the workers movement cannot ignore the teachings which disclosed to the working class its historic mission of mankind's liberation.

In this context a whole series of questions arises. Why now are even those social democratic parties which not so long ago stated their intention to throw it "overboard" turning back to Marxism? Are they considering Marxism seriously or are they merely borrowing certain aspects of Marxist teachings, in interpreting them very arbitrarily? How does such a borrowing of Marxism influence the ideological and political development of the social democratic parties? Finally, what is the possible impact of this process on carrying out a policy of unity of the leftist forces?

These questions have been raised by Marxist scholars before. In particular, we might refer to the colloquium conducted by the Academy of Social Sciences under the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee in 1975 in Berlin, where the given range of problems was subjected to a detailed discussion.

The article's author is aware that each of the raised questions requires thorough examination. For this reason the review of the given question in the current article is considered by him as only an initial positing of the question. West German Social Democracy figures chiefly as the object of research.

Marxism has had a definite impact on shaping the ideological positions in the party of the German working class during the period of its development. Such important works as "The Communist Manifesto," "Capital," "Anti-Duhring" and many others even during the last century were desk references for the Social Democratic activists. The Erfurt Program of 1891 was a Marxist document about which V. I. Lenin later wrote (in the work "State and Revolution") that this program "has become a model for the entire Second International."¹ At the same time, V. I. Lenin was one of the first to draw attention to the ideological processes which were occurring in German social democracy at the start of the 20th Century and later and during which the tendency to revise Marxism was evermore apparent. The works of V. I. Lenin provided an assessment of this phenomenon and they showed the social and political nature of revisionism as opportunism in the worker movement operating under the cover of Marxism.

Revisionist concepts have been given in a generalized form in the ideas of E. Bernstein. The main purpose of the revisionist goals was to stop viewing Marxism as an integrated system, to deprive it of a revolutionary content and to represent reformism as a further adaptation of Marxism to the changing conditions of capitalism. The particular feature of revisionism is rather clearly apparent in the following statement by Bernstein: "The socialist movement does not depend upon any one theory. Theory can explain it and point out certain ways to it but it draws its strength and its rights exclusively from actual relationships and the needs and possibilities stemming from them."²

Such prominent party figures and theoreticians as A. Bebel, K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, R. Mehring, K. Zetkin and others came out against such a "revision" which actually came down to an understatement of Marxist theory in the strategy of revolutionary changes. Similar processes also occurred in other European workers parties.

The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia served as the event which contributed to a clear formulation and delimitation of these two lines. By the beginning of the 1920's two currents--revolutionary and reformist--had already been definitely formulated in the international workers movement.

However, in the first years after the final demarcation, in a majority of the social democratic parties, Marxism was still viewed as the ideological basis. In discussing the draft of their new program in Gorlitz in 1921, that is, already after in 1917 a group of social democrats has pulled out of the SDPG and had formed the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (ISDPG) and somewhat later the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] had been founded, the social

democratic politicians from the congress rostrum permitted themselves such statements: "The spirit of Marxism, what remains everlasting in it namely the basic great ideas of Marxian social and historical theory, have inspired us from the very beginning to the end" (E. Bernstein); "Social Democracy with pride calls itself a party of scientific socialism" (E. David).³ Four years later, when a number of the leaders and theoreticians of the ISDPG had returned to the SDPG and at its congress in Heidelberg it revised its program in a more radical direction, here also were heard arguments of such a nature: "The sociological analysis of Marx, the eternally great and unforgettable, at present is being turned into a language of a political action program" (E. Neutling); "The work which has been done by the party congress is a renewal, rebirth and reinforcing of the immutable principles which are found in the analysis of capitalist society by Marx" (R. Hilferding).⁴

We would point out that precisely during these years in its practical policies the SDPG surrendered to the bourgeoisie one by one the positions won by the working masses in the course of the 1918 November Revolution. Nevertheless, the SDPG leadership continued to see Marxism as its ideological basis, adapting it to the strategy of reformism.

The other socialist and social democratic parties in Europe followed the same path. An analysis of the program documents adopted during this period shows that they included demands which in one way or another stemmed from Marxist teachings. Among them were the creation of a classless society as the ultimate goal of the movement, the nationalization of the basic implements and means of production as the main prerequisite for creating a socialist society. Even in such a party as the English Labor Party, where due to a number of factors Marxism did not become widespread, nationalization was viewed as one of the main goals (the Fourth Point of the 1918 Labor Party Charter).

However, here the revolutionary aspect of Marxism was ignored. There was an abandoning of one of the key Marxist theses on the necessity of breaking up the bourgeois state machine and replacing it with a new type of state providing an opportunity for the participation of the working masses in administering state affairs. The social democratic ideologists more and more often were inclined to view the state apparatus under capitalism as a mechanism the use of which could advance society toward socialism. Socialism itself in the ideas of the social democratic theoreticians more and more often began to figure as "democratic socialism." Later, the social democrats themselves (for example, P. von Oertzen) drew attention to the tautology residing in this concept, for a socialist social system is generally inconceivable without democracy.

In truth, the Austrian social democrats in their own way endeavored to overcome the reformist current in "democratic socialism." Such party theoreticians as M. Adler and O. Bauer attempted to work out something like a "third path" between social reformism and the strategy of the Bolsheviks in revolutionary Russia. The aggregate of these ideas has been called "Austro-Marxism." This ideological current was reflected in the party program adopted in 1926 in Linz where, in particular, a provision was incorporated on the use of the means of violence by the working class in the event that the bourgeoisie, in ignoring constitutional standards, resorted to resistance. However, subsequently the leadership of the SDPO [Austrian Social Democratic Party] in its actions was

inconsistent and this was particularly apparent in the course of the armed resistance of the workers against the reaction in 1934.

We would also point out that in a number of social democratic parties, leftist groupings came out against the reformist course of the leadership, here basing themselves on the revolutionary tenets of Marxist teachings. This can be seen, in particular, by the emergence in 1931 from the SDPG of a leftist grouping which declared itself to be the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (SWPG). The "Provisional Program" adopted by it stated that if the working class came to power democratically, it would rule by democratic means; if it came to power as a result of civil war, power would arise in the form of a proletarian dictatorship.⁵ In the "Provisional Program" socialism is declared as a "direct daily task of our times." The program voiced a positive attitude toward the Soviet Union and emphasized that the SWPG considered it essential to come to the defense of the USSR against aggression by the capitalist states and to act for its security essential for carrying out creative plans.

A year later (1932), at its first congress, the SWPG adopted a Statement of Principles. In this document the leftist social democrats already proceeded from the fact that the state under capitalism is nothing more than "a weapon for carrying out bourgeois class domination over the proletariat and not only under the conditions of a monarchy or a fascist dictatorship but also in a democratic republic." The working class which has been victorious in a revolution, the program emphasized, should not adopt the bourgeois state organization but rather destroy it and create its own state instead.⁶

As we see, the given provisions reflected one of the key Marxist tenets. We would also point out that this was proclaimed a year before Nazism came to power in Germany.

However it must be considered that during the designated period the leftist groupings did not set the tone in the social democratic parties. While in the theoretical area their activities were noticeable, they had virtually no influence on practical policy. Due to these circumstances it can be stated that prior to World War II the leadership of social democracy in its actual policy retreated further and further from its proclaimed orientation to Marxism, almost completely siding with bourgeois reformism.

The subsequent coming of fascism and Nazism to power in a number of the European countries and the aggressive war initiated by them--all of this dealt a heavy blow to the social democratic movement. In the nations where fascism was dominant, the social democratic parties were banned and some social democratic activists went underground or ended up in Nazi concentration camps while others emigrated. In analyzing the lessons of their defeat, the social democrats could not help but see that one of the main reasons was the split of the working class and the refusal to cooperate with the communists. In reflecting on the ways of emerging from the war and in outlining the strategy for further actions, the social democratic circles in emigration (in Great Britain, the Scandinavian nations and the United States) also discussed sociopolitical questions.

For many social democrats it became clearer and clearer that there was a relationship between fascism and the basic forces giving rise to it, namely the imperialist groupings. Socialism was for them that social system which would make it possible to eradicate fascism and its main culturing medium, capitalism. This is one of the reasons for the proclamation of socialism as the "task of the day" by the leader of the German Social Democrats K. Schumacher in the very first postwar months of 1945. In speaking at a meeting in May of that year, he said: "Large-scale industry, the military-industrial capital, militarism and all those feudal vestiges which in hindsight have tried to divorce themselves from Nazism bear full responsibility for all that has occurred, as supporters of the establishing of the Nazi state."⁷ At a meeting in Kiel in the autumn of 1945, K. Schumacher also formulated the political tasks confronting the Social Democrats: "On the agenda at present the crucial point is the elimination of capitalist exploitation; the means of production should be shifted from the large owners to public ownership; in running the economy as a whole, we should be guided not by the particular interests of profit but rather by planning principles essential from the national economic viewpoint."⁸ It is not hard to see that in these arguments K. Schumacher proceeded from Marxist ideas. However, in following months, K. Schumacher more and more departed from radical positions and evermore decisively shifted to a strictly reformist policy. K. Schumacher and with him the newly resurrected SDPG leadership rejected the policy of unified actions with the communists, they assumed a sharply anti-Soviet stance, having declared Bolshevism to be "the number-one mortal enemy" of Social Democracy.

Precisely during this period a new approach to Marxism was finally formulated in the social democratic circles and not only the West German ones. Having stated that a single ideological foundation was not required for the Social Democrats, the Social Democratic ideologists proceeded from the fact that Marxism could be just one of the components in the social democratic ideological baggage. This approach was established in a speech by K. Schumacher which he gave in 1945 at a meeting in Wenningsen: "For us, the value of a social democrat is determined not by the conviction which brought him to us, whether it be the spirit of the Communist Manifesto or the Sermon on the Mount, whether he is impelled to this by a rationalistic position or some other philosophical grounds or motives deriving from morality; a place in the party will be found for each with his motives and convictions."⁹

This viewpoint became widespread also in other European social democratic parties. Moreover, among the leaders of rightist social democracy the demands of completely abandoning Marxism began to be heard evermore frequently. At the first postwar Socintern [Socialist International] Congress held in 1951 in Frankfurt-am-Main, in the course of discussing the program document (the Frankfurt Declaration), the Dutch social democrats even argued against mentioning Marxism in it. However, in the social democratic circles at that time there was no unity on the question of Marxism. As was pointed out by one of the active leaders of Socintern of that period, the author of the 3-volume "History of the International," J. Braunthal, aside from the Dutch Labor Party, no one refused to acknowledge Marxism while the leader of the French socialists Guy Mollet, in particular, stated that "all French socialists view historical materialism as an excellent method for studying the history of human society."¹⁰

But from the statements of Guy Mollet as well it follows that the social democrats, even those who did not consider it necessary to abandon Marxism as a component part of the social democratic ideology, preferred taking from it only the research method, rejecting its revolutionary-liberation content. Later this approach was rather completely formulated by W. Brandt. In a speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the opening of the house of K. Marx in Trier (4 May 1977), W. Brandt, in pointing to the "greatness of the scientific achievements" of Marxism for its times, stated that at present "there is no sense in speaking of a separate Marxist science"¹¹ and that Marxism has maintained its pertinence only as a research method.

The relatively stable development in the capitalist nations in the 1950's and 1960's and the possibility of carrying out a number of reforms were employed by the social democratic ideologists of the rightist school for asserting that Marxist analysis had not been substantiated, that capitalism had become "controllable" and that due to these circumstances they had already entered a phase of a "mixed society" from whence a straight road was already opening up to a society of social democracy. Such a mood was clearly expressed in the Socintern document adopted in 1962 and called "The World Today--A Socialist Prospect." During this period the denying of Marxism in social democratic circles became most widespread and this was very characteristically reflected in the Godesberg Program adopted in 1959 by the SDPG. Here Marxism is not even mentioned. As was stated by the rightist social democratic ideologists themselves (K. Schmid), Marxism had been "thrown overboard" by them.

The suppositions of rightist social democracy that it had succeeded in liberating capitalism from such failings as crises, mass unemployment, inflation and increased exploitation were not substantiated by the further course of events. From the mid-1970's, the crisis development of capitalism grew substantially sharper. This has become apparent also with increasing force in the 1980's. One of the main conclusions of Marxism on the crisis nature of capitalism was reaffirmed.

In reflecting on the reasons for what had happened, the social democrats and primarily those of a leftist orientation again began to discover in Marxism a scientifically sound explanation for the crisis phenomena. From the end of the 1960's, in the social democratic circles one can observe a unique "Marxist renaissance." In the various parties this was manifested differently. More and more often an interest began to be shown in Marxism by the English laborites. In examining the policy of the SFIO [French Socialist Party] which had revealed its complete unsoundness, the French socialists (primarily the leftist SERES grouping) established a strategy for revitalizing the party, relying largely on Marxism. In the SDPG, the party's youth organization returned to Marxism and here one of the currents within this youth organization, on the basis of applying Marxist analysis, concluded that modern society in the FRG is nothing more than state monopolistic capitalism (this conclusion is close to the reasoning of the West German communists on the given question). The moderate-oriented ideologists of the SDPG also began talking about the importance of Marxism. A debate on Marxism revived in circles close to the Swedish Social Democracy. Interest in the heritage of Austro-Marxism in the Austrian Laborite Party also increased.

As is known, in the Spanish socialist party which was significantly revitalized and increased its influence in the 1970's, at a congress held in 1979, the leader of the SSWP [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], F. Gonzalez proposed excluding the term "Marxism" from the party's program documents as well as abandoning the definition of the party as a "Marxist" one. Some 61 percent of the congress delegates voted against this proposal.¹² Only the statement by Gonzalez that in the event his proposal was rejected he would leave the post of party leader led to a situation where his position prevailed subsequently. However, an analysis of the views of Gonzalez himself shows that his proposal was caused primarily by tactical considerations. A year before this he had stated that "the roots of Spanish socialism go back to Marx...we cannot exclude Marxism as an ideology or methodology."¹³

All of this is grounds to conclude that Marxism as before has an influence on social democratic ideology. Here the attitude toward Marxism differs in the various parties and moreover it is interpreted differently by the various currents within these parties.¹⁴

Having briefly set out the attitude of social democracy to Marxism during various stages of its activities, now let us turn to the question of why in the ranks of the social democratic parties the interest in Marxist teachings over a number of decades at one minute has died out and then increased with renewed strength?

In our view, there are several reasons which are closely interlinked. One of them lies in the social nature of social democracy, in the fact that it (although reformistically) reflects the interests of its social base, the hired workers, and primarily the working class.

In analyzing the nature of social reformism, we have consulted the works of V. I. Lenin who drew attention to two interacting trends in the working class. He pointed out that the spontaneous development of the workers movement inevitably gives rise to a trade unionist awareness and policy reflecting "the general desire of all workers to secure from the state various measures aimed against the misfortunes inherent to their position but still do not eliminate this situation, that is, do not destroy the subordination of labor to capital." At the same time, V. I. Lenin pointed out that "the working class is spontaneously attracted to socialism."¹⁵ Hence, on the one hand, the desire for a partial improvement in the material and social position achievable within the existing order and, on the other, anticapitalism and the desire for a revolutionary overthrow of this system. The first trend forms a favorable "medium" for the dissemination of reformist ideology in the mass worker movement. However, under the effect of a whole series of factors, new demands are formed among the workers and these begin to contradict the traditional trade unionist ideas and more and more come into conflict with the state monopolistic system with an increased demand for the establishing of a new social order.*

* In this portion of the argument, the author has relied on the works of G. G. Diligenskiy which examined the problems of the shaping of social awareness under capitalism. See G. G. Diligenskiy, "Mass Awareness and the Problems of Revolutionary Transformations in the Developed Capitalist Countries," *RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR*, No 3, 1981; G. G. Diligenskiy, "On the Social Bases of the Ideology and Policy of Modern Social Democracy," in the book: "Rabochiy klass v mirovom revolyutsionnom protsesse" [The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1983.

These aspirations toward socialist ideals which have existed constantly in the social base of social democracy and which have grown stronger over the last decade are also reflected in the theoretical ideas of social democracy, predominantly its left wing. More and more these ideas turn back to Marxism as a teaching which on a scientific basis discloses the nature of capitalism and opens the way to surmounting it. In endeavoring to form a certain "fusion" of reformist ideas which continue to remain under the impact of petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideology and Marxist tenets based upon the revolutionary liberation mission of the working class, the social democratic ideologists have worked out their own variations of a political strategy adapted to the new conditions, where capitalism more and more evidences its inability to resolve socioeconomic problems. Hence also the specific social democratic interpretation of Marxism caused by the specific conditions in one or another capitalist country.

The following factor has already been examined above indirectly. Modern capitalism with all its problems and contradictions is constantly reproducing the proof of its historical lack of future. The realities of the capitalist world with its crisis-like convulsions, mass unemployment and unchecked inflation again and again have persuaded thinking social democrats of the truthfulness of the conclusions reached by K. Marx and F. Engels more than a century ago.

From here also derives the third factor for the increased interest in Marxism and tied to the shift to the left of the social democratic movement as a whole. The views and the strategy of the rightist social democrats who dominated in the 1950's and 1960's have turned out to be unfounded.

Having achieved certain social changes, the social democratic politicians of that period were unable to "check capitalism." Their formulas were unsuitable. Due to these circumstances in many parties politicians of a moderate orientation took over the leadership, the leftist wing grew stronger and expanded and the representatives of this faction more and more turned to Marxism and on this basis tried to work out a new strategy for going beyond capitalism.

It is also essential to point out (this could be called the fourth factor) that the social democratic theoreticians, in analyzing the processes occurring in capitalism, were forced to turn to Marxism, in any event to its individual tenets, both out of the traditions existing in the social democratic parties and due to the fact that they actually did not possess any other tools for examining social phenomena.

The viewpoint of W. Brandt who once stated (in referring to O. Nell-Breuning) that all of us, that is, the Social Democrats, "stand on the shoulders of Marx,"¹⁶ certainly has not been disputed by any of the ideological currents in the SDPG. In precisely the same manner probably all are inclined to view the fruitfulness of employing Marxian analysis.

The editor-in-chief of the journal NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, P. Glotz, in the above-mentioned debate with Marxist scholars from the GDR, stated: "It would be absurd to ignore that the analytical instrumentarium of Karl Marx has become the common property of virtually all historians, even conservative historians. Even those authors who endeavor to repudiate Marx have inherited his terminology

and not only the terminology.... So we, the Social Democrats, have constantly adhered to the opinion that after Marx no place remains for an exclusively ethically oriented voluntarism."¹⁷

Another participant in the debate, a member of the editorial board of the journal NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, R. Diehl, voiced the following view: "The analytical-critical method developed by Marx, in my viewpoint, is the most essential, central and sole component part of Marxism which in the future will have an effect."¹⁸

However, for the representatives of the rightist current in the SDPG, Marxism is merely one of the methods (as a rule, along with the methodology of K. Popper). This, in particular, was pointed out by a scholar from the GDR, W. Wrona in her paper at the above-mentioned colloquium (Berlin, 1975), having pointed out that even "the rightist forces in the SDPG...have resorted and do resort to a method according to which Marx remains pertinent 'in addition to' the bourgeois concept."¹⁹

If one speaks concretely about the views of the "Marxist-oriented" current in the SDPG, the most typical traits of its approach are the use of the categories of Marxist political economy (the capitalist method of production, productive forces and production relations, the existence of classes and a class struggle, the characterizing of the present stage of capitalism as state monopolistic capitalism and so forth); the application of the Marxist dialectical method to an analysis of contradictions as the driving force of the historical process, including in the method of production and in class relations; a Marxist assessment of the role of the working class as the leading social force in the development of society and its movement toward socialism.

However, there are also different currents among the supporters of Marxism in the SDPG. There is a group of theoreticians who have endeavored to revive E. Bernstein. Upon their initiative, in particular, at the end of 1982, a scholarly symposium was held in West Berlin devoted to the 50th anniversary of the death of the spiritual father of social democratic revisionism. From their viewpoint, revisionism has been a fruitful contribution to Marxism, having adapted it to the new conditions and opening up the path for an active "reformist-socialist strategy." The position of the "Neo-Bernsteinians" has been put forward rather completely in the arguments of one of their representatives H. Heimann: "The person who does not reject Marxist theory a priori but rather tests it and reworks it critically in a spirit of revisionism, that person is capable of delving deeply into the relationships and possibilities for the development of our society, as thereby he has a better opportunity for surveying everything and seeing the more distant horizons."²⁰

The representatives of the other "Marxist-oriented" leftist groups in the SDPG are not in accord with the attempt to "modernize" Bernstein, assuming that Bernstein's revisionism doomed Social Democracy to a "reformist vegetating" and that this was a path "leading into a blind alley." Recently among these groupings, particular activity has been shown by the authors of the so-called Gottingen Theses which were published under the title "The Capitalist Crisis and Its Socialist Overcoming. Program Positions of Marxist Social Democrats."²¹ The document states that the basic contradiction of capitalism (between the development of productive forces and the nature of production relations) has

survived in the FRG with the simultaneous development of new trends and a change in the class structure; the question has been posed of working out a reform program designed for the transitional stage to socialism.

All of this shows that Marxism to a varying degree and in different interpretations nevertheless is present in the ideological positions of the most diverse currents in the SDPG.

This applies not only to the present. For example, let us take the most classic example of social reformism, the Godesberg Program, the very one in which, according to the official statement by the rightist SDPG ideologists, "Marxism was thrown overboard." An analysis of the Godesberg Program shows that the compilers of this program included in it, like it or not, a whole series of theses which stem from Marxist teachings. Thus, in the program they had to include a provision about socialism as the main guideline of the movement (although socialism itself has been rather hazily interpreted as a constant, never-ceasing task). They were forced to state that in a capitalist society, monopolistic capital has the determining influence on all spheres of society (although monopolistic capital itself figures in the program as the "power of the large enterprises") and the importance of nationalization is also recognized (although within limits which at the given moment are "essential"). All of this provided an opportunity for the researchers to conclude that an indirect influence of Marxism can be traced even in this probably most reformistic document of social democracy.

If one turns to the documents of the SDPG adopted two decades later, when definite shifts had occurred in this party to the left, then we observe that the social democratic theoreticians in a number of instances employ Marxist concepts. That the Social Democrats rely on Marxist works in analyzing the present state in the capitalist countries can be seen from the most recent document of a program nature worked out by the Commission on Basic Values under the SDPG Board (February 1982). In encountering the new phenomena in the political life of the FRG, in particular the fact that all sorts of "alternative" and "Greens" groupings have arisen and these have begun to be joined by a portion of the previously traditional Social Democratic electorate, the commission members (it includes representatives from the various currents within the party) set a goal of analyzing what should be the strategy of the Social Democrats subsequently: should they, as before, rely primarily on the working class or should they refocus to new social groups.

In examining this question, the compilers of the document "The Worker Movement and Changes in Social Awareness and Conduct"²² refer to the third volume of "Capital" by K. Marx, and in particular to the place where it is stated that in a society in which "associated producers" will work under conditions worthy of man, the production process will always remain the kingdom of necessity. The SDPG document even quotes a statement by Marx in "Capital" that under the conditions of the growing predominance of the urban population over the rural and the accumulation of this population in large centers, capitalist production disrupts the "exchange of matter" between man and nature. Marx and Engels, the document's authors emphasize, drew from this the conclusion of the need in the future to restore this "exchange of matter" by the planned transformation of industrial production, by which the natural basis of man will be preserved.

The SDPG document recalls that Marx in the work "On a Critique of Political Economy" called the abandoning of industrial development for the sake of conserving nature a "romantic notion" which opposes an uncritical approbation of industrial development in its capitalist form. The SDPG document quotes the words of Marx that such development will accompany capitalism until its end. The authors of the SDPG document also recall the statement of Marx in the third volume of "Capital" that society as a whole is not the owner of land. Society extracts benefit from it and is obliged, like a good family father, to leave it in even better condition to subsequent generations.

An examination of the given SDPG document provides yet another opportunity to illustrate the difference in the approach to Marxism on the part of the representatives of the individual social democratic parties. In speaking at the scientific conference "Karl Marx and the Modern World--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" held in Berlin in April 1983, the representative of the Dutch Labor Party, B. Tromp (incidentally, the very person who at the 1951 Socintern Congress urged the abandoning of Marxism) stated that in our times Marx has lost his pertinence. In giving arguments to back up his assertion, B. Tromp, in particular, said the following: "The thinking of Marx is too rooted in the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment which viewed the exploitation of nature and the victory over it as the greatest challenge of man.... The conservation of nature seems to us one of the main tasks of mankind. However, all of this requires the assuming of another spiritual position in comparison with the complacent arrogance of the Enlightenment."²³

We feel that in the given instance the compilers of the SDPG document showed a more profound knowledge of Marx's works than did the Dutch Social Democrat.

Finally, the fifth and probably one of the most essential factors for the turning of Social Democracy to Marxism has been the obvious failure of the strategy of social reformism which did not allow any of the ruling social democratic parties to go beyond capitalism (eloquent confirmation of this is the 44 years that the Swedish Social Democrats were continuously in power). Hence, the attempts appearing in recent years to revive the strategy and give it greater effectiveness.

Those social democrats who declare their adherence to Marxism are aware that the partial use of just the research method from Marxist teachings has not made it possible to influence the existing practice of social reformism. They endeavor in their own manner to understand the revolutionary essence of Marxism and in some way adapt it to the strategy of social reformism. As an example, the young socialists in the SDPG have worked out various concepts of "anti-capitalist" and "system-overcoming" reforms. From their viewpoint, for this it is essential to carry out a "dual strategy," that is, activities within the party and state institutions and at the same time the mobilizing of pressure on them from the masses.

The French socialists in turn have declared the need to "break with capitalism" and for the sake of the existence of this strategy have proposed relying on a policy of a "class front" and the concept of "self-governing socialism," viewing it simultaneously as both the means and the end of the movement. After coming to power in 1981, the PS [French Socialist Party] has adopted a number

of measures in the direction proclaimed by it (the nationalizing of a number of large enterprises and banks, improving living conditions for individual worker categories and a number of other social and administrative measures). However, at present the PS has encountered a whole series of difficulties (fierce resistance from the French proprietors and pressure from the international imperialist circles). Here the leaders of this party have shown inconsistency and hesitation and on the questions of foreign policy their pro-NATO orientation is becoming evermore apparent. The question is becoming evermore acute of whether it is possible to go beyond capitalism using a policy strictly oriented at reforms, even in an instance where this policy has a more directed nature in comparison, for example, with the reformist strategy of the West German Social Democrats.

In seeing all these difficulties, the ideologists of social democracy continue to turn to Marxism and reach conclusions which previously they did not allow themselves. Thus, the theoretician of the SDPG with a moderately leftist orientation, P. von Oertzen, in his work "A Marxist Basis for Democratic Socialism?" has stated that Marxism means a fully integrated theory from which it is impossible to arbitrarily remove individual elements. Social reformism, Oertzen explains, denies violence as a means of political struggle. However, it "will not permit blind legalism to disarm itself if its enemies abandon the grounds of the constitution."²⁴ The given argument echoes back to the well-known thesis of the 1926 Linz Program and to a certain degree points to those searches which are being carried out in social democratic circles in the aim of overcoming traditional reformism.

Oertzen establishes three forms of existing social democratic reformism. The first type of reformism, in being oriented solely at improving the situation of hired workers (full employment, economic growth, the corresponding share of the working class in social product, the maintaining and broadening of political democracy), merely "plucks at capitalism...without touching the essential structures of capitalism."²⁵ The second type of reformism also does not question the basic structures of capitalism, although it does endeavor to limit their impact on society by strict state control over economic power (including the nationalizing of key industrial sectors) and by economic and social planning. Oertzen calls the third type of reformism "socialist." It is based upon the following of the ideals of socialism as formulated by Marxism and carried out by specifically reformist means. Oertzen assumes that social democracy is moving between the first two forms of reformism. From his viewpoint, the social democratic movement, in being a mass one, "can and should operate" in a capitalist society and at the same time endeavor to go beyond it. For its own interests and for the sake of its socialist goal, social democracy should not question the rights achieved in a bourgeois democracy. Regardless of this, it should be ready to take a "revolutionary step toward socialism."²⁶

Oertzen does not explain how one concretely should understand a "revolutionary step," however his arguments are curious as an example of an attempt by social democratic ideologists to link the social reformist strategy with the possibility of resorting to revolutionary actions. In turn, this means a broader borrowing of the ideas from the arsenal of Marxist thought.

The above-voiced arguments and the cited facts make it possible, in our view, to draw a number of conclusions. An interest in Marxism in social democracy has survived in recent years. Here there has been a broad interpreting of Marxism. In contrast to the ideologists with a rightist orientation who consider Marxism merely as a method of analyzing capitalism, the leftist social democrats go farther and endeavor to rely on it in working out a "system-overcoming" reformism. Here both the leftist and the rightist social democrats, although to a differing degree, as before adopt a negative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. "...Between the Marxist-Leninists and the democratic socialists," commented the journal NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, "there are profound and insurmountable contradictions both in theoretical and practical political basic questions."²⁷ However, in criticizing "Leninism," at the same time such social democrats as P. Oertzen recognize that this "on the historical level is the most effective and strongest type of Marxism"²⁸ employed under the conditions of a "weakly developed country."

The communists themselves have also pointed out that there are profound, fundamental contradictions between Marxist-Leninist teachings and social reformist ideology and, correspondingly, theory. Here they decisively reject as unacceptable the attempts to view Marxism-Leninism as a distortion of the original Marxist teachings. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov, in his article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," particularly pointed out the creative approach of V. I. Lenin to the Marxist ideological heritage, emphasizing that: "...Only such a continuous self-regeneration of revolutionary theory under the impact of revolutionary practice makes Marxism a true science and an art of revolutionary creativity. This is the secret of the strength of Marxism-Leninism and its unfading freshness."²⁹

Social reformist ideology is an ossified phenomenon. It has been modified, in reflecting both changes in the social base of social democracy as well as changes in the conditions of existence of modern capitalism and in the balance of forces between socialism and imperialism on the world scene. Some and at times important Marxist theses are a component part of this ideology. Here the appeals to Marxism by individual socialist and social democratic parties and the currents comprising them vary, and this makes it necessary to analyze the different versions of social reformist ideology considering the designated circumstance.

Directly tied to this is a conclusion of practical importance concerning the problem of the relationships between the communists and social democrats. The use of Marxist terminology by the representatives of social democracy to a definite degree complicates a criticism of social reformist ideology, since for a whole series of questions one can detect an external similarity of views with the continuing differences of opinion over basic questions in the reshaping of capitalist society. But at the same time, this very similarity of views on a whole series of questions, particularly on the antimonopolistic stage of the struggle (the need to nationalize the means of production, the broadening of the role of the workers at enterprises, social reforms and so forth) creates the basis for a constructive dialogue and can contribute to the forming of a single action platform.

The 100 years which have passed since the death of K. Marx have demonstrated the great vital force of his ideas. Their impact continues to be felt in such a mass movement as social democracy which is attempting to work out its approach to Marxist teachings and adapt certain of its ideas to a social reformist course. The long history of the existence of social democracy shows that these attempts, in ignoring, as a rule, the revolutionary content of Marxism, are reflected predominantly in the area of theorizing and that its real reformist actions so far in no country have led it beyond capitalism.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 68.
- ² E. Bernstein, "Texte zum Revisionismus," Bonn, Bad-Godesberg, 1977, p 171.
- ³ "Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitags der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, abgehalten in Görlitz vom 18 bis 24 September 1921," Berlin, 1921, pp 314, 318.
- ⁴ "Sozialdemokratischer Parteitag 1925 in Heidelberg: Protokoll mit dem Bericht der Frauenkonferenz," Berlin, 1925, p 289.
- ⁵ See: "Provisorische Aktion-Programm," In: H. Drehsler, "Die Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SAPD)," Meisenheim an Glan, 1965, Vol 2, pp 20-23.
- ⁶ See: "Prinzipien-Erklärung. Aktionsprogramm," In: H. Drehsler, op. cit., pp 25-29.
- ⁷ K. Schumacher, E. Ollenhauer, W. Brandt, "Der Antrag des demokratischen Sozialismus," Bonn; Bad-Godesberg, 1972, p 20.
- ⁸ "Dokumente zur Parteipolitischen Entwicklung in Deutschland," (West) Berlin, 1963-1971, Vol 3, No 2, p 82.
- ⁹ Ibid., p 96.
- ¹⁰ J. Braunthal, "Geschichte der Internationale," Hannover, 1971, Vol 3, p 246.
- ¹¹ W. Brandt, "Freiheit und Sozialismus. Hrsg. vom Vorstand der SPD," Bonn, no year, p 6.
- ¹² See EL SOCIALISTA, Madrid, 25 May 1979.
- ¹³ CUADERNOS PARA EL DIALOGO, Madrid, No 264, 1978, p 13.
- ¹⁴ One of the last examples of such a different approach has been the selection of materials under the general heading "Karl Marx and Social Democracy" published in the theoretical organ of the SDPG, the journal NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, on the eve of the Marxian Jubilees (March 1983). In a brief editorial foreword, the reasons are explained for publishing the materials on this question and, in particular, it is pointed out that "...During an extended period

of SDPG history, the thoughts of Karl Marx have essentially defined its political and program development" (NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, Bonn, No 3, 1983, p 198). The articles by prominent Marxologists and specialists on the German worker movement examine from different standpoints such questions as: to what social democracy in the past was Marxist; what is the degree of influence of Marxism on the German workers movement; is the timeliness of Marx's works understood for modern economic thought; a closeness is voiced between a number of arguments by Marx and the demands put forward by the modern ecological movement; the leftist social democrat D. Albers explains why the groupings calling themselves Marxist on the organizational level continue to remain in the SDPG. Participating for the first time in the heated debate over the question "To What Degree Marx is Pertinent for Modern Times" organized by the journal were prominent Marxists from the GDR including the editor-in-chief of the SED theoretical organ, the journal EINHEIT, M. Banaschek and the rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SED Central Committee, O. Reingold.

- 15 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 6, pp 41, 45.
- 16 W. Brandt, "Friedrich Engels und die soziale Demokratie," Bonn, Bad-Godesberg, 1970, p 18.
- 17 NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, No 3, 1983, p 200.
- 18 Ibid., p 207.
- 19 "Historische und aktuelle Aspekta der Programmatik und Politik der SPD. Materialien eines Kolloquiums am Institut für Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED in Berlin vom 21 März 1975," "Thematische Information und Documentation," Berlin, 1975, No 10, p 66.
- 21 H. Heimann, "Marxismus, Revisionismus und Reformismus in der Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung," AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, Bonn, 12 March 1983, p 24.
- 21 See: "Göttingener Thesen II. Die kapitalistische Krise und sozialistische Überwindung. Programmatische Positionen der marxistischen Sozialdemokraten," Göttingen, 1980.
- 22 "Die Arbeiterbewegung und der Wandel gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins und Verhallens. Ein Diskussionspapier der Kommission der Grundwerte beim SPD, PARTEIVORSTANDES, Bonn, February 1982, 55 pages.
- 23 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 April 1983, p 9.
- 24 See P. von Oertzen, "Eine marxistische Grundlegung des demokratischen Sozialismus? Thesen zu einer offenen Frage," In: "Demokratischer Sozialismus-Geistige Grundlagen und Wege in die Zukunft," Munich; Vienna, 1980, p 95.
- 25 Ibid., p 98.
- 26 Ibid., p 105.

27 NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, No 3, 1983, p 198.

28 P. von Oertzen, op. cit., p 88.

29 KOMMUNIST, No 3, 1983, p 22.

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INTERNATIONAL

FOREIGN ACTIVITIES OF AFL-CIO ASSESSED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 83 (signed to press 24 Nov 83) pp 93-107

[Article by M. P. Dimin: "The U.S. Trade Unions: Foreign Policy Course"]

[Text] The position of the U.S. trade union movement on the questions of war and peace and its attitude toward the imperialist foreign policy of the ruling circles are in no way simple or uniform. In worker circles, the influence of the ideology of national chauvinism is still high and this has given rise to a sort of worker technocratism and a conviction that a high level of defense outlays maintains employment on a proper level. The propaganda of the bourgeois mass information media constantly instills and maintains this conviction.¹

These factors explain the extended passivity of the trade union masses toward the war in Vietnam. At that time a number of trade unions initiated demands directed to the government to increase military outlays and even threatened liberal congressmen who were against allocations for new types of weapons. Also known is such an excess as the beating up of an antiwar student demonstration by construction workers in May 1970 in New York.

Changes in the attitudes of the working masses on the questions of war and peace began occurring when the number of human losses on the fronts in Vietnam began reaching significant figures and when ever-greater numbers of worker families began receiving the remains of the deceased. These changes also became apparent as a result of the ever-greater exacerbation of social problems and the evermore apparent link between the impossibility of resolving these problems and the enormous military outlays.

In recent years, the antiwar movement in the United States has been characterized by the growing involvement of the trade unions in it, including both the members of the AFL-CIO as well as the independent, rank-and-file members and leaders of various levels, even including certain members of the executive of the nation's basic trade union center. At present, this movement has assumed a nation-wide character.

The inner logic inseparably links the struggle against the aggressive U.S. foreign policy with the struggle for social and economic rights of the workers. This link has become particularly obvious in the 1980's, when the American trade unions had to repel a new offensive by capital on their vital interests

and democratic rights. The Republican Administration of R. Reagan, in coming to power, has commanded a planned offensive on the standard of living of the workers and on their social victories.

The more than 10 million officially registered unemployed, inflation, increased prices and the further curtailment of social programs--these are certain results of the term of the Reagan Administration in power. It is expected that in the future it will not alter its course established at reducing the standard of living of the working masses.

The burden of the experienced socioeconomic crisis to a significant degree is intensified by the arms race fostered by Washington. The excessive military outlays absorb enormous amounts of money (in the 1984 fiscal year, 280 billion dollars were allocated for them) and they reduced the already meager expenditures on social needs.

At the beginning of the 1980's, the problem of military outlays was repeatedly raised at many trade union congresses. Their participants demanded the immediate adopting of measures to reduce the number of American armed forces and defense outlays and pointed to the fact that the broadening of military production "is the least effective means for combating growing unemployment." The demands for reducing defense outlays echoed from the rostrum of the 14th AFL-CIO Congress (November 1981) where they mentioned "the futility of the completely unjustified increase in military outlays by the R. Reagan Administration which "for the economy is fraught with catastrophic consequences" and "is being financed by reducing vitally important programs." The official leadership of the AFL-CIO has been forced to recognize this and it to some degree has endeavored to consider the mood of the working masses in order not to be at the tail end of events.

In recent years, the top level of the AFL-CIO has felt an ever-increasing pressure and not only from the rank-and-file trade union members, the lower and middle leadership levels, but also from the leaders of certain major trade unions and even from the members of the Federation's Executive Council. One cannot view as an accident the fact that the resolution of the AFL-CIO Executive Council urging the Senate to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty was adopted by 17 votes to 4. It is also no accident that this resolution has essentially remained just on paper.

The times have forced the Federation's leaders to maneuver evermore intensely, to adapt to the changing situation and at times even to join in the mass protest movements. L. Kirkland and other rightist leaders of the AFL-CIO, on the one hand, have come out against a "revising of priorities" and the excessively high military budget and have criticized the economic policy of the R. Reagan Administration aimed at further reducing the standard of living of a significant portion of the workers. On the one hand the official AFL-CIO leadership has sided with White House foreign policy as has been repeatedly stated in resolutions of the Executive Council sessions and in other documents. For example, in aiding the powerful antiwar marches by the workers in Washington in 1982-1983, the rightist AFL-CIO leaders at the same time have essentially nullified these positive actions in attempting to direct the movement not against the real internal enemy but rather against the supposed overseas enemy. "To

conduct such a policy," the veteran of the American workers movement Herbert Case has correctly written, "is like trying to ride two horses going in opposite directions."²

The upper leadership of the basic trade union has not gone any farther than recognizing the lethal consequences of growing defense outlays for the American workers. The credo of the rightist U.S. trade union leaders--cooperation with the ruling class on the basic foreign policy questions--remains unchanged.

As is known, for the official AFL-CIO leadership over many decades there has been a characteristic strong anti-communism which largely determines their international activities. The position of the Federation's leadership expresses the paradox frequently encountered in history where the rightist trade union leaders at times conduct a more reactionary policy than the realistically thinking representatives of the bourgeoisie itself. The rightist trade union leaders have been among the most fervent enemies of socialism since the formation of the world's first socialist state. "All our attempts not to permit a second Russian revolution (having in mind the October Revolution in Russia--M.D.) have ended in failure,"³ wrote S. Gompers, the then AFL leader, with regret in 1917.

"Since the time of Samuel Gompers," pointed out the well-known progressive researcher of the American worker movement, George Morris, "the position of the trade union leadership on foreign policy questions has been worked out solely by the Federation's chairman. There never has been a polling of opinions nor a discussion among the Federation's members of the problems of foreign policy, war and peace. The congresses have been attended solely by the superior leadership of the corresponding trade unions. And the statements on international questions which have been approved at the congresses have been prepared in secret by a handful of figures from the international section."⁴

The enormous trade union bureaucratic apparatus (in the United States there are 1,400 rank-and-file members for every trade union functionary⁵) ensures the binding nature of the leadership's decisions for the trade union masses, regardless of the own positions of the latter. The upper group in the nation's basic trade union center, proceeding from false premises which are in a clear contradiction with actual reality, has divided the world into "democratic" and "totalitarian" regimes, having put the socialist countries among the latter. For several years now it has been in favor of strengthening U.S. military might and has insisted on a reorganization of NATO so that this aggressive bloc "would increase its military might and strengthen its positions as a political instrument."⁶ At one time the Federation's leaders supported the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the founding of NATO, U.S. aggression in Korea and Vietnam and many other imperialist actions by the U.S. ruling circles. Regardless of criticism over the question of victims among the civilian population in Lebanon, the current AFL-CIO leadership has repeatedly stated its support for Israel in the struggle against the PLO.

One can agree with the opinion of the prominent American historian and trade union leader, Sidney Lens, that "the trade union upper clique is a component of the military-industrial complex."⁷ In the words of Lens (he wrote about this in another work), the AFL-CIO leaders "have been able for the U.S. administration to do what it itself never could do, that is, to create a trade union

basis for conducting a Cold War policy in many nations of the world.... Without the trade union leadership, American imperialism would have been in greater isolation and the political map of our planet would have been significantly less conservative."⁸

The assumption of the post of chairman of the AFL-CIO by Lane Kirkland in November 1979 and who replaced G. Meany who for a long time stood at the head of the trade union association (he headed the Federation since 1955), as a whole did not alter the pro-government foreign policy course of the Federation. Kirkland himself prior to 1979 had taken a direct part in the working out of AFL-CIO policy on the international scene. While still holding the position of secretary-treasurer of the trade union center, he was a member of the directors council of the Institute of Free Trade Unions which was active in Western Europe and a director of the Afro-American Trade Union Center. President J. Carter included Kirkland in a committee organized by the White House (on the cabinet member level) for supervising the work of the ILO. Upon the recommendation of L. Kirkland, J. Carter in February 1980 took the decision to return to the ILO. At present, the chairman of the AFL-CIO and his supporters on the Federation's Executive Council are employing U.S. participation in this international organization for increasing anti-Soviet activities in it.

In conducting an active anti-Soviet and anticommunist policy, the leaders of the basic American trade union association have insisted on carrying out a more rigid policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. They have attacked the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for its refusal to adopt a strategy of economic warfare against the USSR and the other socialist countries, in particular, on the question of building the Siberian--Western Europe gas pipeline. In fully supporting the anti-Polish "sanctions" of the R. Reagan Administration, Kirkland and other AFL-CIO leaders have gone even farther, insisting on the hardening of these measures and arguing also for the use of other "economic and political levers" for such intervention in the aim of "putting pressure on the outcome of events" in Poland.⁹ "We were simply disappointed when we learned of such mild sanctions which the president adopted on the question of events in Poland,"¹⁰ stated the chairman of the East Coast dock workers trade union T. Gleason who is well known for his anticommunist views in March 1982.

Kirkland himself has repeatedly stated that he was not satisfied by the government's measures. In an interview (May 1982) the chairman of the AFL-CIO, to the question of what, in his view, the Reagan Government should have done to support "Solidarnosc," replied: "It should have declared Poland to be in default and also impose an embargo on all deliveries to the Soviet Union."¹¹ In actually siding with the most reactionary elements, Kirkland and others sharing his views ignore the fact that the policy of "sanctions" harms primarily the American workers themselves.

Even in September 1980, the AFL-CIO Executive Council had established an "assistance fund for Polish workers" with an initial contribution of 25,000 dollars. Soon thereafter this fund already exceeded 200,000 dollars and this money was used to support antisocialist forces in Poland.¹² As is known, a portion of this money (50,000 dollars) was spent on purchasing printing machines for publishing and disseminating subversive literature in Poland. The American trade union center has also employed money for subsidizing the publishing of a

special bulletin destined for Poland. Its content leaves no doubt. Even a representative of the U.S. State Department, as was pointed out by the WASHINGTON STAR has recognized it as "very provocative."¹³

The official organ of the Federation the AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS, in taking up the international activities of the American trade union center and in specializing in subversive actions against the socialist countries, has admitted that precisely support from the West has been a condition for the existence of antisocialist forces in Poland. It has been pointed out that this was directly stated to a representative of the magazine by "one of the Solidarnosc leaders who fled Poland."¹⁴ On the pages of the August issue of this bulletin in 1982 (literally all its issues during this year were full of provocative materials on events in Poland), L. Kirkland, in actually inciting the counterrevolutionary groups in Poland to act against people's [communist] power, stated: "The game is still not up." And he emphasized that he approved their "tactics."¹⁵

Such obvious intervention by the AFL-CIO leaders into the internal affairs of Poland is explained to some degree by their close ties with the CIA. "The CIA in Europe. The Essence and Criminal Activities of the U.S. Secret Service" is the title of a small book by Julius Mader published in the GDR by the Military Publishing House Militär-Verlag.¹⁶ The well-known public affairs writer and the author of the book "Who is Who in the CIA" (Berlin, 1968) on the basis of rich factual material shows how the main U.S. espionage agency carries out secret assignments aimed against the socialist countries, the international workers movement and the national liberation struggle.

At the Congress of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1981 the book "The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW" was brought to the attention of the delegates.¹⁷ Its author, Victor Reuther, who at one time held the position of the leader of the UAW International Section and a co-worker of the CIO International Section, frankly revealed the ties of the AFL and AFL-CIO leaders (after the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955) with the CIA in the postwar times. These ties subsequently led to corruption and to an undermining of worker solidarity in the Federation's leadership. In a section entitled "The AFL-CIO in the Service of the CIA," V. Reuther describes how the leaders of the American trade union association wove together an entire network of their organizations in various regions of the world. In line with this the book often mentions the name of Irving Brown, the agent of the AFL-CIO in Europe and simultaneously a CIA agent, well known to the American trade union community since the 1930's as the "right hand" of the then leader of the AFL Department for International Affairs, J. Lovestone. During those years, he played an evil role in subversive activities in the French workers movement and in splitting the WFTU.

At an AFL Congress in November 1948, I. Brown, in expressing satisfaction with the first results of his activities in France, pointed out that the trade union organizations which had joined the reformist "Force Ouvrière" Association, "were almost corpses but it had been possible to resurrect them due to our trade union aid, due to American assistance."¹⁸ Brown had also devoted a good deal of effort to undermining and splitting the World Trade Union Federation. In the above-mentioned book, V. Reuther describes how Brown tried to set up in France an anti-trade union committee similar to the one which in the United

States was headed by the House of Representatives member Martin Dace. Reuther relates that Brown recruited the lamentably well-known Ferri Pisani and his Corsican thugs, gave them the name of the Mediterranean Transport Workers Committee and financed their strike-breaking operations. This was a dummy organization financed by the CIA for certain purposes. The CIA provided the most extensive financial aid via Brown to strike breakers in Italy and Greece.¹⁹

In the words of V. Reuther, Brown traveled through Europe with "unbelievably large amounts of money" which he received from the CIA. A whole series of documents from the office of the former AFL-CIO chairman included in the book by Joseph Goulder confirms this assertion.²⁰

Possibly it would not be worth making this digression into the past of Irving Brown if in mid-1980 his name had not resurfaced on the pages of the trade union and general political press on the occasion of Brown's appointment to the high position in the hierarchy of the American trade union center of chief of the AFL-CIO International Section. Brown collaborated closely with the now retired rabid anticommunist Jay Lovestone. Ernst Lee (the son-in-law of George Meany) who took over for Lovestone in 1974, soon after the death of his patron, was forced out by Kirkland (the position of head of the George Meany Archives was specially created for Lee) in order to free this job for Brown.

In recent years, Brown has carried out his activities heading the AFL-CIO agency in Europe. After the death of Meany, Kirkland broadened his powers as the emissary of the American trade union association to the ILO and then to the International Conference of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) where the AFL-CIO had returned. Brown's name has acquired wide renown in recent years in line with his active efforts as one of the coordinators of the CIA-inspired provocative campaigns against Poland. The appointment of Brown to one of the leading positions in the AFL-CIO has been viewed by many American trade union leaders as an obvious indication that the Federation's upper clique intends, in following the policy of the Reagan Administration, to harden its anticommunist course, to intensify subversive operations and ideological provocations against the socialist countries and for these purposes to more closely maintain ties with the CIA the funds of which support these activities.²¹

At the beginning of 1983, the White House announced the initiation of a broad propaganda campaign for American "democracy" abroad. During the current year they plan to allocate 20 million dollars from other budget programs for these purposes and in the 1984 fiscal year some 65 million dollars. The first concrete measures within this plan set out in the report of the Secretary of State George Shultz evoked dissatisfaction from many members of Congress. "I cannot imagine precisely what this program could achieve except creating complications for us," stated the House of Representatives member from Pennsylvania, the Democrat Peter Kostmeyer who urged the government to abandon the program. "In essence this looks like an American show costing many millions of dollars." "The more we reflect about this idea, the greater concern it causes," said Joel Pritchard (House of Representatives member from the state of Washington) in summing up the opinion of many Congressmen. He voiced the fear that many countries will view the program as the "the sowing of discord."²² However, Secretary of State Shultz has described the designated plan merely as the start of a long imminent campaign. "There is no need being nervous about democracy," he stated tersely to the legislators.

Among the numerous points in the "democracy plan" a special role has been assigned to the international activities of the AFL-CIO and in particular they intend to increase aid to the foreign programs of the nation's basic trade union association, including "information on foreign policy and defense" (4.8 million dollars have been allocated); providing "aid" to "democratic" trade unions and national trade union centers..."in particularly important regions and countries" (3 million dollars is to be allocated).²³

By mid-1983, the governmental "democracy program" aimed at intensifying global ideological subversion by American imperialism began to assume a specific outline. In April, upon the initiative of R. Reagan, a so-called "national fund for the support of democracy" was established and official Washington intends to employ this as a weapon for flagrant intervention into the affairs of other countries, primarily the developing ones, under the guise of various "parties," "trade union" and "entrepreneurial" organizations. The official AFL-CIO leadership viewed the decision to establish the "fund" with satisfaction. Thus, L. Kirkland, in explaining how the Federation intends to employ the funds being channeled to it, stated that the activities of the "national fund in support of democracy" would be carried out from the example of the "aid to those who are fighting to maintain Solidarnosc in Poland," and that the American trade union center "has rich experience" in this area, the AFL-CIO chairman pointed out. The appointing of Kirkland as a member of the board of the Federal International Broadcasting Agency under whose aegis the subversive American Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe operate, clearly shows that this experience in the near future will become "even richer."

The AFL-CIO Department for International Affairs carries out extensive and diverse activities including five basic elements: these are the four system of branches encompassing four major geographic regions (Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia) as well as an extensive system for influencing the trade union movement in the countries of these regions. This involves the personnel from the American embassies virtually throughout the world. This fifth subdivision of the AFL-CIO Department for International Affairs consists of persons who officially have a diplomatic career but in fact carry out splintering functions in the worker movement of various countries. They are called "attaches" for labor questions or "trade union charges d'affaires." The well-known French journalist Alain Geraine in one of his articles in L'HUMANITE gave convincing evidence according to which many of the "attaches" had been unmasked as CIA agents.²⁴ For example, it is known that J. Lovestone at one time personally chose the attaches for labor questions for the U.S. embassies abroad.²⁵ Obviously, little has changed since then.

The AFL-CIO leaders at present link their far-reaching Western European plans with the activities of a series of international organizations, in particular, with the ICFTU. The 14th AFL-CIO Congress adopted a decision that as of 1 January 1982 the trade union center would resume its membership in the ICFTU. Thus, after a 12-year absence, the American trade unions have resumed their place in this international organization. In 1969, the AFL-CIO had withdrawn from it due to the reason that the ICFTU "had become excessively leftist" (Meany). The strategy of the AFL-CIO leaders at that time pursued a completely definite goal of forcing the leaders of not only the ICFTU but also the Western European trade union centers to abandon any contacts with the trade unions in

the socialist countries and with organizations which were members of the WFTU. Of important significance was the fact that, in withdrawing from the ICFTU, the AFL-CIO deprived it of substantial amounts of money paid in the form of membership dues. This, in the plans of the leaders of the American Federation, should serve as an additional incentive for the ICFTU leadership to revise their policy in the spirit sought by the American trade union leaders.

Although the split in the workers movement is an undesirable phenomenon, however a majority of the trade unions which were members of the ICFTU viewed with satisfaction the withdrawal of the AFL-CIO from the confederation. Ludwig Rosenberg who at that time held the post of the chairman of the Association of German Trade Unions, stated on this question: "We will have fewer members and less money but on the other hand we will have more freedom."²⁶

During the absence of the AFL-CIO in the ICFTU (incidentally, the American trade union leaders never lost contact with it), contacts between the member organizations of the ICFTU and the WFTU were broadened and the influence of the leftist forces was strengthened in the trade union movement of many countries.

Under these conditions, in 1977, the AFL-CIO set up the so-called Free Trade Union Institute for conducting work in the Western European trade union movement. "The increased influence of communists in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal is a threat," said the former head of the Department for International Affairs of the AFL-CIO, E. Lee, explaining the aims of the activities of his institute in Western Europe. "The establishing of the Free Trade Union Institute is our method of doing something when the ICFTU is not doing enough."²⁷ At the end of the 1970's, the AFL-CIO leadership actively supported the turn toward anti-detente which was commenced by the Carter Administration and began to be even more sharply carried out after the arrival of President R. Reagan in the White House. The preparations for the return of the AFL-CIO to the ICFTU began to be carried out precisely in the wave of anti-detente. In January 1982, L. Kirkland spoke about the aims which the AFL-CIO was pursuing in returning to the ICFTU. At present, he emphasized, the situation dictates a more active involvement of the trade unions in international affairs, a stronger influence of the American trade union center in the international trade union movement, the establishing of an extensive network of support points in it and the strengthening of the already existing ones.

Among the latter is the American Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unions operating in Latin America, the American-Asian Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unions and the Afro-American Trade Union Center established in the 1960's. All these organizations are financed by the governmental International Development Agency and receive around 8 million dollars annually from it.

From the Marble Palace on 15th Street in Washington, where the AFL-CIO headquarters is located, invisible threads have run out to many Latin American, Asian and African countries. A majority of the personnel at the American Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unions the leader of which is the AFL-CIO chairman has been recruited from the Cuban counterrevolutionary emigration and here the number-one enemy is viewed to be the trade unions of socialist Cuba. Around 1,100 of the institute co-workers have undergone training at a

special school in Virginia. The AFL-CIO through this organization has taken a direct part in overthrowing the legitimate governments in the Dominican Republic, Chile and before in Brazil, Guyana and other countries.²⁸ As is known, according to data at the end of 1979, the graduates of the American Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unions "created or reorganized" more than 500 trade unions in the Latin American countries and recruited 63,000 new members for them.²⁹ Up to November 1979, the International Development Agency had provided the Latin American trade unions with 1.5 million dollars from its own loan fund.³⁰

A similar institute working in Asia helped the CIA carry out under the institute's cover around 1,000 acts of ideological subversion in India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Turkey, Nepal, the Philippines and in other countries.³¹ Using the channels of this organization, the institute ran thousands of trade union activists in the Asian countries through its "brainwashing machine."

The CIA operations in this region have been extremely diverse. For example, in India, it has employed such procedures as the murdering of the most progressively inclined leaders of the working class on supposedly religious grounds. In the Philippines, the CIA has endeavored to split the trade union movement into hundreds of small unrelated organizations. The American trade union bosses through the Asian Institute have endeavored to discredit the unliked trade union leaders in Thailand through the bribed press and so forth. As was announced in January 1982 by the India Press Agency, the Washington administration together with the AFL-CIO leadership has accelerated the working out of plans for using this trade union association as a tool of the U.S. espionage agency. Under the pretext of providing "support to democratic institutions" in the developing states, the IPA pointed out, Washington intends to shift significant amounts of money to various regions of the world, including India, for establishing pro-American groupings and supporting government-opposed organizations and their press organs. The more active than before involvement of the AFL-CIO in the subversive CIA activities shows, in the opinion of Indian observers, that Washington does not intend to take lying down the increased anti-American moods in the world, and primarily in the developing countries.

At one of the recent sessions of the Indian Parliament, deputies from different parties labled the secret financing carried out by Washington for political parties, trade unions and press bodies in other countries, including India, as "flagrant U.S. intervention into the internal affairs of sovereign states."

Through the AFL-CIO the CIA has been particularly and extensively active in Africa. The branches of the Afro-American Trade Union Center headed by P. O'Farrell (the friend and protector of the traitor of the Angolan people J. Savimbi) are active in 31 countries. According to the data of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, over 10 years of activity (from 1965 through 1975) by this organization, its schools have trained more than 100,000 persons, approximately 10,000 persons a year.³²

The national trade unions in Africa are presently a growing political force. This force was particularly apparent in the anticolonial struggle and has been playing an ever-increasing role in the domestic and foreign policy of the young

African states. Considering this, the reactionary U.S. trade union leaders have endeavored to implant a pro-Western leadership in the African trade union movement, to divert it to a reformist path and to force it to obediently serve foreign and African capital. Any trade unions which act against U.S. rule become the victims of unabashed slander, as was the case, for example, with the All-African Trade Union Federation and the trade union associations of a number of African countries which established contact with it. They worked out a whole program of measures which was to be carried out through the Afro-American Trade Union Center. In 1981, it was decided to establish within this institute a department for coordinating the AFL-CIO efforts in South Africa and for contacts with individual trade union groupings, with the ICFTU and the international sectorial associations siding with the ICFTU as well as a "special trade union fund" for financing AFL-CIO operations in South Africa and sending American trade union "advisers" there on short special missions and so forth.³³ In accord with this program, in September 1982, a delegation of American trade unions headed by the Deputy AFL-CIO Chairman S. Chaikin made a 2-week visit to South Africa.³⁴ According to announcements from Johannesburg, the South African Minister for Manpower Utilization S. Botha had high praise for the results of the trip by the AFL-CIO emissaries in South Africa and also gave the bosses from this trade union association the right "to conduct instructions" in the South African trade unions.

In 1983, the AFL-CIO made new attempts to strengthen its influence in the South African worker movement. As was announced in June by the Johannesburg newspaper SUNDAY TIMES, the U.S. trade union bosses in the near future were planning a whole series of specific measures to provide "aid" to the South African trade unions. These measures envisage the political indoctrination of the South African trade union leaders with the use of various lectures, course training and the granting of subsidies for study in the United States. According to the evidence in the African press, it is a question of influencing the South African workers in believing in the possibility of a nonviolent solution to the problems of the nation's nonwhite population. The American trade unions have preached the theory of "class peace" at a time when the racist authorities in Pretoria have strengthened repression and physically exterminated the trade union leaders. However, far from everyone in the South African trade unions has fallen for the intrigues and tricks of the U.S. trade union leaders. "Many trade organizations in South Africa," pointed out France Presse, "have been suspicious of the AFL-CIO delegation the members of which, according to press announcements are directly tied to the American CIA." Thus, leaders of two African trade unions refused to meet with the AFL-CIO representatives. "The upper group of this trade union center," emphasized one of them, the leader of the trade union for motor assembly plant workers, in a statement, "supports the criminal policy carried out by the Reagan Administration of so-called 'constructive cooperation' with the Pretoria regime. Moreover, we refuse to maintain ties with organizations which hold conciliatory positions toward entrepreneurs."

On the occasion of the trip of the AFL-CIO to South Africa, the South African Trade Unions Congress distributed a special statement on this question. The document contains an appeal to all South African workers to thwart the AFL-CIO intrigues which defend the interest of big business and support South African aggression in Angola and the colonialist policy of Pretoria toward Namibia.

"The attempts of the American union bosses to deceive the African workers, to win them over and make them concede to big business," emphasized the organ of the South African Communist Party AFRICAN COMMUNIST, "are encountering growing resistance from the South African working class which sees in the AFL-CIO and the Afro-American Trade Union Center co-participants in dirty machinations by American imperialism on the continent."

Facts convincingly show that the forms and content of the AFL-CIO international activities depend primarily upon the foreign political tasks of American imperialism in one or another interval of time. The positive changes noticeable in the American trade union movement recently have not involved the nature of the international activities of the major American trade union association. "The foreign policy apparatus of the AFL-CIO," wrote S. Lens, "has become still another international organ of the U.S. government and which is just as counter-revolutionary a force as the government itself."³⁵ The enormous, extensive foreign political apparatus of the AFL-CIO is an obedient assistant of the U.S. ruling circles in support of their imperialist policy and in the struggle against progressive forces and governments "not to their liking" in other countries.

As we have endeavored to show, the international activities of the reactionary AFL-CIO leaders are closely linked to the militaristic foreign policy course of the U.S. ruling circles. In largely supporting this course, they, however, are encountering ever-increasing resistance both from the American trade unions (independent as well as those in the Federation) as well as from the worker organizations outside the United States. Although the scope of this resistance is still not so great, there are indications that the opposition to the reactionary foreign policy "Kirkland line" will increase.

The scope of the antiwar movement and the activity of the workers in it depend not only upon the interest of the masses in solving a certain foreign policy problem but also upon their awareness of the necessity of resolving this problem in their own interests. Precisely an insufficiently-felt awareness of the importance and consequences of the imperialist policy carried out by their government repeatedly in U.S. history has doomed broad strata of the American workers to idleness. "Since the end of the war (World War II.--M. D.)," pointed out W. Foster, "the organized working class has been concerned with resolving domestic economic and political problems and has paid little attention to foreign policy."³⁶ The comparatively weak resistance of the trade union masses to the aggressive policy of the U.S. ruling circles can be explained, on the one hand, by the insufficient activity of the worker rank-and-file which for many years has been exposed to chauvinistic propaganda and, on the other, the insufficient militance of the trade union activists themselves where their isolated efforts have often not produced the proper effect. For this reason, in taking up the question of the degree of involvement of the trade union masses in the antiwar movement, it is essential to consider these important circumstances.

Until 1967-1968, the position of the American working class could be judged only from the statements of the Federation's leaders as the voices of the antiwar opposition could scarcely be heard. In subsequent years, they still have not been heard at full force, however they are still significantly louder than

before the Vietnam War. Spontaneous actions by organized workers in the struggle for peace and against militarism and war more and more often have recently been replaced by organized forms of protest.

Last year, the world witnessed the largest antiwar demonstration in U.S. history and this brought together on 12 June in New York a million fighters for peace representing 130 political, trade union, youth, women's and religious organizations. The organizers of the demonstration felt that in the nation there had emerged a period of a "awakening of conscience" which, as they hoped, would create grounds for subsequent efforts to influence the foreign policy course of the Washington Administration. Many industry trade unions actively joined this movement. A significant portion of the June demonstration was made up of trade union members and many of them were officially delegated by their organizations. For example, it is known that the large and influential International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers authorized 10,000 of its activists to participate in this demonstration.

More and more often actions against war, against the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons are coming to the center of attention of a whole series of trade union forums. Thus, appeals to freeze nuclear arsenals were made by delegates at the annual congress held in 1982 of the nation's second largest trade union, the National Teachers Association (1.6 million members). The same appeal was made from the rostrum of the congress of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees with a membership of around 1 million workers. In speaking at this congress held in June 1982 in Atlantic City, New Jersey, the Federation's chairman G. McEntee pointed out that the halting of the arms race is the most important of all the questions discussed by the delegates. The Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees became the first trade union in the United States to come out in favor of a nuclear freeze.

Various searches are underway for practical ways to oppose the militaristic course of the Reagan Administration. For example, the congress of the Nurses Association with more than 165,000 medical workers, adopted a resolution which speaks of its determination to boycott the "Civil Defense" plans worked out by the White House in the event of nuclear war. The report emphasizes that these plans are aimed at persuading the public that nuclear war is "admissible" and that it does not exclude the "possibility of survival" of those prepared for it.³⁷

Coming out against the threat of nuclear war and the arms race were prominent trade union figures who participated in a symposium organized in New York in April 1983 by the editors of the magazine NEW WORLD REVIEW. "Our organization," stated the chairman of the United Council of Fur, Leather and Garment Industry Workers, G. Foner, is proud of the fact that it has never stood on the sidelines of the struggle for peace." Having decisively condemned the anti-Sovietism of the Reagan Administration, the trade union leader stated: "The anticommunist hysteria led the United States into the morass of the Vietnam War. At present, it is being used to organize U. S. intervention into the affairs of Central American countries such as Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. Our duty is to say a categorical 'No' to this policy."³⁸

A new feature in the movement against the arms race and for the freezing of nuclear weapons is the use of all levels of the political mechanism by its participants. Millions of Americans including trade union members took an active part in the voting and referendums on the question of nuclear weapons control and in the discussion of this vitally important problem by various elected bodies. It is very likely that up to now no U.S. administration has ever encountered such a phenomenon.³⁹

An important result of the powerful pressure from below can be considered the obvious fact that it has forced the raising of the demand on a nuclear weapons freeze onto the agenda of not only the local and staff authorities but also the U.S. Congress which has had to discuss this question. An immediate freeze on the nuclear arsenals has been demanded from the U.S. ruling circles by the trade unions of metallurgical, garment and textile workers, food workers, teachers, fur workers and electricians.... "Never over the last 30 years has the American public been so concerned by the increased danger of a new world war," wrote the chairman of the trade union of service sphere workers G. Sweeney in the union magazine SERVICE EMPLOYEE.

In April 1983, a representative congress was held in San Francisco bringing together 200 trade union leaders. The militaristic course of the Reagan Administration and its lethal consequences and the struggle for peace and against an unchecked arms race--these were the questions focused on by the conference. The preparatory work for the trade union forum commenced a year before its convening. When the energetic activities of the conference organizers (they were primarily Northern Californian trade unions) became public knowledge, the leader of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, Irving Brown, and the director of the American Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unions for Latin America, William Doherty, urgently began to prepare for their own "counterconference." It was held somewhat earlier than the San Francisco one.

While the officious conference convened by the leadership of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs was permeated by a Cold War spirit and rabid anti-communism characteristic for the Federation's conservative leaders, at the San Francisco conference the reactionary foreign policy course of the current U.S. administration which threatens to develop the nuclear arms race into a global catastrophe was decisively rejected and thoroughly criticized.

All the working people of America have no more important task than ensuring the possibility of living in peace, stressed the trade union conference in San Francisco. The Reagan Administration, the delegates said, should finally realize this and abandon its expansionistic, aggressive plans in various regions of the world.

The main speaker at this conference was the president of the Association of Machine Building and Aerospace Workers, the Vice President of the AFL-CIO William Winpisinger. He accused the ruling circles of Washington of a desire to carry out the arms race at the expense of the vital interests of the workers. A curtailment of unproductive defense outlays could, in his opinion, bring the economy out of many of the chronic ailments, including mass unemployment. "A billion dollars spent on weapons," stated W. Winpisinger, "provides 45,800 jobs while the same amount invested into civilian sectors could provide work for 98,000 persons."⁴⁰

Winpisinger condemned the plans to prepare for a "star war" which are being hatched by extremist circles in Washington and who are endeavoring to extend the arms race into space.

The trade union leaders who spoke at the San Francisco conference described the overseas activities of the AFL-CIO as "mass social espionage" and "international company unionism." From the conference rostrum rang an appeal "for carrying out an honest domestic and foreign policy" by the leaders of the nation's main trade union center.⁴¹

The great march on Washington held on 27 August 1983 was a powerful antiwar protest by the American workers. The mass demonstration which brought together 400,000 persons (including over 80,000 trade union members) was timed for the 20th anniversary of the famous march on Washington in 1963 headed by Martin Luther King. Following hot on the heels of the march which stirred the nation under the motto "For Labor, Peace and Freedom," on 5 September the traditional Labor Day was celebrated in 150 U.S. cities. According to announcements of the AFL-CIO Department of Information, over a half million persons took part in it. The voice of the peace supporters resounded literally in all corners of the United States.

A major event was the trip to the Soviet Union in August 1983 by a delegation from the U.S. International Association of Machine Builders and Aerospace Workers headed by its leader William Winpisinger. The delegation from one of the largest, most militant American trade unions (around 1 million persons) was invited to the USSR by the AUCCTU and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Heavy Machine Building Workers.

Having particularly broad international repercussions was the meeting of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov, with the American delegation. On behalf of the member workers of his trade union, W. Winpisinger presented Yu. V. Andropov with a metal plate with an engraved image of two hands in a handshake symbolizing the United States and the USSR and with the inscription "In a Spirit of Friendship and a Desire for Lasting Peace for All People of the World."

Yu. V. Andropov expressed heart-felt gratitude for the friendly words from the American workers, having emphasized that he viewed this as a manifestation of the desire of the U.S. workers to develop friendship with the Soviet people and to strengthen relations of peace and cooperation between our countries and thereby the entire world. If the hand of friendship is extended to us, said Yu. V. Andropov, it will always receive a sincere handshake from the Soviet people.

Yu. V. Andropov pointed out that the USSR knows and respects W. Winpisinger not only as a leader of one of the major trade union and the vice president of the largest trade union association in the United States but also as a public figure dedicated to the ideas of peace and cooperation between peoples.

The Soviet Union, Yu. V. Andropov stressed, considers as its primary task to attempt to prevent the dangerous development of events and to strengthen peace.

We do not want an arms race either on the earth or in space from where mankind could be threatened by a new mortal danger, if militarism is allowed to have its way.

In conclusion Yu. V. Andropov took up the contacts between U.S. and Soviet trade unions. We are in favor of such contacts, he said, and for their development but, of course, on principles of equality and mutual respect and without any discrimination. At present, both the AFL-CIO leadership and the U.S. authorities are doing everything to prevent contacts. As for us, we are for the broad development of ties and friendly contacts between the Soviet and U.S. workers as well as for an overall improvement in relations and peaceful cooperation between our countries.

W. Winpisinger thanked Yu. V. Andropov for the thorough statement of the Soviet viewpoint on the important questions of Soviet-American relations and the struggle to strengthen peace. He had high praise for the efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at checking the arms race and strengthening the bases of peaceful coexistence. The U.S. workers, he emphasized, also want a lasting peace and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. The constant development and broadening of contacts between the trade unions and all workers of both our countries are one of the dependable ways for strengthening mutual understanding and lasting peace.⁴²

W. Winpisinger made a trip through a number of our nation's cities. "We were always convinced that an improvement in the international situation is in the interests of the citizens of our countries," he stated at a press conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents held at the Palace of Labor of the AUCCTU on 23 August. "We were again convinced how important and useful are the contacts between the Soviet and U.S. trade unions. We have the full moral right to say that this trip went successfully."⁴³

The conversation of Yu. V. Andropov with the American trade union leader attracted close attention in the American mass information media. The chairman of the Joint Council of the U.S. Fur, Leather and Garment Industry Workers Union G. Foner described the statements of Yu. V. Andropov as new convincing proof of the constructive and flexible line assumed by the Soviet Union at the weapons control talks. "I have no doubt that the meeting of the Soviet leader Yu. V. Andropov with the prominent American trade union leader, the AFL-CIO Vice President W. Winpisinger, will make an important contribution to improving relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States," stated the editor of the trade union newspaper LABOR TODAY, Fred Gabory. "There is no doubt that the peace-loving policy of the USSR," he went on to emphasize, "will find full support among the American workers. It is no accident that recently more and more trade union leaders in the United States have come out against the militaristic course of the Reagan Administration and against American intervention in various regions of the world, primarily in Central America. They are urging a turning away from a policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and the establishing of relations of mutual understanding and cooperation with it."

A significant portion of the working class has become involved in analyzing and expressing its attitude toward the acute social and political problems of

America. This, as we see, cannot be ignored by certain most far-sighted trade union leaders who to some degree endeavor to consider the mood of the broad working masses. Time will bring forward new leaders who will endeavor to revive the organized workers movement in the United States and channel it into the struggle for social progress, for achieving lasting peace, against the absurd and senseless arms race and against the threat of nuclear war.

Although many detachments of the American trade unions are still not involved in this struggle, as a whole the antiwar movement of our times reflects the growing awareness of the trade union masses and many trade union leaders that the military expenditures and arms race lead to a decline in the workers' standard of living. The trade union demands to alter the national economic priorities are being incorporated in the contents of the new stage of the working class's struggle during which there will be a choice in the direction of socioeconomic development corresponding to the interests of the American people.

The broad involvement in the struggle against the threat of war and for freezing nuclear weapons will bring the trade union movement closer to the general democratic movement and this will create prerequisites for increasing class awareness and the sociopolitical role of the organized workers movement.

Postscript

In October 1983, the next 15th AFL-CIO Congress was held at which the central place was taken over by such problems as the state of the U.S. economy, the socioeconomic course of the administration and the related deterioration in the position of the workers. A distinguishing feature of the given congress was the particularly sharp tone of criticism directed at the Reagan socioeconomic policy. The congress came out for creating a unified anti-Reagan block of trade unions and electing a Democrat in the 1984 presidential elections. In this regard, a decision was adopted to support the candidacy of W. Mondale.

As has been repeatedly the case in the past, at the last AFL-CIO Congress, the rightist upper clique of the trade union center came out with an anticommunist, anti-Soviet statement. The resolution on the incident involving the South Korean airliner was in the same spirit.

But still at this congress the conservative trade union leaders did not succeed in fully imposing their will. For the first time in many years, they had to make certain concessions to the opponents of the militaristic course. They were forced to agree to important changes in the text of a resolution dealing with nuclear weapons. Initially, the draft resolution stated: "In the trade union movement, as in our society, many support a bilateral nuclear freeze. There are also those who are inclined to be skeptical of the possibility and necessity of conducting talks on such a freeze." In the adopted wording it states: "Among our members, as throughout our society, a majority is in favor of an inspectable bilateral nuclear freeze. Others are skeptical." The text of the resolution also included a sentence which had been completely lacking in the first version: "The nuclear arms race should be halted and turned back."

All of this shows that although the conservative AFL-CIO upper clique as before has assumed militaristic positions and supports the aggressive course of Washington, it is finding it evermore difficult than during the Meany times to fully ignore the demands of the broad trade union masses.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ POLITICAL AFFAIRS, No 11, 1970, p 37.
- ² DAILY WORLD, 25 April 1982.
- ³ Quoted in: P. Foner, "The Bolshevik Revolution," New York, 1967, p 35.
- ⁴ G. Morris, "Rebellion in the Unions. A Handbook for Rank-and-File Action," New York, 1971, pp 82-83.
- ⁵ For comparison, we would point out in Italy and France, for example, for each trade union functionary there are approximately 1,900 rank-and-file trade union members (see "SShA: obostreniye sotsial'nykh protivorechiy i massovyye demokraticheskiye dvizheniya" [The United States: Exacerbation of Social Contradictions and Mass Democratic Movements], Moscow, 1980, p 114).
- ⁶ AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS, No 3, 1973, p 1.
- ⁷ S. Lens, "The Military-Industrial Complex," New York, 1970, p 101.
- ⁸ S. Lens, "Labor Lieutenants and the Cold War," in: "Autocracy and Insurgency in Organized Labor," edited by B. H. Hall, New Brunswick (New Jersey), 1972, p 311.
- ⁹ AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS, No 2, 1982, pp 1-5.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., No 3, 1982, p 8.
- ¹¹ NEW YORK TIMES, 13 May 1982.
- ¹² WASHINGTON STAR, 5 December 1980.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS, No 8, 1982, p 2.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ J. Mader, "CIA in Europa. Wesen und verbrecherisches Wirken des Geheimdienstes der USA," Berlin, 1982.
- ¹⁷ V. Reuther, "The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW," Boston, 1976, pp 411-427.

- 18 Ibid.
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- 20 J. Goulden, "Meany. The Unchallenged Story Man of American Labor," New York, 1972, pp 377-378, 385-386.
- 21 DAILY WORLD, 30 June 1982.
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- 25 Ibid.
- 26 DAILY WORLD, 17 June 1969.
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- 28 A. Coldrick and P. Jones, "International Dictionary of the Trade Union Movement," New York, 1979, p 1039.
- 29 "Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. 13th Convention. November 15, 1979," Washington, 1979, p 214.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid., pp 217-218.
- 32 "Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. 11th Convention. October 2, 1975," Washington, 1975, p 137.
- 33 AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS, No 8, 1981, pp 3-4.
- 34 Ibid., No 11, 1982, p 5.
- 35 S. Lens, op. cit., p 323.
- 36 W. Z. Foster, "Problems of Organized Labor Today," New York, 1946, p 16.
- 37 NEW YORK TIMES, 18 February 1982.
- 38 DAILY WORLD, 10 April 1983.
- 39 See: Ye. N. Yershova, "The Movement for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze Gains Strength," SShA: EKONOMIKA. POLITIKA. IDEOLGIYA, No 2, 1983, p 56.
- 40 PEOPLE'S WORLD, 4 June 1983, p M-2.
- 41 Ibid.

⁴² PRAVDA, 18 August 1983.

⁴³ TRUD, 24 August 1983.

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INTERNATIONAL

CONFERENCE REPORT ON LDC TRADE UNION FORMATION REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 83 (signed to press 24 Nov 83) pp 162-165

[Conference report by L. K. Tumanova: "Problems in the Formation of the Working Class in the Liberated Nations"]

[Text] In June 1983, the Institute for Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences held a scientific-theoretical meeting on the problems of the formation of the proletariat in the liberated countries. Participating in it were co-workers from other institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences including the IMEMO [Institute for the World Economy and International Relations], the IMRD [Institute for the International Workers Movement], the INION [The Institute for Scientific Information on Social Sciences], the Africa Institute, the Latin America Institute as well as the Institute for Asian and African Countries under Moscow State University [MGU] imeni Lomonosov.

In an introductory speech, the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim emphasized the importance of the problem of the formation of the working class and studying its limits and structure under the conditions of the present-day scientific and technical revolution. The problem of the working class and the working movement has presently disclosed new, insufficiently studied aspects. The particular features of the formation of the working class have been caused, in particular, by the construction of large capital- and scientific-intensive enterprises. Also specific are the factors influencing the working class, its class awareness and its role in the developing world.

The key report "Particular Features of Formation and Social Limits of the Proletariat in the Liberated Countries" was given by Doctor of Economic Sciences L. A. Fridman (ISAA [Institute for Asian and African Countries]) and Candidate of Economic Sciences S. V. Voronin (IV [Institute for Oriental Studies]). The report posed three questions: the approach to defining the social limits of the working class, assessing the shifts in the present-day proletariat in the course of industrialization and comparing characteristics of the industrial proletariat in the developing and developed capitalist nations.

The speakers pointed to the validity of interpreting the working class under the conditions of a mixed society in the "broad" and "narrow" (strictly political economic) sense of this concept. The working class of the liberated nations

in the "broad" meaning of this concept includes all hired workers as well as certain groups of minor officials and employees and a portion of the peasantry, artisans, smallest merchants and others who have only formally maintained their "independence." In the narrow sense, as was pointed out in the report, this is the modern proletariat, that is, workers of large capitalist enterprises. The tie of the present-day proletariat with large-scale production, a high level of concentration and organization and consistently revolutionary aspirations are inseparable properties of its class nature. Along with the modern proletariat there are also workers involved predominantly in small-scale pre- and semicapitalist production. These are the two basic groups of hired workers.

In the opinion of the authors, the modern proletariat and hired workers in small-scale production possess a different social nature. In this context, particular importance is assumed by the question of the boundary separating large-scale and small-scale (in the political economic sense), "modern" and "traditional" production. "Large-scale" in the broadest socioeconomic sense, as was pointed out in the report, is "modern" (that is, in its nature capitalist) production. In the industrial sectors of the economy, qualifying enterprises have over 10 or 20 workers, as a rule, they have machine tools and mechanisms and employ mechanical and electrical energy. The workers employed at such enterprises can be considered among the modern proletariat. In addition, it includes virtually all railroad workers, port workers, workers in automotive, air and pipeline transportation and communications and skilled construction workers; workers at large trade and service enterprises may also be included in this. In agriculture, the modern proletariat is represented by the regular workers of the state farms, plantations and other entrepreneurial farms as well as rural equipment operators. "Semi-capitalist" production includes primarily small enterprises and institutions which, in using (along with "family") hired labor and sometimes machines as well, provide expanded reproduction and develop in the direction of capitalism. However, at such enterprises the concentration of labor and capital and, consequently, the development of the antagonism between them has not yet reached a stage where they could be considered as "actually capitalist." Also among the semi-capitalist entities one could put the comparatively large farms in terms of the number of employed workers and which are characterized by a combination of capitalist and precapitalist methods of exploitation.

In the Asian and African nations, more or less significant detachments of a modern proletariat have already formed. The modern industrial and agricultural proletariat in the nonsocialist countries of Asia and Africa numbers around 50 million persons or 8-9 percent of the gainfully employed population (4-5 percent in the 1950's). The industrial proletariat, in the estimates of the speaker, comprises the basic portion (75-80 percent) of the modern working class in the liberated countries.

There have also been enormous shifts in the socioprofessional structure of the modern working class in the liberated countries with the proportional amount of workers with industrial-type skills increasing by approximately 10-fold. During the first stages of industrialization in the liberated countries, there was a tendency for a temporary strengthening of the socioprofessional heterogeneity in the modern industrial proletariat but the prevalent trend in these countries is one toward its class consolidation on the basis of large-scale production.

The authors of the report feel that the modern Asian and African proletariat in terms of both its number and qualitative characteristics as a whole lags substantially behind the workers in the developed capitalist nations. However, over the last two or three decades, the indicators for the concentration, skill level, education and overall sociocultural level of the industrial proletariat in the developed and developing countries have not only come closer in quantitative terms but have also become qualitatively much more comparable. In the not distant future, one can expect the appearance in the Afro-Asian countries of a rather numerous contingent of industrial workers the qualitative indicators of which will be fully comparable with the characteristics of workers in the industrially developed states.

The correct defining of the place and role of the proletariat in the developing countries requires a study of the entire diversity of features and a consideration of the interaction of the quantitative and qualitative indicators of its formation. Of particular importance is a weighted assessment of the new features introduced by industrialization in the appearance of the proletariat and the surviving impact of tradition and backwardness. Only such an approach, as the speakers emphasized, will help in correctly analyzing the objective prerequisites of the working class and the entire balance of class forces in the liberated countries.

The report of L. A. Fridman and S. V. Voronin evoked an extensive debate. All the speakers emphasized the pertinence of posing the problem.

In the course of the debate, various opinions were voiced on the problems raised in the report. In particular, there was a difference of opinions in the approach to the concept of the "modern proletariat" and to defining the social limits of the working class. Candidate of Historical Sciences M. N. Yegorova (IV) felt that the attempts by the authors to define the limits of the modern proletariat and workers involved in small-scale and semi-capitalist production on the basis of such criteria as "large" and "small" production, are a step away from the defined political economic quantitative criteria for the proletariat's class features. The term "modern proletariat" at a certain stage of research is essential for isolating the stratum of workers involved in developed capitalist systems from the mass of semi-proletarian strata of the peasantry and urban lower classes, but this term does not have a precise political economic basis. In speaking about the similarity of the class nature of the modern proletariat in the developing countries and the proletariat of the industrially developed countries, the authors of the report, in the opinion of M. N. Yegorova did not bring out the political economic content of those criteria which make it possible to judge the level of the "constructing" of the proletariat in the developing countries as a class. Only an aggregate consideration of the socioeconomic, sociopsychological and political-ideological aspects of the formation of the class provides a notion of the similarity and differences of the modern proletariat in the developing countries and the working class of the industrially developed states.

In the opinion of Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. S. Popov (IMRD), in the report the concept of the "modern proletariat" is incorrectly identified with workers employed at any capitalist enterprise. The term "modern" can be used only when the need arises of defining the limits within the capitalist sector.

The lack of a clear understanding of the limit between "modern" and "unmodern" has brought about inflated estimates of the modern, that is, factory-plant proletariat in the developing nations.

Doctor of Historical Sciences M. I. Braginskiy (Africa Institute [IA]) pointed out that the term "modern" in relation to the proletariat of the Asian and African countries can be employed in the instance that it is related to the actually existing conditions on these continents and not compared with conditions in the developed capitalist nations. With such an approach the concept of the modern Afro-Asian proletariat must include not only the industrial workers but also other groups of the working class. In this event in terms of composition and structure it will differ substantially from the working class in the developed capitalist nations. M. I. Braginskiy pointed out that the authors of the report, in defining the modern proletariat as the working class of large enterprises, did not indicate with sufficient clarity where the boundary lies between large-scale and small-scale production.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. G. Rastyannikov (IV) pointed to the need to clarify a number of criteria contained in the report. He noted the absence of political economic analysis in examining a number of important questions. On the level of political economic analysis it was not clear, in particular, what groups of the population could be put in the working class. The authors have "disregarded" the principle of property relations. These relations, as V. G. Rastyannikov emphasized, are established on the basis of analyzing those socioeconomic structures to which the hired worker has been "ascribed." The problem of establishing groups of hired workers in terms of the relationship to ownership needs further discussion. The authors did not develop the approach to the social types, commented Doctor of Historical Sciences V. G. Gel'bras (IMRD) and did not emphasize the presence of several such groups: worker-entrepreneur, semiworker-semipeasant, regular worker and so forth. The report merely mentioned the precapitalist enterprises. In this context one must point out that in the coming years in the developing nations the number of workers will increase in small--both industrial and craft--enterprises. The small enterprises comprise a special sphere for the reproduction of capital and all social life in these countries.

Candidate of Economic Sciences O. Z. Mushtuk (IA) spoke on the lack of an elaborated system of criteria for defining the working class in the developing countries. The employed stereotype of the working class was elaborated previously in terms of a developed society. Attempts have been made to "adapt" it to the African working class, although the process of its class formation has been marked by great diversity. O. Z. Mushtuk pointed to the need of clarifying the concepts of the upper and lower boundary layers of the working class in the developing countries. In the opinion of Doctor of Historical Sciences I. V. Kiva (IV), the terms and schemes given in the report are helpful but they themselves do not provide a real analysis of what the working class in the developing countries presently is.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. L. Sheynis (IMEMO) raised the question of how sufficient now are the previously generally accepted criteria for defining a class generally and the working class in particular.

The exchange of opinions showed that debated questions remain over the qualitative shifts in the working class of the developing countries, its socio-professional structure, class consolidation and maturity. In his speech Doctor of Economic Sciences G. K. Shirokov (IV) took up the problems of the general and the particular in the process of the proletariat's formation in Western Europe and the United States and the developing countries. It was pointed out that the report exaggerated the common patterns of this process and underestimated its specific features in the liberated countries. In India, in 1977, there were 3.3 million small enterprises employing 24 million hired workers, while at the same time in large-scale industry there were around 6 million hired workers. This shows the predominance of the process of the disintegration of the labor force. In the opinion of G. K. Shirokov, the report exaggerated the development of a trend toward the consolidation of the working class in the liberated nations.

The questions of the dynamic formation of the proletariat were reflected in the speech by V. G. Rastyannikov. In particular, he pointed out that in the developing countries, under the conditions of the influence of the scientific-technical revolution, there has been a need for a new type of employee. The pauperization of the workers has increased simultaneously. There are many intermediate stages of labor, too. Frequently, a hired worker actually plays the role of a "semisystem" worker. The report's authors, in the opinion of V. G. Rastyannikov, did not succeed in bringing out the socioeconomic essence of this concept.

Candidate of Historical Sciences E. S. Kul'pin (IMRD) devoted his comments to the problems of the relationships of a class and its surroundings. In the developed countries, the working class is the basic laboring class. In the developing countries, this class can become the basic one only under certain conditions, and namely with the presence of certain natural resources. With the present equipment and technology, the providing of jobs for the population of the developing countries would require the resources of three or four worlds. The existence of two detachments of the working class--the modern proletariat and the workers employed in small-scale production--is still inevitable. In the developed countries, the differences between them are not very great. There is a different situation in the developing countries. In line with the restrictions on the development of modern industry in these countries, the problem of intermediate production methods is acute. The development of the latter will provide for the growth of a working class which will possess particular socioeconomic interests and the corresponding political orientation.

The speakers also touched on other aspects in the process of forming the working class. Doctor of Historical Sciences I. B. Red'ko (IV), in particular, drew attention to the questions related to the formation and reciprocal penetration of permanent migratory flows in the developing world. The existence of several types of migrants determines the different political behavior of the workers. Candidate of Historical Sciences E. N. Komarov (IV) pointed out that in examining the factory-plant proletariat, one cannot dispense with an analysis of the forms of its exploitation. Up to now a large portion of it has been subjected to secondary forms of exploitation.

Doctor of Historical Sciences G. I. Mirskiy (IMEMO) pointed to the importance of the sociopolitical aspects in the formation of the working class. The lack of power in the hands of the bourgeoisie in a majority of the liberated nations has determined the specific features of the class struggle. Class distinctions are still muted. Religion, tribalism and caste relations blur the picture of the class struggle in the developing nations and these factors must not be underestimated. Only a clear idea of the "possibilities" of the working class and the atmosphere surrounding it will make it possible to answer the question of the role of the individual detachments of the working class in the revolutionary process. O. Z. Mushtuk feels that the working class in Africa is very active. The trade unions are a barometer of the attitude of the African masses toward government policy. In research on the working class it is essential to pay attention to the questions of the formation of its sociopolitical make-up.

Doctor of Economic Sciences A. I. Levkovskiy (IV) in his speech emphasized the specific features of the class struggle in the developing countries. The description of the working class of these countries reflects the development of capitalism which has not become the "all-determining" formation. Here capitalism has a fractional nature. As capitalism grows "in breadth" the heterogeneity of the working class will be strengthened. Various detachments of the working class are opposed by various groups of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the proletariat can be "opposed" not by private property but rather by the state. The factory-plant proletariat in the developing countries is represented by three detachments: the workers in the state sector, the private national sector and the foreign sector. All of this determines the particular features of the class struggle.

The discussion disclosed a varying attitude on the part of those present toward the estimates contained in the report on the social role of the modern proletariat in the Afro-Asian countries. In particular, E. N. Komarov felt that it is difficult to speak about the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat in the developing countries, but it is essential to talk about the positive, qualitative shifts. V. L. Sheynis noted the too optimistic nature of the assessment of the modern proletariat (as "objectively moving into the vanguard of the struggle of all the people" and so forth), since this does not reflect today's situation in these countries. A. V. Kiva spoke about the authors' exaggeration of the role of the modern proletariat in the developing countries.

There was an extensive exchange of opinions over the thesis raised by the report's authors on the drawing closer of certain characteristics in the modern proletariat in the liberated nations and the workers of the industrially developed nations. In the opinion of Ye. S. Popov, this thesis is valid from the viewpoint of the long run and the constructive potential of the working class in the developing countries. But if one proceeds from an analysis of the present stage of historical development, there are enormous differences. The authors, he pointed out, have resorted to formal indicators (the level of skills, education and so forth), in disregarding their sociopolitical content. V. G. Gel'bras voiced disagreement with the thesis of any drawing together, having emphasized that in the liberated countries there are fundamentally different conditions for the rise of the working class and different conditions in the trade union movement; the development of the class "in itself" and "for itself" is occurring under different conditions. Only a portion of the working

class--the workers at large industrial enterprises--in terms of their status come close to the workers in the more developed nations, pointed out M. I. Braginskiy. Candidate of Historical Sciences O. B. Gromova (IA) said that the authors have correctly pointed out a drawing together of the proletariat in the developed and developing countries. In denying this, she pointed out, certain speakers exaggerated the ties of the workers with the countryside and with the land. Candidate of Economic Sciences V. I. Dol'nikova (ISAA), from the example of Thailand, showed that a modern proletariat is being formed in mixed-system countries under specific conditions, but in it one can see those qualitative features which bring it closer to the proletariat of the developed countries.

In a concluding speech L. A. Fridman emphasized the need for defining the working class of the developing countries from different viewpoints. He pointed out that the "overtaking" nature of the evolution in Afro-Asian society is reflected in the changing social make-up of the worker. The report's authors proceeded from this in an analysis of the shifts in the working class of the liberated nations. The general theoretical positing of the problem is not sufficient. A study of concrete facts is essential. This will make it possible to disclose the combining of the traditional and the modern inherent to the process of the formation of the proletariat in the developing countries.

The fruitful exchange of opinions and a clarification of approaches and viewpoints will contribute to further progress in research on the timely problem of the formation of the proletariat in the developing countries. The participants in the debates emphasized the interdisciplinary nature of the problems and the need in working them out of concentrated efforts by economists, political scientists and social psychologists.

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BOOK ON 'THIRD PATH' OF DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA, AFRICA REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 83 (signed to press 24 Nov 83) pp 177-180

[Review by S. L. Agayev of the book "Vostok: Idei i ideologii (Kritika burzhuaznykh i melkoburzhuaznykh kontseptsiiy 'tret'yego puti' razvitiya" (The East: Ideas and Ideologies (A Critique of Bourgeois and Petty Bourgeois Concepts of the 'Third Path' of Development)) by L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa, Moscow, Nauka, 1982, 256 pages]

[Text] The development of orientalist research in our nation has been marked over the last decade by the appearance of a significant number of general works on various fundamental problems related to the history, modern socioeconomic and political development, ideology and culture in this vast region as a whole.

Among the general works one could also put the reviewed book by the Soviet orientalist L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa and devoted to a critical analysis of the concepts of the "third path" of social development which are widespread in the national liberation zone, to an elaboration of their typology and to elucidating the effect on the general direction of the ideological and political struggle. One of the editors in charge of the book, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim, has prefaced it with an introduction which examines a methodologically important problem: the ratio of social and national factors in the liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples at various stages of its development and the impact of these factors on the spiritual development processes in the Afro-Asian countries. G. F. Kim thus formulates the basic task carried out by the monograph's authors: "To disclose certain general trends in the enormous and at first glance disheartening diversity of phenomena in the spiritual life of the liberated states, to attempt to outline certain main lines of development and at the same time show the logic of the process not in isolation from the diverse flow of spiritual life in the overseas East, but in it itself, primarily through 'portraits' of political leaders and ideologists in the modern national liberation movement" (p 14).

In accord with this task the book is divided into two parts: the first examines the historical trends and present directions of development of social thought in the Eastern nations while the second takes up the ideological views of certain national leaders and ideologists. Certainly such a division to a certain degree is arbitrary and an analysis of the basic directions of social thought cannot be carried out without reference to the ideological concepts of

specific leaders. For this reason, characteristic of the first part of the monograph is the extensive reference to the corresponding statements and concepts of the various ideologists. Here, in essence, such ideological concepts are almost fully set forth such as, for example, the ideology of Neo-Gandhianism in modern India, the "White Revolution" in the Shah's Iran and so forth.

The treatment of the basic subjects of the book is preceded by a generally successful attempt at an historical typologization of the non-Marxist ideological currents in the Eastern nations (although the basis of the typology proposed by the authors is not devoid, in our view, of a certain schematicism). An informative chapter initially examines the formation of the main directions in the ideology of the national liberation movement as it occurred prior to the start of the 20th Century, and then the ideological currents in the period of recent history are isolated in this movement, in particular, in terms of the conditions of state independence. Here predominant attention has been given to such concepts the core of which also comprises the so-called "third path." The content of the following chapters is organized to a significant degree as a response to two questions relating to the role and importance of traditions (predominantly religion) in the ideological and political life of modern Eastern societies: in the first place, the question of the role of traditions in the shaping of notions about the "third path," and, secondly, the importance of them as a means in the political mobilization of the masses.

By traditions, the authors write, in the given instance one must understand "lasting forms of social practice and spiritual activity which have formed over the course of historical development" (p 40) and "the heritage of pre-bourgeois, so-called traditional society in which the institutions and concepts existing in the past act as the basic form of reproducing the given social system" (pp 40-41).

The end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, as is known, have been marked by an increased popularity of religious-shaped concepts of a "third path" appealing to precolonial religious traditions (including the traditions of early Islam) and propagandizing the creation of a separate (distinct from Western) Islamic society. The given phenomenon, however, in no way can be characterized simply as some "recoil to traditionalism." The creators of the designated concept (even among the religious figures) have abandoned, in essence, only the Westernist forms of modernization and support positions of "synthesizing" the traditional and the modern. "In customary religious forms," the book emphasizes, "here are present searches for a distinct path of social development which differs from the Western" (p 44). This certainly valid conclusion is all the more important as in statements by individual scholars, well reasoned assessments of a scientific theoretical order which are based upon the objective realities of the Eastern nations, including the level of mass social awareness, at times are replaced by some form of moral or ethical judgment deriving predominantly from the modern notions of a moral ideal.

What has been said, certainly, must not be understood in the sense that views of a moral or ethical nature cannot generally occur in scientific research. The book quite validly points out: "The appeal of the petty bourgeoisie to the past is determined by a need to compensate for its own inability to resolve the objectively existing contradiction between the desire of the Eastern peoples to

overcome poverty and backwardness in maximum short historical periods and the possibility of embodying this aspiration in life. This contradiction is reflected in a "fanatical form" in the socioeconomic, political and philosophical theories of the 'third path' of development" (p 45). When such a "fantastic form" of reflecting a real contradiction shifts into the area of actual reality where the violent imposition of religious forms of morality becomes foremost, then the views of the corresponding order naturally gain a "right of citizenship." But in any instance the priority is for views of a class nature, since the given aspect of the clergy's activities conforms not only to its own corporative interests but also to the interests of those social classes which are endeavoring to create new models of development which are distinct from the Western ones. Here, as the book rightly points out, one must not forget the conservative aspect of absolutizing traditions and their use by the ideologues of the "third path" as a "barrier against communism."

At the same time, we would like to draw attention to the conclusion of the lack of a "direct relationship between the degree of development of the Asian and African nations and the use of traditional institutions and ideas as a means for the political mobilization of the masses" (p 51). We feel that the opportunities for such a use of traditional institutions must be viewed not in comparison with the "degree of development" in general; these must be linked with the degree of preserving the traditional social structures (which in virtually all the developing countries is exceptionally great) or, in a number of instances, on the contrary, with the scale of destruction of these structures in the course of bourgeois modernization. Indicative here is the example given a little later in the book of Iran and other countries "which in the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's demonstrated comparatively high rates of bourgeois modernization of society (ibid.). Complete consideration of the designated circumstances, we feel, would have made it possible to disclose not the absence but rather the presence of a completely definite pattern making it possible to employ traditional institutions as a means of politically mobilizing the masses.

Very interesting is the section of the book dealing with the prerequisites for stability and the diversity of concepts for the "third path" of development under present-day conditions. Unfortunately, an analysis of these prerequisites is limited basically to the attempt to theoretically explain the not completely successfully formulated question of the "need to simultaneously carry out *general democratic* and *social* (emphasis mine--S. A.) tasks" (p 53), although later it is quite validly pointed out that "the general democratic transformations have always been carried out predominantly in the interests of certain social forces" (p 55). As a whole, the conclusion is indisputable that the growth in the developing countries of the scope of the general democratic tasks, including those engendered by the development of capitalism, is the basic objective factor determining the persistence of the "third path" ideology. Also true and important is the pointing out of the need "to see the difference between the crisis in the content of this ideology and the crisis of its influence" (p 57). But in this instance a number of questions arise on the subjective and in particular the gnoseological factors contributing to the lasting impact of the "third path" ideology on the minds of people in the developing countries. However, the book does not provide an answer to these questions.

Attention should be given to the specific analysis made by the authors of the bourgeois-conservative, bourgeois-liberal and radical-petty bourgeois varieties of the concepts of the "third path" of development. In particular detail (and, it must be said, with great scientific-analytical and literary skill) the authors analyze the inner "mechanism" of the ideology of the "White Revolution" which not without reason has been described as a "classic bourgeois-conservative doctrine" (p 78). The book also examines the South Korean official doctrine, the ideological views of the opposition pro-monopolistic circles in India and mentions the official doctrines of the authoritarian regimes of modern Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Among the bourgeois-liberal concepts of the "third path" of development are the ideological platforms of the Indian National Congress, the Party of the Pakistani People, the official ideology of Tunisia and others. In contrast to the bourgeois-conservative doctrines which express the interests of the upper (including the monopolistic) bourgeoisie, these concepts cannot be uniform in their focus as in reflecting the interests of the middle and lower groups of the bourgeoisie, they at the same time bear the "imprint of the influence of petty bourgeois Utopian aspirations and at times revolutionary ideals" (p 85). Hence, the constant struggle of the groupings within this current. As a whole, the basic purpose of the bourgeois-liberal doctrines of a "third path," as the book points out, "consists in neutralizing the petty bourgeois, intermediate strata and preventing the independent revolutionizing activities of the masses basically by political maneuvering and political compromise. As a rule, this has been accompanied by attempts to create a 'synthesis' of authoritarian political procedures and the strategems of the parliamentary democratic game...." (p 92).

The book pays most attention to the petty bourgeois theories of the "third path" of development which have recently become particularly widespread. As an example, the book gives the concepts which have prevailed in Indonesia and Bangladesh up to 1965, in Kampuchea up to 1973, in Libya in the 1960's and 1970's, in Iran since 1979 and others. The corresponding theories differ from the bourgeois ones in their greater intolerance of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, by the posing of the question of the need for mass methods of struggle and by the open proclaiming of the inapplicability of the bourgeois alternative (primarily in its "European version"). However, here the denial of capitalism is limited by a defense of petty ownership interests and this leads to a conscious rejection of individual ideas of scientific socialism (pp 99-100). The spectrum of the various types of petty bourgeois theories is a broad one: from radical to conservative. "Although they all bear the imprint of the duality of the petty bourgeois psychology, the interests of the worker which are dominant in the ideological currents of the first type create conditions for a revolutionary surmounting of the restrictiveness of the "third path" while the petty ownership trend prevents a strengthening of the noncapitalist element and the drawing closer to socialism" (p 100).

The development of the first of the designated trends is examined from the example of Afghanistan (also considering the experience of such countries as Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia and others). Very interesting is the conclusion that the appeal to Islam--for directly opposite purposes--by the representatives of the polar sociopolitical forces of Afghanistan in and of itself is

proof of the "far reaching processes of secularization in social awareness," although at the same time, "for the enormous mass of the population, particularly the rural which is still under the sway of the Middle Ages, Islam operates as an integrated ideological system; over the centuries all reality has been perceived through the prism of Islam" (p 146). Under these conditions, the appealing of the revolutionary government to the egalitarian elements of early Islam is a form of carrying out a program of secular content and of a consistently democratic anticapitalist nature.

The second of the above-mentioned trends is examined from the example of the attitude of the followers of these theories to such questions as the social ideal, economic models, the problems of democracy and rule of the people, social revolution and so forth. A great deal of attention is given, in particular, to the "Sarvodayi" ("Universal Prosperity") Program of the Socialist Party of J. P. Narayan in India, to the concept of a "Islamic society" in Iran and others. Ayatollah Khomeini and the former president of the Islamic Republic of Iran Bani-Sadr, in our view, quite rightly have been put among the adherents of the petty bourgeois concept of an "Islamic society." The authors have not felt it possible to follow the view of Bani-Sadr encountered in the literature as an expressor of the interests of bourgeois-liberal circles, a view deriving not so much from the ideological and theoretical views of the former president as from his practical political activities in 1980-1981. However, it must be assumed that a complete and thorough consideration of the nature of these activities would have permitted the authors to concretize the above-noted trend for the development of the petty bourgeois "third path" doctrines, and to show their inherent potential for relatively rapid evolution in a bourgeois direction. It is no accident that Ayatollah Khomeini, almost immediately after removing Bani-Sadr from the post of president and establishing direct political rule by the clergy in Iran, actually followed the same path.

From what has been said, one other essential conclusion follows. Within such a comparatively recent ideological-political phenomenon as is the concept of an "Islamic society" which brings together under its banners both the clergy as well as the representatives of the secular petty bourgeois circles, the basic watershed in this concept from the very outset has run not so much along the line of the social content (as certain authors have proposed) as in relation to the idea of establishing the direct political rule of the religious forces. What the reviewed book styles as the "Utopianism of a theocratic abstraction" in the Iranian model of an "Islamic state" aimed at reinforcing the power of the clergy (p 127) has now merged into the first Shiite theocracy in the modern world. In the given embodiment the idea of "rule of the people" which led the petty bourgeois populist ideologists in the Iranian revolution has become merely a "figleaf" of totalitarian dictatorship by the Islamic clergy. In other words, on the political level the basic distinction between the religious and certain secular representatives of the concept of an "Islamic society" has come down to the form of reflecting the interests of the petty bourgeois sociopolitical forces. The question has been put as follows: will these forces exercise state power independently, through their more or less democratically elected representatives, or will their participation in the decision taking process be mediated by a theocratic dictatorship sanctified by the name of Allah, the Prophet and the Imams and by the blessing of the "Moslem people"?

The second part of the book, as was already pointed out, is devoted to an analysis of the ideological positions of certain national leaders and ideologists. Here the book examines the problem of the nation and nationalism in the interpretation of J. Nehru, the social ideals of the popular Indian poet and prominent Moslem reformer M. Iqbal, the ideological constructs of Mujibur Rahman, the theory of "democratic revolution" of F. Marcos, and the "third world theory" of M. Qadhafi. In a vividly written form the authors show the complexity and contradictions of the character and way of thought of a whole galaxy of creators of "third path" concepts, concepts which, as is pointed out in the Postscript to the book, not only express the illusoriness of the ideas of their proponents on the direction of social progress in the developing countries, but also show the true diversity of real conditions in these countries and the particular features of the mass awareness of their population.

The book by L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa significantly broadens our existing knowledge on the present-day social life in the nations of the non-Soviet East and undoubtedly will help in a further thorough study of the processes of spiritual development in these countries.

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* For translation, see Latin American Report

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. POLICY IN EL SALVADOR CRITICIZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 84 pp 13-22

[Excerpts from an article by V.N. Krest'yaninov: "The Zigzags of Washington's Policy in El Salvador"]

[Excerpt] During a period when mass protest is just beginning, punitive organizations are strengthened in every way possible. Primary among these organizations are security and intelligence services. Elite anti-insurrection units are formed. All this is done with the direct assistance and under the control of North American "specialists." At the next stage of the liberation struggle, CIA "specialists" who are "curing" a given regime, change over to "semi-military" operations. They organize an "air bridge" for a massive supply of the latest American weapons for the puppet army and send them experienced military instructors. When these measures fail and the pro-American regime begins to rip at the seams under pressure from the liberation forces, the US has to make commitments to overt military intervention.

There is nothing new in this scenario. And the end is known. In Vietnam it led the US into the quagmire of a "dirty war," which ended in shameful defeat. At the same time it seems that the lesson did not do any good. Again, in connection with another country and in another part of the world, the ruling circles of the US imagined that the CIA would easily dispose of that country's patriotic forces by using "Vietnam" methods, but they are sliding more and more into an overt military intervention. The hysteria of a military psychosis is heating up all the more as the four-year Republican administration, noteworthy for its growing unpopularity, is drawing to a close. In search of an easy success, Reagan decided on an aggression against Grenada. But in Central America no easy success is possible.

Let us take El Salvador. Washington's policy toward this country has gone through three stages. In 1981 Reagan tried to present the struggle of the patriotic forces in Salvador as a movement of "international terrorism," allegedly directed from Moscow, Havana and other capitals of socialist states. The civil war in this country was depicted by American diplomacy almost as if it were a central bridgehead in the struggle between East and West.

The second stage was characterized by a "cooling" of the White House's attention toward Salvador. This was connected in part with the arrival of

George Shultz, the new Secretary of State, who is close to those influential circles that assessed the Reagan policy in Salvador as a "deviation" in the Latin American strategy of the US. The Malvinas crisis weakened White House hopes that it could involve some Latin American countries in Salvador's internal conflict.

These were the conditions, then, when the present third stage began. It was given a direct push by a report prepared by J. Kirkpatrick, the Permanent US Representative to the UN, who had made a 10-day tour of Latin American countries at the beginning of 1983. The representative of extreme rightist circles of large US monopoly capital presented the results of US "affairs" in Latin America in such gloomy tones that it prompted the White House to take a number of extra measures. Specifically, T. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and D. Hinton, the US Ambassador to El Salvador, were removed from their positions for being unable to "cope" with the situation.

The third stage, according to NEWSWEEK, is aimed at winning the war in El Salvador.(6) In order to achieve this goal, the puppet strings of directing Salvadoran policy went first to William Clark, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and then to R. McFarlane.

In April 1983 THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that the US National Security Council had approved a comprehensive program of action, which was called "The American Policy in Central America and Cuba through Fiscal Year 1984" and which provided for future escalation of weapons delivery to the Salvadoran military. In the past four years Washington has allocated around 1 billion dollars for the militarization of that country, and in the spring of 1983 added a supplemental budgetary allocation of around 87 million dollars for immediate military assistance. An additional 140 million dollars are also planned for so-called "economic" goals.

This new dollar "influence," according to the American press, is trying to achieve at least two goals: First, a broad reorganization of the Salvadoran army and an increase in its size. Second, a sharp increase in the number of Salvadoran servicemen who go through training and re-training at North American bases in the Panama Canal Zone and in the recently established "training" center in Honduras.

These forces, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, are designated for the new "pacification" program for the rural population.(7) A similar program, as is known, had already been implemented by the US in Vietnam. It had been organized under CIA auspices and conducted under the "cover" of the Agency for International Development (AID). The goal of the Vietnam "pacification" had been the "separation" of the patriots from the local population, mass strikes against liberated areas, the destruction of the political infrastructure of the Front for National Liberation, the establishment of a kulak stratum in the village, and arming these kulaks and turning them into a supplementary military force. D. Hinton admitted that the doctrine and "philosophy" of the "pacification" program in South Vietnam also constitute the basis for plans the US is formulating in El Salvador. THE LOS ANGELES TIMES emphasized that this new "pacification" plan will mean one thing: The army will go over to least risk or "scorched earth" tactics, i.e., bombing and artillery fire.

Together with the increase of its military presence, the US is trying to revive the Central American Defense Council (CADC). This militaristic offspring of Washington was created in 1965. It was comprised of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and El Salvador. Somoza had been the most active partner in this alliance. The decision to revive this reactionary military council was made on August 6, 1983 at a meeting of the ministers of defense of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, and the Commander-in-Chief of the US Southern Military Command, General P. Gorman.

In addition, on Washington's initiative, a new agreement was signed by El Salvador and Guatemala on expanding the role of Guatemalan troops in operations planned against the Salvadoran patriots in exchange for North American made arms and combat equipment to be supplied from Salvador. In sum, the gendarme role of this alternative US Central American policy became even more evident.

* * *

Washington has recently been resorting more and more to a propaganda camouflage of its gendarme function in this subregion. A number of myths have been propagated to the effect that the fall of the reactionary regime in Salvador would play into the hands of "international communism." Accordingly, events in that country are depicted as part of an evil, professionally organized plot at the international level. "On the surface, it is a plan for establishing a communist Central America," predicts Kirkpatrick, but this very plan, in turn, is one of the elements of a "communist revolution," which the USSR is allegedly fomenting in the entire world. In other words, the geopolitical factor is coming to the forefront even more persistently, and the "vital significance" of El Salvador to US security is emphasized in candid terms. Geographic proximity is also mentioned in the president's speeches, i.e., that Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas to Massachusetts; and depicted is the future "threat" to the Caribbean Sea and the Panama Canal, which serve as transportation arteries for nearly 2/3 of American foreign trade, especially for oil deliveries. But even this is not enough for official Washington. In order to prove that a threat to the US could come from tiny Salvador, a slightly updated version of the Dulles "domino theory" has made its appearance. According to this theory, the "downfall" of Salvador, just like domino pieces falling, should automatically be followed by the fall of other Central American states. US military strategists are looking at this country as the "underbelly" of the so-called "Northern triangle" of Central America, consisting of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

The White House is also resorting to another argument in order to present its intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador as a matter of "life and death" for the US. "If we cannot defend ourselves there," declared the President in a speech before the Congress on April 27, 1983, "we would not be able to count on gaining the upper hand in another area. Trust in us would be undermined, our alliances would fall apart and the security of our homeland would be placed under a threat." Here the words "gaining the upper hand" are very significant. They expose the true intentions of the American leadership that is trying to hide behind the demagogic phrases about "security of our homeland."

In addition, the latest pronouncements of the President himself are unequivocal: "No kind of reform and no kind of economic aid will help as long as the guerrillas are active."

In this connection it is worthwhile to mention a curious assessment by the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU: "From Washington's point of view, at the present time an irreconcilable struggle is taking place for world supremacy between the principle of evil and the principle of good.... Those who adhere to similar views believe that they themselves, their people, religion, race and culture are on the side of good; the rest are alien and are an embodiment of evil." (8) This mythology, in the words of the newspaper, is leading away from the real causes of events in El Salvador, namely, exploitation and oppression.

The inconsistency of official Washington's interpretation of Salvadoran events is so evident that it is refuted by even the leading representatives of US political circles. Thus, for example, Senator Dodd, speaking on behalf of Democratic Party congressmen, rejected the assertion about Soviet or Cuban control over guerrillas in El Salvador. He declared that "dictatorships and military regimes have strangled democracy and stamped out human rights in Central America. If poverty, hunger and injustice would not be reigning here, there would not be a revolution either. And until this system of repression disappears, the region will continue to give birth to revolutions...." A columnist for THE WASHINGTON POST, P. Geyelin, also expressed his disagreement with the assertions of US officials, particularly Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger, to the effect that everything in El Salvador is connected to Cuba, Nicaragua and Soviet "intrigues." According to him [Geyelin], the ruling hierarchy of the country is so blinded by anti-communism that its policy in Central America is leading to failure; this blindness is depriving [the administration] of the ability to understand the real world and of the restraint and wisdom to set goals not only in El Salvador, but also in other parts of the planet. (9)

* * *

A true perspective for El Salvador is offered by the Front for National Liberation Farabundo Marti (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, two organizations that cooperate closely and the ones that are mass organizations more than any others. The FLMN, organized in October 1980, is an insurgent army, consisting of regular units, guerrilla detachments and a national militia. They conduct combat operations and organize protection for the masses during demonstrations, meetings and labor strikes. The fighters of the front have broad support among the population. Since October 1982 the insurgent army had been conducting incessant offensive battles against superior enemy forces, exhausting them with unexpected strikes practically in every part of the country. While the military leadership of the junta forces scornfully used to call the insurgents "the invisible ones," now it publicly states that its mission is to "localize" activities of the people's army to the northern parts of the country, in effect admitting that it is not able to hold these areas.

The chief of the General Staff of the Revolutionary People's Army and member of the FMLN High Command, Joachim Villalobos, noted in an interview with the journal BOHEMIA: "It is very indicative that the enemy, having conducted counteroffensive operations for two years in which thousands of people were involved and in the course of which strong fortifications were built, various types of weapons used and millions of dollars spent, now declares that the positions he is losing are not important to him. The problem of territory in El Salvador is extremely important for both sides. This is too small a country to allow the loss of a base of operations. If the army loses ground, it means that it is losing the war."(10)

Government forces are suffering defeat, which is also provoking dissatisfaction among the higher army ranks in El Salvador. At first, Col Ochoa wanted to carry out a putsch, but he was pacified. In April 1983, three other colonels came out against General Garcia, the Minister of Defense and State Security. It was then that they understood in Washington that the pyramid leadership of the army is beginning to crack, and through the American embassy in Salvador they decided to change the "decoration": Garcia was replaced, and his position was taken by the chief of the national guard, Vides Casanova.

Nonetheless, it would be naive to think that a reshuffling of El Salvador's generals will somehow substantively influence the situation in the country. Still, notwithstanding results achieved, the FMLN leadership understands that a full victory will require a long and hard struggle.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front, established in April 1980 is a broad coalition of El Salvador's patriotic forces, including the left wing Christian Democrats, the Social Democratic Party, communists, student organizations, and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, the church, leading trade unions and other mass organizations, as well as certain proprietors' associations and democratically inclined military personnel. The RDF is calling for the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government in the country, which would guarantee a just distribution of wealth and the establishment of true democratic rights for the broad masses. The basic direction of its foreign policy has been declared to be the implementation of principles of independence, peaceful coexistence, equal rights and mutual respect among states.

Today the RDF and FMLN have joint permanent representations in more than 30 countries of Europe and Latin America.

The leftist forces believe that the way out of the crisis is first of all to have the US stop its interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador. The RDF leader, Guillermo Manuel Ungo has emphasized that the solution to the Salvadoran problem should begin first with the recall of American military advisors and the halting of military aid to the junta. The patriotic forces of the country have declared more than once that they would be willing to conduct negotiations on the condition that military operations are halted.

As is well known, the FMLN and the RDF officially presented a comprehensive plan for a peaceful settlement of the Salvadoran problem as far back as the

autumn of 1981. It was presented in the name of these organizations by the Nicaraguan delegation to the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly and was well received by the international community. Both the FMLN and the RDF declared their readiness to enter into negotiations with representatives of the regime in the presence of foreign observers.

"With regard to El Salvador," notes the American liberal journal THE PROGRESSIVE, "the US has totally rejected the path to political settlement and has chosen a purely military strategy to 'save' the country. But victory through military force, what the Reagan administration counted on, was not to be had."(11)

Recently, in an attempt to neutralize broad international opposition to its obstructionist course in El Salvador, official Washington, with its underling, the provisional "president" of the country, Alvaro Magana, resorted to trickery. They declared an "amnesty" in El Salvador, as well as so-called "elections." "It is utopia," notes the rector of the University of El Salvador Ignacio Ellacuria, "to think that elections in El Salvador will bring freedom."(12)

There is no doubt that an appeal to the will of the people in a country enveloped in the flames of civil war, where daily mass terror has been elevated to the status of official policy, and where every representative of the authorities allowed into the "polling places" will dig into the ballot boxes as he does in his own desk drawers, means nothing more than a mockery of the most elementary concepts of democracy.

The election comedy was already played out in El Salvador more than a year ago. But at the time the machinery of election falsification was set into motion on such a large scale that the local fascist "ultras," headed by the infamous Major D'Aubuisson, came out "ahead." Instead of the planned "liberalization" of the regime, the flames of violence flared up even more throughout the Salvadoran land. And now they have decided to repeat the trick of "elections." Why, however, did the Salvadoran regime and its protectors in Washington need them at this point in time?

The secret is simple: The White House immediately needs to find some kind of alternative to the proposals presented jointly by the FMLN and the RDF, to which many influential congressmen in the US and other countries, including those of Latin America, are reacting with understanding. From time to time the US Department of State has succeeded in trying a different tack, slandering the patriotic forces of El Salvador which allegedly "do not wish" to conduct negotiations.

The representatives of the FMLN have warned the representatives of the regime not to entertain hopes that the people's fighters will lay down their arms in exchange for an "amnesty" that would be granted by armed criminals.

Commenting on the political initiative of El Salvador's patriotic forces, Fidel Castro emphasized in a meeting with a group of American journalists in July 1983: "I think a peaceful settlement can be found, because the Salvadoran revolutionaries have made a serious and frank declaration about

this.... It is essential to conduct negotiations with them; no decisions can be forced on them. Elections cannot be forced on them, because they do not believe in them. After all, it is impossible to believe in elections in a country in which for 50 years elections were juggled and the results were enforced by the authorities. How could anyone ask the Salvadoran revolutionaries to believe in elections in a country where the guarantors of peace and elections are the army and the government, a regime that has killed 40 thousand Salvadorans?"

"I consider it absolutely necessary for Salvadorans to sit down at the negotiation table and reach an agreement amongst themselves on decisions that would include guarantees for all of them. I believe the US would be able to influence this move. If the US is opposed to negotiations, there will be no negotiations; if the US supports the idea of negotiations, I am convinced that the government of El Salvador and the Salvadoran army would enter into negotiations with the revolutionaries. And this is a mandatory prerequisite if there is a desire to find a solution in Central America."(13)

Events of the second half of 1983 have again shown that this desire is not at all to be found within the US ruling circles. The Reagan administration, despite the constructive proposals of the FMLN and the RDF, and a number of Latin American and West European countries, is continuing to look at events in El Salvador through the prism of dangerous military-political intentions.

FOOTNOTES

- (6) Newsweek, No. 11, 1983, p. 23.
- (7) See: THE NEW YORK TIMES, March 13, 1983.
- (8) FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, April 30, 1983.
- (9) See: THE WASHINGTON POST, March 23, 1983.
- (10) BOHEMIA, Havana, 1983, No. 4, p. 79.
- (11) THE PROGRESSIVE, Madison, Sept. 1982, p. 39.
- (12) ARGUMENTOS, 1982, No. 50, p. 17.
- (13) GRANMA, Havana, July 29, 1983.

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INTERNATIONAL

'NATIONAL SOCIALISM' AND POLITICS IN ARGENTINA DISCUSSED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 84 pp 70-82

[Article by A.V. Grishin: "The Concept of 'National Socialism' and the Political Struggle in Argentina"]

[Text] /The presidential elections in Argentina that took place on October 30, 1983 removed a number of question marks. The winners were candidates of the Radical Civic Union (UCR), having received 52 % of the voters' ballots. Raul Alfonsin became the president of the republic. Victor Martinez took the position of vice president. The important rivals of the radicals, the candidates of the Justicialist Party (Peronists), Italo Luder and Deolindo Bittel, received support from 40 % of the electorate. Voting for candidates of the UCR, the Justicialist Party and other political organizations, more than 9 % of the Argentines came out decisively against military dictatorship and for the restoration of democracy and constitutional stability./ [in boldface in original]

What is actually taking place in Argentina cannot be understood without taking Peron into consideration, noted a correspondent of the Paris journal AFRIQUE-ASIE at the beginning of the 1970's. And this short phrase characterizing the internal political situation, was good and true with regard to that period. In 1973, as is well known, Peron was again able to gain a victory in presidential elections. But this phrase also characterizes the current situation as well. This is a fact. And the matter has to do not only with the last general elections in which the Justicialist Party was considered an indisputable favorite until the last days. No less important and telling is that in an environment of chronic political instability, military dictatorships and slow, tortuous shifts to a bourgeois democracy that require effort and unity from all democratic forces of the country, Peronism, notwithstanding all its eclecticism on the theoretical level that had already been evident at an early stage during the formation of the Peronist bloc in the fall of 1945, survived as an ideology and as a real political force, preserving, even after the death of its leader, its influence on a significant part of the working class, the country's bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and the students. Borrowings from Peronism or concurrence with it can be found in the ideological makeup of any "Argentinian revolution," which, after 1955, was included in the program platform of the leading bourgeois parties. How could this have happened when it was generally known that the recognized leader and founder of this

populist movement, in power for a period of 10 consecutive years and doing everything possible to insure that his doctrine of "Justicialism" would come alive, seemingly suffered more than just an obvious downfall at the end? A short answer to this question can probably be given as follows: First, the overthrow of Peron in 1955 did not at all mean that the "Peronist decade" had used up all its problem solving capabilities; second, the shift to the left of the Peronist mass social base was accompanied by attempts to modernize its ideology. And in 1973, the ideological discussion within the Peronist movement about ways for anti-imperialist and socio-economic changes, as I.Ye. Shokina wrote, were already linked to the concept of "national socialism" to a great extent, synthesizing, or more accurately, pretending to synthesize, the basic theoretical tenets proposed by Peron in the 1940's and new ideas that appeared under the influence of shifts in the social base of Peronism.(1)

Although "national socialism" is a "multi-party" ideology, the credit for developing this concept belongs to Peron. It permits Peronists to "walk around as socialists" (believers and atheists, "ultras" and proponents of the "third position"), young radicals, Christian Democrats and pseudo-Marxists of the "national left." As a result, a great number of different readings and interpretations emerged. In every case, however, these many readings and interpretations do not fit into the conceptual framework of "the national path to socialism," i.e., most of the time "national socialism" has nothing in common with scientific socialism, and the term itself acquires the connotation of being an alien concept.

The initial thesis of the concept consists of the proposition that under Argentine conditions socialism is nothing more than Justicialism. The strategic goal is to prove that alternatives for the socio-economic and political development of the country are tied in with Justicialism which is "activated to a sufficient degree." In trying to find foundations for establishing false reference points in the current ideological and political struggle, theoreticians of "national socialism" are turning to concrete examples in history, primarily the "Peronist decade." Historical experience, falsified as needed, appears throughout their works as the "Peronist myth." Reforms promulgated by Peron at the beginning of his first presidency (on the whole important, but not radically changing the socio-economic structure) are presented as evidence that "the goal of building 'national socialism' was adopted by the Justicialist government immediately and a little bit was done to achieve this goal" at a time when "the people followed the Justicialist government and supported its plans."(2)

The June 1943 coup is usually examined in isolation from the course of World War II as a starting point of the liberation movement, which, after Peron had "united the army and the people," acquired in accordance with the concept of "national socialism" a true national character and grew into the anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist, bourgeois-democratic revolution of October 17, 1945. From here it follows that all those political forces which opposed Peron and all those parties which united around the platform of the Democratic Union turned out to be essentially on the side of the pro-imperialist "foreign" oligarchy. The position of the Communist Party of Argentina, which was in the Democratic Union, became, as it were, identical

to the position of the bourgeois liberals. This "identical" position attained in this way is explained by the anti-national mentality, which was common to all parties of the Democratic Union (due to their generic relationship). In Argentina, writes Hernandez Arregui, one of the leading representatives of bourgeois nationalism in current Argentine historical writing, the liberal oligarchy, the petty bourgeoisie of the city and leftist parties are all tightly interconnected. Historically, they were the result of immigration.(3) This is important.

By blaming the communists for cosmopolitanism and for breaking away from national roots, a thesis has been developed regarding their incorrect understanding of specific historical conditions and perspectives. In the 1940's, asserts Arregui, the alternative for developing a specific political condition in Argentina, labeled as "democracy or fascism" (a label of the Communist Party), was false and expressed a position alien to national interests. In reality, according to Arregui, the alternative consisted of something else. The correct label was "colony or nation."(4)

Arregui is trying to disassociate himself formally from the rightist nationalism of the 1920's and 1930's and is striving to prove that the Peronists' nationalism, being a revolutionary nationalism of the working class of a colonial country, never had and does not have anything in common with bourgeois nationalism.(5) Nevertheless, it is precisely this connection of the words "nation or colony" behind which the Peronist "third position" is hiding, and it designates an ideological formula common to current bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism of Argentina.

The thesis of "nation or colony" is the exact opposite of the idea of the anti-imperialist agrarian democratic revolution proposed by the leftist forces, inasmuch as unifying the nation for the sake of a "national interest" that transcends class interests is touted as the principal task of the whole political struggle of resolving problems of class conflict (for the sake of the nation's success "in the struggle for a place in the sun") through the achievement of cooperation between the classes. This thesis creates an illusion of the possibility for eliminating these problems within the channel of bourgeois reformism and it replaces these problems in a socio-political and ideological context with problems of an economic nature, which are declared to have first priority in view of the inescapable opposition of developing countries to the "two imperialisms." Overall national interests that exist are to a great extent simply acknowledged.

In transforming Justicialism into "national socialism," the new concept fully embodied the economic aspect of the Justicialist "third position." The ideological context of slogans with an economic content was even expanded, since the similarity of tasks in the economic sphere facing the countries of the "third world" served as a basis for trying to present the concept of "national socialism" as a universal one and to pass off Justicialism as the first established model of "socialism of the third world."

As early as the 1940's, Peron, distressed about the lack of political discipline in his party and calling upon the party to give a "lesson in

unity" to the entire nation, believed that after the Peronist government will have solidified its power, one of his main slogans could exactly resemble a triple repetition of the word "produce!"(6)

Later, Oscar Alende (leader of the Intransigent Party), proceeding from the same premises that the "technological revolution" has strengthened the economic inequality among nations, among developed industrial powers and developing countries, also designated as a fundamental principle of "revolutionary change" the task of overcoming the stagnant Argentine economy. On this point he wrote that the Argentines have to have an "idea - force" which would embody this concept and splash it out as a vital impulse, as a synthesis of a future Argentina, as a goal and simultaneously as the driving force to reach that goal.(7)

Arturo Frondizi (leader of the Integration and Development Movement) considers "desarrolism" [Latin American development] even more insistently than Alende of paramount importance and everything else secondary, at least as far as the order of discussion is concerned, "for in order to divide wealth, it first has to be created."(8)

Interestingly, the argument "nation or colony" (with references to economics) is used by General O. Guillermo Villegas, a specialist on geopolitics, who also wants a unified nation and the creation of an "Argentine revolution," better known of course under the name, Ongania dictatorship. Now, writes Villegas, colossal changes are taking place all over the world, and it is becoming more dangerous to mark time because "every passing hour leaves us less room in this head-spinning, developing civilization.... Our slowness and the strange ankylosis of our capabilities that preclude us from creating something new in a world that is constantly moving ahead, have placed us in a position so far away -- and moving even farther away -- from the top whence nations control the destinies of mankind." Meanwhile, "the struggle to survive and predominate will continue, ... and experience shows that success always accompanies the strongest."(9) In order to survive and guarantee the security of the nation, it is essential to destroy the private interests of each social stratum; theoretical prejudices must be eliminated; and a concerted effort of the people within the framework of what is called a nation is necessary.(10) We shall not complete the assigned tasks, affirms Ongania in his "Message of the President to the Argentine People," if we remain divided and do not crawl out of the shell of individual egotistical aspirations.(11)

Having contrasted Argentina to the most economically developed countries, naming "desarrolism" as the main factor in "revolutionary change," ideologically substantiating the necessity for national unity in the interests of "national security," and bringing about an "Argentine revolution" whose implementation was proclaimed in the general "national interest," Ongania took the opportunity (as had Peron before him) to declare that everything in politics that differed from his theory was contradictory to "national interests" and threatened the security of the country, and he was allowed "by the law" to persecute democratic parties and other social organizations (trade unions, student groups). The more energetic the persecution, the more fully and consistently were Argentine "national

interests" protected. Peron's struggle for unity and national security was embodied, for example, in the creation of the "Commission to Investigate Anti-Argentine Activities," which, just in January 1950 alone, forbade the publication of over 100 progressive and opposition newspapers and journals.(12) Ongania, in his "Statute on Protecting the Country from Communism," Statute No. 16894, forbade political parties, "no matter what form or nature of activity they engage in."(13)

It is natural that the idea of "national socialism" is much closer to the Argentine Social Democratic Party than it is to General Ongania, who accepted the Peronist revolutionary idea. One of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, Rene Balestra, in an article entitled "The Direction of Socialism," expounded upon the position of Argentine social democracy: "The power of humanistic, democratic socialism is directed against the monolithic world of bolshevist despotism and against the ever increasing trend toward centralism in the West.... Society in our time, if we do not contain this process, will become diversified. This is what the direction of the changes consist of. Changes that we, who consider ourselves democrats, all want.... For us, the most important thing should consist of defending the ideas of humanism and freedom, the idea that man should strive for, and at the same time be respected for what Ortega y Gasset calls "mismidad" [self]. This does not mean a reexamination of policy or a new formulation of the problem; on the contrary, it is evidence of loyalty to the great and only idea of socialism, the direction of Jaures[?] and Fernando de los Rios, Leon Blum, Pablo Iglesias, Turati, Justo, Bravo, Palacios, and the last of the "greats," Nicolas Repetto."(14)

According to R. Balestra, the aim for unified socialism in Argentina is totally justified, but "this lofty aim may seem paralyzed if the danger of being infected by Castroism and Leninism is not eliminated."(15) At first glance, this position seems directly opposite to that of nationalism. Balestra considers himself the carrier of the "classic socialist tradition" and contrasts Marxist-Leninist ideology with a variant of international Bernsteinism.[?] "Democratic" and "humanistic" socialism of social democracy either diverges from (in the question of the degree of centralization and forms of organization of political power) the "Argentine revolution" of Ongania or is galvanized by "historical Peronism" with its idea of the leader, intermediate cadres, and the organized masses. And nevertheless, this ideological line, tying the future of socialism to the concept of the "third position" and the "industrial society," and placing the improvement of the conditions of the working class in direct dependence upon the increase of the well-being of the nation and having an anti-communist propaganda line, is organically included in "national socialism" and is essentially one of its many variants.

Peronism borrowed a great deal from the Catholic Church. Peron often stressed that his doctrine, within the framework of the system of Christian values, "overcomes materialistic concepts," elevates the spirit and thereby helps man achieve his highest destiny in a justly organized society.(16) Thus it is not surprising that the Christianization of the revolution, i.e., exactly that which differentiates Christian Democrats from the radicals, or in general from neo-liberals, not only does not obstruct the involvement of

the Christian Democratic Party under the slogan of "national socialism," but on the contrary, serves as a convenient initial position for establishing another one of its variants (clerical). Advocating "revolution," which has its beginning within a person (the change in the existence of each individual consequently changes the forms and principles of public life), the Christian Democrats believe that "relative earthly happiness cannot be achieved other than by following the paths of fairness and love for the one who is closest"(17) (the clerical justification for the "third position"). And when they come out into the "external sphere," i.e., in their specific socio-political and economic demands, they close ranks with the Peronists, socialists and radicals.

The term "national socialism" also satisfies fully the various ultra-left organizations that are driven by Trotskyite ideology. They may or may not be included in the Peronist movement (for example, the Front for the National Left, FNL, headed by Jorge Abelardo Ramos). This has its own logic. As early as the 1950's, Silvio Frondizi had already tried to "overcome" Trotskyism in its "pure form." Twenty years later, Hernandez Arregui believed that Trotskyism as such had not existed for a long time, and the various trends of the "national left" were unjustly blamed for being Trotskyites by both the "rightists" as well as the "colonized leftists," i.e., communists.(18) For this reason Ramos also prefers to speak not of Trotskyism, but of "national socialism" or "socialism with national roots." And yet, the FNL is one of the most influential of the Trotskyite organizations. "Over a period of many years," writes F. Nadra, "the basic activity of Mr. Ramos and the FNL was to struggle against the establishment of a united front of national liberation."(19) But under Argentine conditions, the FNL and other organizations of the Trotskyite ilk, distorting the Marxist thesis on the role of the individual in history and placing an equal sign between mass and leftist movements, are passing off the Peronist regime as a model of a progressive revolutionary social system that has allegedly taken away (just like "progressive Bonapartism") direct political power from the old oligarchy and the industrial bourgeoisie, allowing the proletarian masses to "burst into history" and participate in the establishment of exactly that kind of social development that corresponds to their class interests.

In other words, what is offered is a Peronized model of Trotskyism that preserves incidentally all its basic tenets: Denial of the desirability of unifying democratic forces in the anti-dictator and anti-imperialist struggle; orientation toward a continental revolution and a national liberation movement in countries of the "third world"; contrasting the interests of those countries with the interests of the world socialist system (the thesis of "two imperialisms"); artificial separation of Marxism-Leninism into Marxism and Leninism, with the goal of revising Leninism and discrediting current theoretical works and practical activities of communist parties, which, according to the Peronized anarcho-Trotskyites, take "parliamentary," "bureaucratic," and "vegetarian" positions.

A critique of "national socialism" is complicated by the fact that this concept includes in its sphere of influence organizations of a revolutionary-democratic nature whose programs, not being socialist, nevertheless contain

democratic and anti-imperialist demands, a significant number of which could also be accepted by communists: Nationalization of the basic branches of the economy, centralized planning, workers' control, expropriation of latifundia, denunciation of international agreements that harm the sovereignty of the country, conduct of an independent foreign policy, etc. Some representatives of the leftist movement see Peronism and its "national socialism" as "a unique form of scientific socialism in Argentina" that "does not repudiate or dispute the contribution of world revolution in the creation of the theory of socialism." (20)

The urgent need to overcome false ideological prejudices and to expose common goals increases in those historical periods when prospects open up for making important political decisions and when a regrouping and reorientation of political forces takes place. It is exactly this kind of a historical period that Argentina is living through now. The inevitability of this period was felt long before October 30th. Summing up 1982, which ended with a 150,000 person demonstration in Buenos Aires, organized by the "Multipartidaria" (Multiparty Union (21)) with the support of communists carrying the slogan for the repeal of limitations on democratic freedoms and transfer of power to a civil government, the CPA (Communist Party of Argentina) characterized the political situation in the country in this way: This is a pivotal year, passing from a military regime to a democracy. (22)

As a matter of fact, the crisis of the military regime had by this time become most evident, and the platform of the Multiparty became the program of a broad democratic movement. The first declaration of the Multiparty had already formulated its central task precisely: "We are beginning the transitional stage to democracy." (23) After consultations held by the Permanent Secretariat of the Multiparty and representatives of other political parties (including representatives of the Communist Party), this task was expressed in the form of concrete political and socio-economic demands: A return to constitutional standards and a repeal of all limitations on human rights; an immediate normalization of political, trade union, proprietors' and cultural activities; formulation (indicating exact, short-term deadlines) of a plan to take measures directed at the ultimate institutionalization of the country; development of priority measures for overcoming the economic crisis and rebuilding the national economy; increase in real wages; improvement in living conditions, medical services and other social measures directed toward raising the standard of living of the low income population.

Repeatedly trying to have general elections without any prior limitations imposed, the Multiparty refused in November 1982 to accept the preliminary conditions (15 points) that were presented by the military government. (24) At the same time the Catholic Church officially announced its readiness to cooperate in "strengthening the democratic institutionalization of Argentine society." (25) Political party activity has been allowed since July 1, 1982, and toward the end of the year, the CPA, having gathered more than 45 thousand signatures of voters, received the right in accordance with existing laws to participate in elections. On December 29, for the first time in 25 years, the Communist Party presented its political position on television. E. Agosti and F. Nadra, members of the

Political Commission of the CPA Central Committee, had a half hour program on one of the country's four major television channels.

Of course, this change in the political situation did not at all mean that it had become less complex. The Multiparty had never been a political bloc or front, having been formed in order to participate in the presidential elections. Due to closer relations, the aspiration for a leadership role led to more inter-party as well as intra-party conflicts. The UCR and the Peronists immediately presented several possible candidates (leaders of inter-party groups and factions) for the post of president of Argentina. Concurrently, while a hidden struggle inside the UCR revolved mainly between Fernando de la Rúa and Alfonsín, heading the Movement for Reform and Change (in July at the national convention of the UCR, Alfonsín was the winner, also gaining the leadership of the entire party), the Peronists (in contrast to 1973) approached the elections without having an undisputed leader and had no less than ten potential candidates. The official candidate was selected less than two months before the elections. This led several political observers to predict the possibility of a Peronist defeat. But there were not many who doubted that they would win. The ideological predomination of the main party of "national socialism" over the radicals seemed too evident. It was too well-known that the characteristic uniqueness of the Peronist ideology, as shown in the concept of "national socialism," was the eclecticism about which we spoke above, and which was not an absolute weakness. Twice (in 1946 and 1973) the Peronist governments found themselves in a difficult ("pendulum") position, because the "pendulum was swung," which ultimately led to failure after the elections, as paradoxical as it seems. In both cases, during the pre-election campaign, the conditions worked in favor of victory, stimulating the organization of the Peronist bloc, cementing it, and turning it into a center of gravity for the most diverse political forces that were trying to attain power together with Peron.

In addition, the majority understood that the results of the elections, now past, would be influenced by the consequences of the war in the South Atlantic. The Malvinas crisis, exposing serious lapses in foreign policy and the unpreparedness of the army (deployed in accordance with the doctrine of "national security" against an "internal enemy") to conduct classic combat operations, even further discredited the military government and indeed facilitated the growth of the democratic movement which linked the struggle for a return of the Malvinas to Argentina with the struggle for national sovereignty, democracy and social progress. At the same time, the failures of the Argentine military forces gave rise to a growth of nationalistic sentiments in the country. This was broadened, for example, by increased activities of various political and ideological nationalist organizations. After a hiatus of many years, the "Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina" reappeared, announcing its intention to detonate a bomb in the English Embassy in Buenos Aires and to kill the editor of the English-language newspaper, THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD. "The team of Captain Giaccuino" [?] an organization founded after and under the influence of the Malvinas crisis, tried to obtain permission from the British authorities for groups of Argentines to travel to the Malvinas. These groups were to be comprised of relatives of servicemen who had died in combat and were buried in the islands. Captain Giaccuino's team also declared its readiness (in case the

British refused to give permission) to sabotage British firms, as well as to attack British schools and other local organizations having British ties. The threat was carried out in part: A bomb was detonated in one of the British schools in a suburb of Buenos Aires.

Today's Argentina is no longer the country it was prior to the war for the archipelago in the South Atlantic, wrote L'HUMANITE at the end of July last year. The general aspiration for the return of the islands has a great psychological impact. Due precisely to this aspiration, "people from the most diverse strata of the population feel that they are a part of a unified nation." (26)

It is obvious that the fruits of this psychological situation could be attempted (and were attempted) to be picked not only by the Peronists. But the chances of the Justicialist Party were regarded as the highest. It would appear that under these conditions the Peronists, in order to gain a decisive upper hand over the Radicals in the effectiveness of their respective propaganda efforts, would only have to remind (preferably without commentary) everyone of certain well-known facts, such as the "Argentinization" of the country's railroads (including over 24,000 kms belonging to English capital), the nationalization of the Central Bank, and the full cancellation of the country's foreign debt in 1947. After all, every one of these measures was implemented by the government which came to power when the slogan "Nation or colony" sounded like "Peron or Braden." (27)

In a complex, dynamically developing situation and in a period of intensified political struggle, "at a crossroads," as a rule, any ideological line that concentrates to the fullest extent possible on its political position, will acquire maximum visibility and significance. The concept of "national socialism" is no exception. On the eve of the elections, the Justicialist Party presented a specific enough program which included the political and socio-economic demands of the Multiparty and the Council of Argentine People for National Liberation. Nevertheless, this program, for ideological and tactical reasons, had a deliberately "centralist" character. Calculated to "consolidate democratic pluralism," it guaranteed the Peronists the maximum number of votes and attracted the largest possible number of allies and fellow travelers. At the same time, the latter groups had the opportunity to interpret this program as well as Peron's own national doctrine ("neither capitalist nor communist") through the prism of their own ideological lines.

Very characteristic in this respect is the position of the FNL, expounded by Ramos on the pages of the Argentine newspaper CLARIN. (28) Ramos sharply criticized the Multiparty Unity parties which, he believes, "de-Malvinized" Argentina, and today, together with the oligarchy, are defending the interests of Great Britain and the US in exactly the same way as they did during World War II when they supported Argentina's entry into the war, also on the side of Great Britain and the US. This thesis is not a new one; and for this reason it is possible to omit those details which in principle should be included. The basic facts are understood: The FNL leader is trying to discredit the Multiparty, employing the device usually applied by nationalists to discredit the Democratic Union, which opposed the Peronist bloc in the 1946 elections. J.A. Ramos believes that the armed conflict with

England was the first step toward ending Argentina's semi-colonial status with regard to the great powers, and he insists on the "Malvinization" of Argentina. "Malvinization," according to Ramos, is leading the country toward understanding the national revolution, which is dedicated to destroying the oligarchy, transforming the old society, guaranteeing resistance against British imperialism and achieving true independence.

Success of a national revolution, emphasizes Ramos, is absolutely impossible without active support of the majority of patriotically motivated military personnel and the revolutionary patriotic front in which Peronism should play the role of a unifying nucleus. "It would be desirable," admits Ramos, "if Peronism would again unfurl the banners of 1945." Among the specific measures, it was proposed to establish military control over prices and stop payment of the foreign debt to England.

The idea of creating a national front on a Peronist foundation was also advocated by the People's Socialist Party (general secretary: Guillermo Estevez Boero). When the "people's socialists" were asked if they include communists in their front, they declared that they have in mind an organization of "only nationalist forces" and specified that the "socialist alternative is being left for a later time."

The Communist Party, taking into consideration the existing political situation in the country, believes that in order to have a normally functioning elected government, it is absolutely necessary to reach an agreement with all democratic forces.(29) But, inasmuch as the Peronist party continues to have a significant influence among workers, the CPA assigns a special role to joint activities of the communists and Peronists in a democratic front.(30) By this action the communists are developing their tactics in relation to the Peronists, orientating themselves on the theoretical works of the 11th CPA Congress. They fully understand that "the policy of unity must be accompanied by comprehensive and constant ideological work among the Peronist masses."(31)

In using the slogan of the democratic front, the Communist Party believes that the goal of national unity consists not of reconstruction (since any reconstruction occurs on the old socio-economic and political foundation, the very foundation which is currently undergoing a crisis in Argentina), but of a structural transformation. This position fully considers Argentina's national interests, because by guaranteeing an agreement of democratic forces around a general program of a struggle for a renewed democracy, it opposes at the same time a renewed compromise that hides under the slogans of "national socialism" and consequently guarantees a government elected through democratic means from the danger of coups. It is exactly in connection with the above position that the CPA's decision to put forward its own candidates in the 1983 presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections should be examined. A subsequent examination of this decision and the decision to support the candidacies of I. Luder and D. Bittel for the offices of president and vice president of the country should also be made.

This time, however, the Peronists were not able to win. Now, after the elections, in applying the reasons for the lack of success of the political party which has become a symbol of the "Argentine theme," as much as the

tango has, they are justifiably talking about the amorphous nature of the organizational structure of the Peronist movement and internal differences as the negative factors which did not allow them to fully mobilize their forces. Also true are comments about their lateness in coming out to the finishing stretch of the elections, about the loss of authority of rightist trade union leaders among the masses and about the discreditation of their doctrine in 1976.

Of course, the fact that Alfonsin, in order to win the election, put forth a platform that was partially identical to that of the Peronists, but with a different emphasis, also played a role. He took (at least outwardly) a more conciliatory position with regard to the US and the IMF. At the same time, his criticism of the military regime, sharp and consistent, was meant not for a big play for nationalism, but just the opposite. It was to catch the element of disappointment and the inevitable reaction of public opinion to losing the war.

The reasons why Alfonsin became president are yet to be analyzed. But the main reason is because the Radicals received votes from the right. The polarization of political power forced the entire bourgeoisie to support a party that was more "quiet" from a standpoint of both ideology and the class composition of the party. Radicalism tomorrow, wrote Ricardo Rojas, one the theoreticians of the UCR, by involuntarily determining the class essence of radicalism, can go just as far to satisfy the economic demands of the working classes as can socialism (he has Marxism in mind), but it will always be separated from socialism by another philosophy of history and by other political goals. "Two things," he clarifies later, "will separate us from socialism: Historical materialism and class struggle." (32)

Thus, the results of the elections first of all reflect the class nature of the voting. This is also confirmed by the fact that the majority of the 7.4 million voters who cast their ballots for Alfonsin were representatives of the middle strata of society, while the 5.7 million voters who supported the Peronists were mostly workers.

The problems facing the country and the Radical government cannot be resolved other than by a solid unity of all democratic forces. An important element of this unity is the struggle of the working class, and consequently the cooperation in the activities of the Peronists and the CPA. In the existing situation, when the elections have cleared the way for completing the institutionalization process, new possibilities emerge in this regard.

At the same time, the tactics of the struggle in a united democratic front require clear ideological lines. These tactics inevitably bring to the forefront the problem of ideological leadership and consequently critiques of bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts of social equality. In a situation where the masses are drawn more to ideas of liberation and reject anti-communism, especially effective are ideological constructs that "look like socialism." Among such constructs is the concept of "national socialism" that was analyzed in this article. It is this concept that has become, in today's Argentina, an important and indivisible part of the entire ideological and political struggle, primarily because of its genetic ties to Peronism.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) See: "Natsionalizm v Latinskoy Amerike: politicheskiye i ideologicheskiye techeniya" [Nationalism in Latin America: Political and Ideological Trends], Moscow, 1976, pp. 80-81.
- (2) F.Nadra, "Kritika 'natsional'nogo sotsializma'" [A Critique of "National Socialism," Moscow, 1977, p. 30.
- (3) J.J. Hernandez Arregui, "La formacion de la conciencia nacional (1930-1960), Buenos Aires, 1970, p. 99.
- (4) Ibid., pp. 140-141.
- (5) Ibid., pp. 279-280.
- (6) "Doctrina peronista," Buenos Aires, 1948, pp. xxii, 183.
- (7) O. Alende, "Punto de partida," Buenos Aires, 1965, p. 64.
- (8) A. Frondizi, "Estrategia y tactica del movimiento nacional," Buenos Aires, 1964, p. 164.
- (9) Osiris G. Villegas, "Políticas y estrategias para el desarrollo y la seguridad nacional. Enfoques y temas," Buenos Aires, 1969, p.13.
- (10) Ibid., p. 14.
- (11) CLARIN, Buenos Aires, July 1, 1969.
- (12) "Ocherki istorii Argentiny" [Sketches of Argentine History], Moscow, 1961, pp. 492-493.
- (13) CLARIN, July 3, 1966.
- (14) The Social Democratic Party which separated from the Socialist Party of Argentina in 1958 -- a typical party of the 2nd International -- inherited the theoretical platform of its predecessor. Evidence of this can be gained from the list of leaders of European socialism, which is immediately followed by Argentine socialists headed by J.B. Justo. The ideological orientation of the SDP can be fully understood from this list of names which provides a synthesized view of such a structure.
- (15) La Vanguardia, Buenos Aires, March 2, 1966.
- (16) Republica Argentina. "Diario de Sesiones. Camara de Senadores de la Nacion," Buenos Aires, May 1, 1950, p.10.
- (17) Ricardo G. Parera, "Democracia cristiana en la Argentina. Los hechos y las ideas," Buenos Aires, 1967, p. 149.
- (18) J.J. Hernandez Arregui, op. cit., p. 476.
- (19) F. Nadra, op. cit., p. 122.
- (20) Ibid., pp. 36-38.
- (21) "Multipartidaria" united five political parties: UCR, Intransigent Party, Integration and Development Movement, Christian Democratic Party, and Peronists.
- (22) BOLETIN SEMANAL DE NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS, Buenos Aires, Dec. 27, 1982.
- (23) "La propuesta de la Multipartidaria," Buenos Aires, 1982, p. 10.
- (24) CLARIN, Nov. 16, 1982.
- (25) CLARIN, Nov. 17, 1982.
- (26) L'HUMANITE, Paris, July 23, 1983.
- (27) Sproul Braden was US Ambassador to Argentina. He energetically defended the interests of Yankee imperialism in this country under the pretext of defending democratic freedoms. He actively intervened in the internal political struggle. Peron cleverly made use of the behavior of the American diplomat, inventing the slogan "Peron or Braden!" in the pre-election campaign of 1946.
- (28) CLARIN, March 22 and April 6, 1983.

- (29) BOLETIN DE INFORMACIONES, Prague, 1983, no. 2, p. 37.
(30) CLARIN, March 22, 1983.
(31) F. Nadra, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
(32) R. Rojas, "El radicalismo de manana," Buenos Aires, 1932, pp. 225 & 232.

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INSTITUTE SERIES OF MONOGRAPHS ON CUBAN REVOLUTION REVIEWED

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[Review by Ya.G. Mashbits of book "Kuba: Stroitel'stvo sotsializma. Ekonomicheskiye i sotsial'no-politicheskiye aspekty" [Cuba: The Building of Socialism: Economic and Socio-Political Aspects] by a group of authors, Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 288 pages]

[Text] Literature on Cuba's recent history, touching upon socio-economic and political problems of the first socialist state in America, is vast and varied. The Cuban revolution and the building of socialism in a small and economically backward country (which is, in addition, located very close to the US) are among the most important events of postwar world development. Comprehensive research on the experiences of building socialism on the Island of Freedom beginning with the 1960's, has become one of the basic directions of Latin American studies in the USSR.

An important contribution to this field is made by a series of monographs dedicated to the Cuban revolution. This series has been assembled by the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences and also includes review articles. The group of authors (A.D. Bekarevich, V.A. Borodayev, N.I. Zhukov, K.O. Leyno and Z.I. Sokolova, with A.D. Bekarevich as chief editor) has embarked upon large-scale, serious and comprehensively planned research. This book thoroughly examines the problems in creating a material and technical base for socialism, as well as the distinctive features in forming a political system and a social class structure.

Probably of greatest interest is the analysis of natural laws, specific results and prospects for establishing the Cuban national economic complex within a system of a deepening international socialist division of labor. The authors have conducted in-depth economic research the conclusiveness of which is strengthened because of their broad use of technical and economic indicators and calculations. This, together with specific characteristics of several economic facilities and projects, makes many sections of this monograph useful for the examples they provide and suitable for practical application.

The depth of research is not at odds with the broad thematic range of the book. Analyses of the current situation, prospects and main directions in the establishment of a material-technical base of socialism in Cuba include

an examination of problems concerning the supply of natural resources to the country, the utilization of the existing and potential production apparatus, as well as comparative price structures and efficiency in the most important production lines. This approach is entirely correct. Moreover, it is the only correct approach to an objective and scientific analysis of important socio-economic changes in the building of socialism. "Local differences," notes V.I. Lenin, "unique characteristics of the economic order, ways of life, the degree of preparedness on the part of the population and attempts to implement some sort of plan should all be reflected in the distinctive character of the path to socialism...."(1)

Bourgeois-liberal and national-reformist publications on the Cuban theme have been declaring for nearly a quarter of a century that the revolution in that country came about and is developing "not according to rules" and that there were no objective or subjective prerequisites in Cuba for a transition to socialism. This book convincingly shows the fruitfulness of using the general tenets and laws of Marxist-Leninist theory, as well as the experience of real socialism under specific conditions for countries with differing types and levels of socio-economic development that chose the socialist alternative. The authors emphasize the vast significance, great value and attraction of Cuba's example for Latin America and developing countries in general, especially those which are located in the tropical zone. Cuba became a "laboratory" not only for revamping life and overcoming with the help of the USSR and other fraternal members of CEMA the socio-economic backwardness that resulted from capitalism and neo-colonialism, but also for new forms of running the economy on a modern scientific and technical basis. For example, as a result of a tremendous effort, highly productive dairy farms were established on the island, and now Cuban specialists are providing substantive assistance to many tropical countries in developing this important industry (the Cuban experience has shown above all that the "concept of a fatal deterioration of milk substances under tropical conditions" is not valid. p. 43).

Fully justified in the work reviewed here is the large amount of space devoted to an analysis of mutual ties and mutual cooperation with respect to foreign and domestic aspects of the country's socio-economic development before the revolution and during the period of socialist construction. This is a fundamental problem. K. Marx had stressed that "the entire internal organization of peoples ... and all their international relations," as well as "industrial and trade relations within each country" are all "expressions of a specific type of division of labor," conditioned by its "relationship to the world market."(2) Cuba, in the world capitalist economy, was a country of "dessert economics" (as it was often called), a single-product country: sugar for one market, the USA. And it was a country with one center, Havana. Cuba, in the system of international socialist division of labor and socialist economic integration is an equal member of CEMA, which approves and implements a number of special programs designed to accelerate development and to increase the efficiency of the country's economy, taking into consideration its specific conditions.

In this connection, a detailed examination of the new role of the important and vital specialization of sugarcane production in Cuba is of great

interest. Not too long ago, this single crop and single product specialization was the weapon with which the country was enslaved and was a factor in semi-colonial dependence, a consequence of the monstrous deformation of its productive forces and a source of great class and territorial inequality. Under the new conditions of building socialism, the sugar producing specialization became a true means for upgrading the economy and for social development. This book shows the high degree of effectiveness on the national economy of this historically rooted and developed specialization of Cuba within the system of the international socialist division of labor. The experience gained in utilizing a leading specialization in the national interests and its theoretical development and acceptance are important for many developing nations.

A number of pages are filled with factual material on the formation of agro-industrial complexes (APK). The APK is examined here as the core of the Cuban socialist economy and the nucleus of national economic complexes that are established according to a plan. The APK represents the general direction taken by the integration of agriculture and industry. An analysis of the special role of agriculture and the APK shows new possibilities for creating a material-technical base of socialism that is stable in its dynamic development. The work under review also examines in detail problems of the socialist rebuilding of villages and special problems involved in implementing the Leninist cooperative plan in the villages.

The book has a thorough description of the formation and subsequent implementation of the concept of industrialization based on domestic natural and labor resources, the plans for the improvement of the specialization that had its beginnings in the past, and the advantages of economic socialist integration. An analysis of the essence of industrialization under specific present conditions in Cuba, as well as of the periodization of industry, its strategy and efficiency are all of substantive importance. The story of how new branches of industry were established in the country is interesting. Branches included heavy industry, machine building, electrical machinery and others. Especially well presented is the description of the status and the developmental prospects of production based on the complex utilization of laterites (nickel industry and ferrous metal industry), as well as a comprehensive technological processing of vast quantities of sugarcane.

Western literature has been increasingly recognizing Cuba's achievements in the social sphere, especially in the rural sector. But at the same time obvious achievements in industrialization have been ignored. Sometimes, however, the following phrasing can be found: "Cuba represents a maximum of agricultural development and a minimum of urbanism." The material in this collection convincingly demonstrates the groundlessness of such assertions. In the 1970's, for example, the country's overall outlays for construction and installation works saw a four-fold and industrial construction an eight-fold increase(p.62).

The book under review is one of the few works of research in which there is an in-depth examination of the territorial aspects of socio-economic development and economic distribution. These issues are important in increasing the efficiency of production and resolving major social goals for

accelerating the development of every section of the country. Since 1978 territorial cross-sectioning has been a mandatory part of state planning, which is tied to the introduction of new political-administrative divisions and a strengthening of the role of local organs of the national government in socio-economic development. At the same time, it should be emphasized that there is some doubt as to the correctness of identifying the new political-administrative divisions with economic districts, which is what the authors do (pp.66-68). A conclusion is needed on the necessity of a comprehensive development of problems of the territorial structure of the economy, the organization of society, specific economic branches, overall ("integral") economic districting, regional policies (including an accelerated development of the eastern provinces) and the formation of territorial production complexes of various types.

The book tells about the establishment and development of a system of control for the national economy and socio-economic development, as well as for economic planning. Neither the difficulties nor errors of the 1960's are passed over in silence. Shown is the role of new methods of managing the economy on the basis of economic levers and stimuli, taken from the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries. Revealed, too, is the leading role of the Communist Party of Cuba in directing the economy at a time when its economic branch and territorial structure were becoming more complex and when the socialist material-technical base was established.

The work under review closely links economic problems with problems of forming a new social class structure in Cuban society and increasing the role of the working class within that society. The path taken by the Cuban peasantry toward socialism is described in detail. The rise of a new scientific-technical intelligentsia is shown, as is the growth of the role of women in all areas of activity in the country. Brief but precise is also the analysis of the political system of the socialist society in Cuba, which has created favorable conditions for opening up huge potential opportunities for true democracy.

Of course, the book reviewed here does not claim to have a thorough and comprehensive grasp of all problems. Still, it is a pity that nowhere does the book mention certain problems of development in new and important branches of the Cuban economy, such as hydraulic engineering construction, forestry and deep sea fishing. Without a doubt, a great deal of attention should be paid to problems of population, the utilization of labor resources and the stimulation of medium size and small towns. There are also editorial lapses: repetitions, incorrect citations, etc. But in general the work deserves a high evaluation. Undoubtedly, a wide readership will find this book interesting and useful.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," v. 36, p. 152.
- (2) K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," v. 27. p. 404; v.6, p. 160.

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BOOK ON CHILEAN REVOLUTION REVIEWED

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[Review by Yu.A. Antonov of book "Chiliyskaya Revolyutsiya. Problemy i diskussii" [The Chilean Revolution: Problems and Discussions] by Yu.N. Korolev, Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 238 pages]

[Text] The author of the book under review is well-known for his earlier works.(1) In his new monograph he continues his research of a most important and timely -- in a scholarly and political sense -- problem, striving to "present a comprehensive, general concept of the Chilean revolution and show its true historical meaning. Within this framework he attempts in a well-reasoned approach to expose the inconsistency of the bourgeois concepts of the revolution in general as well as its specific aspects. These issues are included in the program of the international revolutionary movement."(p.5)

The 1970-1973 revolution in Chile, marked by the coming to power of the government of National Unity, which in the course of three years implemented comprehensive socio-economic changes that benefited the working masses, but was overthrown by internal and external reactionary forces, was a significant event in the history of the country. The Chilean revolution had not only national importance, but international as well. It provided vast and vital material on practically every aspect of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution at the present stage of general crisis of capitalism, and in some respects it enriched Leninist teachings about revolution in an age of imperialism, confirming the unity of its content, its infinite variety and richness of form, and the paths of its development, as well as the necessity for considering complex trends in the placement and regrouping of class forces with the aim of extending the social content of the revolution. It was because of all this, as the author rightly notes, that the revolutionary heritage of the National Unity government is the focus of a bitter and ever more intense ideological struggle.(p. 217)

Bourgeois ideologues discuss the policy of the National Unity government in a distorted and slanderous way. Their efforts are directed toward proving the incompatibility of socialism and democracy: in general, the unreality of social progress under a socialist system, and in particular, the unreality of social progress during the peaceful development of revolution. They assert that the struggle for socialism will always inevitably be accompanied by bloodshed, force and countless victims, by economic collapse and the

worsening of the standard of living for the masses. Thus, they declare, it is better to live through those difficulties that are inherent to capitalism rather than be subjected to senseless suffering for hopes that can never be realized.

From other aspects, but essentially in the same key, is the examination of the experience of the Chilean revolution by the representatives of various extremist movements and Trotskyite and Maoist groups who look at the defeat of the revolution as proof that the working classes cannot achieve power through peaceful means. These representatives try to discredit the very idea of the possibility of change to socialism through peaceful means and to justify the correctness of their adventuristic goals. The author subjects these and similar erroneous and fallacious "concepts" of the Chilean revolution to a comprehensive and well-reasoned critique which is without a doubt the strong point of the work under review.

A great deal of attention in the book is justifiably devoted to the problem of the peaceful path of development of the Chilean revolution (it is well to remember that many communist parties of capitalist countries are orientated toward the peaceful variant of a revolutionary transition to socialism). The well-known Soviet scholar A.I. Sobolev, touching upon this aspect of the Chilean experience, wrote: "Notwithstanding the defeat of the revolution in Chile, it can be examined as an outstanding dress rehearsal for the peaceful development of a revolution at the present stage of the class struggle. Because of this, the experience and lessons of the Chilean revolution will be studied incessantly by Marxists of all countries, just as today we are still studying the experience and lessons of the Paris Commune. At the same time it is important to keep in mind that the Paris Commune existed for three months and was the revolution of the age of industrial capitalism. The revolution in Chile developed over a period of three years and was essentially (if one considers the duration of the struggle, the rate of development, revolutionary context, etc.) the first revolution that developed in a peaceful form in an era of conflict between the two systems."(2)

Based on a detailed study of all stages of the Chilean revolution, the author convincingly proves that in no way did the revolution refute the possibility of a peaceful transition to power by the proletarian masses and a subsequent peaceful advance to socialism. On the contrary, it confirmed it. At the same time the author emphasizes that the concept of this type of revolution, expounded in V.I. Lenin's works and developed in documents of the international communist movement, has nothing in common with so-called "theories" of an institutional or parliamentary path to the revolution. This concept, notes the author, "allows that any form of revolutionary activity may be necessary in a struggle for power, but positive results can be achieved only if the revolutionary movement is capable of applying (and changing) these forms as the situation requires."(p.63) In other words, the peaceful development of a revolution is also simultaneously a fierce class struggle in every area of socio-political and public life. It uses every form and means at its disposal, with the exception of civil war, and is, therefore, not merely a gradual ("peaceful") growth into socialism.

At the same time the revolution in Chile, which confirmed in principle the possibility of this type of path, showed that in developing in accordance with general laws it acquires its own significant characteristics. First, there is a great increase in the period of time during which socio-economic change takes place, and this increases the possibility of maneuvering and opposition by groups of the ruling classes and, in general, the reactionary forces which have been excluded from power. Second, there are more pretexts for allies from the working class to waver, which then requires the implementation of an exceptionally flexible policy on the part of the working class. Finally, with a peaceful path of revolution the interrelationship of politics and economics becomes far more complex, as do the interrelationships between the general strategy of the revolution and the tactics of the struggle at every stage.

This work provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of the working class in a revolution, its social structure, and its influence on other classes and strata of society. The analysis permitted the author to reach an important and fundamental conclusion, both in meaning and in its relationship to other problems, to the effect that the proletariat is the main driving and guiding force of the revolution in Chile. During the most difficult moments it courageously fought the reactionary forces, providing the decisive support to Allende's government. Only the active participation of the broad masses in the revolutionary process under the leadership of the proletariat made possible the transformation of an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. At the same time, the working class must accomplish, as V.I. Lenin noted, a "double-pronged mission" of vast importance for the fate of the revolution: "First, it must attract, through its selfless heroism of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, all the masses who are working and who are being exploited; they must be recruited, organized and led in overthrowing the bourgeoisie and completely crushing all opposition emanating from the bourgeoisie; second, the working class must lead all the working and exploited masses, as well as the petty bourgeoisie, on the path to a new economic order, on the path of creating a new social relationship, a new labor discipline, a new organization of labor...."(3)

It is through this prism that Yu.N. Korolev examines the reasons for the political and military defeat of the Chilean revolution. The main reason for the defeat was the ability of local reactionary groups, acting in close union with US imperialist monopolies, to isolate the working class, winning over to their side (even though temporarily) the wavering strata of the population. The defeat in 1973 came about first of all because of the weakening of the leading role of the proletariat, which was the consequence of the collapse of its union with the middle strata and because of the loss of their natural allies to the bourgeoisie. This loss was due both to serious, objective difficulties, as well as to a number of subjective reasons, primarily errors and miscalculations of the revolutionary avant-garde.

Yu.N. Korolev concentrates on a number of other important factors, including the miscalculations of the government in its economic policy. As the author notes, "the National Unity was not able to resolve the main economic task: to transform the state and public sectors into an integrated and systemic

force to deal with economic relations. Also not justified were the hopes that with the aid of purely economic measures the government could attract to the side of the revolution and hold on the side of the revolution the petty bourgeoisie of the city and the village."(p.65)

A negative factor was the lack of unity within the people's bloc on a number of problems relating to developing and extending the revolution both from a strategic as well as a tactical standpoint. The Chilean experience showed that the establishment of unions and coalitions of leftist political parties has both positive and negative aspects. The existence of a bloc of leftist parties in a period when the revolution was on the upsurge in the country, facilitated the recruitment of broad masses of the working population to revolutionary-type activities. Even though at that time there were isolated differences in views among the parties, they were overcome relatively painlessly. However, when the tempo of the revolution slowed down, and the reactionary forces began a frontal attack, the weak points came to the foreground. Differences between the members of the National Unity became rather harsh, which facilitated the success of the military-fascist overthrow.

The lack of a well-developed program with respect to the armed forces was evident, as were the tolerance toward counterrevolutionary activities of the reactionary forces and the attempt of the government not to go beyond the framework of "constitutionalism" and "legality."

In conclusion, I would like to note the optimistic tone that permeates the book. Notwithstanding the fact that the revolution has temporarily retreated, it will inevitably return to the land of Chile. And in this connection I would like to quote Lenin's words: "Whoever 'allows' a proletarian revolution only 'on the condition' that it goes easily and smoothly ... that a guarantee in advance be given that it will not be defeated, that the road of the revolution be wide, free and straight, that at times marching to victory would not result in terrible losses and that one would not have to 'sit it out in a besieged fortress' or make one's way along the narrowest, unpassable, twisting and dangerous mountain paths ... whoever thinks this has not been freed from the pedantry of bourgeois intelligentsia...."(4)

The publication of Yu.N. Korolev's book is a significant event in Marxist research on the basic problems of the Chilean revolution of 1970-1973. It will undoubtedly be received with great interest by both Soviet and foreign readers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yermolayev, V.I. and Korolev, Yu.N., "Rekabarren -- velikiy grazhdanin Chili" [Requabarren(?): The Great Citizen of Chile], Moscow, 1970; Korolev, Yu.N., "Chili: problemy yedinstva demokraticheskikh i antiimperialisticheskikh sil. 1956-1970" [Chile: Problems of the Unity of Democratic and Anti-Imperialist Forces] Moscow, 1973; Korolev, Yu.N., "Chili: revolyutsiya i kontrrevolyutsiya" [Chile: Revolution and Counterrevolution], Moscow, 1976; and others.

2. "Revolyutsiya i kontrrevolyutsiya: uroki Chili i problemy klassovoy bor'by" [Revolution and Counterrevolution: Lessons of Chile and Problems of Class Struggle], Moscow, 1975, p. 5.

3. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," v. 39, p. 17.

4. V.I. Lenin, v. 37, p. 57.

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NATIONAL

OKUDZHAVA VIEWS ARTISTIC CRAFT, ADVISES YOUNG WRITERS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 7, 10 Feb 84 pp 8-9

[Interview with Bulat Okudzhava conducted by Yelena Kostina: "Everything Depends on Talent..."]

[Excerpts] [Question] Your book "Mart Velikodushnyy" [Magnanimous March] consists of poems and songs. Yet reading it we cannot draw a clear line between them, such is the musical sound of the poems and the strong poetic fabric of the songs which legitimately coexist in the book, even without the music. The same could be said of the best songs by Novella Matveyeva and Vladimir Vysotskiy, which could be "read with the eyes." Although the tape recorder has its advantages, it cannot take the place of a book.

[Answer] Thank you for the kind words. I find it difficult to speak about my comrades. As for me, naturally, the main feature of this "pop" genre is poetry. I love to read it, as they say, "with the eyes." I must point out that it is precisely here that unexpected paradoxes develop. Very effective "songs" printed on paper become poor and inexpressive. To me this always represents a major loss.

I know that Vladimir Vysotskiy had the same view on poetry: what he valued most in his songs was poetry. He dreamed of publishing a book, and not even a book, just a line of his poems. Occasionally something would be printed, in "Poetry Day" for example. As a rule, for example, they were not his most successful works (for some reason such works are the easiest to publish). Yet Vysotskiy was a poet with his own topics and his own voice. Anyway, his first major record and first book eventually came out. Vysotskiy's book "Nerv" [Nerve] was not entirely successful, in my view, despite its quite complete variety of works. Naturally, it was necessary as a memory. Clearly, however, one should not have been in a hurry to publish it. In my view, the first publication should have included very few of the best works of this poet.

[Question] Bulat Shalvovich, since the conversation has turned to your prose, let me ask you something: Why have you chosen historical subjects? Is it because of your interest in a specific time in history or perhaps some kind of association of ideas?

[Answer] You are asking what historical prose means to me. I think that, in general, historical prose is written either when the author wants to describe a historical personality or historical event or else simply as a means of self-expression. Sometimes it is a combination of both. In some cases historical novelists are unfortunately considered simply as illustrators of

history. This may be necessary, as is a motion picture on ballet for those who cannot go to a theater. Most generally, however, the very definition of "historical prose" is, in my view, inaccurate. What is "War and Peace?" Is it exclusively a historical novel? To me all there is is artistic literature and an artist who carries out an assignment which is exclusive for all centuries and times: to express himself with all means at his disposal. In my view, the material used--historical or contemporary--is not all that important.

[Question] Many poets have in the course of time switched to prose, yes, precisely switched, for one has eliminated the other. In your work (judging by journal publications) poems and prose have been alternating with enviable regularity for nearly 20 years. Is it difficult for the poet and the prose writer to coexist "under the same skin?"

[Answer] Somehow, they manage. Today, however, I write almost no poetry, or very little. Yet I lean toward poetry at all times and occasionally write a few lines. I would like to write poetry, to write new songs. However, I find this to be quite difficult today, for there no longer are the lyrical characters or the unfettered atmosphere which once existed. Anyway, once in a while I do something and, thank God, one does not prevent the other.

[Question] Is prose therefore a more "responsible" occupation? A new poem or song may be "run" by the public and an idea could be gained as to what has been successful or unsuccessful judging by the reaction of the audience, for in this case the response is almost instantaneous and the possibility of correcting something is always extant. Yet a published story or novel is immediately outside the author's control and, until the next printing, he can no longer change anything or somehow influence the assessment of his work by readers and critics.

[Answer] Naturally. This is not only a more "responsible" but, in this sense, a less protected undertaking, precisely in the area of relations with the critics. I admit that I have had my share of criticism for poems and prose. But let me reveal a secret: I have never considered critical attacks as major lessons. This may have been partially the result of the level of criticism I received. Naturally, it is hurtful when a critic discovers my weaknesses or something I have been unable to accomplish, which could be chalked up to "experience." However, advice as to how to write has been entirely useless. I have always been terribly embittered by the inability to answer accusations of imaginary distortions. For example, a critic who reviewed by novel "Bednyy Avrosimov" [Poor Avrosimov] chastised me for the use of the words "the opportunity to make revolutions," describing me as a total illiterate. Yet I had borrowed them from Pestel's letter in which he wrote about his generation that it learned the "opportunity to make revolutions." The critic considered this to be my error and I was unable to point out to him that these were Pestel's literal words. These are the things that bother me: lack of understanding stemming from ignorance.

[Question] Let us return to the problems of young literary workers. On the basis of the current publishing plans quite frequently an author sees his first book published 5 to 7 years after its completion. Yet is it easy to move on with a ballast of unpublished manuscripts? Or else do you believe

that a beginning author should not be impatient to have his first book published?

[Answer] Naturally, he should not be impatient. I had had few works published before my first book and I am not sorry for this. Molodaya Gvardiya published one of my poems. It was poor, but it so happened, the topic was suitable. Prior to the Conference of Young Writers two horrible poems of mine were published in the selected works by young poets in 1955...

My first book with precisely the same poems was finally published and no one paid attention to it. I subsequently realized a great deal, thought a great deal and was not in a hurry to publish. Nevertheless, my manuscript was noted and interested other people and it was already as an adult that I published my real first book with "Sovetskiy Pisatel'," a work which I consider good to this day.

However, a book published by a young poet naturally brings a great deal of happiness. I was greatly inspired by my second book--"Ostrova" [Islands]! This was a very small collection of 30 poems.... I remember the enthusiasm with which I ran to the bookstore and asked whether it had received my book. "What is your name?" "Okudzhava," I answered. I was told: "Oh! And we thought that this was a translation from the Japanese and did not order it..."

I have experienced both strange and pleasant things. I had many copies of the book which I gave away right and left. This too was very pleasant.

[Question] More than 30 years ago you went to Antokol'skiy as his student. Today, as a master, the young poets come to you for advice, support and guidance. Bulat Shalvovich, what would you like to say in conclusion to the young authors who are just entering the field of literature?

[Answer] I must admit that I frequently meet with 18-20-year-old young people who are writing poetry. In frequent cases they are quite poetically literate but are not poets. They are simply people who can rhyme words. Their poetry has no "discoveries," without which no one can be a poet. Look at it: everything is perfect, smooth, familiar and known and "discovered" quite some time ago. Is it possible confidently to speak of their future on the basis of such poems? I do not undertake to do so. In such cases, what does the printing of even a very substantive work prove? I understand that being published gives the right to fame, success and reputation. The main thing, however, is the madness of creativity, the desire to create rather than publish, the eagerness to express oneself, to voice something original. This implies many blows, failures, and despair which, may the readers of these lines forgive me, I consider necessary. All else depends on fate rather than the involvement of fathers, mothers or various patrons. Whether apocryphal or not, something like this happened: A young poet went to see Mandel'shtam and complained of not being published. Mandel'shtam kicked him out and yelled after him: "Was Homer published?"

Not being a judge, I always wish the young a happy fate which cannot be fabricated: Everything depends on talent alone.

REGIONAL

GROSSU ADDRESSES YEDINETSKIY ELECTORATE

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 22 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[Report by ATEM: "To New Victories Under the Party's Guidance. Meeting of S. K. Grossu With the Electorate"]

[Text] The meeting between the voters of Yedinetskiy Electoral District and S. K. Grossu, candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union and first secretary of the CP of Moldavia Central Committee, was a vivid manifestation of unity between party and people.

The meeting was opened by M. I. Snegur, Yedinetskiy Party Raykom first secretary.

A. I. Zagorcha, head of a fitter's brigade at the Kalinin Sugar Combine, the candidate proxy, spoke on Grossu's labor and social activities.

Speakers L. Ye. Batyr, library manager at Korestoutsy village, Oknitskiy Rayon, N. F. Verstyuk, director of the Feteshtskiy Sovkhoz, Yedinetskiy Rayon, V. L. Gutsu, deputy chief physician at the Yedinetskiy Rayon hospital, T. A. Velishko, party committee secretary at the Mayak Kolkhoz, Oknitskiy Rayon, and others said that our party's strength lies in its inflexible loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, closest possible ties with the masses and ability to rely on the civic activeness of millions of working people and ideologically and organizationally to rally them in the struggle for building communism.

S. K. Grossu was warmly welcomed by those present. He said:

The current electoral campaign is taking place under the influence of the ideas of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the decisions and stipulations of which strengthen, develop and enrich the stipulations and conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Central Committee plenums. Together they form a single political line which earmarks a clear path to the advancement of developed socialism and further progress toward communism.

Yu. V. Andropov, whose death was a heavy loss to the communist party and the entire Soviet people, made a great personal contribution to the formulation and implementation of this line and to the collective activities of the Central Committee and CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He was an outstanding Leninist-type leader, a zealous patriot and a persistent fighter for peace and

communism. In honoring a person who had dedicated his entire life, knowledge and experience to the struggle for the triumph of communist ideas, the working people firmly know that the source of our strength was, is and will remain their cohesion around the CPSU which the Soviet people consider their tried collective leader and wise guide and organizer.

Our people welcomed with approval the results of the extraordinary February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenum, which proved the continuity of the party's policy and its firm will to follow the true Leninist course, a plenum at which Comrade K. U. Chernenko was elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

K. U. Chernenko is a loyal Leninist, an outstanding leader of the communist party and Soviet state, and the closest fellow worker of L. I. Brezhnev and Yu. V. Andropov. He is a leader with outstanding party and human qualities, who has made a tremendous contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the development of topical problems of ideological work and the party's guidance of social processes. The party members and all working people in our republic know Konstantin Ustinovich well. For many years he was head of the propaganda and agitation department of the CP of Moldavia Central Committee, dedicating his forces and knowledge to the economic and cultural construction in the republic; he was repeatedly elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet representing the Leninskiy Electoral District in Kishinev; he pays daily attention to the various aspects of life in Moldavia and helps it in its development.

The CPSU Central Committee appeal to all voters and citizens of the USSR, the candidate for deputy pointed out, is a specific scientific political platform. This most important electoral document, imbued with deep faith in the creative strength and intelligence of the working people, constitutes an extensive and truthful party report to the Soviet people on what our country accomplished during the 5 years since the previous elections. It shows the historical accomplishments of the land of the soviets at the mature socialist stage. It earmarks the range of tasks for the future. The summary conclusion contained in the CPSU Central Committee appeal is the following: the political course formulated by the party is being steadfastly implemented.

The speaker further detailed the successes achieved by the republic in economic and cultural construction. He discussed the tasks to be implemented by the Moldavian working people. He noted that industry has become a major economic area in the republic. Its sectorial structure is fully consistent with the role and place of the area in the all-union division of labor, the social interests and traditions of the people and the prospects for the further development of the republic's production forces. During the past 5 years the volume of industrial output increased by 32 percent, including 56 percent in machine building. During the first 3 years of the current five-year plan the production of industrial commodities increased by more than 20 percent rather than 17 percent as planned.

Moldavian production forces are continuing to develop. Soon new plants--metallurgical in Rybnitsa, cement in Rezina and sugar refinery in Brichany--

will appear on its economic map. The machine building, electrical engineering, and food and construction industries are increasing their capacities. The fuel-energy complex will be developed further by increasing the capacities of existing electric power plants and transformer substations, lengthening the grid of high-tension power lines and the construction of a petroleum refinery on the republic's territory.

The party's attention is steadily focused on problems of the further development of agriculture. The USSR Food Program, which was formulated and became a truly nationwide project, is being successfully implemented. The volumes of output and procurements of agricultural commodities are steadily increasing in our republic as well. For the first time in 1983 sales to the state totaled 127,800 tons of tobacco or 60 percent more than in 1978. In 5 years purchases of fruits and berries increased by a factor of 2.8; of grapes, by 29 percent; and of sunflower, by 27 percent. Last year the highest indicator in gross agricultural output was reached: 3,092,000,000 rubles or 14 percent above the 1980 figure.

The economic and production structure of agriculture has improved substantially of late. Its scientific and technical level, intensification and efficiency have increased. Compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan, during the first 3 years of the current five-year plan profits from sales of agricultural commodities in the republic increased by a factor of 1.5. In 1983 they totaled 802 million rubles, or an increase by a factor of 3.5 compared to 1980. Currently the agroindustrial complex continues to implement extensive measures to convert agriculture into a highly developed economic sector.

The past 5 years have reconfirmed the inflexible CPSU course of steadily enhancing the people's living standards. Today the Soviet people live better than at any time in the past. This is an unquestionable fact and the reality of all republics. In Moldavia the 1982 per capita retail trade was 978 rubles or 17 percent more than in 1978. The people have begun to eat and dress better. The availability of cultural-consumer goods has increased. In 5 years, through the efforts of the state, the kolkhozes, the social organizations and the population 7.5 million square meters of general housing area were constructed.

Over the past 5 years considerable economic and sociocultural changes have taken place not only in the republic at large but in each individual rayon, city, village and labor collective. Let us take Yedinetskiy Rayon as an example. In the past it was strictly agrarian. Today it has a well-developed industry with a gross annual output totaling 170 million rubles, powerful construction and transportation organizations, commercial enterprises and modern services. Noteworthy successes have been achieved by the rural workers as well.

Similar changes in economic development have taken place in Oknitskiy, Brichanskiy, Glodyanskiy and Ryshkanskiy rayons, whose population is also part of the Yedinetskiy Electoral District. They are also engaged in extensive sociocultural construction.

We can say with full justification that major positive changes in literally all corners of our great homeland have taken place since the last elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Grossu emphasized. The December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum comprehensively assessed achievements in the country's socioeconomic development over the past year. The decree which was passed particularly emphasizes that now it is important to maintain the pace which was reached and the overall thrust toward the practical solution of problems and actively to develop positive trends and to make them stable.

The working people accepted the CPSU Central Committee stipulations with understanding. They are continuing to improve the level of economic management with even greater persistence and consistency; they are displaying a creative attitude toward the work and striving for the further growth of labor productivity at each workplace; they are strengthening organization, discipline and order.

This year the collectives of industrial enterprises are purposefully struggling to increase their output by 3.2 percent compared to last year, to increase sales by 60 million rubles above the plan and to earn 30 million rubles in additional income. In this economic area particular attention should be paid to the creation of comprehensively mechanized and automated shops and sectors, ensure the fuller use of production capacities, the installation of new equipment and use of progressive experience and the strict observance of contractual obligations for deliveries and further increase in the production of high-quality consumer goods.

The rural workers as well have developed their socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of this year's plans and assignments. Their duty is to reach a qualitatively new standard in the implementation of the USSR Food Program, to increase their contribution to it, to increase agricultural output by 7.8 percent compared to last year and to sell the state 801,000 tons of grain, 3.5 million tons of vegetables, fruits and grapes, 855,000 tons of milk, 311,000 tons of meat and 630 million eggs and to add to the all-union stock 709,000 tons of fresh fruits and vegetables.

The multinational Soviet state, which embodies the greatness of social justice, friendship and fraternal cooperation among equal peoples, has been successfully developing for more than 6 decades, the speaker pointed out. This friendship was tempered in class battles, strengthened in the labor five-year plans, withstood the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War and manifested with new strength in the period of restoration of the national economy destroyed by the war; it continues to develop and to strengthen under mature socialist conditions. The Moldavian people consider as their highest value their affiliation with the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. Friendship with them is the base of their successful socioeconomic, political and cultural development.

S. K. Grossu, CP of Moldavia Central Committee first secretary, dealt extensively in his speech with the further development of the sociopolitical system and the advancement of Soviet statehood and expansion of socialist democracy. During the past few years alone a number of most important documents were adopted in the country which, in their totality, have enhanced the

role and significance of the Soviet state in the life of society and added qualitatively new features to socialist democracy.

One of the most important results of the work in this direction was the substantial enrichment of the content of socialist democracy, the manifestation of more efficient and varied forms of exercise of popular rule, the expanded participation of the masses in the administration of industrial and social affairs, the energizing of their labor creativity, the strengthening of people's control and the increased activeness of trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations.

"Our entire experience proves," Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary said at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "that the most important source of party strength has always been, is and will remain its ties with the masses, the civic activeness of millions of working people and their responsible approach to production affairs and problems of social life."

The party is continuing to improve and intensify socialist democracy. This is the CPSU's steadfast course.

The Soviet people are firmly convinced that, in voting for the candidates of the bloc of party and non-party members, they are voting for a Leninist foreign policy, the invariable objective of which is to ensure a durable peace and universal security, to broaden and deepen cooperation among countries and to protect the right of nations to independence and social progress. Our homeland is a great socialist state which is fully aware of its responsibility to mankind for the preservation and consolidation of peace.

Like the entire Soviet people, the republic's working people welcomed with great understanding the stipulations of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the effect that under the conditions of the international circumstances which were aggravated by the fault of aggressive imperialist circles the strict implementation of the State Plan becomes not only an obligation but a patriotic duty for every Soviet person, each labor collective and party and social organization, Comrade Grossu said. They are fully resolved to do everything necessary for the implementation of plans and socialist obligations and thus for making a specific contribution to strengthening the defense capability of their fatherland and the preservation of peace on earth.

Everything achieved by the Soviet people is the result, above all, of the titanic efforts of the communist party--the nucleus of the political system of the USSR. Its plans and large-scale programs based on the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums determine today the labor rhythm of the Soviet people, trigger the tremendous political and labor upsurge of the working people and call on them to reach new peaks in building communism.

Guided by the CPSU Central Committee, the CP of Moldavia--one of the combat detachments of the great Leninist party--is enhancing the level of its organizational and guiding activities. In implementing the CPSU Central Committee

decree "On the Work of the CP of Moldavia Central Committee on Improving the Style and Methods of Activity of Party Organizations in the Light of the Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum," it is concentrating its efforts on upgrading the efficiency of party management of all aspects of life in the republic and the organization of the practical implementation of party and government directives. Unquestionably, the candidate for deputy pointed out, the Moldavian working people will continue to support warmly and unanimously the party's domestic and foreign policy, display their class consciousness and high collectivistic qualities with new strength and ensure through their selfless toil the implementation of national economic plans and socialist obligations.

In conclusion, S. K. Grossu voiced his warm gratitude to the voters for his nomination as candidate for USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and assured them that he will continue loyally to serve the interests of the people and the cause of peace and communism.

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REGIONAL

USUBALIYEV MEETS WITH ELECTORATE

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIYA in Russian 29 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[KirTAG Report: "Loyalty to the Ideals of Leninism; Meeting of the Electorate With T. U. Usubaliyev"]

[Excerpts] The course of the preparations in the republic for elections to the supreme organ of state power in the country is a vivid demonstration of the unanimous approval by the working people of Soviet Kirghizstan of the Leninist course of the communist party and Soviet state and a convincing manifestation of their inflexible resolve successfully to implement the historical resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Voters' meetings in the Kyzyl-Kiyskiy Electoral District No 719 with Turdakun Usubaliyevich Usubaliyev, CPSU Central Committee member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee, candidate for deputy to the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet took place in a spirit of high political and labor upsurge. Such meetings were held in Kyzyl-Kiya city and Aravanskiy, Frunzenskiy, Batkenskiy and Lyaylyakskiy rayons.

With great enthusiasm the participants in the meeting elected an honorary presidium consisting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The meeting was addressed by the candidate's proxies K. Rysbayev, party committee secretary at the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Naukatskiy Rayon, D. U. Tadayev, head of a miner's brigade at the Mine imeni Leninskiy Komsomol of the Kyzyl-Kiyskoye Mine Administration, Z. A. Fozilov, mechanic-technologist at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, Frunzenskiy Rayon, K. Seydakmatov, department manager at the Sovettik Kyrgyzstan Sovkhoz, and V. I. Khryapov, chief mechanic at the Sulyuktinskoye Mine Administration. They spoke of T. U. Usubaliyev's career and called upon the district voters unanimously to vote for the candidates of the unbreakable bloc of communist and nonparty members.

"The working people of Aravanskiy Rayon," said S. Sarkarova, leader of a Komsomol-youth brigade at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin and deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, have adopted as their battle program the resolutions of the extraordinary February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which convincingly proved the unbreakable unity between party and people. As we rally even more closely around the Leninist Central Committee of our party and its Politburo,

headed by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, we are fully resolved to dedicate all our forces to strengthening the economic and defense potential of our socialist homeland. The rayon's labor collectives have planned to reach high standards in honor of the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet and the 60th anniversary of the Kirghiz SSR and the Kirghiz Communist Party."

In describing the ways for the implementation of their enhanced obligations, the participants in the meeting spoke of the unanimous support given the party's domestic and foreign policy and the full approval of the resolutions adopted at the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum.

T. U. Usubaliyev was warmly welcomed at the meeting. He expressed his warm gratitude and profound thanks to all working people in the district who had renominated him candidate for USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. I care very much and am proud of your trust, T. U. Usubaliyev said, and I fully ascribe it to our Leninist party, of which I have been a member for more than 40 years. Allow me to assure you that I shall try to justify this high trust and worthily fulfill the honorable and responsible obligations of deputy to the supreme state power organ.

The current electoral campaign, T. U. Usubaliyev said, once again convincingly proves the unbreakable unity between party and people. This great unity and monolithic cohesion among communists-Leninists and like-minded people was manifested with new emphasis in connection with our severe loss--the death of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The extraordinary February CPSU Central Committee plenum proved the unbreakable continuity of the Leninist course in the exercise of the party's domestic and foreign policy. The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The Soviet people welcomed Comrade K. U. Chernenko's programmatic speech, which is a document of major political and mobilizing importance, with tremendous enthusiasm. In expressing the thoughts and feelings of the party members and all working people in the republic, the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee Plenum, which was held on 22 February 1984, unanimously approved the decision of the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum on electing Comrade K. U. Chernenko general secretary of our Leninist party's Central Committee and adopted as a strict manual for implementation the stipulations and conclusions contained in his speech.

Under the stormy applause T. U. Usubaliyev said: Allow me, on your behalf, and on behalf of all working people in the Kyzyl-Kiyskiy Electoral District, warmly to congratulate Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko for his nomination to the high post of leader of our Leninist party and to wish him fruitful activities for the sake of the happiness and blossoming of our great socialist homeland and the triumph of communism and peace on earth.

These days, Comrade T. U. Usubaliyev went on to say, the party members and all working people of Soviet Kyrgyzstan in proclaiming their boundless

loyalty to the cause of the communist party, in rallying even more closely around the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, are displaying their high consciousness and organization in labor and are directing their creative energy toward successfully implementing the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

Within the united fraternal family of Soviet peoples, Kirghizstan is confidently increasing the pace of its socioeconomic, spiritual and cultural development and is increasing its contribution to strengthening the single national economic complex--the economic foundation of the fraternal friendship and unity among Soviet peoples.

One of the main trends in the development of the republic's industry is the extensive development of the truly inexhaustible hydraulic power resources, those of the Naryn River above all, which the people justifiably describe as the river of friendship.

The republic is becoming a major national area for electric power production. In 1983 alone it generated some 11 billion kilowatt hours.

Another major direction in the further growth of the republic's economic potential is the creation of the Issyk-Kulsko-Chuyskiy Territorial-Production Complex, which calls for the comprehensive development of the natural resources of Issyk-Kul Oblast and the Chuyskaya Valley.

T. U. Usubaliyev spoke of the development prospects for nonferrous metallurgy and the coal industry in the republic and emphasized that great attention is being paid also to the development of exceptionally important sectors such as machine building and metal processing, electrical engineering and the electronic industry, which account for a substantial share of the Kirghiz national economy.

The republic is taking a number of steps to increase the production and improve the quality of consumer goods and to develop consumer services. In the past 3 years consumer goods worth more than 7 billion rubles have been produced, thus outstripping the planned figure. However, existing possibilities are not fully used and the necessary steps are being taken in this direction.

The republic party organization is focusing its attention on the implementation of the country's Food Program. The main efforts are concentrated on developing the leading agricultural sector in the republic--animal husbandry. The CP of Kirghizia Central Committee and the republic's council of ministers have formulated with the extensive participation of scientists, specialists and farm managers, steps aimed at the intensification of sheep breeding. These proposals, as we know, were supported by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

On the suggestion of the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee the existing agricultural specialization in the republic was reviewed within the framework of

the national division of labor. We have reduced the volumes of cotton and commercial sugar beets purchases, the production of which, as a result of a lengthy period of one-crop growing and the severe contamination of the crops with pests and diseases, had become inefficient. Instead of these crops, the republic is increasing the production of tobacco, sugar beet seeds and alfalfa seeds. Such agricultural specialization is not only consistent with the interests of the republic itself but increases its contribution to resolving the country's Food Program.

We have acquired good experience in growing sugar beets from seeds without transplanting. Our republic is currently becoming a major supplier of such seeds.

The republic has favorable soil and weather conditions for tobacco growing. Last year the tobacco growers sold the state more than 67,000 tons of tobacco leaves rather than 50,000 as planned, or nearly double the 1981 volume. These are outstanding achievements.

The growth of the national income convincingly proves the dynamic development of the national economy. Since the last elections it has increased in the republic by 23 percent. Productive capital increased by 34.7 percent, while the 1983 volume of industrial output exceeded 5 billion rubles, showing an increase of 23.6 percent over a 5-year period. Compared with the previous 5-year period, gross agricultural production in the republic over the last 5 years increased by 550,500,000 rubles or 7.9 percent.

Over the past 5 years capital investments in the republic's economy exceeded 5.1 billion rubles. This is an increase of 623 million rubles or 14 percent over the previous 5-year period.

Housing and sociocultural construction are taking place on a large scale in the republic. Science, public education, health care, culture and other sectors of the republic's national economy were developed further. Within the united family of Soviet peoples, the working people of Kyrghizstan developed a good base for the implementation of the assignments of the fourth year of the five-year plan. The 1983 assignments for the production and marketing of industrial commodities were overfulfilled. The working people in agriculture worked well. The plans for sales to the state of all basic crop and animal husbandry goods were fulfilled successfully. Cattle herds have been increased. This creates a good foundation for increasing further the production of animal husbandry goods. The republic's construction workers have begun to do more stable work.

The tremendous achievements of Soviet Kyrghizstan in building communism, the speaker emphasized, are mainly the result of the constant concern and attention shown by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet state and the increasing help of the fraternal republics. They are also the result of the dedicated efforts of the working people and the great organizing and ideological-educational activities of the republic's party organization.

As in the other republics, in Soviet Kyrghizstan members of many nationalities and ethnic groups are working jointly, shoulder to shoulder, for the

sake of the blossoming of our common socialist fatherland. The republic party organization, the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee, its bureau and, personally, the Central Committee first secretary, focus and will continue to focus their attention on such exceptionally important matters as the patriotic and international upbringing of the working people and strengthening the fraternal friendship among Soviet peoples. We are seeing to it that the principles of socialist internationalism and fraternal friendship imbue the life of every single labor collective and the activities of all party and social organizations in the republic.

I am pleased to note and, together with you, I am happy to see that the working people in Osh Oblast are actively working on the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Osh Oblast was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for high results achieved in the all-union socialist competition and successful implementation of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1983.

Allow me, on behalf of the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee and the republic's government, to offer my warm congratulations to the winners of the all-union and republic socialist competition for their major and deserved award and to wish them new labor victories.

Industrial and economic production is increasingly developing and the material and cultural living standards of the people are rising in Kyzyl-Kiyskiy Electoral District as throughout the republic. In discussing these successes, T. U. Usubaliyev reported on the fulfillment of voters' instructions pertaining to most important problems related to the development of the economy and culture, improving the well-being of the working people in the district's cities and rayons, and improvements in the work of individual enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and establishments.

Industry in Kyzyl-Kiya was substantially developed in the period between elections. Increased labor productivity in all industrial enterprises in the city accounted for three-quarters of the growth of industrial output. Kyzyl-Kiya has now become the fourth largest industrial center in the republic.

Over the past 5 years capital investments in the city exceeded 45 million rubles. Major industrial, social and cultural projects were completed. The citizens were given more than 44,000 square meters of housing.

A water main is being laid from Isfayram-Say to Kyzyl-Kiya with a view to meeting in full the needs of the city for drinking water. A powerful boiler system was commissioned, which made it possible to improve heat supplies to enterprises and the population. The construction of treatment facilities was completed.

The material and technical base of agriculture in Aravanskiy and Naukatskiy rayons was significantly strengthened during the past 5 years. Power-generating facilities per working person in Aravanskiy Rayon increased by

32 percent. New animal husbandry premises, a feed shop and mechanized tobacco complexes were built. Another 800 hectares in irrigated land and a number of irrigation systems were commissioned. Two new sovkhoses--Oshskiy and Anar--were established. An extensive amount of work was done in Naukatskiy Rayon as well. During the 5-year period industrial projects were built worth in excess of 18 million rubles. Both rayons pay great attention to increasing agricultural water availability. To this effect the Kungey and Gerey-Shoron canals are being reconstructed. The Nayman Canal was reconstructed with a view to reaching the planned capacity of the Nayman water reservoir. Major projects of vital importance to the economy of Aravanskiy and Naukatskiy rayons are under construction, such as the Papan and Aravan water reservoirs and the Ak-Bura-Aravan Canal. Their construction is supervised by the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee and the republic's council of ministers.

The social reorganization of the countryside is taking place on a broad scale.

All of this ensured the stable growth of agricultural production.

Grain production is increasing. This five-year plan the rayon's farms undertook the growing of alfalfa seeds. The initial results have been encouraging. Positive changes have been noted in the development of animal husbandry as well.

The best production collectives, our outstanding frontrankers, are making a substantial contribution to the implementation of plans and obligations. Let me particularly note the good work of the enterprises of the Kyzyl-Kiyskoye Mine Administration. The working people in the other enterprises of Kyzyl-Kiya--the cannery, the tobacco farm plant, the dairy plant, the Dinamo Clothing Factory, the motorized column of the Oshsel'stroy Trust and the Mine Construction Administration--are working harmoniously.

Unfortunately I cannot list the names of all frontrankers, Comrade Usubaliyev said. On behalf of the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee, I would like sincerely to thank all leaders in the competition for their model and inspired efforts for the good of the people.

If we assess the achievements of the district's working people in the light of the new party requirements, the author went on to say, we should admit that many shortcomings and omissions remain in the areas of economic and social development. Thus, Aravanskiy and Naukatskiy rayons are failing to fulfill their assignments for a number of indicators. Animal husbandry remains a losing sector. Milk production, wool and the number of lamb and colt offspring remain below average republic indicators. Some managers and specialists fail to pay the necessary attention to the use of new high-yielding farm crops and to apply scientific farming systems. Aravanskiy Rayon has lowered its attention to cotton growing. Everything possible must be done to ensure this year the strict implementation of obligations for cotton sales to the state.

The quality of output at some Kyzyl-Kiya enterprises, particularly those engaged in the production of consumer goods, is not always consistent with modern demands. Few items bearing the state Emblem of Quality are produced. The transportation organizations and consumer and communal service enterprises are working below capacity. The brigade form of labor organization and wages is being applied sluggishly. Slightly over one-half of the 380 brigades in urban industry, construction and services are applying this method.

The working people in Frunzenskiy Rayon are not making use of all available possibilities. Many construction organizations are not fulfilling their plans. Animal husbandry productivity and crop yields are slow to increase in many farms. No proper attention is being paid to the use of progressive agrotechnology. The conversion of collectives to cost-accounting has not acquired the necessary scope. Violations of production and labor discipline occur.

Livestock productivity in Batkenskiy Rayon has remained on the 1980 level and the average milking per fodder-fed cow has even declined. Farm crop yields remain low. The task of strictly observing the regimen of savings and economical and thrifty use of resources, and introducing model order and organization in all production sectors remains unfulfilled.

The working people of Lyaylyakskiy Rayon and Sulyukty have unresolved problems. Crop yields and livestock productivity are increasing too slowly. Not all enterprises are fulfilling their plans. Construction organizations and trade and consumer service enterprises are working below capacity. Increasing coal extraction is the main task. Everything possible must be done to commission the Kyzyl-Bulak Mine this year. Control over the development of the Samarkandyk deposit must be intensified.

In order successfully to implement the 1984 national economic plan stressed and persistent work must be done by every working person without excuses for difficulties. State, production and labor discipline and organization in all sectors must be strengthened comprehensively.

"The question of organization and order," Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is a key, an essential problem. No two opinions are possible here. Disorder and irresponsibility are not merely a material cost to society. They cause major social and moral harm. We, the party members, and the millions of Soviet people well understand this. It is entirely natural that the steps taken by the party for upgrading labor, production, planning and state discipline and strengthening socialist legality have met with truly nationwide approval.... However, it would be erroneous to assume that everything possible has already been accomplished. No, comrades, life teaches us that no slackness whatsoever is possible in this area."

The republic's labor collectives warmly supported the party's appeal to increase labor productivity by 1 percent above the plan and lower production costs by an additional 0.5 percent. I note with satisfaction that this appeal has met with a profound response among the district's voters.

Above-plan increases in labor productivity and further lowering of production costs yield tremendous national economic results in each city and rayon and individual labor collective. The republic's working people gratefully welcomed the suggestion of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to channel all funds and resources obtained as a result of additional increases in labor productivity and reduced production costs into improving the working and living conditions of the Soviet people, medical services and housing construction.

Inspired by the CPSU Central Committee appeal to all voters and citizenry, the republic's labor collectives are adopting counterplans and revising previously planned levels. Today more than 1 million people in the various economic sectors have assumed higher individual socialist obligations. Furthermore, 859 brigades and more than 30,000 production frontrankers have pledged to fulfill the assignments of the first quarter ahead of schedule, by election day, and to produce considerable additional output. All labor collectives must extensively support this patriotic initiative. Every working person in the republic must creatively establish his individual contribution to resolving the nationwide task set by the party's Central Committee. This will be a specific manifestation of the direct participation of the working people in the national economic management.

Steady control must be organized over the implementation of obligations. We must consider, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the plenum, "how better to stimulate materially and morally the creative initiatives and innovations of the working people."

Those who have given their word and are not keeping it, those who weaken state, production and labor discipline and those who fail to fulfill their civic and patriotic duty to the homeland must be taken strictly to task. Under present-day circumstances no other approach is possible in assessing the activities of the people, wherever they may work. This strict requirement is based on the resolutions of the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The systematic implementation of the stipulations of the December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the effect that it is important today to maintain the pace which has been reached and the overall thrust toward the practical solution of problems must be maintained. Positive trends must be energetically developed and stabilized. This is the direct obligation of the republic's party members and all working people.

The period since the last elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet, T. U. Usubaliyev went on to say, was marked by the purposeful and systematic efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state for the implementation of the foreign policy program formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. In describing the situation which developed in the world, at the February Central Committee Plenum Comrade K. U. Chernenko said that it is difficult and tense. Under these circumstances our party is pursuing and will tirelessly pursue the course formulated at the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums of saving the peoples from nuclear war, a course consistent with the expectations of the peoples of our country and the other nations in the world.

One must struggle for peace. One must struggle by strengthening the defense capability of our country, multiplying its economic power and fulfilling and overfulfilling national economic plans. The party points out that under the circumstances of a drastic aggravation of the international situation by the fault of aggressive imperialist circles, the strict observance of the State Plan becomes not only the obligation but the patriotic duty of every Soviet person, labor collective and party and social organization.

The republic's working people are advancing toward elections for the supreme organ of the country's state power monolithically united within the single family of Soviet peoples. Like the other fraternal republics, Soviet Kyrghizstan embodies the unbreakable alliance between party and nonparty members. Unquestionably, the forthcoming elections will be another vivid demonstration of the unbreakable unity between party and people and the fraternal cohesion among all Soviet nations and nationalities rallied around their communist party.

Currently, like everywhere in the country, the electoral districts in our republic are concluding the meetings between voters and their candidates. These meetings took place on a high ideological and organizational level. More than 65,000 working people participated. The republic's working people expressed their unanimous approval of the party's Leninist course and their warm aspiration to strengthen through their shock labor the country's economic and defense power. All of this convincingly proves the creative strength and profoundly democratic universal nature of our Soviet electoral system and the unbreakable and monolithic unity between party and people.

We are convinced that election day will be welcomed by the working people in Osh Oblast, as in the entire republic, with new labor accomplishments, and that they will unanimously vote for the candidates of the unbreakable bloc of party and nonparty members, thus proving their close cohesion with the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

This year, T. U. Usubaliyev said in conclusion, is noteworthy to the Kyrghizstan working people also because the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Kirghiz SSR and the Communist Party of Kirghizia will be celebrated in October 1984. Every labor collective and individual party member and working person in Soviet Kyrghizstan has the sacred duty of welcoming this great holiday with worthy successes in socioeconomic, spiritual and cultural development and with the implementation of national economic plans. The CP of Kirghizia Central Committee expresses its confidence that this is precisely what you will do. We have no doubt whatsoever about this.

The participants in the meeting gave instructions to the candidate for deputy and called upon the district voters to vote for the candidates of the unbreakable bloc of party and nonparty members.

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REGIONAL

RESOLUTION OUTLINES NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN WORK OF RAPO COUNCILS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 25 Jan 84 p 1

[Report: "At the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee passed a decree on the work of the Pasvalskiy Raykom, Lithuanian Communist Party, on managing the activities of the council of the rayon agroindustrial association.

The decree notes that the Pasvalskiy Party Raykom is engaged in organizational work for the implementation of the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the CP of Lithuania Central Committee on improving agricultural management and strengthening intersectorial ties within the agroindustrial complex with a view to achieving high end results.

In the course of its practical management of the agroindustrial complex, the party raykom and its bureau are successfully relying on the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] council. They are engaged in systematic and purposeful efforts to enhance its role and responsibility for the state of affairs in these sectors, the agricultural above all. The party raykom bureau considers at its sessions the work plans of the council of the rayon agroindustrial association and has heard its reports on the social reorganization of the countryside in the light of the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the CP of Lithuania Central Committee, and the reports submitted by many managers of farms and other organizations and enterprises within the association on most important aspects of their activities under the new circumstances.

The RAPO council is being given effective aid in the elimination of departmental barriers and strengthening relations among farms, enterprises and organizations and in uniting their efforts to increase agricultural production and enhance its economic efficiency. Councils of secretaries of such party organizations have been set up with a view to enhancing the role and responsibility of party organizations at enterprises servicing agriculture.

All of this has contributed to improving the activities of the council of the rayon agroindustrial association and to enhancing its role and responsibility in managing agriculture and the sectors within the agroindustrial complex. Major problems such as improving the utilization of the land and upgrading cattle productivity and the level of comprehensive mechanization of livestock farms, improving the construction of agricultural projects increasing feed production and improving its quality, etc., were considered. The RAPO council considers the production-financial plans of enterprises and organizations

within the agroindustrial association, the allocation of capital investments and material-technical and financial resources and the volumes of construction, reclamation, agrochemical and other works and services.

Resolutions or recommendations are issued on the discussed problems and control over their execution is organized.

The RAPO council pays great attention to improving economic relations between enterprises and organizations within the association and the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The latter have refined an accounting system for work and services done in accordance with the end results of farm activities and the implementation of contractual obligations. The conditions for the socialist competition and material and moral incentives within RAPO have been improved. Conditions for awarding bonuses to the personnel of the rayon state Sel'khoztekhnika and Litsel'khozkhimiya rayon associations were considered and adopted.

Sponsorship by leading kolkhozes, sovkhoses and industrial enterprises over economically weak farms has been organized. Priority on such farms is given to providing material-technical and agrochemical services and cadre strengthening. In 1983 alone 18 specialists from the rayon administrative apparatus and the leading farms were assigned to work in them.

The party raykom, the rayon executive committee and the rayon agroindustrial association are taking steps to improve the working and living conditions of the rural working people. All farms have been equipped with basic amenities. The plans for the first 3 years of the five-year plan for the construction of rural housing were fulfilled. This has made it possible to stabilize numerically the rural population, reduce cadre turnover, enhance labor activeness and retain the people, the young in particular, in the countryside.

Such efforts are having a positive impact on the development of agricultural production and the implementation of commodity procurement plans. In 1983 the rayon averaged 33.3 quintals of grain per hectare. Nearly 16 quintals of rough and fresh fodder units per head of cattle were procured, or 20 percent more than in 1982. Milk production per cow averaged 3.577 kilograms or 193 kilograms more than in 1982. An average of 859 quintals of milk and 226.7 quintals of meat were produced by all farm categories per 100 hectares of farmland.

The rayon's farmers fulfilled their assignments for the first 3 years of the five-year plan for the sale of crop and animal husbandry products to the state, with the exception of meat. The rayon was the winner of the all-union socialist competition for the successful wintering of the cattle and for increasing the production and purchasing of animal husbandry products during the 1982/83 winter.

The economy of the farms has strengthened and agricultural production costs have declined. All farms showed a profit in 1983. Net kolkhoz and sovkhos income almost doubled, reaching some 22 million rubles. The amount of surplus kolkhoz funds increased significantly. Indebtedness on short-term

Gosbank loans declined by 1.7 million rubles. The farms settled in full their accounts with suppliers and contractors. All rayon farms are currently ensuring their expanded reproduction with their own funds.

The decree also notes, however, that the Pasvalskiy Party Raykom and its bureau are still not making full use of the possibility of increasing the party's influence on the activities of the council of the rayon agroindustrial association in terms of the implementation of the Food Program. Some of the managers and specialists on farms, enterprises and organizations within RAPO and the agricultural administration failed fully to reorganize their work under the new administration and economic management conditions. They did not study quite profoundly the laws governing the activities of the agroindustrial association. Tariffs and rates for work and services provided by individual enterprises and organizations to kolkhozes and sovkhoses remain insufficiently economically substantiated. The rayon has not established as yet centralized funds for socioeconomic development and incentives. The RAPO council does not fully support the implementation of contractual obligations to kolkhozes and sovkhoses by all enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial association.

The rayon has not succeeded in ensuring the even and dynamic development of all kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Grain crops and the gross grain harvest declined on 14 farms in 1983. Many farms have relatively low grain and feed crops and in some of them cattle productivity and the quality of livestock output remains low. Two farms failed to fulfill their plans for the first 3 years of the five-year plan for grain sales to the state; seven for milk and four for meat.

The party raykom and its bureau are still insufficiently working on enhancing the role and responsibility of the party organizations in RAPO collectives for the state of affairs in agriculture and in the agroindustrial complex sectors as well as their moral and psychological climate.

In its decree the CP of Lithuania Central Committee noted that the Pasvalskiy Raykom, CP of Lithuania, and its bureau have done considerable work to improve the management of agriculture and the other sectors in the agroindustrial complex and to enhance the role and responsibility of the council of the agroindustrial association for the implementation of the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Food Program.

The decree calls upon the party raykom, the rayon executive committee and the RAPO council to eliminate said shortcomings. On the basis of acquired experience and guided by the resolutions of the May 1982 and December 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums and the party and government decrees on agroindustrial problems, they must take all the necessary steps for the RAPO council to work organizedly and at full capacity. They must persistently strive for high efficiency in their actions. They must encourage the independence of the RAPO council and ensure the establishment of a collegial and creative atmosphere in its work and efficient control over the implementation of adopted resolutions and recommendations and direct the attention to resolving the main problems related to the activities of the rayon agroindustrial association.

It is necessary, the decree further stipulates, to continue to improve planning within the framework of the rayon agroindustrial association, to ensure the realistic and balanced nature of the plans of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and their partners, to organize strict control over their implementation and to enhance the responsibility of the collectives and all officials for observing state, planning, technological, performing and labor discipline and reciprocal contractual obligations. Rates and tariffs of the work for and services rendered to kolkhozes and sovkhoses must be systematically reviewed. Accounts between the procurement organizations and farms for goods marketed must be accurate; settlements of accounts among farms for cattle, seeds, feed and other material values sold on the basis of interfarm relations must be defined and approved.

The party raykom, the rayon executive committee and the RAPO council have been instructed to draft and approve conditions and procedures for establishing and using centralized funds for socioeconomic development and material incentive of the rayon agroindustrial association and to improve the conditions for bonuses to the personnel of enterprises and organizations within the RAPO. They must see to it that the activities of enterprises and organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhoses are assessed and that bonuses paid to their personnel be based on end agricultural production results.

The meetings of the RAPO council must be efficient. They must not be overburdened with petty matters. The number of conferences and other mass measures which draw the personnel away from their direct obligations must be reduced to a minimum.

The farm managements, rayon executive committees, rayon state Sel'khoztekhnika and Litsel'khozkhimiya associations and the reclamation, construction and other agroindustrial enterprises and organizations must, in accordance with their capacity, possibility and ceilings, meet maximally and promptly the requests of kolkhozes and sovkhoses for material and technical facilities and contracting work and services. The RAPO council must assign such duties and, if necessary, in the course of the year, reassign them among the members of the association.

Particular attention should be paid to the selection, placement and education of cadres on farms and at RAPO enterprises and organizations. Exigency toward such cadres and their responsibility for assignments must be enhanced. Managerial personnel and specialists in enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial association must be appointed, relieved from duty, rewarded or punished by ministries and departments in coordination with the RAPO council.

Pasvalskiy Raykom, CP of Lithuania, the rayon executive committee and the council of the rayon agroindustrial association are instructed to direct more persistently and skillfully the efforts of the primary party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, managers, specialists and labor collectives in all sectors of the agroindustrial complex toward the further strengthening of the economy of each kolkhoz and sovkhos. They must ensure the rational and efficient utilization of the land, equipment, fertilizer and other material and technical resources. They must comprehensively apply a scientific farming

system, enhance work standards in the fields and apply more extensively industrial farming methods. Work on collecting and utilizing organic fertilizer must be radically improved. The farms must ensure high and stable yields from all farm crops and a firm and balanced fodder base for animal husbandry.

The decree stipulates that further increase in animal husbandry output and greater marketability must be achieved on the basis of increasing cattle productivity, skillfully combining it with the expansion of herds, improving livestock reproduction and ensuring the efficient utilization of fodder. By the end of the five-year plan lagging in the marketing of cattle and poultry must be eliminated. The party and economic organs must apply more extensively new progressive forms of organization and wages and, above all, the collective contract method in agricultural production.

The decree mandates taking additional steps for further improving the financial and economic situation of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the thrifty and economical utilization of material and financial assets. Guided by the instructions of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, it is necessary to see to it that this very year every farm exceed the planned level for upgrading labor productivity by no less than 1 percent and reduce production costs by 0.5 percent; these and other basic economic problems of enhancing overall production efficiency must be clearly reflected in the socialist pledges assumed by the collectives for 1984. Great attention must continue to be paid to strengthening economically weak farms and ensuring the efficient utilization of the aid, the possibilities of the entire agroindustrial complex and the help of progressive farms and sponsors which they receive.

Currently efforts must be concentrated on the successful wintering of the cattle and preparations for the spring sowing campaign.

The decree further stipulates that the results of 1983 must be summed up at the accountability meetings of kolkhozes and the production conferences of sovkhos workers and employees; the managers of enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial association must submit reports on the implementation of contractual obligations to kolkhozes and sovkhoses; they must analyze shortcomings and take all the necessary steps to ensure the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans for the production and sale to the state of agricultural commodities in 1984 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The commission in charge of problems of the agroindustrial complex of the republic's council of ministers presidium, the ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex, the Alitus and Kapsukas gorkoms and the rayon executive committees have been instructed to study profoundly, comprehensively and steadily the activities of the rayon agroindustrial associations, to support their initiative, to sum up and develop everything positive in their work, and to give them effective assistance in mastering the new management methods under the current economic management conditions. Particular attention should be paid to surmounting interdepartmental barriers. The managers of ministries and departments must consider attentively suggestions and demands of local party and soviet organs and RAPO councils.

The Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the editors of republic newspapers have been instructed to cover extensively and comprehensively the experience acquired in the activities of RAPO councils and the efforts of farms, enterprises and organizations aimed at the implementation of the Food Program. They must efficiently expose shortcomings and actively contribute to their elimination and to improving the work of the rayon agroindustrial associations.

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REGIONAL

COUNTERPROPAGANDA, ATHEISM EFFORTS IN BELORUSSIAN CITY

Special University Curricula

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 84 p 2

[First of two articles by SOVESTKAYA BELORUSSIYA special correspondent I. Gurinovich under the rubric "Let's Assure the High Effectiveness of Ideological Work": "Components of Success"]

[Text] At the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee a task that was posed was "the broad extensive of aggressive counterpropaganda work not only on the international scene, but also within the country. The party committees must get a clear idea of what the enemy is attempting to drag into our society, in what form and through what channels, and we must give a prompt and conclusion rebuff to his sorties."

Counterpropaganda, the conducting of the class line in questions of indoctrinating the workers, the increasing of their vigilance, the struggle against the penetration by bourgeois ideology, and the neutralization of its influence have become a component part of our ideological work and a job for the entire party.

I shall begin my discussion of the experience in setting up counterpropaganda work in the Grodno city party organization with a discussion I had with secretary of the GK [City Committee] of KPB [Communist Party of Belorussia; hereinunder BCP] Svetlana Vasil'yevna Tsygankova. Summing up the results of a detached-duty assignment, and after meeting dozens of people engaged in ideological work and visiting several enterprises, institutions, and educational establishments, I attempted to find an answer to the question, "Wherein lies the essence of the success achieved by the people of Grodno?"

In the well worked-out organizational structure? But that structure is typical of many party committees. In the cadres' talent? But we also encounter talented enthusiasts in other areas in the republic. In some kind of special tricks in the methodology or system of training the propaganda specialists? And there, in my opinion, the answer was found. The essence of the matter lies in the fact that the people in the Grodno City Committee have been able to find new reserves, to get a more thorough understanding of the

operating mechanism of such a vast concept as the comprehensive approach to the posing of the entire job of indoctrination that had been advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress.

"When, at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, K. U. Chernenko once again concentrated the attention of the party committees on the intensification of propagandizing the Soviet way of life and upon unmasking imperialism, and the intensification of the struggle against bourgeois and revisionistic ideology, this is what we decided," S. V. Tsygankova says. "In order to put the maximum concentration on the ideological efforts and to carry out indoctrinational and counterpropaganda work on a broad front, and in order to encompass all the spheres in which a person develops -- production, the collective, his recreation and everyday living conditions -- and to prevent 'sacrificing' even a single aspect of indoctrination, it was necessary to coordinate the activities of all our ideological means. But it was also important to understand and interpret one detail that plays a decisive role: the comprehensive resolution of the problems of indoctrination does not, in any way, mean that 'everyone engages in absolutely everything.' Truly effective coordination is possible only for that which has been rigidly differentiated, that which fulfills its specific task in the best manner. That principle served as the starting point. We attempted to make sure that every ideological worker, with a consideration of the specifics and opportunities, both his own personal ones and those of his organization, supports the work sector that had been assigned to him. And supports it well, creatively, conscientiously. And all these small 'well done's' go together to make up a substantial result."

Orienting Oneself for the Long-Term Period

U. S. imperialism, by declaring ideological warfare against the socialist countries, selected as "object No. 1" for their attacks the young people. Bourgeois propaganda uses every conceivable method -- from frontal attacks to "flexible," camouflaged fighting methods. And all this is for the purpose of using the fact that the young person lacks personal, social, and political experience, attempting to exert an influence upon his awareness, and to manipulate him in a direction that is profitable for anticommunism.

Grodno State University. More than 2000 students. A place where, more than anywhere else, there must be well-organized, thorough, political and methodological training of the young people, in order to set up a reliable barrier to ideological influence. It is precisely for that reason that the party committee, after preliminarily determining the place of each of the numerous university subdivisions, posed the task: develop long-range work plans for the political training of the students with a consideration of the elements of a counterpropaganda nature. And this must not consist simply of a list of measures that would address the problem in only an approximate manner, that would yield an approximately forecast result. Every measure in the plan has to have a well-substantiated, target directedness: there must be an indication of why it is being carried out, what purpose is being pursued, the persons for whom it is intended, and what is required to guarantee it.

This problem approach in posing the question caused a wave of creative enthusiasm. It is no accident that the comprehensive program for the political

training of the university students throughout their period of instruction was augmented by new and interesting innovations. Here is one of them.

All the departments (not only those in the social sciences) have created programs and methodological developments for the criticism of present-day bourgeois theories and ideas.

On the desk of the secretary of the party committee I saw materials that had been submitted for the following disciplines: pedagogics, mathematics, linguistics, political economy, jurisprudence, philosophy, etc. It must be said that the organizations of the Znaniye Society had an interest in these developments. The immediacy of the materials, their methodological uniqueness can become a good aid for the broad group of activist lecturers.

In addition, all the departments have completed the work of creating special programs that will acquaint the student with the need for criticizing the falsifiers of anticommunism, as applicable to his specific area of specialization. The university has developed the practice of giving special courses on the criticism of bourgeois ideology and of conducting special seminars.

The questions of counterpropaganda run not only through the educational process, but also through the noneducational work, the system of social and political practice, the young lecturer school, and the public organizations. And, obviously, the criticism of anticommunist ideology is built in such a way that it not only develops the students' ability to unmask our enemies, but also to possess extensive, well-argued facts and the necessary practical skills for consistently propagandizing the achievements of the world socialist system and the advantages of socialism and the Soviet way of life. It is precisely this trend at the university that is considered to be one of the most important elements of preventive counterpropaganda.

Today many students and postgraduate students, after graduation from the young lecturer school, give lectures not only to the students, but also to audiences of young workers. The responses attest to the fact that the university's students and postgraduate students represent their university well.

While guaranteeing the systems approach, continuity, and time-responsiveness of counterpropaganda, there was a fundamental change in the system of the students' political development, and a clear-cut methodology was developed for conducting the single political day, in which all the professor and instructor staff and invited specialists participate.

"Confidential chat" series have become traditional. Forms of communication that are in the developmental stage are such interesting ones as "The Discussion Club," "Tell me what you are thinking about," the philosophical discussion club, where a student can discuss with a competent conversational partner any ideas that he has, and get an answer to a question that concerns him.

All the acute, important events in the political, social, and cultural life of the country, the city, the university, are discussed with the students through these varied channels: the topics include the elections to the USSR

Supreme Soviet, the preparation for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Belorussia from the German fascist usurpers, the fulfillment of the plans for the third year of the five-year plan by the enterprises of the city of Grodno and of Grodno Oblast, and a new exhibition by an amateur painter. They also include the analysis of a French movie that is being offered for rental, "A Jab By an Umbrella," in which, behind the outward charm of a "superman," there is concealed the real essence of the bourgeois way of life -- selfishness, spiritual emptiness, cruelty, and act of beatification of the Franciscan monk Maximilian Colbet, who in the past carried out missionary activity in the Grodno monastery and who is being intensively popularized by the Catholic church in the churches of Grodno.

The university's Komsomol committee, after conducting a survey among the students and studying the opinion of the majority, began to devote special attention to the competitive forms of conducting many measures for organizing the student's recreational time. There are "quiz-kid" contests "At the map of the world's political map," contests to design political posters, political song fests, etc.

The areas in the university's counterpropaganda work that have been mentioned here by no means exhaust the entire arsenal of available means. It is obvious only that the work being carried out contributes to the development of a sense of participation by every student in the ideological struggle, intensifies the student's communist conviction and his class hatred of our enemies, and tempers him psychologically and politically.

The Force of Traditions

Grodno, like all the other cities in Western Belorussia, has always enjoyed the increased attention of the Vatican. With the purpose of implanting the Catholic faith here, newer and newer churches were built. At one time the city had seven churches in operation, in addition to a men's monastery and a women's convent.

The present-day situation in the city and in the oblast has changed fundamentally. The social roots of religion have been eliminated, the materialistic political philosophy predominates, and universal literacy among the populace has been assured. However, the church as an organization and the individual churches are loath to give up their positions, and they attempt to use every opportunity to maintain among the believers a spirit of religiosity. In addition, the ideological enemies of communism attempt, under the cover of the religious screen, to carry out the ideological "processing" of the believers and the populace.

It is precisely for this reason that the city's party organizations devote a large amount of attention to atheistic indoctrination, which is constantly improving and becoming increasingly effective. Plenums of the Grodno City Committee of the BCP have discussed the question of the status and ways to achieve the further improvement of the atheistic indoctrination of the public. Specific steps have been developed to intensify the atheistic propaganda. Lecture cycles are given to the city's workers on the topics: "The present-day ideological struggle and religion," "The scientific-technical

revolution and religion," and "Religion and the church in the service of imperialism." A system has been developed for the training of propaganda cadres who specialize in particular subject matter, active use is being made of the mass information media, and other measures that are in operation are lecture series on scientific atheism, clubs for readers of the magazine NAUKA I RELIGIYA, schools for modern knowledge about nature, society, and man, question and answer nights, and meetings with former believers. The agitation collectives also include people who engage in individual indoctrinational work. Explanatory measures are now a new form of this work, and there is a constant process of improvement and the creation of new Soviet ceremonies and holidays.

Galina Alekseyevna Serdyukova, manager of the House of Civil Ceremonies, shares her ideas. She says, "In order to carry out aggressive atheistic and counterpropaganda work, it is necessary to combine consistent social reforms, and enlightenment activities with a highly emotional content that is similar to real art.

"We are resolving the first two problems consistently and are having considerable success. But as for the emotional sphere, it is here that we do not always prove successful in achieving, if one uses the terminology of art, catharsis.

"'What is preventing this?' we asked ourselves. We thought a bit and then answered: bureaucratic methods in the conducting of the ceremonies, dilettantism, primitive staging, and, strange as it seems, the ability to count money but the inability to consist the effect of a person's positive emotions.

"Having established 'the essential,' we began to seek the answer to how to carry out 'the proper.' We came to the conclusion: the city needed a palace! And nothing less than that! And so the Palace of Civil Ceremonies was created.

"Everything has been carefully thought out there, from the interior decor to the acoustics. The stained-glass windows, the gigantic chandelier with its pleasant tinkling sound, the organ -- everything creates the proper mood. Two thousand couples register their marriages with us currently. The ritual itself -- something that was created by our workers -- has become a winner in a republic-wide competition. We keep an eye on all the innovations that are occurring throughout the country and in our oblast. We like an idea suggested by the workers in the Baltic republics -- every married couple, and then the family, is given a 'Family Chronicle' and a 'Child's Chronicle.' An unusual rough draft of this publication has already been developed, and the first copies will appear soon. Every family in Grodno will maintain its own genealogy, and transmit from generation to generation the history of the major family events. Knowing and remembering one's roots is very important?

"Would you like to know the results? They do exist. The number of registrations of marriages and christenings of newborn children in religious temples has been cut in half. At the present time we are introducing a new ceremony: the naming ceremony. We carry out agitational work at the maternity home and

at women's consultative sessions, and we are convinced that people will like the ceremony. The employees at the House of Civil Ceremonies carry out a large amount of propaganda activity. We give a large number of lectures, and we have close tacts with the party and Komsomol organizations at enterprises. Frequently Komsomol weddings are organized with help provided by our methodologists. We also arrange celebrations to honor veterans, and golden and silver wedding anniversaries. In general there is a lot of work, but the most important thing is that you see the fruits of your efforts: new traditions are being born and are becoming reinforced. And a good tradition is an indoctrinational compass. It is the reinforcement of the tie between the generations. It is one of the components of patriotism, one facet of our Soviet way of life, and, consequently, the most aggressive kind of counterpropaganda that there can be."

Local Socio-Economic Policies

Minsk SOVESTKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 7 Mar 84 p 2

[Second of two articles by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA special correspondent I. Gurinovich under the rubric "Let's Assure the High Effectiveness of Ideological Work": "Components of Success"]

[Text] There is No Neutral Information. . .

While devoting special attention to the specialization of counterpropaganda activities and taking into consideration the fact that a very important peculiarity of present-day ideological work is the enemy's changeover to psychological warfare, that is, to a system of political-psychological and esthetic pressure upon people's awareness, Grodno's party organizations have designated yet another field of activity. Today there is no neutral information, and there cannot be any -- and that includes esthetic information: the movies, music, painting, and fashions are all means of ideological effect.

"Playing on people's nerves and emotions is one of the means of neutralizing the inherently human ability to think intelligently," states the American theoretician of propaganda M. Chukas.

Taking advantage, for example, of the popularity that rock 'n' roll and disco music have among young people, the enemy uses the air waves and smuggling to plant in our country the seeds of an alien culture, an alien way of life. Everything has been precisely calculated: the exhausting rhythms, and the cacophony create a special background for perceiving the values of the bourgeois world -- the complete permissiveness, irresponsible casualness, and idle prettiness. In dormitory rooms one begins to see not inoffensive carpets with swimming swans, but glossy pictures depicting the idols of rock 'n' roll or the trappings of the "free world."

The job of explaining, of making people change their opinion, of understanding and enjoying real art, of unmasking the mass cults and conducting that work not only by means of one's intelligence but also by means of one's heart, the revealing of the essence of the large and small acts of ideological subversion

that are aimed as a rule at people who are uninformed -- those are the tasks of the counterpropaganda activity in the field of culture that have been posed for the city's ideological workers.

"... People always have been and will always be stupid little victims of deception and self-deception in politics," Lenin said, "until they learn to look behind any moral, religious, political, or social phrases, declarations, and promises and find the interests of various classes."

The Romantika Cafe, in the very center of town, not too long ago had the status of an establishment with not the best traditions. The party's city committee suggested to the Komsomol that they use the cafe as a base for organizing a discotheque and that they make it the legislator of fashion in the city.

When a job is put in the hands of enthusiasts, anything can happen. Currently the discotheque at the Romantika Cafe is one of the popular recreational spots. It must be said that this fact, in and of itself, does not mean anything. The successful operation of the 17 discotheques in the city is backed up by a large amount of creative and organizational work. And that work began with having all the managers of the discotheques selected from among the enthusiasts, and then having them take training at a republic school organized under the Minsk Institute of Culture. It has become a firmly established practice to conduct precertification of the programs and discotheque contests. As a result, the creative range of the city's discotheques has increased considerably. Many people have proven that they are capable of creating complicated programs that are not only of an entertainment nature, but also of a propaganda nature, such as "The Horns of Grodno Are Blowing," which is devoted to the history of the Grodno area; "A Few Words About Woman" -- the Day of 8 March; "Protest With Subtext" -- the unmasking of punk culture; etc.

When an artist puts his hand on the pulse of the times, he always determines unerringly the direction his own creativity should take. A group of artists, performing artists, architects, and musicians came to the party's city committee with the initiative: let's create the Khudozhnik [Artist] Club. Its task was defined as follows: the discussion at a high professional level of the problems of creativity, the lifting of the prestige of the creative person, and thus the elevation of human needs, the learning of how to understand art, how to see its class essence, and consequently, his political essence, and its social purpose. The idea was supported.

Now the club holds meetings every third Friday of the month in the exhibition hall. The participants are university students and workers, students at schools and the GPTU [state polytechnical school], and creative intellectuals. The club programs include concert-lectures devoted to the creative works of Russian and foreign composers, the showing and discussion of theatrical productions that touch upon the questions of moral and political development, evenings devoted to slide shows that deal with the depictive art of the advanced realistic traditions and with the unmasking of formalistic art that renounces the humanistic ideal, get-together evenings with people for whom creative activity is the highest enjoyment -- musician-doctors, inventor-workers, and painter-employees. The club's future programs include an evening

that requires the participation of everyone present -- a "sing-along" that is devoted to the songs of the Great Patriotic War, and also a discussion about talent and creative work, about the family and life style.

Eleonora Alekseyevna Barkova, an instructor at the music school, commented in this manner on the effectiveness of the club's operation:

"I observe my students who visit our sessions and who take active part in its work, and I see that a person's mental horizon broadens and his views become more varied in direct proportion to the success with which, for example, the people in our school resolve the tasks of political enlightenment and of class indoctrination. With the rise in the level of cultural and education there is also a process of the deepening of the content and variety of the forms of political enlightenment. Thus, the link between culture and political enlightenment, counterpropaganda, is not static. Rather, they constantly enrich one another."

". . . Converting Marxism Into Action"

An effective means of developing people's solid class positions, their ideological conviction, and their moral principles as Soviet citizens, a means of counteracting the penetration of bourgeois ideology and morality into their awareness is the propagandizing of real socialism.

The very life of our society, the giant steps of process, the spiritual values that have been engendered by socialism help every Soviet citizen to become more deeply aware of the vanguard positions of the socialist system, and to feel with a sense of pride that he is a pioneer, a trailblazer to communist society.

It is not only for the sake of engaging in polemics with anticommunist propaganda that one analyzes and propagandizes the achievements of real socialism, but for purposes of indoctrinating the new man, the steadfast warrior for communism, participant in the revolutionary reorganization of the world, humanitarian, and internationalist.

It is to this sphere of ideological work that the city's party organizations attach the absolutely fundamental importance.

"The propagandizing of the Soviet way of life is tribute of respect to the creative workers, to those who, by their specific deeds and actions, are forging the might and the proud grandeur of our country, who know how to relate their knowledge of the political situation to their practical activities"--that is the opinion of director of the Grodno Automobile Components Plant, V. F. Kaberda.

As one becomes acquainted with the life of the automobile components plant and attempts to interpret such a phenomenon as the Soviet way of life, the socialist civilized condition, the facets of which are being polished in the labor collectives, one thinks of the words, by way of a generalization, "the working family."

The plant collective lives and operates like a well-adjusted piece of machinery, with a well-honed sense of mutual responsibility: mutual aid, mutual improvement, mutual pride. Therefore any marking of time -- whether it be in the organization of production, or in the resolution of social questions -- is perceived as an emergency situation. Bit by bit, everyone who works at the plant attempts to bring to his work something new, something interesting -- it will be noted and evaluated by the collective and will provide an opportunity for a new tangible step forward. It is therefore for this reason, probably, that all the subdivisions at the plant have introduced, on a 100-percent basis, the progressive brigade form of the organization of labor and for that reason that the plant cannot remember an instance of nonfulfillment of the production plan and is a winner in the socialist competition, and for that reason that 63 percent of the output leaves the enterprise with the Seal of Quality. The production successes are constantly met by a rising wave of broad social changes.

The housing problem, for example, has been resolved. The broad cooperative building of housing has been organized. The plant has built three hotel-type dormitories, thus making it possible to provide 270 young families with a separate room, and families with children have been assigned a separate buildings. All the bachelors have been provided with housing. The kindergarten and nursery is one of the best in the city from the point of view of its amenities and esthetics and can accommodate 250 youngsters. On the basis of shared participation, the Miskhor boarding house has been built in the Crimea, and every year the plant is provided with trip tickets. But the most important thing is that the enterprise has created excellent working conditions: modern equipment, the precise organization of labor, roomy, clean shops. The concern for people manifests itself in everything, even in the following "minor details": the basic production, in order to prevent people from getting colds, is linked by gallery-type passageways with the everyday living accommodations. The dressing rooms and shower rooms have been equipped with the most modern recommendations of hygiene. Two dining rooms are in operation (one for special diets). Their decor is the pride and work of the hands of the plant's artists and workers. During the current year a four-story personal-services building is being activated. It is planned for that building to contain a women's sauna, a men's sauna, and a medical station with a physical laboratory and therapeutic baths.

In addition, being fully aware that the highest blessing for man is his health, and for society, the health of all its members, the plant carries out mass sports and health-improvement work. For example, 60 percent of the workers in the cutting-tool shop entered the competition "Going to the stadium as an entire brigade"; 1500 plant workers are members of the Krasnoye Znamya [Red Banner] DSO [volunteer sports society]; and 482 have been awarded the GTO [Ready for Labor and Defense] badge. The enterprise has 13 sports sections and 3 health groups in operation. The participants in the sections number 625.

Something that the "sociological propaganda" being conducted by the anticommunists fears more than fire is the reality of our life, the existence of the fundamental advantages that socialism has over capitalism. The knights in the "crusade" do absolutely everything to force upon us the burdensome arms

race, in their attempt to block the international economic ties and to place their stakes on the so-called "wearing out," or "exhaustion" of socialism. The anticommunist centers attempts to put into the awareness of our citizens the moods of social inertness, passivity, and skepticism, and call upon people to work carelessly, clearly foreseeing the consequences. However, all their efforts prove to be in vain, when there is a consistent, successive resolution of the questions of the state and economic building of socialism, as is done, for example, at the Grodno Automobile Components Plant, which is one of the city's numerous production collectives where the Communists see their main task in converting -- as Lenin said -- their Marxism into action. It is precisely herein that lies the principle argument of our counter-propaganda.

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Summing up the results of what has been stated and discussing the specific examples of counterpropaganda activity and the people who engage in it under the guidance of the ideological committee of the Grodno City Committee of the BCP, I would like to emphasize that the basic link in the counterpropaganda work in the city is now the primary party organization. It is precisely this orientation that made it possible to carry counterpropaganda into the activity of all the party links, to inculcate it into everything -- into the mass political forms of work, into lecture propaganda, into Marxist-Leninist education, and into all aspects of the life of the labor collective.

In the shops and exhibition halls, the lecture auditoriums, and workers dormitories it is specifically the Communists, who have close knowledge of life, their comrades, the specifics of the moral and psychological climate, and public opinion, who efficiently, with a consideration of the particular situations, conduct the counterpropaganda measures and conduct a consistent class line in the indoctrination of people, in increasing their political awareness and vigilance. Therefore counterpropaganda has occupied one of the leading places in the entire ideological work of the city's party organizations.

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