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

**27th CPSU Congress Resolution ●**

**A crisis in the communist movement? ●**

**Political freedoms American style ●**

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Abridged articles are marked with  
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*From your publications I've learned the truth about the Second World War and I admire the heroism of the Soviet soldiers. When I studied at school in South Africa we were told the US and Great Britain won the war. In many African countries they continue to tell people the same. I was amazed to learn that the Allies were not so active as made out and were enjoying it at home until nearly the end of the war. I am pleased to learn the truth at last.*

**Sidney Tshepo Mophuthing,**  
Nigeria

*Novosti Press Agency publications about the Great Patriotic War waged by your people against fascism contain information little known in the West. They helped me to take a different view of the US position in the Second World War, to see the reasons for the Western powers' policy of delaying the opening of the second front.*

**Alain Goujou,**  
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# RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Adopted unanimously, March 1, 1986

Having heard and discussed the Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes that our Leninist Party has come to its Congress enriched with new experience in constructive activity and closely united. In carrying out the programme targets of the CPSU and the decisions of the Party's 26th Congress, the Soviet people made considerable advances in the economy, in the social sphere, and in culture. The position of the Soviet Union in foreign affairs has grown stronger, and its international prestige has risen. The CPSU is holding high the banner of struggle for peace and social progress.

At the present turning point, in a qualitatively new situation inside the country and on the world scene, the Party has again shown its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its ability to deeply examine and realistically evaluate the situation, draw the right lessons from experience, find ways of resolving the urgent problems, and overcome all that is outdated and no longer viable.

At its April 1985 Plenary Meeting, the CPSU Central Committee thoroughly analysed the situation in the national economy and other spheres of society, and formulated the strategy for accelerating the country's socio-economic development, which won the wholehearted support of the Communists, of all Soviet people. The Plenary Meeting boldly pointed out the shortcomings, frankly told the people about the difficulties and errors, provided a powerful impetus to the advance and gave a start to a radical turn towards vigorous practical actions and a resolute tightening of discipline and raising of efficiency.

The nationwide approval of the decisions of the Central Committee's April Plenary Meeting and of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the amendments to the Party Rules, and the

Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, signifies a further strengthening of the unity of the Party and the people and the growth of the Party's leading role, and offers new opportunities for fuller use of the economic and spiritual potential of socialism.

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decides:

**to approve the political course and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee;**

**to approve the provisions, conclusions and tasks set forth in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Congress, and to instruct all Party organisations to be guided by them in their work.**

## I.

1. The Congress reaffirms and supports the analysis of the basic tendencies and contradictions in contemporary world affairs contained in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, and its evaluations and conclusions.

2. In the 20th century progress is rightly associated with socialism. World socialism is a powerful international entity. It rests on a highly developed economy, an up-to-date scientific basis, and a dependable military-political potential. Socialism is continuously showing that social problems can be resolved on a fundamentally different, collectivist basis, and has taken the countries that follow this path to new heights of development.

Socialism is tirelessly improving social relations, purposefully multiplying its achievements, building up the power of the attraction and credibility of its example, demonstrating the true humanism of its entire way of life, and showing constant readiness to participate in broad international cooperation for peace and the prosperity of nations on an equal and reciprocal basis. By so doing, socialism is erecting an increasingly reliable barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and force, to all forms of misanthropy, and actively contributing to mankind's social progress.

3. Under the impact and in the context of the scientific and technological revolution, present-day capitalism is making the conflict between the immensely greater productive forces and the social relations based on private ownership still more acute. A further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism is taking place. Capitalism encounters an unprecedented intertwining and mutual aggravation of all its contradictions and such a number of social, economic and other crises and clashes as it has never known throughout its history. It is responsible for the appearance of all the main

problems of our time, for their continued existence, and for making them more acute.

In the present-day conditions one of the effects of the exacerbation of capitalism's basic contradiction—that between labour and capital—is the grave danger of a further considerable shift to the right of the policy and the entire situation in some of the leading capitalist countries.

4. In the world of today, imperialism is a growing threat to the very existence of mankind. Militarism is its most monstrous offspring, seeking to subordinate the whole political machinery of bourgeois society to its influence and interests, and to establish control over spiritual life and culture.

It is imperialism alone that is responsible for the wars and conflicts of our century, and for unleashing the arms race, continuously whipping it up and opening new channels for it. Imperialism, which was the first to use nuclear weapons, is now preparing to take a new, possibly irrevocable step—to extend the arms race to outer space and train the sights on the entire planet.

Imperialism has created a refined system of neocolonialism. Brutal exploitation of the developing countries is increasingly becoming an important source for financing imperialism's militarist preparations, its home policy, its very existence. Imperialism is increasingly counterposing itself to all mankind.

5. The course of history and of social progress requires ever more insistently that states and nations constructively and positively interact all over the world. The combination of competition and historical contest between the two systems with the mounting tendency towards the interdependence of states within the world community is the real dialectics of development of today's world. A controversial but interdependent, and in many ways integral, world is taking shape through the struggle of opposites. World affairs, their present stage, set especially rigid demands on every state, be it in foreign policy, in economic and social activity, or the spiritual makeup of society.

The last decades of the 20th century confronted the nations of the world with difficult and acute problems. The need for solving the most vital global problems should prompt them to joint action, to triggering the tendencies towards the self-preservation of humanity. The course of world affairs provides the requisite material, social and political conditions for this. The Congress regards this as a stimulus for taking decisions and actions consonant with the realities of our time.

The forces of peace and progress all over the world can neutralise the threat emanating from imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the brink of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield. Human life, the possibilities of its all-round development, the interests of the advance of society, rank uppermost. And to this end

the Congress is directing the practical activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

## II.

1. The Party's main sphere of activity is the economy, as it has always been. It is here that prerequisites are created for a life that is materially and spiritually rich and socially meaningful for Soviet people in the conditions of peace, and for achieving a new qualitative state of society.

The Congress notes that in the quarter of a century since the adoption of the Third Programme of the CPSU, the country's economy has considerably moved ahead. The national income has gone up nearly 300 per cent, industrial production 400 per cent, and agricultural output 70 per cent. In output of a number of key products, the Soviet Union firmly holds first place in the world. The people's well-being has improved. Real per capita incomes have gone up 160 per cent, and the social consumption funds more than 400 per cent. Most families have had their housing improved. The successes in Soviet science, education, health, and culture are universally recognised.

While giving due credit to what has been achieved, the Congress at the same time draws attention to the difficulties and the negative processes in socio-economic development, which made themselves felt in the 1970s and the early 1980s. At that time, the rates of economic growth and of growth of labour productivity had noticeably gone down, some other indicators of efficiency declined, scientific and technological progress slowed down, and the imbalances in the economy had become greater. The five-year plan targets had not been attained and social undertakings had not been fully carried out. The Congress holds that the main reason for the lags was the failure to give a timely political assessment of the change in the economic situation; the urgent and acute need for going over to the intensive methods in the development of the economy was not understood; nor was due perseverance and consistency shown in tackling the pressing problems of re-adjusting economic policy, the economic mechanism, and the very psychology of our economic activity. Despite the efforts of recent times, we have not yet managed to fully remedy the situation.

In these circumstances, the most crucial task of the whole Party and the whole state is to overcome the unfavourable tendencies in economic development resolutely and completely in the shortest possible time, to impart a high degree of dynamism to the economy, to give scope to truly revolutionary changes, and to enlist broad segments of the working people in these processes.

2. The Congress wholeheartedly approves the concept worked out by the CPSU Central Committee of accelerating the country's socio-

economic development, and the practical steps taken to translate it into reality. The Party's strategic course is to effect a transition to a more highly organised and more effective economy with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations, and a smooth-running economic mechanism. The 12th five-year plan period is an important stage of deep-going qualitative changes in production.

The Congress makes it incumbent on the Party, government, economic, and public organisations to base all their activities on the unconditional fulfilment of the programme provisions of putting the economy on the path of intensive development. The economic management at all levels must shift the emphasis from quantity indicators to quality and efficiency, from the intermediate to the end results, from expanding productive assets to their modernisation, from building up fuel and raw materials resources to improving their utilisation, and to the accelerated development of high-tech industries. The structural and investment policies are to be changed accordingly.

The Party regards as the main lever for the intensification of the economy a cardinal acceleration of scientific and technological progress and a broad introduction of new generations of machinery and of fundamentally new production techniques that make for the highest possible productivity and effectiveness. The foremost task set by the Congress is that of carrying out a profound technical reconstruction of the economy on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology. Each industry, enterprise and association must have a clear programme for the continuous modernisation of production. Those managers who substitute windowdressing and half-way measures for real work and who distort the very idea of technical reconstruction must be strictly called to account.

Engineering, which must attain the highest possible technical standards in the shortest possible time, is called upon to play the leading role in accelerating scientific and technological progress. A most important task is to develop and start mass production of up-to-date computer facilities. There must be a radical reconstruction of the fuel and energy complex; the Energy Programme must be fulfilled. Much remains to be done in developing metalmaking and the chemicalisation of the economy, in meeting the demand for new structural and other advanced types of materials. The Party attaches immense significance to the retooling of the industrial infrastructure, above all transport and communications, and also to the priority development of light industry and other economic branches that directly meet the needs of the people.

In view of the drive aimed at reconstructing the economy, the Congress points to the need for radically improving capital construction, raising the entire building complex to a new industrial and organisational level, and substantially reducing the investment cycle.

The Congress sets the task of making science more effectively serve the needs of the technical modernisation of the economy, bringing it closer to production, using new, tested forms of integration and interaction for these purposes, speeding up the introduction of the results of research into practice, raising the efficiency of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences and sectoral institutes and of the scientific potential of higher educational establishments, and improving the training of rising generations of scientists.

3. It is the priority task of Party, government, and economic bodies, of all Communists, of all people, to perseveringly carry into effect the Party's up-to-date agrarian policy and to fulfil the Food Programme of the USSR. A breakthrough is required in developing the agro-industrial complex, so as to improve considerably food supplies to the population already in the 12th five-year plan period. It is important to secure a smooth, economically integrated operation of all the elements of the agro-industrial complex, and to enhance the impact of scientific and technological progress on the achievement of a more stable growth of agriculture and related industries.

While consistently building up the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, it is essential to raise radically the efficiency in the use of the existing powerful production potential, to concentrate efforts and resources on the areas that yield the best results. Special attention should be devoted everywhere to mastering intensive techniques, to extending the use of collective contracts based on genuine cost accounting, reducing losses of produce at all levels of agro-industrial production, and to building up in the shortest possible time requisite facilities for storing and processing agricultural raw materials. The social reconstruction of the countryside must be speeded up and constant concern shown for those who work in rural areas, for their working and living conditions.

These tasks are to be furthered by the reorganisation of the agro-industrial complex, as well as by new major measures aimed at creating an effective managerial mechanism for it, which are called upon to provide conditions for a broad use of efficiency-oriented methods in the work of its subdivisions and for a considerable extension of the independence and initiative of collective and state farms and other enterprises, and to put a reliable barrier to mismanagement and parasitism. Radical changes in management in the countryside call for a serious improvement of the style and methods of management of the agro-industrial complex. An end must be put to incompetent interference in the production activities of work collectives and duplication of the work of the administrative bodies of the agro-industrial complex. In the new conditions, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics will bear greater responsibility for supplying the country with food and agricultural raw materials.

2] 4. The policy of accelerating socio-economic development necessitates a profound restructuring of the economic mechanism, the shaping of an integrated, effective and flexible system of management which is based on the principle of democratic centralism and which makes it possible to utilise socialism's possibilities more fully. The Congress herewith instructs the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to carry through at the earliest possible time a set of measures that will bring the forms and methods of economic management in line with current needs.

For this purpose:

— centralised guidance in ensuring the fulfilment of the main tasks of the Party's economic strategy must be made more efficient; at the same time we must enhance the role and independence of associations and enterprises and their stake in and responsibility for attaining the best possible results on the basis of genuine cost accounting, self-sufficiency and self-financing, and by linking the incomes of work collectives to the efficiency of their work;

— efficiency-oriented methods of management must be introduced at all levels of the economy; planning and the finance-and-credit mechanism must be improved, and so must price-setting; the system of supplying technical equipment and materials must be restructured;

— management must be reorganised with due account of the tendencies towards concentration, specialisation and cooperation in production, the development of complexes of related industries, territorial production complexes and other inter-industrial formations;

— economic management at the industrial branch level and at the territorial level must be optimally combined, and a comprehensive economic and social advancement of republics and regions must be secured; there should be a further expansion of the rights of republican and local bodies, first of all in guiding the construction industry, the inter-industrial enterprises, and enterprises responsible for providing the social and production infrastructures.

Any improvement of management calls for a psychological readjustment, a clear understanding of the new tasks by Party activists, managerial personnel and the mass of the working people, and the rejection of prevailing stereotypes. It is essential to improve research into the theoretical aspects of management relating, above all, to the dialectics of the interaction of the productive forces and production relations under socialism, the enhancement of socialist property, the use of commodity-money relations, and the combining of centralism with independence of economic enterprises.

5. The Congress stresses that the successful fulfilment of the tasks that have been set calls for the maximum mobilisation of the untapped potentials of the national economy. Party, government, economic, and public bodies must concentrate on strengthening organisation and



discipline, and on eliminating mismanagement. The main emphasis should be on the full use of operating production capacities; utmost economising of primary and other materials, fuel and energy; on utilising resource-saving and wasteless production techniques; on utilising recycled materials; on ensuring the smooth running of industries; and on making sure that contract deliveries are made without fail. A maximum effort should be made to secure a radical improvement of output quality and the quality of all work. The attainment of this crucial nationwide objective calls for the utmost mobilisation of the resources of all enterprises, all levels of management, with reliance on the latest achievements of science and technology. Every Communist, every worker must make persevering, day-to-day efforts to raise quality.

All economic, organisational, and political work must be aimed at securing people's involvement in production as its true masters, at securing their ever more active participation in running their enterprise, enhancing the creative initiative of the working people, and organising effective socialist emulation in the drive to fulfil the targets of the 12th five-year plan.

It is essential to enhance the role of the moral factor in rewarding front-rank workers, and to publicise the traditions of shock-work and the Stakhanov movement.

6. The Congress attaches prime importance to an active, integral social policy, and to the programme, projected for the 12th five-year period and beyond, of raising the standard of living, which encompasses all aspects of people's lives. It is necessary to orient the work of planning agencies and managerial bodies to social needs, and once and for all to stop underrating urgent problems in that sphere. Any lack of consideration for the needs of the people, any impingement on their lawful interests are impermissible on the part of officials. The Party will strictly follow the principle of social justice and will work persistently to eliminate everything that interferes with its consistent implementation.

The CPSU is setting in motion a full-scale programme for raising the well-being of the people to a qualitatively new level. The improvement of people's life must be indissolubly connected with the growing labour and public activity of every working person, every production collective.

The Congress deems it necessary to tighten control over the measure of labour and consumption, to link wages and salaries more closely to the productivity of labour, and labour's quality indicators. Wage levelling must be firmly eliminated, and payment of unearned money and unmerited bonuses must be stopped; it is essential to combat uncompromisingly unearned incomes and to root out other deviations from socialism's basic principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Additional measures must be taken in the immediate future against parasites, pilferers of socialist property, and bribe-takers.

Central and local Party, government, and economic bodies must radically alter their attitude to the question of amply supplying the market with quality goods and services, ensuring the unconditional fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and of Services, and increasing the contribution of every republic, territory, and region, every branch of the national economy and the work collectives to this most important task. Local bodies must be made more responsible for satisfying the consumer demand.

In order to provide every family with an apartment or a house of its own within the stipulated time, we must increase the scale of building new housing and modernising what already exists, encourage in every way the building of cooperatives and individual houses, and of housing for young people, and improve the housing distribution procedures.

7. Achievement of qualitative advances in the social sphere definitely presupposes far-reaching changes in labour and its content, and calls for greater productivity, a sizable reduction of manual and unskilled jobs, and improvement of the state system of allocation and re-allocation of personnel.

The Congress is setting the task of devising a single system of uninterrupted education. For this purpose, it is essential to carry out consistently the reform of general and vocational schools, to work perseveringly in raising the effectiveness of education and upbringing, to ensure that all pupils learn how to handle computers, and radically to improve the training of young people for independent life and work. It is essential to restructure specialised secondary and higher education, and to improve the system of training specialists and their employment in production. Refresher courses and courses for the retraining of workers and specialists must be brought in line with current requirements.

Cardinal measures are necessary to improve health protection, to develop mass physical culture, sports, and tourism, and to make people's, especially young people's, leisure time more meaningful. The Congress notes the exceptional importance of the drive started on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and actively supported by the Soviet people, aimed at asserting a wholesome way of life and combatting heavy drinking and alcoholism. There must be no backsliding in the struggle against this evil.

The problem of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources is acquiring great importance in the current conditions. The advantages of socialism, with its planned production and its humane world outlook, must be used to the full in resolving this global problem.

8. The Party considers it highly important carefully to regard in its policy the common basic interests of classes and social groups, and

their specific interests as an essential condition for the firm unity of Soviet society and the successful solution of the tasks of communist construction. As the Congress sees it, the cornerstone of CPSU policy is to ensure the leading role of the working class, to strengthen the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the working intelligentsia. As we improve the socialist way of life it is essential to provide maximum opportunities for the assertion of collectivism and the development of the individual.

Measures should be carried out to further strengthen the family, heighten the responsibility of parents for the upbringing of their children, improve the working and living conditions of women so as to enable them successfully to combine motherhood with a job and public activity. Within the next few years it is essential completely to meet the people's need for children's pre-school institutions.

It is the duty of Party and government bodies and public organisations to show daily care for war and labour veterans, and facilitate their broader participation in production and in socio-political life.

9. Faithful to the Leninist principles of its nationalities policy, the CPSU will continue tirelessly to strengthen the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country, educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and show special tact and care in everything that concerns national relations, affects the interests of each nation and nationality, and the national feelings of people; all problems arising in this sphere must be promptly resolved, and a relentless struggle should be conducted against any signs of nationalism, chauvinism, and localism.

It is incumbent on Party organisations to care constantly for the all-round development of the republics, to increase the contribution of each of them to the consolidation of the country's overall economic complex, to the economic power and defence capability of our multinational state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

### III

1. The strategy of accelerating our development includes the further improvement of social relations, updating the content, forms, and methods of work of the political and ideological institutions, and deepening socialist democracy.

The Congress makes a high assessment of the steps being taken by the Central Committee to improve our society's political system, to increase the activity of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the work collectives, and people's control, and to practise broader publicity. The Party, guiding itself by Lenin's words that "living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves", will continue to pay constant attention to making more effective use of

all forms of representative and direct democracy, to steadily broadening the participation of the people in drafting, adopting, and implementing governmental and other decisions, and will be the leading force and guarantor of the consistent deepening of the people's socialist self-government.

2. The Congress emphasises the importance of making increasingly constructive and fruitful the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the constituent and autonomous republics in developing legislation, in exercising supervision over the work of the bodies accountable to them, in guiding the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels. We should steer a still firmer course towards enhancing the role of the local Soviets and improving their work in mobilising the people to accelerate society's socio-economic and intellectual development and in settling all matters connected with the people's daily life and in meeting their needs and requirements. In this context it is necessary, already in the very near future, to draw up measures to increase the autonomy and responsibility of Soviets, to refine the mechanism of their relations with enterprises and organisations subordinated to higher authorities. The Congress believes that it is correct and timely to raise the question of perfecting electoral practices.

It is necessary to pay constant attention to the further deepening of democratic principles in administration, to increase efficiency and promptness in the work of the executive committees of Soviets and in the work of other government bodies, and resolutely to eradicate manifestations of a departmental approach, localism, irresponsibility, red tape, and formal and indifferent attitudes to people. It is necessary to ensure a regular and effective system of reports by executive committees, judges, ministers, and the heads of other administrative bodies to work collectives and meetings of working people, and to make more effective use of various forms of supervision by working people over the functioning of the administrative machinery. The Congress supports the proposal to introduce a certification procedure for executives of government and non-government bodies.

3. The present stage of development confronts public organisations with important tasks.

The trade unions, being the largest of the mass organisations, should display a high sense of responsibility in their efforts to mobilise the working people to carry out the national economic plans, to expand socialist emulation, to strengthen discipline, and to raise labour productivity. The trade unions and their elected bodies must display more purposefulness and persistence in protecting the working people's lawful interests, in ensuring labour protection and safety measures, in building and operating health-promoting, sports, community, and children's centres, and take a more active part in implementing the entire social policy.



Party organisations are obliged to give every assistance to the Leninist Young Communist League in carrying out its main task of training active, politically conscious builders of the new society, who are dedicated to the ideals of communism, who are industrious and ready to perform feats of valour and self-sacrifice. The striving of young people to prove themselves in various spheres of social life should be encouraged. There should be a consistent policy of promoting deserving young people to high posts in production, science, the cultural sphere and management.

In order to further enhance the role of trade unions, the YCL, the unions of creative workers, voluntary societies, and women's organisations, the Congress considers it necessary to broaden the range of questions on which government bodies can take decisions only with the participation or prior consent of the respective public organisations, and to give the latter the right in some cases to suspend implementation of administrative decisions.

4. The Party pays special attention to the exercise of all forms of direct democracy, first and foremost, to making work collectives more active, establishing an atmosphere of socialist mutual assistance and exactingness in them, and making them feel full-fledged masters of production, with a high sense of responsibility for the performance of their duties to society. It is necessary radically to improve the machinery for putting into practice the democratic principles and norms laid down in the Law on Work Collectives, to expand the range of matters on which decisions taken by work collectives are final, to enhance the role of general meetings of factory and office workers, and responsibility for the fulfilment of decisions taken by these meetings. The Congress supports the proposal to set up, at the level of enterprises, councils of work collectives that would continue to function between their general meetings, and also the proposal gradually to broaden the electivity of managerial personnel at enterprises. Party and government bodies should more intensively develop democratic principles of self-government by collective farms and cooperative societies, with strict observance of their rules.

The practice of nation-wide discussions and referendums on major national issues and of discussion by the people of draft decisions drawn up by local Soviets should be further improved, and better use should be made of other channels of developing direct democracy, such as citizens' meetings, constituents' suggestions, the press, radio and television, letters by working people and all other means of expressing public opinion.

The Congress attaches fundamental importance to greater openness in the work of government and other bodies and to keeping the people better informed about decisions they take and how these decisions are implemented.

5. The Congress attaches cardinal significance to strengthening the legal foundation of governmental activity and of the life of society, to the strictest observance of the laws, to consolidating the guarantees of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. We must persistently raise the responsibility of the personnel of the law-enforcement and other bodies connected with practical implementation of the laws, maintenance of law and order, protection of socialist property and the lawful interests of Soviet citizens; resolutely raise the efficiency of procurator's supervision; improve the functioning of courts of law and the bar; improve the work of state arbitration and of the legal service in the Soviets and at enterprises and organisations of further consolidating legality in economic inter-relations and strengthening state and contractual discipline. The inculcation of a sense of civic duty, and the moral and legal education of Soviet people, especially young people, should effectively promote their socio-political activity, irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings and violations of the law, and concern for the interests of society and the state.

6. In the conditions of imperialism's increasing subversive designs against the USSR and other socialist countries, the responsibility of the state security bodies, which should display supreme vigilance, timely expose, and firmly thwart all attempts to undermine or weaken our political and social system, increases considerably.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that thanks to the unflagging attention of the Party, of its Central Committee and of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Soviet Union's defence capability is maintained at a level that reliably guarantees the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people. Today, as in the past, one of the most important tasks of the Party, the state, and the people is to increase to the maximum the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, to educate the men and officers of the Army and Navy, and all Soviet people, in a spirit of vigilance and constant preparedness to defend the great gains of socialism.

## IV

1. The principal objective of the CPSU's strategy in foreign policy is to provide the Soviet people with the possibility of working under the conditions of a durable peace and freedom. For that reason the struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace must remain the main direction of the Party's activity on the international scene in the future as well.

The Congress emphasises that there is no alternative to this policy. Present-day armaments are of such a kind that no country can hope to defend itself only by military-technical means, by creating even the most powerful defence, since not only nuclear war itself, but also the

arms race cannot be won. Its continuation on earth, let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear and other types of armaments, with the result that even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, the safeguarding of security is increasingly seen as a political problem that can be resolved only by political means.

2. The analysis made by the CPSU Central Committee of the character and scope of the nuclear threat has made it possible to formulate the conclusion, which is of theoretical and practical importance, that the objective conditions now prevailing on the international scene are such that the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest.

Proceeding from this, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to work consistently, systematically, and perseveringly to resolve the problems of international security, ensuring that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union strictly adheres to the course of peaceful coexistence, firmly upholds our principles and positions, shows tactical flexibility and a readiness to reach mutually acceptable compromises, and is oriented towards dialogue and mutual understanding. The Congress stresses the need for a further invigoration of Soviet foreign policy all along the line, for a search for a just, peaceful settlement of conflict situations, for promoting good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial relations with all countries.

3. The main direction of Soviet foreign policy in the coming years should consist in efforts to implement the programme put forward in the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of January 15, 1986, for destroying weapons of mass destruction and averting the threat of war. Fulfilment of this programme, which is epoch-making in its scope and significance, would open for humanity a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility of concentrating on constructive work alone.

The Congress reaffirms in unambiguous terms the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, which stems from the fact that the USSR is a strong opponent of nuclear war in any of its variants. Our country calls for withdrawing from use weapons of mass destruction and limiting military potentials to a reasonably adequate ceiling. The character and level of this ceiling, however, continue to be restricted by the positions and actions of the USA and its partners in military blocs. The Soviet Union does not claim to need more security, but it will not settle for less.

4. The Congress notes that the prerequisites for improving the international situation, which have begun to take shape of late, are not yet the turning point itself: the arms race continues, the threat of nuclear war remains. International reaction, however, is not omnipotent. The

development of the world revolutionary process and the growth of democratic and anti-war movements on a mass scale have dramatically extended and reinforced the huge potential of peace, reason, and good will, which is a powerful counterbalance to imperialism's aggressive policy. The CPSU intends to continue making the greatest contribution towards strengthening this potential.

5. The destinies of peace and social progress today are more than ever before interlocked with the dynamic economic and political development of the world socialist system. The Congress expresses confidence in socialism's ability to cope with the most complex tasks and notes the importance of the increasingly active interaction among the socialist countries, an interaction that serves as a catalyst for accelerating their progress.

The Congress unequivocally approves the new positive qualities that have manifested themselves in the relations with the countries of the socialist community following the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The heart and soul of the political cooperation among our countries have been and remain the interaction among the ruling communist parties, the improvement and renewal of its forms and methods, which make possible prompt comradely exchanges of opinion on an entire range of problems of socialist construction. This approach is in keeping with the demands of the day and enriches the content of relations between our parties and countries at all levels.

In view of the international situation, the Congress underscores the great significance of prolonging the Warsaw Treaty by a unanimous decision of its signatories, which is an effective and constructive factor of European and of world politics as a whole.

The CPSU regards as particularly significant the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Countries, and holds that it is a matter of honour for Soviet Communists, scientists, engineers, and workers to take an innovative, creative approach to key areas of socialist economic integration.

In advocating wide-scale communication among work collectives, public organisations, and individual citizens of socialist countries, the Congress stresses the growing importance of a mutual enrichment of considerations, ideas, and the experience of socialist construction. This helps to solve the problems posed by life, forestall the crisis situations created and used by the class adversary, counter his attempts to set some socialist countries against others, harmonise the interests of the various socialist states, and find mutually acceptable solutions for the most complex problems.

6. The CPSU stands for honest, open relations with all communist parties and all countries of the world socialist system, and for comradely exchanges of views with them. The Party welcomes every step towards the drawing together of socialist countries, and every positive change in relations among them.

In this context, the Congress notes with gratification some improvement in the relations of the USSR with its great neighbour, socialist China, and the possibility, despite the distinctions in their approach to a number of international problems, of promoting cooperation on a basis of equality without prejudice to third countries. In the opinion of the Congress, there are huge potentials for such cooperation because they are consistent with the vital interests of both countries, because what is dearest to our peoples—socialism and peace—is indivisible.

7. The CPSU, flesh of the flesh of the international communist movement, sees its primary internationalist duty to this movement in Soviet society's successful progress along the road opened and blazed by the October Revolution.

The Congress proceeds from the premise that the diversity of the communist movement is not a synonym for disunity, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with hierarchy, with the interference of some parties in the affairs of others, or with the striving by any party towards a monopoly over truth. The communist movement draws its strength from its bold, creative approach to the new realities in keeping with the doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; from its class solidarity and equal cooperation among all fraternal parties in the struggle for common aims—peace and socialism. Precisely these aims are the main, definitive thing that unites the Communists of different countries. The Congress instructs the CPSU Central Committee to do its utmost to facilitate the strengthening of such solidarity and such cooperation among the communist and workers' parties.

8. The trend towards a change in the correlation of forces on the world scene in favour of peace, reason, and good will is enduring and is irreversible in principle. This correlation, however, is taking shape in the course of an acute and dynamic struggle between progress and reaction. The Congress, therefore, reaffirms the CPSU's immutable solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, its course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Non-Aligned Movement; towards the promotion of contacts and cooperation with the social democratic movement; towards an expansion of relations with all who act against war, for international security.

9. The Congress notes the special significance of the Fundamental Principles for building an all-embracing system of international security advanced in the Political Report of the Central Committee. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of inter-state relations. On behalf of the CPSU, the Congress calls upon all governments, parties, and public organisations and movements, which are really concerned about the future of peace in the world, upon all peoples, to cooperate more closely and productively for the sake of achieving success in the battle against war, a success that

would be a historic victory by all humanity, by each person on our planet.

## V

1. The present stage, a stage of society's qualitative transformation, requires of the Party, of all its organisations new efforts, a principled stand in assessing their work, a businesslike attitude, and dedication. The further enhancement of the Party's leading role and of its influence on the work of all units of socialist society will be promoted by the consistent implementation of the provisions of the new edition of the CPSU Programme and of the Party Rules, both of which embody and further develop the Bolshevik principles of Party building, the style and methods of Party work, and the ideological and moral norms of the behaviour of Communists, all of which were worked out by Lenin and tested in practice. In their practical work Party organisations should proceed from the premise that the influence of the Party on social processes will be all the greater and more effective, the more diverse and meaningful inner-Party life is and the more strictly the Leninist principle of democratic centralism is observed.

2. Today, when the scale, novelty, and complexity of the tasks being tackled place high demands on all of the Party's political, ideological, and organisational work, it is of major importance to ensure a fundamental readjustment of Party work, the assertion in every Party organisation of an atmosphere of creativity, principled exactingness and self-criticism, and the quest for new, effective solutions of social and economic, scientific and technological, and ideological and educational problems.

While positively assessing the spirit of innovation and initiative in the approach to fulfilling the tasks set by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Congress notes that the need to readjust is still not appreciated everywhere and by everybody. Many organisations are slowly surmounting inertia, formalism, and stereotypes in work. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics and the Party territorial, regional, area, town, and district committees have to be more resolute in uprooting bigotry and conservatism in all their manifestations and the striving to embellish the actual state of affairs, and perseveringly surmount the chronic gravitation towards over-organisation, the penchant for useless conferences, and paper work. To call things by their names, make judgements without equivocation, provide objective information to higher Party bodies and the rank and file, and show exactingness and honesty always and in everything—this must be the immutable rule of Party work.

Primary Party organisations have a responsible role to play in asserting a businesslike, creative style everywhere. Party committees should constantly rely on these organisations, promote independence in work, and strive to ensure in every Party organisation a full-blooded life, characterised by openness, publicity of plans and decisions, humaneness, a mutual exactingness of Communists, and their tireless concern for the common cause. There must be a significant growth of the influence of Party organisations of ministries and departments on the work of the administrative apparatus and whole branches of the economy.

3. Proceeding from the belief that the healthy, normal life of each Party organisation is inconceivable without strict compliance with inner-Party democracy and the principle of collective leadership, the Congress considers that it is essential to give a larger role to collegiate bodies—plenary meetings of Party committees, bureaus, and Party meetings—in working out well-considered, substantiated decisions and in exercising control over their fulfilment and over the work of leading cadres.

To assert healthy principles in our life, to inspire cadres with the desire and ability to work in a new way requires that Party organisations should do their utmost to promote criticism and self-criticism, step up the efforts to eradicate ostentation, and correct those functionaries who favour readjustment in their words, but think and act in accordance with outdated patterns and react painfully to criticism levelled at them. Resolute steps must be taken to cut short any attempts at bridling criticism and at persecuting people for it. Where criticism and self-criticism die down, there Party work is deformed, and a situation of complacency and impunity arises that leads to stagnation in work and to the degeneration of functionaries. In the Party there should not be organisations that are exempt from control and criticism. Not a single leader should be able to evade responsibility, above all to the primary Party organisation, for his actions and deeds.

4. The guarantee of successfully fulfilling the tasks that have been set, of achieving our programme aims lies in the uninterrupted development and self-perfection of the Party, the unbreakable unity of its ranks, and the untiring efforts to maintain the purity and integrity of the Party member. In the past few years there has been a further growth and strengthening of the CPSU's creative potential and its roots in the working class, in all strata of society. The Party ranks have been augmented by fresh forces that are prepared to serve selflessly the communist cause. All the more intolerable are the cases, which still occur, of a slackening of exactingness in selecting persons for Party membership, and of admitting to Party membership persons who join it out of careerist considerations, counting on getting some advantages in life and allowances before the law.

A Party member enjoys no privileges; there are only additional duties. This Leninist postulate must be the point of departure in the work of every Party organisation in selecting persons for Party membership and educating Communists as political fighters and organisers of the masses, as active proponents of the Party's general line and directives. Strict mutual exactingness, well-considered ideological and educational work and the entire organisation of inner-Party life should ensure that Party members set a personal example, the premise being that there is no such thing as the Communist's vanguard role in general, that this role is expressed in concrete deeds, practical work, and the strict fulfilment of one's duty to society.

It is a cardinal task of Party organisations to educate Communists in the spirit of the great Bolshevik traditions and genuine comradeship, to eradicate flattery, servility, and toadyism from the Party milieu and from the whole of our society. Adherence to principle, modesty and a self-critical approach should be second nature to the Communist. More exacting demands must be made on Communists and Party organisations concerning adherence to the provisions of the Programme and Rules and strict observance of the norms of Party life. The Party ranks must be cleansed of all who are unworthy of being called a member of the CPSU.

5. The Congress unanimously approves the Central Committee's measures to strengthen many Party, government, and economic sectors by appointing energetic, well-trained cadres, by replacing cadres that have compromised themselves or have fallen behind the demands of the times, and the measures aimed at resolutely overcoming violations of Party norms that were committed in a number of organisations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, local Party bodies and all Party organisations are obliged to continue the consistent and persistent implementation of a principled policy concerning cadres in harmony with the Party's present-day demands and tasks. There must be no departures from Lenin's principles of selecting, appointing, and educating cadres. There must be a more energetic struggle against the habitual irresponsibility and permissiveness, which have struck deep roots in a number of organisations, and against breaches of Party and administrative discipline, ethics, and morality. Important lessons must also be drawn from the mistakes made by some Party organisations in cadre matters. The Party will not reconcile itself to the alien practice of protectionism, of promoting cadres because of their personal devotion or because they come from the same town or locality.

Ideological and moral qualities, performance, and an ability to effectively carry out the Party's political line, should be the decisive criteria in all cadre appointments. Every executive should be distinguished by ideological staunchness, a high level of political awareness and knowledge, competency, an ability to organise collective

work, to inspire people by his own example, commitment to principles, firm moral convictions and a constant urge for contacts with the masses, for sharing the interests and needs of others. Special demands should be made of Communists who are appointed to head Party organisations.

The Party will continue to pursue a policy of combining experienced and young personnel in the leadership, of improving the organisation of work with cadres, the training of a reliable reserve for promotion, and the system of Party and political education, and will practise broader publicity in settling questions relating to cadres. To prevent stagnation in the work, to build up cadres who have a wide range of experience and who are receptive to everything that is new and progressive, it is advisable to transfer to other organisations and regions functionaries who have been in one place a long time, and to rotate cadres between the centre and the localities. More women should be more vigorously promoted to leading posts.

6. Efficiency is especially needed to speed our advance. Many functionaries still lack this quality. They are inclined to replace real work by fruitless discussions and ungrounded assurances and promises. Party organisations must help cadres to reorient themselves to a higher level of efficiency. We must constantly bear in mind that any discrepancy between what is said and what is done deals damage to the main thing, to the prestige of the Party's policy, and this cannot be tolerated in any form. There must be a decisive battle against red tape, which is today a big obstacle to a radical reorganisation of the economic mechanism, is a brake on all worthwhile work.

Party committees must concentrate their attention and efforts on the key problems of our development, introduce all that is new and progressive in all spheres of life, and raise organisation to a higher level. In doing this they should not confuse the functions of the Party and those of other bodies, or allow any substitution for, or petty tutelage over, administrative and economic organisations. It is important to organise matters in such a way that everybody works well in the sector entrusted to him, acts energetically, with professional skill, and is not afraid of responsibility.

The Congress draws attention to the need to tighten supervision over practical implementation of the adopted decisions and plans. As we move forward, supervision should hold an increasingly large share in our work. The lines along which the style and methods of Party leadership should be perfected are as follows: to make an objective analysis of the state of affairs, realistically assess the situation and the work of functionaries, take thoroughgoing measures in all cases, and raise all organisational work to a level commensurate with political tasks.

7. The Congress supports the CPSU Central Committee's line of directing the tremendous transforming power of the Marxist-Leninist

ideology to accelerating our country's social and economic development, to increasing the role of the human factor, and to overcoming habitual approaches that have outlived themselves. The Party's present political course creates exceptionally favourable possibilities for considerably raising the effectiveness of ideological work, possibilities as yet used to a small degree. Important shortcomings still remain in the sphere of ideology: energetic but short-lived drives, educational work that is divorced from the realities of life, underestimation of acute problems that have come to a head, elements of scholasticism and idle contemplation, and education by words which is far from always linked up either with education by deeds, or with the socio-political experience of the masses.

The content, forms, and methods of ideological and political education of the people should be brought into conformity with the realities of domestic and foreign affairs and tied in with organisational and economic activities. Raising the maturity of socialist society and building communism means steadily raising the consciousness of the people, enriching their inner world and setting their creative potential into motion.

8. The Congress emphasises that the more precisely the objective laws governing social development are taken into account in policy and the more active the role which Marxist-Leninist theory plays in the interpretation of living practice, the more successfully will the perfecting of socialism go ahead. Manifestations of stagnation and dogmatism and also of hustling in ideological and theoretical work should be persistently overcome; the collective thinking of the Party should be enhanced, and cadres should be trained to have an appreciation of theory and an ability to apply the Leninist methods of analysing social processes.

Fundamental problems of accelerating our society's progress and of raising society to a qualitatively new level should hold the central place in investigations in the social sciences. The social sciences should react quickly to life's needs; they should draw up well-grounded forecasts and constructive recommendations for practical work.

The Party committees and organisations and ideological institutions must make full use of the ideological wealth of the Party Programme, of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 27th Party Congress decisions in shaping an integral Marxist-Leninist world view, in raising the Soviet people's political awareness and knowledge, labour activity and participation in the life of society. They must reorganise the system of political and economic studies, designed to equip Communists and all working people with the ability to think and act with political maturity, to promote the dissemination and consolidation of advanced forms of organising work and production.

9. The chief emphasis in ideological work, the Congress holds,

should be on the education of the working people in the spirit of communist ideological commitment and loyalty to the Soviet Motherland, in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscientious attitude towards work and public property, and intolerance of everything that is foreign to socialism, to our culture, and to our collectivist morality.

Work-oriented education must be aimed at arousing in every Soviet person an organic need for working with initiative, for doing good work and attaining a high productivity of labour with the least possible expenditure of resources. Constant care should be shown for the development of the glorious traditions of the Soviet working class, and for raising by all possible means the political and moral prestige of the innovators of production, masters of their trade.

The ideological commitment of the builders of communism is indivisibly welded with integrity, conscientiousness, and decency. It is incumbent on Communists to strengthen the moral foundations of socialism and to work actively for the elimination of all signs of petty-bourgeois psychology, for the consolidation of the principles of collectivism and social justice. It is their duty to skilfully safeguard the historic justice of our cause, to show the attractiveness of socialist ideas, to vividly propagate the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to come to grips with bourgeois ideology and morality, anti-Soviet provocations, and imperialism's acts of ideological subversion, and with attempts at using religion for anti-socialist purposes.

10. The Congress notes the growing role of the mass and propaganda media in promoting the Party's economic strategy, its social policy, and in cultivating the socialist consciousness; it regards television, radio, and the press as powerful vehicles of publicity and instruments of public control. We must use the mighty ideological potential of television more effectively, and heighten the impact of the entire propaganda and information complex; its material facilities must be expanded. The more thoughtful and prompt the work of the mass media is, and the less it chases after accidental and sensational items, the more fruitful it will be.

11. The Congress orientates the activity of Party organisations in the field of cultural development to see to an increasingly fuller satisfaction of people's intellectual needs and interests, to provide conditions for them to apply their abilities and to use their leisure time in a meaningful way. It is essential to resolutely update the methods used by the unions of creative workers and cultural institutions in their activity, to fill it with a profound ideological content.

The Congress calls on writers and artists to create works that will be worthy of the greatness of the Party's and the people's innovative undertakings, and that will truthfully reflect the life of Soviet people in its diversity and motion with a high degree of artistry. Literary and art

critics must shake off their complacency and deference to high titles, be guided by clear aesthetic and class criteria in their assessments, and come out more actively against lack of ideological commitment, pompousness and verbosity, focusing on petty details of everyday life, time-serving, and narrow-minded pragmatism.

The Party supports and will always support all talented work in literature and art committed to the Party's ideals and having a profound feeling of affinity with the people. High ideological and artistic standards, respect for talent, and tact are the criteria which Party organisations follow in their work with the artistic intelligentsia.

12. It is essential to perfect the organisation of ideological work, to see to it that all leading cadres take part in it, to ensure a comprehensive approach to education, and to keep the concrete individual in the focus of all work. We must secure unity of education at the work place, institutions of learning, and place of residence.

The contribution of ideological workers, of activists, to the Party cause of moulding the new man, must keep increasing. The Party will continue to upgrade the prestige of the ideological cadres who practise what they preach, who think analytically, have a taste for theory, and are broadly knowledgeable, professionally trained, and capable of resolving the problems of our new times.

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Adopting a bold, realistic, mobilising and inspiring strategy, one that is Leninist in spirit, in the struggle for the triumph of communist ideals, of peace and progress, the 27th Congress of the CPSU expresses the Party's firm determination to honourably follow our great road, and open up new vistas for the creative energy and revolutionary initiative of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

The Communists of the Soviet Union will always be in the frontline of all constructive work, will show examples of dedication and strict fulfilment of their duty to the people, of high responsibility to the future generations.

The Congress calls on all Soviet people to dedicate all their strength, knowledge, ability, and creative enthusiasm to the great goals of communist construction, and to worthily continue Lenin's victorious revolutionary cause, the cause of the October Revolution!



## THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE

by Vadim ZAGLADIN

*It is claimed in the West that the communist movement no longer performs the role it used to play and that it is going through a crisis, if not a period of downright decline. Is that really so?*

### FIGURES SHOW

Characteristically enough, totally different viewpoints are expressed in certain publications of Western research centres. In many instances their authors are compelled to admit that the communist parties continue to operate wherever they emerged, that their membership worldwide is growing and that they maintain active ties with each other and strive to attain common goals.

The so-called "internal appraisals" of Communists' activities that filtre into the press and are formulated by Western official sources show that their authors are particularly alarmed by three factors. First, the Communists hold firmly in their hands the banner of peace and struggle against the war threat created by imperialism's actions. Second, the communist movement has been developing closer relations with influential political forces born in the crucible of national liberation

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revolutions. Third, forces hostile to Marxism-Leninism fail to undermine Communists' international solidarity, to disrupt ties, particularly between the communist parties of the socialist countries and those in the non-socialist world, despite numerous attempts to do so.

"The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of our time," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the Party's 27th Congress. Such an appraisal reflects the actual state of affairs.

What can be said about the communist movement today? Obviously, it would be appropriate to cite some data describing its progress over the past few decades.

By the early 1970s there were communist and workers' parties in 88 countries, with a total membership of 50 million. As of the beginning of 1985, there were Communists in nearly 100 countries. The fraternal parties numbered over 80 million Communists. In other words, in fifteen years the number of countries with communist parties increased by 10 per cent, while party membership rose by 60 per cent.

Understandably enough, socialist states account for the majority of Communists—some 75 million. About five million are in the non-socialist world. Here are some figures illustrating the movement's development outside the socialist countries.

GROWTH OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OUTSIDE THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

World region	1969-1970		1984-1985	
	Number of countries with communist parties	Party membership (mln)	Number of countries with communist parties	Party membership (mln)
Asia, Australia and Oceania	19	0.60	22	1.34
America	25	0.38	25	0.46
Africa	9	0.02	11	0.07
Western Europe	21	2.27	22	3.0
Total	74	3.27	80	4.87

As we can see, over the past 15 years communist membership in the non-socialist world has increased by more than 1.5 million, mainly due to increases in the ranks of the major communist parties of Europe and

Asia, and partly Latin America. This period also saw the formation of new communist parties: the Maltese Communist Party (announced in February 1970); the Communist Party of Pakistan (the constituent congress was held in 1974); the Saudi Arabian Communist Party (the first congress was in August 1975); the Workers' Party of Jamaica (its constituent congress was in December 1978); the Egyptian Communist Party (the first congress was in September 1980); the Communist Party of Palestine (formed early in 1982); the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (the constituent congress was in 1981), formerly regarded as a revolutionary-democratic party, now part of the communist movement.

As mentioned above, the communist movement is active in nearly a hundred countries. But the total number of communist parties is greater than the number of countries where they operate because India, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Spain and Costa Rica have two communist parties each. There are various reasons for their formation but the main one is the clash of views and internal differences on fundamental issues.

Clearly, the emergence of several communist parties in one country cannot be viewed as normal. This is a deviation from the working class movement's needs, a temporary situation. Marxists-Leninists in every such country work for the cooperation of all Communists in solving vital problems of the working class and democratic movement so as eventually to ensure the restoration of united, massive and militant communist parties.

In terms of their social composition the communist parties represent mainly the working class. Needless to say, taking account of the trends of social-political development, Communists never close their doors to people from other social strata and groups. On the contrary, they seek to involve the most politically conscious of them in their ranks. Nevertheless, the main attention is paid to replenishing their ranks with workers, including those who have lost their jobs, the unemployed.

As regards the Asian and African countries, as well as some Latin American states, their communist parties are comprised largely of peasants and representatives of middle urban strata. This logically reflects the social make-up of the population in these regions. In recent decades, considerable numbers of intellectuals, students and especially working youth, have swelled the ranks of the Afro-Asian communist parties.

According to available data, workers account for over 40 per cent of the fraternal parties' total membership. Together with office employees, their share in the overall composition of the communist movement is well above 50 per cent. The balance falls to peasants, intellectuals, middle strata of the town and country, and others. In other words, the present-day communist movement more or less reflects the social pattern of today's world.

Significantly, the past 10-15 years have seen the communist parties' influence mount amongst women, including in the non-socialist countries. Women average some 20 per cent of the total membership in the fraternal parties outside the socialist world. This is no small number, though insufficient. The communist parties everywhere now pay more attention to work with women, just as with young people.

In the countries of the non-socialist world, where communist parties can take part in elections, their candidates secured 35-40 million votes in the 1970s and the early 1980s. Some of the parties in Latin American countries have also consolidated their position: many of them are represented at elections to their states' legislative bodies.

It would be incorrect, of course, to judge the communist parties' influence solely by their election returns. The actual role played by Communists in the life of many countries is much greater than the share of votes cast for their candidates. Thus, there are many instances of effective cooperation between Communists and trade unions (France, Italy, Portugal, India, etc.). Nor should we underestimate the importance of Communists' activities in other democratic organizations and movements.

The communist and workers' parties lead a tense and vigorous life. In the last 15 years, for instance, almost 70 parties of non-socialist countries have held some 240 congresses and conferences in all. Over the same period, the Communists of all the socialist countries have assembled 2-3 times at their respective top forums. Nearly 50 communist parties have adopted new programme documents or specified existing ones.

Also, contacts between the fraternal parties of different countries continue to develop effectively. During the 1970s-1980s (up to mid-1985) communist parties of different regions held nearly 130 regional meetings and conferences on political issues, as well as over 140 meetings and symposiums on theoretical problems.

#### COMMUNISTS' ACTIVITIES

What was said above concerns the characteristic of the communist movement and its internal affairs. But the social role of a political movement is judged by not so much its general characteristics as its practical activities. As Lenin put it, to be an internationalist means to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries".<sup>1</sup>

This statement, like all Marxist-Leninist provisions concerning the theory and policy of proletarian internationalism, points above all to the

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 28, p. 292.

unity of Communists' national and international duty and responsibilities. This is logical enough.

Every fraternal party operates primarily in its own country. Naturally enough, its prime duty to its people, its working class is to wage an effective revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation, for a socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society developing into communist.

The solution of this task is at the same time the fulfilment by the given party of its internationalist duty, its responsibility to the international working class. What can, indeed, be a greater contribution to the common cause of the proletarians of all countries if not the practical socialist transformation of society in one's own country? The attainment of this goal by each national contingent of the working class movement, which alone is equal to this challenge, would likewise signify all mankind's transition to socialism, that is, the implementation of the historical mission of the working class on a worldwide scale.

Proceeding from this Lenin, after the victory of the October Revolution, pointed out that victorious socialism greatly influenced world development by its economic policy. The CPSU, just as other fraternal socialist countries, persistently adheres to this behest. As the new edition of the CPSU Programme says "it regards its efforts to perfect socialist society and advance onward to communism as a major internationalist task, the accomplishment of which serves the interests of the world socialist system, the international working class, and mankind as a whole."

Thus, the Party's vigorous revolutionary-transforming activity inside its own country is a major part of its internationalist duty. A major part, but not the only one. For, even though a communist party's national and international interests and duty, are dialectically interconnected, they are not identical.

The history of the communist movement knows of attempts to mechanically identify the national and international tasks of one or another contingent of the working class (or party), which led to it being isolated and divorced from the rest of the working class movement, and even to national interests being set up against international ones.

Drawing on historical experience, one can say the following: if a contingent of the communist (working class) movement performs its national duty (national task) in isolation, or, moreover, opposes its interests (tasks) to those of the other contingents, the international import of such a contingent's activities in its own country diminishes. On other occasions such activities may acquire an anti-internationalist, in effect, a nationalist character. As a result, this may prove harmful both to the communist cause in all countries and, above all, to the party that has isolated itself from its comrades-in-arms elsewhere.

The CPSU is for "a profound understanding of both national

interests and common, international interests in their organic inter-connection." In practice, this means that the CPSU and other socialist countries' parties in their everyday practice closely link their work for perfecting socialist society with vigorous activities on the world scene, which have a consistently internationalist character.

Close interaction is of singular importance for the fraternal parties. This fully accords with the international interests of the working class, and of all mankind for that matter. The Communists' viable mutual solidarity has more than once confirmed its strength and effectiveness, and influenced substantially the course of world development in favour of socialism and all revolutionary forces. Suffice it to recall the fraternal parties' close combat interaction during the anti-fascist Resistance in the Second World War. In the postwar period the communist movement has inscribed new pages in the history of international proletarian solidarity, specifically the solidarity of the non-socialist world's revolutionaries with the struggle of the socialist nations for building the new society and safeguarding socialism's gains.

The communist parties of the socialist countries and the fraternal parties of the non-socialist world are working jointly not only on fundamental problems of a general human, general democratic character but also against all manifestations of exploitation and oppression. They jointly participate in both political and ideological battles, upholding the principles of the revolutionary teaching of the working class—the principles of scientific socialism, elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin. They are repulsing imperialist, reformist and revisionist ideologies, as well as anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The results of Communists' activities are truly imposing.

The most important one is the establishment and further development of the socialist system. Where socialism has been built or is under construction many basic problems of concern to mankind from time immemorial have practically been resolved within a brief period of time and in the most complex conditions. "The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been verified in practice on an international scale, socialism has asserted itself on vast expanses of the earth, and hundreds of millions of people are following the road of creating a communist civilization. More and more nations are losing their confidence in capitalism; they do not wish to associate their prospects of development with it and are persistently searching for and finding ways of socialist transformation of their countries," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

In the non-socialist world, Communists organize active rebuff to imperialism's anti-popular actions and monopoly capital's onslaught on the masses' living standards. They have initiated the struggle to surmount the consequences of the economic crisis for the working people. In the newly free states these common tasks are supplemented

also with the struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence and against attempts by imperialism, primarily US imperialism, to consolidate and perpetuate its oppression, and to continue syphoning off the wealth of Asian, African and Latin American nations into their bottomless vaults.

One cannot fail to mention the particularly outstanding and steadily growing role played by Communists in fighting the nuclear war threat and in promoting peace.

"Special anti-militarist propaganda must be carried on all the more energetically," Lenin wrote, "because cases of interference in the struggle between labour and capital on the part of the military forces are becoming more frequent; and because the importance of militarism not only in the present struggle of the proletariat, but also in the future, at the time of the social revolution, is becoming more and more obvious."<sup>2</sup> Lenin stressed further that "specially anti-militarist activity is not only specially necessary but practically expedient and fruitful."<sup>3</sup>

These words were written almost seventy years ago, but today they are even more topical than at the beginning of this century.

The anti-war, anti-nuclear and anti-missile struggle, the struggle against the militarization of outer space and for banning all nuclear tests, has become a distinguishing feature of our days, a major line of the mass social action at the end of the 20th century. Without belittling in the least the part played by its other participants, it should be acknowledged that Communists play a leading role in the development of this struggle. Their specific role in it is determined by the fact that they clearly see the causes of the war threat, expose those actually responsible for aggravating international tensions, for the arms race. They strive for cooperation with all who are able to contribute to this struggle.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme says: "Communists, having always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are today also in the forefront of the struggle for the preservation of peace on earth and for people's right to life."

At present, the need for Communists' activity and the tasks they have to cope with are growing. What is the reason for this?

The worldwide process of social liberation, initiated by the Great October Revolution, is going on. This means a rise in the role of the masses and their active involvement in the historical process. In his time Karl Marx remarked: "Together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 15, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels. *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, vol. 4, p. 82.

Lenin considered this postulate one of the profoundest and most important precepts in Marxism.<sup>5</sup> The present realities strikingly confirm the correctness of these words.

Indeed, when in the past did vast popular masses take such an active part in history-making? Over one and a half billion people have already been involved in the building of socialism and the struggle to establish communism. Or take the struggle for national liberation. Doesn't it demonstrate the involvement in revolutionary transforming activity of new and new hundreds of millions of people—in effect, the majority of mankind? Lastly, the anti-war movement, embracing all continents and regions in the world, vividly symbolizes the masses' effective shaping of history.

Clearly, the greater number of participants in the historical process and the higher degree of mass political activism dictate growing need for an organized, ideologically equipped and tested force capable of understanding the essence and dynamics of social processes, of seeing and comprehending the paths of struggle leading to the future, of embodying such comprehension in a concrete action programme, of inspiring the broadest masses with this programme and of rallying them under the banner of social progress. "The wider the new streams of the social movement become," Lenin wrote, "the greater becomes the importance of a strong social-democratic organization capable of creating new channels for these streams. The more the democratic propaganda and agitation conducted independently of us works to our advantage, the greater becomes the importance of an organized social-democratic leadership."<sup>6</sup>

In other words, the growth in the numbers of participants in the socio-political struggle objectively calls for enhancing the communist parties' role and activity. This conclusion is confirmed constantly and universally—especially where spontaneous mass movements arise, which, if lacking guidelines, either reach an impasse and uselessly exhaust themselves, or find themselves drawn onto a false path, leading away from the goals of genuine social progress.

The importance of the Communists' activities nowadays is growing because of the need to ensure further social progress. An ever greater proportion of mankind is coming to realize that as society advances, more and more problems arise and that the refusal to deal with them or delays can have truly dangerous consequences for all people throughout the world. But these problems are not solved due to the sustained prevalence of capitalist production relations in a large part of our planet. The increasing realization of this induces people, even if only spontaneously, to alter the existing social practices.

<sup>5</sup> See V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 2, p. 524.

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 216-217.

But this is more than just the masses' subjective striving to change the situation that is sharply at variance with their vital interests. The main thing is that objective material prerequisites for socialism have ripened worldwide. The changes that have occurred in the past few decades in the capitalist productive forces and production relations (the further socialization of production, social polarization, the growth of the mass of labour, notably the proletariat, etc.) are graphic evidence of this.

However, neither the presence of the objective prerequisites for socialism, nor the masses' instinctive drive to alter the existing state of affairs is yet sufficient for implementing basic social changes. History has shown convincingly that such changes cannot be effected spontaneously. It takes the purposeful and organized activity of the masses, their will, readiness and ability to fight to implement these changes in one form or another.

Enhancing the communist parties' role and influence is a major condition and prerequisite for preparing the masses for a conscious struggle of this order. "We see in the **independent**, uncompromisingly Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat the sole pledge of socialism's victory and the road to victory that is most free from vacillations,"<sup>7</sup> Lenin wrote. These Lenin's words are fully relevant nowadays too.

A legitimate question arises: can one hope that the communist movement will be able to meet the "challenge of history" and increase its role and impact on the course of world development?

"The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly uphold the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out ways of leading society out of the crisis situation of bourgeois society, indicate a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers, imbued with social optimism, to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and the most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries." Such is the conclusion drawn by the CPSU, based on the entire history of the communist movement, on its extensive, multi-faceted experience.

One can be confident that the communist parties will grow stronger by continuing and developing their revolutionary traditions, by steadfastly pursuing a class-based, socialist-oriented, truly national and, simultaneously, profoundly internationalist policy.

#### A NEW STAGE OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Needless to say, Communists' implementation of such policies presupposes the continuity of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist line.

<sup>7</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 8, p. 159.

and also its consistent development, searches for new solutions to the problems that arise.

Of late, the communist movement has been confronted with many new realities. This refers, first and foremost, to the international conditions of struggle waged by the fraternal parties.

Profound socio-political changes have taken place in the world and continue to develop, although they are not always manifested in some conspicuous events. All contradictions of the present-day world are being aggravated, above all, the main one, between socialism and capitalism, as well as contradictions of the capitalist society, contradictions between the peoples of the liberated countries and imperialism, contradictions of a general human nature. "Such is the world," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, "we are living in on the threshold of the third millennium. It is a world full of hope, because people have never before been so amply equipped for the further development of civilization. But it is also a world overburdened with dangers and contradictions, which prompts the thought that this is perhaps, the most alarming period in history."

New tasks also confront Communists in their own countries.

Throughout the 1970s and the early 1980s the Communists of the socialist countries encountered a number of difficult problems connected with the fact of the relations of production lagging behind the changing productive forces. Specifically, the problem of the forms and methods of transition to intensive economic management was not dealt with consistently. In some instances (in Poland, for example) political difficulties arose. In this connection, the fraternal parties of the socialist countries emphasize the importance of stepping up the pace of increasing social production efficiency, accelerating scientific and technological progress, further developing socialist democracy, primarily by extending working people's involvement in running all affairs of society and advancing the socialist way of life as a whole. To this end they are deepening mutual cooperation in the economic and political spheres alike.

"The experience of the USSR, of world socialism," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "shows that the most important factors in its successful advance are the loyalty of the ruling communist and workers' parties to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and a creative application of that doctrine; firm links between the parties and the broad mass of working people, an enhancing of the authority of the parties and their guiding role in society, strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, and development of government by the people under socialism; a sober consideration of the actual situation, a timely and scientifically substantiated solution of problems that arise; and the building of relations with other fraternal countries on the principles of socialist internationalism."

The difficulties encountered by many parties in capitalist countries were largely due to the fact that after a comparatively long period of vigorous economic activity, marked by the absence of a revolutionary situation, the capitalist world, from the mid-1970s, suddenly entered a stage of crisis economic development and aggravated class struggle.

The recent cyclic and structural crises have considerably influenced the sentiments of the masses and provoked sharp class clashes. But in other instances they reduced the working people's militancy. The altered social make-up of the population (due to the scientific and technological revolution), including the working class being replenished with people from a non-proletarian background, made itself felt here.

All these shifts occurred at a time when the anti-communist strategy and tactics of the monopoly bourgeoisie grew more pushy and aggressive. Imperialism's political and ideological apparatus is operating ever more perfidiously, combining discrimination against and persecution of Communists and overt anti-communist propaganda with support for elements in the working class movement which come out against the class-based policy and international solidarity, for social conciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie.

On more than one occasion information about consultations between the Western countries' appropriate agencies, aimed at preventing the growth of the Communists' influence, their recognition by public opinion and their participation in governments, has leaked to the world press. At certain times (for instance, in connection with the major successes scored by the Italian Communist Party in the elections in the mid-1970s) plans were also discussed for direct interference in a country's affairs should the Communists "dare" to head the government. It was said that a communist-led government would get no assistance from other Western countries. What's more, everything would be done to hamper its activities.

One directive of the US National Security Council said bluntly that the respective US agencies considered it their task to create and exploit the difficulties of "world communism"; to discredit the world communist movement; strive to decrease its influence, sap the strength of communist parties and organizations; diminish the spread of communist ideology in every region of the world.

Over a score fraternal parties still have to operate illegally, underground. Naturally, pressure from imperialism cannot but create additional difficulties, at times rather serious, for fraternal parties in capitalist countries.

As a result, in the non-socialist countries fraternal parties sometimes experience a certain degree of stagnation and even a decline in their membership, as well as a drop in influence. This applies, above all, to capitalism's main centres, that is, advanced capitalist countries. At the

same time, communist parties in a number of countries with a medium level of capitalist development have retained or somewhat increased their influence.

The recent congresses of communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries called serious attention to the need for further expanding Communists' influence amongst the masses, primarily in the working class, by fighting steadfastly for working people's vital interests, protecting the proletarian core from diffusion and discrimination, working out programmes for economic struggle, which would combine support for scientific and technological progress with combating the consequences of its capitalistic application. They also stressed the importance of fresh efforts to consider modern strategic and tactical principles, taking account of new features in social development.

New tasks also face Communists of newly independent countries: the period of the transition from a general national struggle for the elimination of colonial dependence has been replaced by a period when the growing class struggle inside the respective countries is combined with resistance to imperialism's onslaught involving both the popular masses and local capital.

In short, life poses Communists everywhere ever new problems, and even those equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, and who have a truly scientific world outlook, do not always manage to keep pace with its tempestuous advance.

#### THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

As the new edition of the CPSU Programme points out, the Party maintains that Communists in every country independently analyze and evaluate situations and independently determine their strategic course, policies and means of struggle to achieve immediate and ultimate goals, and communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable international asset.

Ultimately, a consistently Marxist-Leninist ideological commitment, the high degree of organization and discipline and active, essentially revolutionary work with the masses ensure the life and progress of a communist party as a new, Leninist-type party.

True, the view has recently been voiced that the notion "a new-type party" has become outdated. It is sometimes said that what is needed is no longer the Leninist-type party, but some sort of a "new party," "vastly accessible to the masses." Essentially, however, all these concepts amount to one thing—the suggestion to renounce clear-cut, class-based criteria and approaches, the Marxist-Leninist ideological base and proletarian internationalism. But the question naturally arises: what would then be left of the communist parties? Recommendations, like the above-mentioned, call, in effect, for a step backwards, not forward.



The range of circumstances in which the fraternal parties have to operate is quite broad, for they function in socialist, capitalist and newly independent countries. Hence, the varied forms and methods of their work, especially their strategy and tactics. But this expands rather than limits the movement's potential. The diversity of the forms of activity enables Communists to take better account of specific national conditions and the concrete historical situation, and of the interests of different social groups and strata of the population.

On the other hand, different conditions of activity, more complicated tasks facing the fraternal parties sometimes result in dissimilar evaluations and different approaches to solving concrete problems of the class struggle and give rise, as is known, to inter-party debates. "The CPSU is not dramatizing the fact that complete unanimity among communist parties exists not always and not in everything," said Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. "Evidently, there generally cannot be an identity of views on all issues without exception. The communist movement came into being when the working class entered the international scene as an independent and powerful political force. The parties that comprise it have grown on national soil and pursue common end objectives—peace and socialism. This is the main, determining thing that unites them." Where there are differences on some specific issues, it is necessary, according to the CPSU's view, to hold patient, comradely discussions. On many an occasion, life itself will show who is right. But when the issue at hand is the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, the substance and role of existing socialism, the CPSU will continue to uphold positions of principle. This is what determines its attitude to attempts to emasculate the class essence of Communists' activities, to distort the revolutionary character of the aims and the means of struggle to attain them. This is clearly formulated in the updated edition of the CPSU Programme, which says, in part, that **the CPSU regards it as its major task to fight consistently against dogmatism and revisionism, against any influences of bourgeois ideology on the working class movement.**

Previously, too, there were instances of communist parties holding dissimilar views on certain issues. But life has proved convincingly that even if there are divergent views it is possible and necessary to develop political cooperation in a struggle against the common class enemy. Historical experience, as well as modern developments confirms that Communists cannot act as a weighty political factor of international life without rallying their ranks and interacting world-wide. This is a major lesson of history and an imperative of our time.

The principle of proletarian internationalism is of particular significance nowadays. It is a major principle of Marxism-Leninism.

Sometimes, unfortunately, it is interpreted in a way that leaves little of internationalism. For instance, it is sometimes alleged that the internationalism Marx and Lenin conceptualized and upheld has become outdated. From the standpoint of the CPSU, renouncing proletarian internationalism would amount to depriving communist parties and the working class movement generally of a powerful tried-and-tested weapon. That would do a good turn to the class enemy who actively coordinates his anti-communist actions worldwide.

The Soviet Communists consider defending proletarian internationalism a sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist. In this connection the new edition of the CPSU Programme points out: "In its relations with the fraternal parties, **the CPSU firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism**, which organically combines revolutionary solidarity with the recognition of the full independence and equality of each party."

The communist parties, the communist movement as a whole, are major factors of social progress. The CPSU firmly believes that to strengthen these parties, promote their interaction, strengthen the communist movement means to further the common cause of the international working class, the cause of peace and socialism.

\* \* \*

History knows of thousands, even tens of thousands of ideological and political movements, parties and organizations. As a rule, each and every one of them belonged to a certain epoch, or more specifically—to a definite period of time. Social and political conditions changed—some trends and organizations were replaced by others. Few of them have left a more or less noticeable mark in mankind's record. Moreover, none of them could be credited with implementing basic social transformations, substantial changes in the course of social development.

The communist movement has thus far been the only exception to this general rule. In historical terms it is still relatively young—it has been around for less than 150 years. But over this period, Communists have made an enormous and unparalleled contribution to social progress.

The main thing is that the communist movement not only has adequately reflected in its theory an objective, historically logical need for the social restructuring of the world but has practically taken charge of this restructuring, thus having become an effective instrument of social progress. In 1917, under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party, the party of the new type, a socialist revolution emerged victorious in Russia. This heralded mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

## POLITICAL FREEDOMS AMERICAN STYLE

by Vasily VLASIKHIN

*While broadly referring to declarations of human rights, the apologists of American bourgeois democracy harp on their devotion to political freedoms. But how do things really stand in the United States in this area?*

### FACT AND FICTION

Official Washington seeks to present its political system as the paragon of democracy matching the ideals of bourgeois constitutionalism of a primeval order. The American doctrine of constitutional law implies, among other things, freedom of association seen as the citizens' right to form parties, public organizations, associations of people pursuing similar interests, etc. But how do things stand in actual fact? Things are quite different in reality. The right to form associations was not "enshrined" in the Constitution. Neither the Bill of Rights (1791), nor subsequent amendments to the Constitution make any mention of it.

In 1902, the law on "criminal anarchy" was passed in New York State banning the propaganda of revolutionary ideas or affiliation with an organization advocating such ideas. In the first two decades of this century similar laws (on "criminal anarchy" or "criminal syndicalism") were passed by the legislatures of 35 states. The enactment of the federal immigration act in 1903 was prompted by primitive xenophobia and the fear of the working class movements' progressive ideas penetrating into the country. The act banned "anarchists" and other individuals advocating revolutionary change in society from entering

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Understandably, this transition is uneven for it develops in proportion to the growth of deep-going contradictions in the capitalist system, as the objective and subjective prerequisites for socialism, for socialist revolution ripen. These processes occur differently in different countries. On the other hand, social progress is invariably the result of a sharp class struggle which also develops unevenly, in different forms and at a varied pace. Revolutions, in short, are the product of complex historical development.

Communists' current difficulties are a consequence of the acceleration of the historical process currently taking place. The communist movement is presently accumulating its potential, preparing for a further major stride forward. This is no simple matter. But it is making headway, continuously and daily. But even the complex problems of today should in no way be dramatized.

Communists lead the struggle for socialism wherever it is being waged. In any conditions, under any circumstances they are working to advance labour along the path leading to its genuine social and national liberation.

From the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*\*



*Your publications about the Second World War are a major contribution to disseminating knowledge about the events at the Eastern front during World War II. No one in nazi-occupied Norway doubted then that the outcome of the war at the Soviet-German front would for us mean a free life or slavery. That is why we are deeply grateful to your country. In the present situation it is important for the people to realize: a struggle is necessary to oppose the madness of war. This is one of the conclusions I've made while reading your publications. They counterbalance the misinformation which inundates our press and radio reports, counterbalance the biased depiction of life in the Soviet Union.*

**Oddvar Bjorge,**  
Norway

*I admire the Soviet people's heroism and courage, their sense of proletarian internationalism manifested in the enormous help they render the peoples fighting for their national liberation against imperialism.*

**Vo Van Chat,** Vietnam

*I've been reading your journal for two years now. Knowing life in the Soviet Union makes me feel free.*

**Ahmed Bakury,** Ghana

*In the West we are constantly brain-washed by a surfeit of lying propaganda about the socialist countries. The need for true information is enormous.*

**Lennart Strandberg,** Sweden

the country. This launched a trend in state legislative policy allowing the suppression of Left radical ideology.

With the USA's entry into the First World War, a wave of chauvinism and showy patriotism swept the upper crust of US bourgeois society. Chauvinistic sentiments developed into mass-scale reprisals against radicals. New repressive laws were passed, including federal legislation limiting freedom of speech and assembly. Thus, the 1917 Espionage Act made it a crime to call for insubordination in the armed forces and to resist the draft. An amendment to this act—the 1918 Sedition Act, envisaged sanctions for anti-government pronouncements. Similar acts aimed at suppressing the activities of trade unions, of all progressive organizations were passed by the states' legislatures.

Later, too, measures were taken to victimize Left-wing organizations. On January 2, 1920, criminal investigation agents of the Justice Department and local police details carried out raids on the premises of these organizations and "radicals" in 33 towns of 23 states. Over 4,000 people were arrested.

In 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, a kind of extension of the government's anti-democratic policy. This legislative act has gone down in US history as the Smith Act. It imposed harsh sanctions on those who organize or help organize a society, group or association of individuals advocating the overthrow of a body of state authority at any level or who are members of such an organization, or are joining its ranks, or are affiliated with it. The Smith Act was thought to nip fascist agents' subversive activities in the country and to prevent the emergence of a "fifth column". But all this was only camouflage. The authors of the Act thought least of all of America's real foes. The anti-communist punitive edge of the Smith Act was fully revealed in the late 1940s when the government applied it to deal with the Communist Party of the USA as a political organization. A group of party leaders was put on trial in March, 1949 and nine months later they were indicted. In 1951 the accused appealed to the Supreme Court, which upheld both their sentences and the constitutionality of the Smith Act itself.

This gave the authorities a free hand to carry out other reprisals. Under the Act, 141 people were indicted of criminal offences and 29 of them given jail sentences. The prosecution did not and could not provide any proof of their "criminal activities". Communists were put on trial for their convictions.

Eventually, the authorities were compelled to renounce the Smith Act on account of tough standards of its application prescribed by the Supreme Court. But the Act itself played a reactionary role in undermining the constitutional principle of freedom of association.

After the Second World War, the House Un-American Activities Committee stepped up its functions of "guardian of the principles of

Americanism". In 1945-1957, it investigated 230 cases. Over 3,000 people were summoned to its hearings for refusing to be subjected to humiliating questioning on their convictions and political connections. A further 135 were charged with disrespect for Congress.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the leading investigative body in the USA, stepped up spying on progressive organizations, as well as provocative, subversive work inside them. Its activities were vigorously backed up by local police agencies.

President Truman's executive order (No. 9835, of March 21, 1947) was a direct blow at citizens' constitutional right to hold any political views. It set up a system for checking the "loyalty" of prospective government officials and civil servants. A future employee had to swear that he did not belong to an organization advocating the necessity to "overthrow the government". "Loyalty" checks turned into massive purges of the government apparatus and "witch-hunts" victimizing not only Communists.

In 1950, the US Congress passed the Internal Security Act, known also as the McCarran-Wood Act, named after its authors. But Senator McCarran and House member Wood were not its only authors. The 1950 Act was the crowning point of American reaction's efforts, a product of the ominous epoch of McCarthyism and the "cold war".

#### THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF THE McCARRAN ACT

Its enactment signified a new stage in the US capitalist state's repressive policies. It "legalized" judicial persecution of not only individual undesirable political elements, but even whole organizations, particularly communist ones, explicitly named in the Act. Overtly anti-democratic legislation was drawn up and enacted under the pretext of protecting republican principles and constitutional democratic institutions from "subversive" activities (invariably associated with communist organizations in the minds of reactionaries). A truly inquisitorial mechanism was set up on a national scale thanks to the efforts of reaction. Strategically, it was geared to eliminating not only the Communist Party but other progressive organizations as well. A nationwide "witch-hunt" was launched in the state apparatus, public organizations, in the spheres of science and culture. The campaign was sponsored by the notorious Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Members of Left organizations, branded as "subversive" and "criminal", were not allowed to hold posts in the government apparatus and to work at defence-related enterprises and in trade unions. They were denied old-age benefits, the issue or extension of the foreign passport, and permission to go abroad.

The Act envisaged the possibility of the arrest, internment and preventive imprisonment of individuals suspected of belonging to "subversive" organizations or of association with them, in the event of a state of emergency being proclaimed in the country by the President. To this end, it was envisaged to set up a network of special concentration camps.

But the main thing was that under the McCarran Act, the Communist Party, like other progressive organizations, was to be registered with the Department of Justice. What's more, on November 22, 1950, acting on behalf of the Federal Government, the head of the Department of Justice requested the then Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) to issue an order on the Communist Party's compulsory registration.

Even bourgeois lawyers contended that the demand for its registration obviously contradicted the democratic idea of freedom of association, for it placed the organization under direct police control by the government and actually deprived it of the possibility of functioning freely by providing the authorities with all manner of information concerning its leaders, members, affiliations, funds, printing facilities, etc. It made people and organizations criminally liable not only for refusal to register but also for failure to do so in time.

The years went by. World public opinion strongly condemned the disgrace of McCarthyism. A wave of protests swept the United States itself. However, the Supreme Court was reluctant to abrogate this overtly unconstitutional act. Thus, in 1961 it found legitimate the SACB's demand for the Communist Party to be registered as a "subversive" organization, and recognized the McCarran Act as constitutional.

The Supreme Court gradually yielded ground as the years passed. In 1964 it qualified as unconstitutional a provision in the McCarran Act about the State Department's right to deny Communist Party members a passport and hence travel abroad, for this violates citizens' basic right of freedom of movement.

In 1965 the Supreme Court arrived at the conclusion that the requirement for registration on pain of penal sanctions contradicted a constitutional provision on the inadmissibility of one being forced to give evidence against oneself (the Fifth Amendment). In other words, in registering with the Department of Justice, an organization was thereby compelled to qualify itself "subversive" and "criminal". By such a decision the Supreme Court, in effect, put an end to the government's attempts to force the Communist Party to register. In 1968, Congress abolished compulsory registration. However, voluntary registration remained. Also repealed was the ban on members of progressive organizations working at defence-related enterprises, as well as on their

trade union activities. In 1971, under public pressure, Congress was compelled to abolish a provision in the McCarran Act on setting up concentration camps for the detainment of "dangerous" individuals during a state of emergency. But did these measures signify that US citizens were now really being guaranteed political freedoms?

#### IN THE WAKE OF OUTDATED POLICIES

Political developments in the USA have shown that the government did not at all restrain itself in persecuting undesirable political organizations. Having bolstered its prestige by passing a number of liberal-reformist acts through higher judicial authority, it shifted the accent of its struggle against undesirable organizations to other areas.

While, under the pressure of democratic forces, the gradual dismantling of the repressive mechanism built around the McCarran Act got under way, the Federal Bureau of Investigation started mass-scale secret surveillance operations code-named COINTELPRO. With the Reagan Administration's advent to power the "legal" foundation for such operations by US intelligence services was strengthened once again.

December 1981 saw the enforcement of the President's executive order allowing the CIA legally to shadow American citizens and organizations across the USA. The FBI was also given additional powers under the order. Specifically, it is empowered to plant secret agents in organizations which might be "under foreign influence", according to the authorities. Furthermore, under an instruction of the Department of Justice which came into force on March 21, 1983, the FBI is formally authorized not only to infiltrate organizations both it and the Department of Justice consider criminal ("terrorist" or "threatening the internal security" of the USA), but also to influence their activities in a way advantageous for the investigative authorities. In other words, "legal" grounds are created for the use of provocative tactics.

Nowadays, as in the late 1940s, suspicion and espionage mania are being whipped up again and a McCarthy-style "witch-hunt" is being revived. Real psychological warfare has been launched against members of the anti-war movement protesting against the government's militaristic line. They are proclaimed "foreign agents", "enemies of the state". Attempts are being made to revive Congressional repressive bodies. At the House of Representatives, "witch-hunt" votaries associate their designs with the resurgence of the Un-American Activities Committee, while at the Senate the newly formed subcommittee on security and terrorism has already carried out investigations into "ties" linking the Communist Party USA and the World Peace Council with US anti-war organizations.

Just as at the time of the McCarran Act, the "witch-hunt" is becoming standard practice in the USA's political life. In accordance with a recent instruction by the US President, civil servants' "loyalty" is to be tested by means of "lie detectors". He also signed a secret directive providing for setting up ten concentration camps throughout the country. They are designed to hold 200,000 people. This programme has compelled the democratic public to speak out once again of the ominous danger of the revival of McCarthyism.

While repealing its overtly anti-communist legislation, the capitalist state has by no means renounced its traditional hounding of its political opponents. In so doing, the authorities rely on common criminal laws, representing political activists and leaders of opposition movements as criminal law-breakers. Significantly, a trend towards "informally" vesting the state police with repressive functions is now a distinctive feature of the state's policy with regard to political dissidence.

The ideological trend of the "updated" repressive policy is being rapidly mastered by the punitive apparatus in the field. Thus, in 1982 more than 4,000 citizens were arrested for participating in anti-war demonstrations. In 1983, the police arrested 2,474 people in only seven demonstrations held by peace champions of the Livermore Action Group. In Washington, 242 activists of religious organizations were arrested in 1983 for participating in protest actions against the Administration's plans concerning the manufacture of MX missiles. Over 1,100 demonstrators were arrested in 1984, with criminal proceedings started against 577 of the most active ones. Between late November 1984 and late 1985 some 5,000 people participating in mass demonstrations against the apartheid regime in South Africa were arrested. In May 1985, 112 protesters were arrested for taking part in a similar demonstration held at the University of Southern California in Berkeley. At the University of Iowa, 135 people were arrested, etc. Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, has long been languishing in prison on trumped up charges.

Many Supreme Court decisions concerning procedural guarantees of justice and the individual's rights have provided a "legal" foundation for the expansion of police arbitrariness over the past decade. The American public justifiably sees such acts as an encroachment upon political liberties, carried out under the sign of "concern" over the effectiveness of the judicial and police apparatus in combatting crime. Black-listing of all sorts is also practised.

Self-styled censors from libraries and school trusteeship boards draw up lists of books that are "unacceptable" for pupils. In the first two-three years of the Republican Administration's incumbency, right-wing organizations have blacklisted around 600 books, while in 1982 "unacceptable" books were taken from two out of every three libraries.

There are recorded instances of prevention of the spread of truthful

information on the nuclear war threat. Thus, in 1983 the Department of Justice labelled three Canadian anti-war films as "foreign political propaganda". Under the law on the registration of agents of foreign states, anyone spreading such "propaganda" must register with the Department as a "foreign agent" and inform it of when and where he spreads "propaganda", as well as of organizations and individuals receiving and using it. In other words, the authorities are out to take note of even those who want to see anti-war films disapproved by the Department of Justice. Abroad, too, efforts are made to prevent the screening of US films criticizing US policies. The ideological vestiges of the times of the McCarran Act still make themselves felt in other aspects of American life as well.

The entire history of the USA shows that the development of the American state has invariably been accompanied by the tendency to restrict working people's political rights and liberties in contravention of the Constitution, and to nullify their real content. What's more, whenever the ruling circles deem it fit, the state sets in motion every repressive means—legislation, court, police, to persecute dissidents and progressive organizations. At present, these circles label "temporary deviations" actions, such as reprisals against labour unions at the turn of the century, trials of Communists in the late 1940s-early 1950s, the McCarthyist "witch-hunt", the persecution of anti-war and Black activists, and other flagrant violations of citizens' constitutional rights. But it is precisely these "deviations" that reflect the very essence of the government course in the sphere of political rights and freedoms in the USA.

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*From your publications I've learned about the courage of the Soviet people who succeeded in defeating fascism, about the opening of the second front, about the Allies coming to the aid of the Soviet Army at the moment when victory was just a question of time.*

**Alain Lago Nega,**  
Cuba

*At our schools we are told very little about the USSR's role in the victory over fascism. This page of history is presented in a distorted way. We are told that only owing to the Western allied forces was it possible to save the world from the nazi nightmare. From your publications I learned that it was the Soviet Union, the Soviet people that bore the brunt of the war and played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler Germany.*

**Dirk Buchholz,**  
Canada

*For 11 years we lived under fascist dictatorship when tortures and reprisals were the main instruments used against people. We inspired by Marxism-Leninism withstood these trials and triumphed.*

**Walter L. Vidal,**  
Uruguay

*From your publications I've learned quite another truth about the Second World War. I have not made a mistake by*

*saying "another" because most of available publications on this subject are brought out by the capitalist world. As a historian I trust sources which are based on facts truthfully presented. Your publications meet these requirements.*

**Roberto Tomagnini,**  
Uruguay

*I know pretty well about the Soviet people's struggle against fascism. I was 13 years old when nazis invaded the USSR. For the French people the hope for freedom was connected with the Soviet Army's successes at the fronts. Each battle you won filled the heart of a small girl humiliated by the Nazi invaders with joy. We are ever obliged to the Soviet people for their victory over fascism. In our discussions we need your truthful publications about the war. Anti-communism, lying and treacherous has gained wide currency in our country. We have to wage a constant struggle against it.*

**Jacqueline Odent,**  
France

*I admire the heroic feats of the Soviet people and their army in the Moscow and Stalingrad battles, their triumphant offensive, the expulsion of the enemy from the USSR, the defeat of fascism. The Soviet Army saved mankind from enslavement. I am grateful to all those who fought for freedom, peace and socialism.*

**Luis Muños Costumero,**  
Spain



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