

SOCIAL SCIENCES

The Premises of Socialism

International Cooperation
and Détente

The Mass Movement
for Peace

Economic Situation
in Capitalist Countries

Man and Nature

The Aesthetic Sign

Philosophical Orientation
of Linguistic Research

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To the Reader

Contemporary social development clearly demonstrates that the successful solution of problems of the future, common to all mankind, and the successful accomplishment of the many crucial tasks of our time are possible only given a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence.

International Cooperation and Détente

The opening article in this selection, *The Peace Mission of Socialism*, reveals the meaning of our philosophy of peace as a philosophy of historical optimism, based on the actual existence of socialism; on the profound interest of all peoples in a just and democratic peace; on the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. *Détente*, notes N. Shmelev, has created a favourable climate, not only in the political but also in the economic sphere. Economic ties between the socialist and the newly free countries and between the socialist and the capitalist countries are expanding, with due account of the international division of labour. The article by V. Shaposhnikov shows how great today is the role and the responsibility of the mass public movement for peace and détente, and its increasing impact on the shaping of the foreign policy of states. The author stresses that this reflects the steadily growing role of the masses in history as a law of social development. Speaking of the need and possibilities of cooperation between peace forces of different political and ideological orientations, O. Kharkhardin writes that this is not a smooth process, and that the alienation and mutual mistrust built up during the cold-war years are gradually being overcome, giving way to a dialogue, mutual understanding and a readiness for coordinated action.

Philosophy

The relationship between the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of socialist revolution is being actively debated by philosophers, sociologists, historians, politologists and also by those directly involved in the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. V. Zagladin's article is devoted to this question.

What do Dante, Galileo and Einstein have in common? In the light of modern science, B. Kuznetsov holds, this question is tied up with

the more general question of the invariant of the concepts of space, time and motion, and of the cosmological idea that runs through the history of human thought from the *Divine Comedy* to the theory of relativity.

History

The article by A. Butlitsky tells of the dramatic struggle against colonialism in the People's Republic of Angola, of the defeat of the forces of international imperialism and South African racism, which tried, by force of arms, to prevent decolonisation in that African country rich in valuable mineral resources.

The role of Capodistrias, prominent Greek statesman of the 19th century, in the struggle for the national independence of his country, which found support of Russia's progressive circles, is the theme of the article by G. Arsh.

V. Salov analyses foreign bourgeois literature on the history of the three Russian revolutions. In this literature, which can be described as a historiographical complex, two basic trends emerge: attempts to model the concept of the three revolutions on the thesis about the age-old backwardness of Russia or attempts to base Soviet revolutionary transformations on the "modernisation" theory which allegedly leads to a single industrial society.

Economics

The statistical material published in the review *The Economic Crisis in Capitalist Countries (1974-1975)* has been prepared by the Market Sector of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and is based on United Nations and OESD publications, as well as on statistical and other material of major research centres in capitalist countries. The data cited in this review show that the latest crisis of overproduction in the capitalist world, which engulfed its entire economy, was the most severe one since the crisis of 1929-1933.

Political Sciences

Beginning with the late 1940s, writes A. Dzasokhov, the public forces of the countries of Asia and Africa liberated from colonial rule, have been taking an ever more active part in the world movement for peace and security.

Aesthetics. Culture. Linguistics

Academician M. Khrapchenko examines the role and place of sign phenomena in culture, which is assessed differently by various representatives of modern philosophy and art criticism. Opinions

range from total negation of sign processes in literature and art to total acceptance of them as the basic characteristic of creativity.

A feature of the history of culture, notes Academician V. Plotrovsky, Director of the world-famous Hermitage State Museum in Leningrad, is the constant use and processing of the cultural heritage of the past epochs in all the wealth of their national forms.

The article by V. Yartseva, A. Ufimtseva, G. Kolshansky and Yu. Stepanov speaks of the need for precise philosophical orientation in linguistic research. The authors examine the basic methodological premises of Soviet linguists in the light of the need for information theory, automatic control systems, researches in the spheres of psychology, thinking, the role of language in international intercourse, and so on.

Interdisciplinary Research

Peace and détente, Academician E. Fyodorov and Yu. Fyodorov underscore in their article, are basic to solving the global issues of modern civilisation on which the future of mankind depends. On the solution of these issues also depend the fruitful exploitation of energy resources, environmental protection and exploration of the world ocean.

The article *In-Depth Analysis of the Objective Laws of the Development of Socialist Society* is a summary of the round-table discussion sponsored by the journal *Voprosy literatury*. The participants, editors of various Soviet humanitarian publications, discussed the prospects of further improvement of the socialist rules of life, and the need for an interdisciplinary approach in tackling important problems of social development.

We take this opportunity to thank our readers who have sent in highly interesting and valuable replies to our Questionnaire published in No. 3, 1976 of the journal. A summary of the replies to the Questionnaire will be carried in one of the next issues, in which we shall also inform our readers of the Editors' further plans.

The Editors

The Premises of Socialism and the Socialist Revolution

VADIM ZAGLADIN

The problem of the relation between the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of the socialist revolution is one which revolutionary theory and practice now has to face at every step. Indeed, on the one hand, the objective premises of socialism, as the Marxists stated, have matured long ago in the developed capitalist countries, but with the exception of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the socialist revolution has not yet taken place in these countries.

On the other hand, the countries which have already carried out their socialist revolution show that by the time their revolution began these countries were in most instances well behind the developed capitalist countries "in the degree of material and productive preparation for the 'introduction' of socialism".¹ What is more, in many parts of the former colonial world, where the premises of socialism have far from taken shape, massive revolutionary movements are now actively advancing, and in many instances under socialist banners.

All these situations provide the opponents of scientific communism with a subject for active speculations, because (regardless of their concrete stand) they all seek to prove that living practice tends to refute the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the revolution, of socialism and the ways of struggle for its victory. There are innumerable versions of this statement (ranging from the purely bourgeois theories of the "industrial society" to the false assertions of the "Leftists" in the working-class movement about the possibility of carrying out a

Professor V. Zagladin specialises in international relations and the history of the working-class movement and has written the following books: The French People's Struggle for Peace and Independence, The October Revolution and the International Working Class, The Contemporary World Revolutionary Process, and others.

socialist revolution in any country and in any conditions, regardless of its level of development). But all of these have one common definitive feature: the "criticism of Marxism" which they contain is a vulgar caricature of true Marxism-Leninism.

However, consideration of this problem is meaningful and interesting not only (or even so much) because of the need to expose the views which are hostile to Marxist theory. The point is that its correct dialectical solution is of tremendous importance for revolutionary practice. It creates an important basis for elaborating the correct strategic line in the struggle for socialism, a line making it possible to take adequate account of the potentialities and difficulties in the struggle, which are determined by the concrete level of a country's socio-economic and political development.

* * *

The general principle underlying the question of the premises for the change of formations, that is, the premises of the socialist revolution in the broad sense of the word, was formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is based on a generalisation of past historical experience and has been borne out with sufficient certitude by the entire course of development over the past 50 years. The substance of this approach is well known: "New higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself."² Let us bear in mind that by "material conditions" for the emergence of new production relations the founders of Marxism meant, on the one hand, a definite level in the development of the productive forces, and on the other, "the formation of a revolutionary mass, which revolts not only against separate conditions of society up till then, but against the very 'production of life' till then, the 'total activity' on which it was based".³ This was a *broad*, and not in any sense a narrowly economic approach (as the opponents of Marxism frequently alleged) to the understanding of the problem of "material conditions", of the premises of the emergence of a new society.

These general principles, on the whole, apply to the socialist revolution and the substitution of socialism for capitalism. The development of capitalist relations, Engels said, "is at the same time the development of the elements of a socialist revolution: the development, on the one hand, of a class whose conditions of life necessarily drive it to social revolution, the proletariat, and, on the other hand, of productive forces which, having grown beyond the framework of capitalist society, must necessarily burst that framework."⁴ For his part, Lenin emphasised that the socialist reconstruction of society can be successfully carried out "only on the condition that the basic economic, social, cultural and practical premises for this have been created in a sufficient degree by capitalism."⁵

However, these general characteristics of the premises maturing within the framework of the old society for a new social system do not

rule out the existence of specific features of the process arising from the special conditions of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Thus, within the framework of the feudal system, the objective course of historical development itself also created the new productive forces (including new implements of labour and a new labour force free from the burden of property and from any forms of dependence on the feudal lord) and a new class which was prepared to rise up against the old "production of life" system, namely, the bourgeoisie. What is more, this new class was from the very outset *connected* with these new productive forces and in most instances appeared as its owner. In other words, capitalist relations of production originate within the entrails of the feudal system.

The maturing of the premises of socialism within the entrails of capitalism is a different matter. What then are the objective premises of socialism that are created within the framework of capitalist relations of production?

First, there is the creation of new productive forces which determine the steadily growing social character of labour. "By concentrating the means of production and exchange and socialising the process of labour in capitalist enterprises, the improvement in technology more and more rapidly creates the material possibility of capitalist production relations being superseded by socialist relations."⁶

Second, there is the fact that "the banks and the capitalist associations have prepared the machinery for the social regulation of the process of production and distribution of products".⁷ The preparation of such machinery was especially accelerated by the development of state-monopoly capitalism. Lenin wrote: "It is *one and the same road* that lead from it to *both* large-scale state capitalism and to socialism, *through one and the same* intermediate station called 'national accounting and control of production and distribution'. Those who fail to understand this make an inexcusable mistake in economics."⁸

Third, there is the rapid growth of the ranks of the working class, which becomes a mighty force potentially capable of tackling the task of reconstructing the whole life of society on socialist lines. It is well worth recalling at this point these words of Lenin's: "The development of capitalism... creates the *preconditions* that *enable* really 'all' to take part in the administration of the state. Some of these preconditions are: universal literacy... then the 'training and disciplining' of millions of workers by the huge, complex, socialised apparatus of the postal service, railways, big factories, large-scale commerce, banking, etc., etc."⁹

Finally, fourth, there is the establishment within the framework of bourgeois society of massive organisations of the proletariat, its political—above all, Communist—parties, trade unions, and cooperatives, the formation in some countries of municipal councils with a proletarian make-up, the establishment of a sizable contingent of parliamentary, municipal and administrative functionaries with origins in the working class, and so on. After the

victory of the socialist revolution, all these organisations, people, and so on, could become the backbone of the new, popular power and its organs.

Summing up all the work which capitalism does to pave the way for socialism, Lenin wrote: "State-monopoly capitalism is complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*."¹⁰

Consequently, capitalism creates the "elements, both material and spiritual," of the new society,¹¹ its material and also its "ideological (moral, etc.) prerequisites",¹² or in other words, the material possibility for substituting socialist for capitalist relations of production.

The terms Lenin used were "elements" and "material possibility". Indeed, capitalism creates no more than the premises and the possibilities. *No* new, socialist relations of production *originate* within the framework of the bourgeois system, and that is the *main distinction* between the origination of the premises for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the corresponding origination of the premises for transition from feudalism to capitalism. The new productive forces originating within the entrails of capitalism, having outgrown the social conditions of the exploiting system, remain in the hands of the old ruling class, the bourgeoisie. The emergent new class, the future ruling class of socialist society, the proletariat, is still alienated from the means of production, does not possess any, and continues to live by selling its labour-power to the owner of capital.

This fact becomes of crucial importance in determining the specific features of the socialist revolution and its mechanism, and also (and this is the subject of the present article) of the specific relations between the premises for the establishment of socialism and the premises for carrying out a socialist revolution.

* * *

The fundamental distinctions between the bourgeois and socialist revolutions have long since been brought out by Marxist science, which is why they need to be recalled only in the most general terms.

Considering that, in effect, it is not only the *premises* of capitalism, but the whole basis of capitalist society—the productive forces and the production relations—that originate within the entrails of the feudal system, the task of the bourgeois revolution turns out to be fairly simple: to bring the political superstructure into correspondence with the existing basis of the new society. Having originated and gained in strength within the entrails of feudalism, capitalism bursts its integument and escapes from its fetters, very much as the chick does in pecking through and getting out of the egg-shell.

Of course, to say that the task of the bourgeois revolution is relatively simple is not to say that it is easily fulfilled. Let us recall

that, as a rule, bourgeois revolutions have involved sanguinary wars, because the old power refused to leave the scene voluntarily. After the bourgeois revolutions, it took some time before the capitalist structure of society finally got its finishing touches and the relicts of the "old order" were overcome. In such periods of social break-up, it is mostly the masses of people and not the old or the new ruling classes that had to suffer most of the sacrifices and the burdens.

That is quite natural, because for all the distinctions between the feudal and the bourgeois system, the difference between the two amounted to a change in the domination of two different forms of private property. That is why, for all the contradictions between the feudal and the bourgeois class, the two managed to coexist on excellent terms for a long time, first—before the bourgeois revolution—with the prevalence of the feudal order, and then—after the bourgeois revolution—with the prevalence of the capitalist order. The feudal class was gradually "integrated" with the ruling class of bourgeois society.

The state of affairs is quite different in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The specific feature of the socialist revolution is that it is something of a double leap: a leap not only from one formation to another, but also from an exploitative system, based on private property in the means of production, to a system based on social property and free from exploitation and oppression.

As I have said, the whole course of capitalist development creates the "elements" of the future system and the premises of its establishment. The trusts, the syndicates and then state-monopoly regulation help to "introduce" into the life of bourgeois society "elements" which, in essence, clash with the principles of private property. Lenin wrote that "capitalism at its imperialist stage leads directly to the most comprehensive socialisation of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of new social order, a transitional one, from completely free competition to complete socialisation".¹³

As time goes on, the number of the "elements" paving the way for socialism tends to grow. Socialism, Lenin said, "is outlined directly, practically" by each new large-scale measure constituting a stride forward on the basis of modern capitalism,¹⁴ but not in the sense of a "partial establishment" of socialism, as the Social Democrats claim, or in the sense of the convergence of the two systems, as bourgeois ideologists assert, but *only in the sense that all of this makes the socialist revolution an ever more strident necessity.*

No development of any kind within the framework of the capitalist system can ensure the "smooth transformation" of capitalism into socialism, because it never results in the emergence of new, socialist production relations within its entrails.

Everyone knows that the bourgeoisie allows the establishment of state property, frequently on a fairly large scale. But this is the property of the bourgeois state, that is, ultimately of monopoly capital itself. But even this kind of "socialisation" is taken by the bourgeois élite most painfully; "nationalisation" is allowed only "in extreme

cases", for instance, when private capital finds it unprofitable to go on running "troublesome" sectors, like transport or the power industry. Capitalism has never gone beyond that point and never will, because this would amount to suicide.

That being so, the task of the proletarian, socialist revolution turns out to be much more complicated than that of the bourgeois revolution, both in terms of volume and depth to which radical changes have to be put through. The aim of the socialist revolution is not "simply" to bring the political superstructure into correspondence with the existing basis, but to hand political power over to the new ruling class, the proletariat (and this means creating a new superstructure), so making it possible to eliminate private property in the means of production and restructure the whole system of relations of production (that is, to carry the formation of the new basis of society to completion, using the new superstructure as an instrument).

Of course, for all the qualitative distinctions between the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution, there are certain common features to their origination and development. Having analysed past experience, Lenin reached the conclusion that definite conditions, definite premises need to exist for the origination of *any* revolution. He describes these premises and conditions most fully in his book "*Left-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*". He wrote: "The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions and especially by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: for a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise the impossibility of living in the old way, ... It is only when the 'lower classes' *do not want to live in the old way* and the 'upper classes' *cannot carry on in the old way* that the revolution can triumph. This truth can be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters)."¹⁵

A historical consideration of past revolutions shows that the necessary conditions for revolution, as brought out by Lenin, are generally applicable and will be found in the course of any revolution (naturally, with various modifications and departures, which merely serve to prove the general rule). But this is the important point: if the premises of revolution are in principle similar for the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution, does this mean that the origination of these premises is similar in both instances? The answer to this question is evidently a negative one. One reason, among others, is that the premises of the formation of the new social system are in themselves quite different.

As I have said, it is not only the new productive forces, but also the new, bourgeois relations of production that originate within the entrails of feudalism. That is why, having barely appeared on the scene, the capitalist class *already* owns and controls the new productive forces. Subsequent advance in the development of the productive forces goes to consolidate the economic positions of the *new* class, while weakening the old masters of society, and giving

greater depth to the crisis of the old society, the crisis of the "upper class".

Furthermore, the young bourgeoisie, with key economic positions in large-scale industrial production, already has for that reason definite political potential in society. First of all, it has considerable influence on the mass of workers and other sections of the population connected with industry (for instance, merchants), and this mass tends constantly to grow. The workers come to accept the interests of the bourgeoisie (emancipation from the fetters of feudal oppression) as their own interests: on the one hand, they are, in fact, concerned to do away with the feudal order, and on the other, in these conditions the antagonism between labour and capital is not yet full-blown, to say nothing of there being any awareness of it among the proletarians.

As a result, the mass of the "lower classes" which does not want "to live in the old way" (and this means the bourgeoisie plus the workers, plus the other sections of society oppressed by the feudals) tends to grow broader. This mass is highly active, having its own leaders and ideologists, who, quite naturally, voice above all the interests of the bourgeoisie. The "crisis of the lower classes" grows and becomes most acute.

With the growth of capitalist relations and as the bourgeoisie gains in strength, pressure from "below" on the feudal superstructure is increased. Simultaneously, the feudal lords tend to act ever more frantically and spasmodically in their efforts to retain their privileges by every possible means. The contradictions in society are sharply aggravated and this brings on the time for a revolutionary break-up of the existing social system.

In other words, the growth of the objective premises of the bourgeois revolution directly depends on the degree of maturity of the objective premises of the establishment of capitalism, and above all of the degree of maturity of bourgeois relations, which *have already originated* within the feudal system.

We find a different situation in the period in which the premises of socialist revolution tend to ripen.

The growth of new productive forces (ultimately the internal mainspring for society's advance) goes objectively to build up the positions of the proletariat. But these productive forces are in the hands of monopoly capital, and so long as they remain an object of capitalist property, their development leads to a further enrichment of the monopolies and growth of their strength and influence. This helps the monopolies to manoeuvre in finding the means to ease the social contradictions, to damp down and to some extent to delay the catastrophic aggravation of these contradictions.

Furthermore, the growing number of workers, the accumulation of the forces of labour, undoubtedly go to increase the potentialities of the revolutionary, socialist movement. But so long as the proletariat remains an oppressed class—a class without property in the means of production and vastly dependent on the arbitrary acts of the capitalist—it remains largely susceptible to the political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie.

What is more, the steady growth of the wage-labour army implies the influx into its ranks of more and more "recruits" with origins among the petty bourgeoisie, and this not only helps to strengthen the proletariat's positions but simultaneously in a way goes to weaken them, making the working class more vulnerable to attacks by the bourgeoisie, more likely to succumb to its political, ideological and even material attractions by means of which the bourgeoisie seeks to ease the "crisis of the lower classes", and to prevent social passions from reaching boiling point.

An analysis of the distinctions between the objective situation in which society moves from feudalism to capitalism and from capitalism to socialism could well be continued, but even the points brought out above suggest the conclusion that, as compared with the earlier stages of social development, there is no direct or rigid dependence under capitalism between the growth of the objective premises of socialism and the ripening of the premises of socialist revolution. This naturally creates additional difficulties both for the development of the socialist revolution itself and for the formulation of the strategy of the revolutionary parties working to bring it about.

It is true that at the initial period of their activity, Marx and Engels believed that the proletarian revolution depended directly on the level of a country's economic development. A revolution, Engels wrote, "will take a longer or a shorter time to develop depending on which [country] has a more developed industry, more wealth and a greater mass of the productive forces."¹⁶ It looks as though this idea was expressed in the light of the experience of bourgeois revolutions, where there was, indeed, evidence of this kind of dependence between the level of a country's economic development and the maturity of the premises of revolution.

Although this idea did not in any way hint at some "cast-iron law" and was far from being presented as an absolute, ever since the October Revolution the Right-wing elements in the working-class movement have been trying to use the idea to back up their assertions that before a socialist revolution can be carried out in any country it must attain the maximum level of maturity of the objective premises of socialism. In this way they seek to prove that socialist revolution can occur only when the objective premises of socialism reach the highest state of maturity, as, for instance, when all the working people become proletarians, the "middle sections" disappear, and so on. On the strength of this assumption, the opportunists invite the working class to "keep its cool", until all these objective premises ripen by themselves.

Such "theoretical" constructions are designed retrospectively to denigrate the October Revolution and the other, later socialist revolutions (which have, as a rule, taken place in countries with a middle level of socio-economic development) and also to back up their refusal to carry on any struggle for a revolutionary reconstruction of society in our day.

Practice has long since proved this kind of reasoning to be quite false. But I think it is well worth our while to consider a fact from the

history of Marxism-Leninism which shows that the attempts by the Right revisionists and reformists to fall back on the authority of Marx and Engels in their reasoning is quite futile. Let us recall that Marx and Engels noted the shift of the centre of the revolutionary struggle from Britain (the country with the highest level of development of the productive forces at that time) to France, and then on to Germany, and finally to Russia (which then lagged far behind the West European countries in the basic socio-economic indicators), and this fact in itself shows that they had rejected the idea that the degree of a country's economic development and the degree of maturity of the premises of revolution were identical, and that they had done so as a result of their concrete study of the historical development of capitalism.

* * *

Up to now we have dealt with the general theoretical aspects of the relation between the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of the socialist revolution. But Lenin also considered this problem as a purely practical one. Indeed, the entry of capitalism upon the stage of imperialism at the end of the 19th century signified the eve of the proletarian revolution. In other words, the problem of socialism, of restructuring society on socialist lines henceforth presented itself as a *practical* problem in revolutionary struggle.

By creating the *worldwide* system of imperialist oppression, monopoly capital helped the revolutionary process in the 20th century likewise to become worldwide: any socialist revolution that began was inevitably bound to inaugurate socialist transformations on a world scale. This meant that the problem of the premises of socialism and the problem of the premises of socialist revolution now also had to be considered on a world scale.

Of course, this kind of worldwide approach to the problem of socialist revolution, Lenin warned, was incompatible with any oversimplification, schematism or stereotype. Indeed, Lenin also insisted on a concrete historical approach to the situation taking shape in a country or a group of countries. One reason for this was that capitalism itself (especially in the epoch of imperialism) developed unevenly, so that the premises of socialism also developed unevenly.

On this assumption, Lenin strongly objected to the idea that the worldwide socialist revolution could be the product of *simultaneous* action by all the contingents of the world's proletariat. He believed that the world socialist revolution was a process merging the various revolutionary acts, movements and uprisings over a considerable period of time.

These propositions are, in effect, an excellent response to the advocates of voluntarism in the revolutionary struggle, who assume that because the whole system of capitalism was ripe for socialist revolution, it could be started at any place and at any time, provided there was a group of "rebels" capable of "taking up the rifle".

Lenin wrote: "There is no doubt whatever that the transition from capitalism to socialism is conceivable in different forms, depending upon whether big capitalist or small production relations predominate in the country."¹⁷ Elaborating on this idea, he produced, virtually for the first time, a *typological characteristic* of the individual groups of countries from the standpoint of their readiness for socialist transformations.

This typology is initially outlined in the preparatory manuscripts for his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Lenin considered the question again and again, and subsequently formulated highly detailed characteristics for three types of countries differing in the degree of maturity of the objective premises of socialism. The fundamentals of Lenin's typology are still meaningful today, although, of course, in the present epoch the concrete indicators for the various countries and areas of the world may have undergone considerable change.

The first group consists of the *developed capitalist countries*. Lenin stressed that the establishment of state-monopoly capitalism (then taking its first strides) in these countries signified not only that the premises of socialist revolution were ripe in these countries, but also that "socialism is now gazing at us from all the windows of modern capitalism, socialism is outlined directly, *practically*, by every important measure that constitutes a forward step on the basis of this modern capitalism".¹⁸

The second group of countries brought together from the standpoint of maturity of the objective premises of socialism consists of *countries with a medium level of capitalist development*. In our day, this includes, for instance, a large number of the countries of Latin America.

These are countries where the productive forces have reached a medium level of development, where capital has taken shape and there is a numerous working class with its own class organisations, and where capitalist relations are actively developing in the countryside. The specific feature of most countries in this group is that side by side with established capitalist relations there exist relicts of pre-capitalist relations, which have yet to be overcome. In many instances, these countries are variously dependent on the developed imperialist powers.

In the countries with a medium level of development, Lenin said, the transition from capitalist to socialist relations is harder than it is in the developed capitalist countries. "New incredibly difficult tasks, organisational tasks, are added to the tasks of destruction."¹⁹ The new power there will have to tackle many problems which in the developed countries have been solved at the capitalist stage, but these will have to be tackled on a new basis and with the use of new, socialist methods.

Finally, the third group consists of *countries where the objective premises of socialism are still very far from maturity*. Here, Lenin had in mind the colonial and dependent countries of Asia and Africa of that period.

In these countries, the definitive role belonged to pre-capitalist social forms, industry was embryonic, the working class in most cases was only at the initial stages of formation, and the peasantry made up the overwhelming bulk of the population. Lenin said that it was impossible to consider any direct transition to socialist construction in such countries.

Lenin's overall conclusion concerning the possibilities and prospects for establishing a new society in countries differing in the degree of maturity of the objective premises of socialism was the following: "The more backward the country... the more difficult it is for that country to pass from the old capitalist relations to socialist relations."²⁰

In other words, Lenin established a definite dependence: the lower the level of development in a country, the more complicated the tasks of socialist revolution. We find that his approach was indeed a purely practical one: the leader of the October Revolution assumed that socialism was a real and mature prospect.

The following—and the most important—part of his analysis referred to the equally acute and pressing problem of the development of the premises of the socialist revolution in the new conditions, under imperialism.

The starting point for Lenin's analysis of this problem was the Marxist proposition that for a truly socialist revolution there was a need for a definite level of maturity of the objective premises of socialism. "No revolt can bring about socialism unless the economic conditions for socialism are ripe."²¹

With this as a starting point, and also considering the rapid growth and deepening of social contradictions in the West European countries on the eve and during the First World War, Lenin assumed that the revolution in Western Europe could start and triumph with relative ease. He wrote: "A successful proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately and very easily smash any shell of imperialism."²² He had no doubts that the triumph of a revolution in Russia could provide the decisive impetus to revolution in the West.

It is true that even then Lenin was aware of the tremendous difficulties facing the revolution in the developed countries. He emphasised that the "shell" of imperialism was made of the "best steel", and could not be broken by the efforts of "any... chicken."²³

Elaborating on this idea, Lenin said that in the West the bourgeoisie "is stronger and cleverer than our Kerenskys; it has managed to get organised to make the uprising of the masses more difficult."²⁴ He added that in Europe there are "serious leaders of capitalism, which was not the case in Russia."²⁵ Nevertheless, the well-organised working class of the West, its experience and traditions gave hope of a possible victory for the revolution soon, notably, in Germany.

But the course of events showed that the revolution in Germany, which had indeed broken out under the impact of the October Revolution, was unable to win out. This made Lenin reconsider, in the

light of the new experience, the problem of the objective premises of socialist revolution and their relation with the degree of maturity of the capitalist system.

In 1919, once it had become clear that the German revolution was losing out, Lenin wrote: "Formally it was assumed that in the West, where class antagonisms are much more developed, because of the more intensive development of capitalism... power would pass directly from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat."²⁶ But that did not happen, and so Lenin continued his analysis of the problem. He elaborated the elements which he had formulated earlier, bringing out the specifics in the development of the working-class movement in the Western countries. In this context, it is well worth while to recall a statement of his which he made long before the October Revolution:

"A negative feature in the European labour movement, one that can do no little harm to the proletarian cause" consists in the fact that "the European proletariat *partly* finds himself in a position when it is *not* his labour, but the labour of the practically enslaved natives in the colonies that maintains the whole of society. ...In certain countries this provides the material and economic basis for infecting the proletariat with colonial chauvinism."²⁷

"We say that it is easier for the movement to start in the countries that are not among those exploiting countries which have opportunities for easy plunder and are able to bribe the upper section of their workers."²⁸

In the West "the workers have a measure of prosperity, which is why it is more difficult to shake up the old socialist parties which had been there for decades, had come to power, and had acquired authority in the eyes of the people."²⁹

One could cite many more statements from Lenin's writings. His idea is obvious: a grave difficulty for the cause of the revolution in the West springs from the opportunist enfeeblement of a section of the working class resulting from the domination of imperialism and its policy of bribing and corrupting the working-class movement. It is true that during the First World War, one was left with the impression that the course of events and the intensity of the social contradictions would undermine the authority of the opportunist leaders, who would thereby be prevented from hampering the advance of the socialist revolution. But in practice, the influence of the bourgeoisie and opportunism proved to be much more serious and dangerous than had earlier been imagined. After the October Revolution, Lenin reached this conclusion: the revolutionary transformation of society in the developed countries "could have taken place, had it not been for the split within the proletariat of Western Europe being deeper and the treachery of the former socialist leaders greater than had been imagined."³⁰ The masses in Western Europe, he said, "are much more imbued with bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices than they were in Russia."³¹

A comparative analysis of the state of affairs in Germany and in Russia made by Lenin in that period is of exceptional interest. In Germany, he said, there was "material realisation of the economic,

the productive and the socio-economic conditions for socialism", but there were no political conditions for revolution.³² Russia had lagged behind the most backward of the West European states in the degree of readiness for "introducing" socialism in terms of material production, but it had the political conditions for a socialist revolution.

Explaining the idea elsewhere, Lenin wrote: "It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual—for twentieth-century Europe—political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia's backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners.... Thirdly, the 1905 revolution contributed enormously to the political education of the worker and peasant masses.... Fourthly, Russia's geographical conditions permitted her to hold out longer than other countries could have done against the superior military strength of the capitalist, advanced countries. Fifthly, the specific attitude of the proletariat towards the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution.... Sixthly, long schooling in strike action and the experience of the European mass working-class movement facilitate the emergence—in a profound and rapidly intensifying revolutionary situation—of such a unique form of proletarian revolutionary organisation as the *Soviets*."³³

Of course, in these statements one could find a great many points relating only to Russia. But we have here a clear indication and definition of the general typological factors relating to medium-level development countries as a group and facilitating the socialist revolution in these countries: weakness of the ruling-class regime, depth of social contradictions, and conjunction of socialist and general democratic struggle, which adds great sweep to the movement.

Let us note that the "Left" revisionists tended to regard these factors as an absolute even in Lenin's day, and are still trying, and have always tried, to deny the need for a definite level of maturity of the objective premises of socialism for a socialist revolution. Thus, in his book, *The Economics of the Transition Period*, N. Bukharin asserted that the socialist revolution would start in the weakest economic systems. Objecting to this, Lenin wrote: "Wrong: in the 'medium weak'. We could have got nowhere without a definite level of capitalism."³⁴ Furthermore, objecting to Bukharin's idea that the speed at which the revolution came on was inversely proportional to the maturity of capitalist relations, Lenin remarked: "Risky: one should have said 'not in the highest' and 'not directly proportional'."³⁵

Having made a comparative analysis of the state of affairs in the developed countries and in Russia, Lenin found confirmation for the view which he expressed soon after the October Revolution: "Anyone who has given careful thought to the economic prerequisites of the socialist revolution in Europe must be clear on the point that in

Europe it will be immeasurably more difficult to start, whereas it was immeasurably easier for us to start."³⁶ It is more difficult to start in Europe chiefly in virtue of the existing socio-political conditions, which are determined by the high level of capitalist development: the strength of capital, the infection of the proletariat with opportunism, the strong hold of bourgeois-democratic illusions on the masses of working people. That is why, Lenin said, the developed countries had to go through the painful period of the start of socialist revolution.³⁷ Standing up for the fundamental principles of Marxist science and simultaneously elaborating these, Lenin showed, on the basis of a precise consideration of the actual situation, the in-depth dialectic of the advance of the world revolutionary process. Of course, much has changed in the world since then. These changes necessarily had an effect on the approach to the problems we are now considering. What are these changes?

* * *

The present state of the *developed capitalist countries* is characterised above all by the domination of state-monopoly relations, which, while doing nothing to change the intrinsic exploitative nature of capitalist society, are evidence of a new phase in the growth of its basic contradiction between the social character of labour and the private-property appropriation of its product. State-monopoly relations, Lenin showed, are a new and highly essential step towards the actual socialisation of production. This means, in particular, that the objective premises of socialism at the stage of state-monopoly capitalism attain a higher degree of maturity than at any other time in the past. This was explicitly stated, for instance, by many speakers at the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in June 1976.

One of the most striking expressions of this high degree of maturity of the premises of socialism in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that the monopoly bourgeoisie, seeking to prolong its existence, now tends to resort to nationalisation and to state-regulation in various spheres of the economy, although this ultimately clashes with the very substance of private property and inflicts considerable harm on capitalism as a system. This is evidence of the fact that capitalism has outlived itself, and that society has no longer any use for it.

However, as in Lenin's day, this process is latent with contradictory consequences. State-monopoly capitalism, signifying a new stage in the development of the objective premises of socialism and a new stage in the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, simultaneously produces new difficulties for the development of the premises of socialist revolution.

The Communist parties now say that the whole system of state-monopoly domination is in crisis. This is the right approach to the problem, which in fact reflects the basic characteristic feature

both of the present stage in the development of capitalism in general and of the current economic crisis in particular. But it would be wrong to assume that capitalism has exhausted all its potentialities, that it has run into a dead-end, or that it finds itself in an absolutely hopeless situation. Such an approach would be a grave underestimation of the possibilities open to capitalism in further manoeuvring and adapting itself to the new conditions.

Lenin repeatedly warned that despite the fact that it was doomed in historical terms, the bourgeoisie was capable of doing a great deal of easing and even of preventing the emergence of undesirable situations. He wrote: "There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie are behaving like barefaced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom. All that is true. But nobody can 'prove' that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions and suppress some movements or uprisings of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to 'prove' in advance that there is 'absolutely' no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry, or playing with concepts and catchwords."³⁸ This warning of Lenin's is of especial importance to the Communists in our day.

At the 1969 Meeting, the CPSU delegation was quite right in emphasising that "the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism makes use also of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus.... There is no doubt at all that imperialism will continue to look for new possibilities for prolonging its existence."³⁹ Indeed, even today, under the economic crisis, there is, simultaneously with the general weakening of imperialism and of its very system of domination, the opposite process in which the positions of monopoly capital are consolidated in the economic and political life of many countries. State-monopoly methods still allow the bourgeoisie to dampen the "crisis of the upper classes", and to prevent what Lenin said was the complete moral and political collapse of the old mode of production. The ways and means used in the anti-labour and anti-revolutionary policy of monopoly capital are being improved, and this must be taken into account.

Another factor also needs to be reckoned with. The considerable development of the internationalisation of the means of production and exchange, signifying a further growth in the premises of socialism on a world scale, simultaneously creates a new objective basis for even closer cohesion between the forces of monopoly capital in the various countries in their fight against the revolution. The international monopolies and capitalist integration provide the basis for the current political alliance of the forces of international capital against the working class and the socialist revolution. This is not just some *objective* tendency, it is also actual political practice.

The development of the productive forces and the scientific and technological revolution have led to substantial social changes in the

capitalist countries. The ranks of the working class have grown. In the developed countries, industrial and office workers make up over 60 per cent of the employed population. These are industrial and office workers with a much higher level of general education and occupational training than ever before in the past, who are mostly concentrated at large and mammoth enterprises and who are associated in various political, trade union and other mass organisations. All of this opens up new and very much greater opportunities for developing the revolutionary struggle.

But these positive processes have gone hand in hand with some negative phenomena. The fast growth of the proletariat and the rapid movement of sizable masses of men and women from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of wage-workers, that is, the heightened social mobility in society, make the overall picture of the real relations among the social forces highly complicated. The structure of the proletariat itself, in particular, is also complexified. In Lenin's day, the bulk of the workers in the developed countries consisted of life-long proletarians. It has now been variously estimated that from 40 to 45 per cent of the industrial proletariat in the developed countries consists of people who have entered its ranks fairly recently, and who do not yet have either a proletarian mentality or consciousness. Alongside the industrial workers, there are many transitional groups and sections, partially within the framework of the working class and partially outside it, between the working class and the petty bourgeois sections of society.

The social mosaic of the working class and masses of working people is a factor which impedes the emergence of objective and subjective socio-political premises of socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie has made extensive use of the ideological, political, economic and psychological consequences of this mosaic make-up in order to spread among the masses a spirit of political indifference, illusions about capitalism, the cult of individualism, the cult of the consumer society, and so on. The material basis for these moves is provided by the economy of state-monopoly capitalism, the use of the scientific and technological revolution by the monopolies, and so on.

In the West European countries, an average of between 24 and 32 per cent of the working people now vote for bourgeois parties, and roughly a similar percentage supports diverse reformist parties and outfits. A section of the workers is altogether passive. Such is the political expression of these processes.

Of course, the situation is not stable in any sense, for there are shifts in the consciousness of the masses, whose level of organisation tends to grow. In 1939, the Communist parties of Western Europe had roughly 600,000 members; today the figure is nearly 3 million. Equally, before the war the Social Democrats had less influence than they have today. By contrast, the influence of the purely bourgeois parties among the working people in that period was much stronger. There is no doubt that positive changes will continue to go forward within the ranks of the working class and all the other working people, but judging by the various polls taken in the Common Market

countries in the past few years, the reformist attitude has been growing relatively faster than revolutionary awareness. According to these polls, a majority of workers (60-80 per cent) want things to change, but a considerably smaller part (7-11 per cent) realise that the system itself is the root of all evil, and want to do away with it by radical means.

The Communist parties' consistent effort to unite the mass of workers and to mount joint action by the Communists, Social Democrats, members of religious communities, and trade unionists have yielded some positive results, but it would be dangerous to entertain the illusion that the situation may change radically and soon. The split within the working-class movement is an objective factor, and so long as the capitalist system is there, the split will remain in one form or another.

Nor do we find a simple picture when considering the massive democratic anti-monopoly movement. The growing monopoly oppression and the new contradictions in present-day capitalism, as pointed out by the 1969 Meeting (for instance, the contradiction between the potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution and what it actually holds out to society under capitalism) result in a substantial extension of the struggle against domination by big capital and involvement in it of ever wider sections. Today, virtually all the non-monopoly sections of bourgeois society are taking part in this struggle in one form or another, and this is a tremendous positive fact which has largely predetermined the deep-going socio-political crisis which has now gripped all the developed capitalist countries.

However, this extension of the front of the anti-monopoly struggle is also fraught with some weaknesses. The purposes and interests of the various social groups involved are very different, not to say contradictory. While seeing eye to eye on some common issues, members of these groups differ from (and even war with) each other on other issues. Under the circumstances, there are very great difficulties in coordinating the efforts of all the groups and sections, which are objectively anti-monopolist, but also considerable possibilities for a split-up of the democratic movement, something that is being actively used by monopoly capital, its political parties, organisations and ideologists.

The vast breadth and checkered make-up of the forces involved in the present political battles also pose the problem of spontaneous action, which assumes the form not only of impulsive and frequently very massive action by peasants, employees, traders and even workers (sometimes under slogans which are far from being realistic or carefully considered), but also in the form of unexpected swings by a section of the population now sharply to the Left, now to the Right (something that has been especially noticeable in the recent period). The polarisation of the social forces, which is characteristic of the current crisis period in the West, tends frequently to express itself in such swings in the mood of the masses which are very sharp.

Consequently, while the "crisis of the lower classes" in the capitalist countries has been ripening, its development has been

extremely uneven and contradictory. Among the characteristic features of its present stage are the rapid growth in the number of persons involved in the anti-monopoly struggle with a simultaneous lag and even a reduction in the average level of its consciousness. This contradiction tends to create, and will go on creating for some time, considerable difficulties in advancing the conscious struggle for socialism, although, of course, the very fact that great masses of men and women are being involved in political struggle is very important.

It shows that in the developed capitalist countries the ripening of the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of socialist revolution continue to be highly contradictory processes, with the latter lagging far behind the former. What is more, new difficulties and obstacles tend to emerge (alongside the considerable new potentialities) in the way of development of the premises of socialist revolution.

Important changes have taken place in the past decade in the *countries with a medium level of capitalist development*.

The first thing to note is that there, too, the productive forces have markedly grown to something like the level of economic development obtaining in a considerable number of developed capitalist countries at the turn of the century. There, as in the developed countries, the scientific and technological revolution and the socialisation of production have both advanced, and this means that the maturity of the objective premises of future socialism in this group of countries has increased.

The marked consolidation of the positions of the working class is an important consequence of the changes that have taken place in the productive forces of the medium-level countries. Only in the past 15-20 years, the number of wage-workers in countries like Brazil, Mexico or Argentina has doubled or trebled. In Latin America (which has medium-level alongside backward countries) in the average more than 55 per cent of the population consists of wage-workers. The working class (including the agricultural proletariat) accounts for up to 40 per cent of the active population. At the same time, the numerical strength of other social sections prepared to take part in the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle has also grown.

Of course, this rapid growth of the wage-labour army carries with it the same difficulties for the revolutionary cause as it does in the developed countries. The level of consciousness within this wage-labour army is still far from being proletarian. This serves to confirm once again that the working class does not automatically become the leader of the revolutionary struggle, and that it takes much effort on the part of the communist vanguard to prepare it for tackling the outstanding socio-political tasks.

The specific difficulties arising from the growth of the working class in the medium-level countries also spring from the fact that a sizable part of industry (large-scale industry in the first place) is owned by foreign capital. Those are the enterprises where the most skilled contingents of the working people are concentrated, with a sizable section of the workers there consisting of immigrants from

other countries, including European countries. The contingents of the working class connected with foreign enterprises turn out to be a privileged and higher-paid section (as compared with small and medium local enterprises and with agricultural workers). This impedes the cohesion of the proletariat and efforts to muster it for the fulfilment of its historical tasks.

Apart from all this, other changes have also taken place in the medium-level capitalist countries, and these are of a rather negative character and to some extent hamper the ripening of the premises of revolution. These are above all changes within the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie in the medium-level countries is now no longer the weak, inexperienced and disorganised bourgeoisie which it was in the early years of this century. These countries have their own monopoly capital, which has links both with the old pre-capitalist forms of exploitation (large landed estates) and with international imperialist monopolies. A sizable section of the big and middle bourgeoisie stands close to this monopoly capital. Evidently, the present-day bourgeoisie in the medium-level countries is on the whole a much more formidable enemy of the revolution than the bourgeoisie in Russia and of other medium-level countries was at the beginning of this century.

The fact that the imperialist monopolies have established and maintained very strong positions in the economy of the medium-level countries is of special significance in this context. The experience of Chile, Guatemala and a number of other countries shows that it is foreign capital that is the main obstacle to revolution, operating as the mainstay of the counter-revolution, reaction and even fascism. At the same time, this fact predetermines the existence there of objective national and anti-imperialist tasks, which to some extent facilitate the formation of a united front by the forces working to fulfil them. A section of the bourgeoisie, whose interests are most acutely at odds with the interests of the foreign monopolies is also prepared to take part in such a front. Of course, its readiness to take revolutionary (even anti-imperialist) action has its limits, which are fairly narrow.

Thus, the objective premises both of socialism and of revolution in the medium-level countries have grown or have been growing quite rapidly. At the same time, some negative factors have emerged which had not been there before (or which had been much smaller in scale) and which had in the past been characteristic mainly of the developed countries.

Even in *countries with a low level of capitalist development* (now mainly countries of the former colonial world), considerable changes have taken over the past half-century: the productive forces have grown (especially in countries like Egypt or India), the make-up of the population has changed, with the wage-labour contingent much larger and the ranks of the working class more numerous. The growth of the proletariat and of wage-labour in general in these countries is even higher than it is in the other groups of non-socialist countries. But neither the development of the material basis nor the socio-political changes there are such as to warrant the assertion that the premises of

socialism and of the socialist revolution in these countries have fully ripened.

Of course, in the long run the development of the productive forces and the relations of production in the former colonial countries will produce more favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism, but for the time being the development of the emergent countries continues to be rather slow because of the various obstacles being thrown up by imperialism.

Consequently, on the whole there is a ripening of the objective premises of socialism in the economically developed, medium-level and now also in the low-level countries. At the same time, there is evidence of some headway in the development of the socio-political premises of socialist revolution. But taking the world as a whole, the premises of revolution continue markedly to lag behind the premises of socialism, as they did in Lenin's day. What does this mean? Does it mean that the revolutionary movement has run into what could be called an impasse? Of course, it has not.

The objective course of development inevitably gives ever greater depth to the contradictions of capitalism. That being so, all the changes that have taken place—whether in the form of new potentialities for revolutionary struggle or of new difficulties in the way—in effect signify that the role of the subjective factor in revolution, above all the role of the purposeful activity of the working people's communist vanguard, tends to be even more important in the present epoch than ever before. Indeed, it is the communist vanguard that has the task of doing everything to use the new potentialities and to find ways to overcome the arising problems and difficulties. Of key importance here are Lenin's ideas about the main elements of revolutionary strategy in our epoch.

* * *

As I have already said, Lenin's interest in the relation between the level of a country's development (that is, the maturity of the objective premises of socialism) and its readiness for revolution was not merely theoretical but also practical. He regarded the clarification of the theoretical aspect of the matter as the basis for elaborating the strategy of revolutionary struggle, of a political line that would make it possible to use all the positive factors and to overcome the difficulties in any concrete situation. Of course, the problem of revolutionary strategy is a problem in its own right, which is why I shall deal with it here only in the most general terms and to the extent to which it has a bearing on the subject of this article.

Lenin said that in the *developed countries the ripening of revolution* was a "slower, more complicated, more zigzag development",⁴⁰ and while revolutions were "not made to order" but tended to ripen in the process of historical development, in the developed countries one had to prepare for them beforehand, and to do this with exceptional thoroughness. "To start without preparation a revolution in a country

in which capitalism is developed and has given democratic culture and organisation to everybody, down to the last man—to do so would be wrong, absurd.”⁴¹

But how is this preparation to be carried on?

“To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will lead the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle—such is the main objective of communism in Western Europe and in America today.”⁴² What is more, this should be a path based on a correct consideration of the specific features in these areas of the world, in these countries, that is, above all of the difficulties and problems barring the way to revolution.

This means, first, the need to overcome the main weakness of the working-class movement and to release the majority of its members from the influence of the bourgeoisie and opportunism. “In Europe, where almost all the proletarians are organised, we must win the majority of the working class and anyone who fails to understand this is lost to the communist movement.” The starting point, Lenin said, is that “without support inside the proletariat... the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and America cannot retain power.”⁴³

The way indicated by Lenin and the Comintern (especially by its first four congresses) for establishing truly revolutionary Communist parties opened the way for the working-class movement in the West to advance to a fundamentally new frontier. The shaping of efficient Communist parties marked a real start in overcoming the influence of opportunism within the international working-class movement.

Second, Lenin held that it was necessary to work for a united front of the Communists and the other contingents of the working-class movement. “The purpose and sense of the tactics of the united front consists in drawing more and more masses of the workers into the struggle against capital.”⁴⁴

The fulfilment of these two key tasks signifies a real advance towards winning a majority of the working class and involving it in conscious struggle against imperialism and the power of capital, and for socialism. But preparation for revolution and the advance of the masses towards revolution in the developed countries cannot be confined merely to solving the problem of winning over the working class and uniting it on revolutionary principles. Lenin said it was criminal to throw into the battle for revolution the vanguard, the working class, alone. There was need to win over “not simply a majority of the workers alone, but the majority of all the exploited”.⁴⁵ How is this task to be fulfilled? Lenin suggested that this could be done by carrying on the broadest possible struggle for democracy, for democratic demands.

Alongside the basic class contradiction—the contradiction between capital and the proletariat—there is a development within the framework of imperialism of contradictions between the monopolies and the whole people, between monopoly capital, which suppresses democracy, and the masses, which yearn for democracy. That being so, a vigorous allround struggle for democracy is the key to uniting the

whole mass of people for the fight against imperialism. “To develop democracy to the utmost, to find the forms for the development, to test them in practice, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution.”⁴⁶ Of course, “all the democratic demands... must be capped by and brought together with the demand for revolutionary struggle against capitalism”.⁴⁷

But the task is not only to put forward a well-grounded programme of struggle for democratic demands, whose realisation would bring on the socialist revolution. The important thing to reckon with here is that the masses are infected with bourgeois preconceptions, and that not only the petty-bourgeois sections, but also a sizable section of the workers are not yet prepared to fight for socialism. What is to be done in that case?

Lenin faced the question in the period between February and October 1917, and gave the answer in his work, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*. The substance of the problem was to put forward definite democratic slogans that would be understandable and accessible to the masses (including that section which still feared socialism and was far from convinced of the need to establish a socialist system). Realisation of such slogans results in deep-going democratic transformations, which, while not yet signifying socialism, brings it on and enables the broadest masses of working people to advance towards socialism.

The key point in this approach was the following: if the beginnings of state-monopoly relations already existed, then implementation of measures like workers' control in the factories and in the banks, universal labour-conscription under the control of the masses, and so on, constituted a real advance towards revolution. Lenin said that many establishments under state-monopoly capitalism involved hard labour for the workers. “But take the same institution and think over its significance in a revolutionary-democratic state.... It will still not be socialism, but it will no longer be capitalism. It will be a tremendous step towards socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is preserved, there can no longer be any retreat back to capitalism, without unparalleled violence being committed against the masses.” That is why Lenin kept emphasising that “given a really revolutionary-democratic state, state-monopoly capitalism inevitably and unavoidably implies a step, and more than one step, towards socialism!”⁴⁸

Of course, while putting a high value on such partial steps, one should not forget the ultimate goal, for the establishment of stages in the struggle does not imply forgetfulness of the whole route of the way ahead, nor a “slowing down of one's progress in advance”.⁴⁹ However serious (“ideal” as Lenin put it) the democratic measures that are realised in the process, they will not help to overthrow capitalism and imperialism. This can be done only through an economic revolution, that is, through the withdrawal of the property in the means of production from the hands of the capitalists.

In that period, in 1917, Lenin did not complete his analysis of the question of transitional forms and stages on the way to socialism in

the capitalist world. He returned to this problem after the Revolution, in the 1920s, when preparing for the 3rd and especially for the 4th Congresses of the Comintern. He formulated the following idea: "The general programme should clearly state the basic historical types of transition demands of the national parties depending on cardinal differences of economic structure."⁵⁰ In the context of the developed countries, this demand was expressed in the concrete slogan of a "workers' and peasants' government".

It was assumed that such a government could carry out deep-going revolutionary democratic transformations consisting in "disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organisations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie."⁵¹ In other words, these were anti-monopoly tasks whose fulfilment should bring on the elimination of capitalist rule itself and prepare the necessary conditions for so doing.

The principles of the strategy of revolution formulated by Lenin for the developed capitalist countries were of exceptional long-term importance. Indeed, there was the need for a fundamental solution of this most complicated problem: how were the difficulties generated by highly developed capitalism in the revolutionary struggle for socialism to be overcome? The meaning of these propositions of Lenin's for the Communist and Workers' parties has been most fully revealed at the present stage of the revolutionary process. The Final Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties sets out the substance of the present strategic propositions of the Communists in the developed countries as follows:

"The need for working-class unity has become even more urgent.... The Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favour of cooperation with the Socialists and Social Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future....

"In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends in a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism."⁵²

Another strategic problem whose solution Lenin not only backed up theoretically, but which he also began to realise bore on the way to socialism in countries where the objective conditions for socialism had not yet fully ripened (in countries like Russia). Lenin's solution of this problem was based on his deep faith in the creative power of the working class, led by a new type of party.

In virtue of the circumstances already described it proved to be much easier to overthrow the bourgeois power in Russia than in the developed capitalist countries, but the working class which took over

did not yet have the material conditions required for rapid transition to socialism.

The Social Democratic leaders shouted about the "illegality" and the "untimeliness" of the Russian revolution and of its inviability as a socialist revolution. The petty-bourgeois panic-mongers urged a retreat and a biding of time, which in effect meant surrender.

Lenin and the Party he led found another and, it can now be said with the benefit of hindsight, the only correct solution. In his article "Our Revolution" Lenin wrote: "If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism,... why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?"⁵³

And so, in definite concrete historical conditions it is possible and necessary first to take power and then, relying on the revolutionary people's energy, go on to create the material prerequisites for socialism in the future. Of course, Lenin warned, this can be done only if there is a definite minimum of premises of socialism. Indeed, the very possibility of the proletariat's taking over is present "only when capitalist development has reached a certain level. Failing that fundamental condition, the proletariat cannot develop into a separate class, nor can success be achieved in its prolonged training, education, instruction and trial in battle during long years of strikes and demonstrations when the opportunists are disgraced and expelled. Failing that fundamental condition, the centres will not play that economic and political role which enables the proletariat, after their capture, to take hold of state power in its entirety, or more correctly, of its vital nerve, its core, its node. Failing that fundamental condition, there cannot be the kinship, closeness and bond between the position of the proletariat and that of the non-proletarian working people which (kinship, closeness and bond) are necessary for the proletariat to influence those masses, for its influence over them to be effective."⁵⁴

In the presence of this fundamental condition, the revolution turns out to be feasible (despite the absence of the other premises of socialism), and consequently there is also "the opportunity to create the fundamental requisites of civilisation in a different way from that of the West European countries".⁵⁵ Quite naturally, full responsibility for the success of such action falls on the Party guiding socialist construction. The CPSU has proved to be equal to this task.

"Not everyone understood and accepted Lenin's idea," says L. I. Brezhnev, "that it was possible to build socialism in an economically backward, predominantly peasant country in a capitalist encirclement.... But Lenin's ideas triumphed."⁵⁶ Indeed, these ideas have triumphed not only in this country but also in several East European countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and also in Cuba. All of these were countries with a medium level of development, and all succeeded not only in carrying through a triumphant revolution but also in building socialism.

Finally, there is another strategic problem which Lenin closely analysed. In his day, a vast part of mankind—the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries—lived in conditions under which it was impossible not only to consider the objective premises of socialism, but also anything like developed capitalist relations. Did that mean, as the Social Democratic reformists asserted, that the road to socialism for these peoples was closed for a long time?

In replying to this question, Lenin started from the real conditions of the new historical epoch inaugurated by the October Revolution. Within the framework of the *worldwide domination* of capitalist relations, the peoples in the economically underdeveloped countries would perhaps have sooner had to go through all the stages of capitalist development before the necessary premises for their national liberation and social emancipation ripened. But a new situation has been created by the triumph of the Great October Revolution. "Are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducted systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments came to their aid with all the means at their disposal, in that event it would be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development." Ultimately, with the assistance of the proletariat of the countries in which the socialist revolutions have been carried out, "the backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."⁵⁷ We find that Lenin put forward two main factors, two conditions for such transition: assistance from the victorious proletariat of the more developed countries, and advance towards socialism through definite intermediate stages. In countries with predominantly small-scale peasant farming and a weak proletariat, Lenin said there was need for "a series of gradual, preliminary stages", "a whole series of special transitional measures",⁵⁸ which would help to overcome the backwardness, to restructure society on modern lines and so prepare the possibility for socialist transformations.

Of course, in that period—the 1920s—it was still hard to elaborate these ideas in full. "The necessary means for this cannot be indicated in advance. These will be prompted by practical experience."⁵⁹ Experience has, indeed, fully borne out the brilliant prediction of the leader of the October Revolution. The historical path traversed by the Soviet Central Asian Republics and then by People's Mongolia shows that in the new conditions the way to socialism lies open for the economically underdeveloped countries as well.

Today, many countries of Asia and Africa look to development along the non-capitalist way, towards socialism. "During the past few years quite a large group of liberated countries have started serious and far-reaching reforms in all spheres of social life, proclaiming the

building of socialism as their end goal. This is, of course, not easy for the young states, whose development had been held up for centuries by the colonialists. For this it is necessary to raise the productive forces to the level required by socialism, establish 'totally new relations of production, change the mentality of the people and set up a new administrative apparatus relying on the support of the masses'.⁶⁰

Lenin's elaboration of the most intricate problems was of fundamental importance for the further advance of the world communist movement. These included: the typology of countries depending on development levels and maturity of premises of socialism; on the relation between the premises of socialism and the premises of socialist revolution in the new historical epoch; on the principles governing revolutionary strategy designed to use all the existing potentialities for advancing towards socialism (and overcoming the difficulties engendered by the specific conditions of socio-economic development in the various countries).

Attaching tremendous importance to the consideration and thorough analysis of the objective conditions for revolution, Lenin always emphasised the key importance of the subjective factors in the revolutionary process. "It is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution.... It was because it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution, revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary *class* to take revolutionary mass action *strong* enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not toppled over."⁶¹

Lenin drew a most important conclusion, which has been repeatedly confirmed by history, that the socialist revolution cannot triumph, unless the objective and the subjective premises are all there.

Emphasising the importance of this conclusion of Lenin's, General Secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais noted in one of his statements published in the Soviet press that one should reckon with Lenin's evaluation of the relations between the objective factors and the subjective factors in the course of historical development, in creative historical action. The experience of contemporary development in France fully confirms what Lenin said about underestimation of one of these factors and overestimation of the other entailing errors in policy which lead either to a cult of spontaneous movements, with an underestimation of the role of the subjective factor, as the Right opportunists have been doing, or to voluntarism and neglect of the objective conditions for the mass struggle, which the Leftists are inclined to do. The two errors supplement each other, and their common consequence turns out to be ideological disarmament of the working class and the revolutionary forces.⁶²

Today, there is exceptionally poignant meaning (especially in the context of the developed capitalist countries) in these words of

Lenin's: "Neither the oppression of the lower classes nor a crisis among the upper classes can cause a revolution; they can only cause the decay of a country, unless that country has a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt."⁶³

When the ripening of the premises of socialist revolution tends to lag behind the ripening of the premises of socialism there is the danger of such "decay" in society. This danger is expressed in a growth of the Right-wing reactionary tendencies in the policy of imperialism, including the threat of Right-wing nationalism, chauvinism and neo-fascism in its diverse forms. Let us emphasise that under the grave and protracted economic crisis, the inclination of monopoly capital to seek a way out by applying further pressure on the working people and a further veering to the Right is increased.

All of this is further evidence of the growing importance of the subjective factor in the revolutionary process. Today, the role of this factor is somewhat different and broader than it was in the past.

In the period before the start of the general crisis of capitalism, and also at its first and second stages, the role of the subjective factor was connected above all with the use of all the available potentialities to educate the masses and organise the revolutionary struggle. This remains true for the present stage of the revolutionary process, because the contemporary situation contains much broader opportunities for advancing the revolutionary struggle than the earlier situation.

At the same time (and especially in the developed capitalist and other countries), with the premises of socialism reaching a new and higher stage of maturity, with the contradictions in social development gaining in depth, with the sum-total of the potential forces of revolution much larger and the balance of world forces tilted in favour of socialism, the subjective factor becomes broader and more active, if that is the right expression. The fraternal parties emphasised that the revolutionary vanguard is now able not only to use the existing opportunities to advance, but also to help to extend and deepen these opportunities by its action and, in addition, to create new opportunities of this kind and more favourable conditions for revolutionary transformative action.

Of course, it would be wrong to assume that the growing role of the subjective factor tends to minimise the importance of the objective circumstances, of the objective premises of revolution. In the absence of such premises, no amount of subjective activity will result in a victorious revolution. But in the new situation (especially in view of the fact that the socialist states have already become a potent force in world development) the subjective factor in the developed countries can help substantially to minimise the negative consequences of the gap between the maturity of the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of revolution, and in countries with a lower level of development compensate for society's inadequate readiness for revolutionary change by means of its active organisational and educational work among the masses.

In other words, the growing role of the subjective factor in revolution means above all greater responsibility for the Communists in determining the correct line of action and pursuing the right policy. I think the following conclusion could be formulated: the most important aim of the truly Marxist-Leninist policy of the fraternal parties today is to do everything to overcome the objective and subjective difficulties in the shaping of the premises of socialist revolution, by developing mass action and creating favourable conditions for revolutionary struggle.

In this context, Gus Hall says: "The revolutionary situation is created by objective factors. It cannot be created at will, subjectively, merely by determination and courage. If there are objective conditions in which a revolutionary situation is ripening, resolute action can accelerate the process. That is the crux of the matter. The Party cannot at will boost a revolutionary upswing of the overwhelming majority of the people, which is highly important for the revolution. But by its activity it can equip the masses, enlighten them politically and ideologically on the need for revolutionary changes, thereby bringing on the revolution."⁶⁴

A similar conclusion on the strength of Latin American experience has been drawn by Rodney Arismendi, who says: "As both the objective conditions on the continent and the general peaceful course of development determined by the enhanced role of the socialist camp and the deepening of the crisis of capitalism *make the maturing of the revolutionary situation more and more dependent on the ability of the vanguard to lead the masses in struggle, on the flexibility of its tactics, the energy and militancy of its actions.*"⁶⁵

In other words, in the present situation a great role belongs to the historical initiative of the revolutionary vanguard, the front-ranking section of the working class, and the conscious and purposeful use of the existing and newly emerging possibilities for revolutionary struggle.

* * *

What are the general conclusions to be drawn from the above?

It is safe to say that the objective premises of socialism and the objective premises of the socialist revolution are interconnected but distinct categories. Both emerge on the same soil of capitalist development, but the mechanism for their emergence is different, and there is no direct automatic connection between the two. It is a dialectical and contradictory connection.

The premises of socialism ripen as a result of the development of objective economic processes, the growth in the means of production and exchange and the consequent changes in the social structure of capitalist society. The premises of socialist revolution are shaped as a result of the development both of the objective and the subjective (including socio-psychological) factors, with politics and superstructural factors in general having a tremendous role to play. If only for

that reason there can be no direct coincidence between the two and, what is more, contradictions may arise.

Furthermore, the premises of socialism are shaped on the basis of each country's internal development (although this internal development is, of course, connected with the general evolution of the given social system as a whole). The premises of revolution ripen as a result of multifaceted interaction between internal and external, international factors and circumstances. This interaction between external and internal factors naturally makes the ripening of the premises of revolution a highly intricate and contradictory process. In some instances, external, international factors play a kind of compensating role, filling in the "gaps" in internal development. In other instances, they have the opposite, slowing effect.

On the whole, with the passage of time and in virtue of the general (above all international) conditions in which the forces of world socialism grow, there is a relative reduction in the level of objective premises of socialism required for a start of transformations leading to the establishment of a new society in each individual country. Just as at the start of this century socialist revolution turned out to be capable of breaking through the imperialist front in one country (and that was a country with a medium level of development), today it turns out to be possible for the movement towards socialism to start even in the conditions of underdeveloped countries, bypassing capitalism. At the same time, of course, even today it is still true that the higher the maturity of the premises of socialism, the easier it is to build the new society after the triumph of the revolution. Conversely, when these premises are at a low level of maturity additional difficulties and problems arise in building the new life.

On the contrary, the level of maturity of the objective and subjective premises of socialist revolution tends to rise with the passage of time (especially in the developed countries). The greater the power of the monopolies and the wider the experience gained by monopoly capital (experience that is internal and external), the more intricate the mechanism of social life and the more veiled the capitalist exploitation, the deeper are the contradictions of capitalism and the greater the conditions and efforts for their resolution, that is, for a triumphant socialist revolution.

Finally, all this taken together means that the role of the subjective factor in revolution—the will, readiness and skill of the masses, notably the working class—becomes of truly crucial importance with the passage of time. Especially great responsibility here falls on the Communist and workers' parties. It is they, their policies, their skill and aptitude that will play the definitive role in advancing the processes which can bring about the victory of socialism.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 345.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 504.

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 51.

⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 361.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 468.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, pp. 340-341.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 473.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 371.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 205.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, pp. 84-85.

¹⁶ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 92.

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 233.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 89.

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 340.

²³ *Ibidem.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 494.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 307.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, p. 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, pp. 471-472.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 494.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 417.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 65.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 334.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, pp. 310-311.

³⁴ *Lenin Miscellany XI*, p. 397.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

³⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 93.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 227.

³⁹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969*, pp. 141-142.

⁴⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 208.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Vol. 27, p. 99.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 97.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, pp. 470, 521.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 411.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 476.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 452.

⁴⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Moscow, Vol. 54, p. 464 (in Russian).

⁴⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 360, 357-358.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 24.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 428.

⁵¹ *Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, London, 1923*, p. 32.

- ⁵² *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969*, pp. 24, 27.
- ⁵³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 478-479.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 266.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 478.
- ⁵⁶ L. I. Brezhnev, *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 26-27.
- ⁵⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 342; Vol. 32, p. 214.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 244.
- ⁶⁰ L. I. Brezhnev, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
- ⁶¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 214.
- ⁶² See Georges Marchais, "Leninism and the French-Working Class Movement", in the collection: *Leninism Lives On and Triumphs*, Moscow, 1970, p. 441 (in Russian).
- ⁶³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 223.
- ⁶⁴ Gus Hall, "Maximum Use of the Objective Factors in Creating and Accelerating the Revolutionary Crisis" in the collection: *Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process*, Moscow, 1970, p. 145 (in Russian).
- ⁶⁵ *World Marxist Review*, 1964, No. 10, p. 16.

International Cooperation and Détente

The Peace Mission of Socialism

"Peace and socialism are indissoluble." These words, pronounced from the rostrum of the 25th Party Congress by CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, reflect the peaceful essence of socialism. The building of the new, socialist society is the most sublime of all human endeavour. Socialism brings working men freedom, genuinely democratic rights, prosperity, educational opportunities, and confidence in the future. Socialism brings and consolidates peace.

It is for the fourth decade now since we have been living in peace. It was dearly won, and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have spared no effort to preserve it, to make it an infeasible law of human life. Peace as an unfading ideal of socialism is the greatest blessing to all nations and an important requisite for social progress.

The inseparableness of socialism and peace means, first and foremost, that peace is inherent in the very nature of socialist society. Socialism is inconceivable without aspiration for world peace, without an inner need to defend and strengthen it. Conversely, a lasting peace is inseparable from the destiny of the new society. No wonder man's age-long dream of peace remained unfulfilled under all exploitative socio-economic systems, war being their constant companion.

That dream did not come true until after the undivided world domination of the old system was abolished and a society maintaining social justice and a high standard of morality established. Karl Marx wrote about this in 1870, when the smoke of war had enveloped much of Europe: "The alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens up the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to the old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is

springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*.”¹

In 1917 an end was put to the undivided rule of imperialism. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, carried out by the Russian proletariat under the leadership of Lenin's Party, opened a new era in the history of mankind—the era of the triumph of socialism and communism.

The first act of the Soviet Government was the Decree on Peace, drawn up by the great Lenin. In that historic document, the worker-peasant government of Soviet Russia, addressing the governments and peoples of all countries, expressed its determined aspirations for a just, democratic peace based on respect for the rights and interests of all nations. The Decree on Peace and other fundamental government documents based on it reflected the dialectically interconnected basic principles of Soviet foreign policy—the principle of proletarian internationalism and the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

These principles were further elaborated in the Appeal of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR “To All Peoples and Governments of the World”, adopted on the occasion of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. “Established... on the basis of fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Republics,” the Appeal read, “the Union Government sets itself the aim of preserving peace with all the peoples. ... Being the natural ally of the oppressed peoples, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics seeks peaceful and friendly relations and economic cooperation with all nations. Its goal is to promote the interests of the working people all over the world. In the vast expanse extending from the Baltic, Black and White seas to the Pacific Ocean, the Soviet Union maintains brotherly relations among the peoples and the reign of labour, striving at the same time to promote friendly relations among all the nations of the world.”

These documents, which still arouse deep emotion when read today, became programme documents. The whole world became convinced that our Party and the Soviet state were implementing the ideas embodied in these documents. It could not be otherwise: the intrinsic qualities of Soviet society found expression in such an important sphere of its activity as foreign policy, in the tireless struggle of the working class, which had taken power into its own hands, to radically change the whole system of international relations.

The inseparableness of socialism and peace means that the Soviet people are deeply interested in the preservation of peace, that they are always ready and determined to protect it from any encroachment. Let us recall the first years following the October Revolution. The constructive plans of the young Soviet Republic were obstructed by international imperialism. But our country came out of all the ordeals of that period with honour. The people, who had freed themselves from the shackles of exploitation, and their Red Army, born in the battles against the interventionists and the White Guards, came out victorious.

We held against them all, Lenin said with legitimate pride. And the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party could not but be proud of that victory, which proved the viability and stability of Soviet power. And it must be particularly emphasised that that victory was achieved in the name of building socialism, and, consequently, in the name of peace.

However, imperialism had no intention of reconciling itself to defeat. It tried on repeated occasions to smash the world's first socialist state. But the Soviet people, led by Lenin's Party, cooled the bellicose ardour of the imperialists and taught them some instructive lessons. Unfortunately, not all the lessons sank in. For a long time the imperialists just could not understand how a state still weak economically had succeeded in withstanding their aggregate might. They failed to realise a truth whose essence Lenin expressed thus: “A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realise, feel and see that they are fighting for... the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, of all that has been created by human labour—such a nation can never be vanquished.”²

The Second World War, unleashed by imperialism's most aggressive forces—German fascism and Japanese militarism—was the most outrageous and desperate attempt to reverse the course of history. That is precisely why the main blow was spearheaded against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the progressive world.

The Land of the Soviets withstood this ordeal, too. The victory cost the lives of more than 20 million Soviet citizens, who died not only in the name of the freedom and independence of their Motherland, but also to save mankind. The whole world once again saw the formidable, inexhaustible might of socialism and its ideas, the tremendous vitality of the Soviet social system.

The rout of fascism and the acceleration of the world revolutionary process resulted in the formation of the world socialist system and in the consolidation of the positions and influence of the Communist parties, and of the international working-class and national liberation movements.

The inseparableness of socialism and peace signifies an organic connection between socialism's home and foreign policies. At home the Communist Party of the Soviet Union conforms all its activity to its programmatic slogan: “Everything in the name of man, for the good of man.” To achieve this goal is the chief task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. In practical terms the task is to consistently implement the policy of raising the people's living standards on the basis of the dynamic and proportional development of social production and heightening its efficiency, acceleration of scientific and technological progress, higher productivity of labour, and allround improvement of the quality of work in all branches of the national economy. At the same time, the CPSU, striving to ensure the most favourable external conditions for successful fulfilment of that task, has been firm in the pursuance of its course towards strengthening peace and international security.

The USSR's achievements on the international scene are the logical results of the work done by the whole Soviet people. This is quite understandable: the success of Soviet foreign policy is due primarily to the success of the home policy, to the growth of Soviet economic, scientific and technological, and defence potential, and to the social, political and ideological unity of Soviet society.

The whole history of the USSR is full of bold and ever more successful initiatives in the sphere of foreign policy. A special place here belongs to the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th Party Congress. The main idea of the Programme is to rely on the might, cohesion and activeness of world socialism, on its growing alliance with all progressive and peaceloving forces in order to achieve a turn in the development of international relations from the cold war to the constructive peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. A turn from tension, which threatened to explode, to détente and normal mutually advantageous cooperation. "We followed the behests of the great Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasised in the Central Committee Report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "who called for the greatest possible number of decisions and measures 'that would certainly lead to peace, if not to the complete elimination of the war danger.'"³

What has been done in that direction is of truly historic significance. Everything possible has been undertaken to secure favourable conditions for peaceful construction in our country and in the fraternal socialist countries, to consolidate peace and the security of nations. Considerable headway has been made in the effort to achieve broad recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence, to secure a lasting peace, and to lessen and ultimately eliminate the danger of a new world war. This has led to a certain improvement of the international climate, to a livening up of the economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. The positions of the socialist countries have been strengthened; the beneficial influence of their international policy has been broadened. Détente has become the leading trend in international relations.

The peace mission of socialism has found its highest expression in the Programme, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples. It is a follow-up to the Peace Programme.

The new Peace Programme is warmly welcomed both in our country and abroad. It embraces a complex of top-priority measures and proposals whose implementation is dictated by the need to develop contemporary society and continue the struggle for peace and socialism, for a peaceful future for all men.

The new Peace Programme is broader than the preceding one as regards the dimensions of the tasks set. This is because our country, the socialist community as a whole, and all peace forces can now operate from the new positions they won in the last five years. Imperialism failed in its biggest attempt since the Second World War to wipe out, by threat of armed force, a socialist country—the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to crush the national liberation revolution in Southeast Asia. In Europe, general recognition of the German Democratic Republic, its admittance to the United Nations, and the international confirmation of the western frontiers of the socialist countries consolidated the foremost results of the peoples' liberation struggle during and after the Second World War, thereby creating the prerequisites for a stable peace and good-neighbour cooperation on the continent and elsewhere. Socialism has taken deep roots in Cuba. All this shows the unity, solidarity and mutual support of the countries of the socialist community.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU called on the fraternal socialist states to build up their joint contribution to peace. It called for an end to the increasingly perilous arms race, for a reduction in armaments and for disarmament. It appealed to the peaceloving states to concentrate their efforts on eliminating the still remaining hotbeds of war, above all to secure a just and stable settlement in the Middle East; to make every effort to deepen détente and embody it in concrete forms of mutually advantageous cooperation; to promote security in Asia on the basis of the joint efforts of the states on that continent; to strive to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations; to achieve complete elimination of all survivals of the system of colonialist oppression and limitation of the peoples' equality and independence, and abolish all seats of colonialism and racism; to ban discrimination in and all artificial obstacles to international trade, and to eliminate all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations. To achieve a lasting peace in Europe remains one of the basic tasks of the struggle. The chief thing now is to implement the principles agreed upon at the European Conference in Helsinki.

The peace mission of socialism is denoted by singleness of purpose; it is profoundly realistic and humane. Its perpetual value lies in the fact that it accords with the vital interests of all working people, all nations. In carrying out this mission the socialist community shows concern for deepening mutual understanding and enhancing political, economic and ideological cooperation between its members as is required by the interests of their growing influence on the course of world developments and on strengthening the forces of peace and social progress. As long as NATO exists, as long as the militarist circles indulge in an arms race, our Party and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries will continue to reinforce the military-political Warsaw Treaty alliance, which reliably serves the interests of peace and socialism. At the same time we are consistent in putting forward concrete proposals for a reduction of armaments, for disarmament. In present-day conditions, achievement of a lasting peace is quite a feasible task rather than a good wish.

Our philosophy of peace is the philosophy of historical optimism, founded on such a mighty, dynamic and permanent factor of peace as real socialism; and also on the deep interest of all nations in a just and democratic peace, on the successes already achieved by the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the great life-asserting force of the working

man's peaceableness, on the activity of all public peace movements. Moreover, there is the fact that some statesmen in a number of capitalist countries realise that the balance of forces has changed, that war is no longer acceptable as a means of settling disputes.

Though we are optimists, we never forget about the flames of war that were blazing in many parts of the world quite recently, about the intrigues of the enemies of peace. The nature of imperialism has not changed, and the danger to the cause of peace is not completely ruled out. So by bolstering the defences of socialism peace as a whole is consolidated, which circumstance again accords with the interests of all the peoples.

The peace mission of socialism in no way implies helping capitalism to prolong its existence, as ultra-Left revisionists claim. Anyone who understands the logic of social development knows that peaceful coexistence does not entail the fading away of the class struggle.

Peaceful coexistence by no means leads to the freezing of the social and political status quo. Those who think otherwise obviously lag behind the times. "Détente," says the Soviet Government statement of May 22, 1976, "does not and cannot signify any freezing of the objective processes of historical development. It is not a safeguard for corrupt regimes. It does not give one the right to suppress the peoples' just struggle for national liberation. Nor does détente preclude the need for social changes."

There is no power on earth that could reverse the inexorable process of renovation of public life. Wherever there is colonialism, there is a struggle for national liberation; wherever there is exploitation, there is a struggle for the emancipation of labour; wherever there is aggression, there is resistance against it. The popular masses want to change the world, and they will do so. While firmly backing the forces of social progress, the CPSU, the Soviet Government, the whole Soviet people openly express solidarity with their class brothers who are fighting in other countries, with the anti-imperialist liberation movements, and this in no way contradicts the struggle for peace, for mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems.

Peace is not just security; it is a key prerequisite for resolving the major problems of contemporary civilisation—problems on which the future of all mankind depends. Such issues as the utilisation of energy resources, protection of the natural environment, and exploitation of the World Ocean's wealth are enough to convince one of the exceptional importance of joint efforts by states of the two systems. It should be added that the solution of urgent global problems is bound to involve the allround development of economic, scientific and technological ties, which constitute the material basis for a lasting peace, needed by all nations, socialist and non-socialist alike.

The peace mission of socialism calls for active deeds, for well-considered and interrelated international actions. The success of this mission depends on the unity and cohesion of the countries in the socialist community, which is the most infallible and reliable bulwark

of peace and social progress. The Central Committee of the CPSU and its Political Bureau headed by Leonid Brezhnev are doing everything necessary to cement this unity and promote cooperation with the fraternal countries, to consolidate our common international positions.

Socialism's foreign policy activity has become militant and dynamic. No wonder it is called the peace offensive. As Leonid Brezhnev remarked, it is indeed an offensive. For an offensive implies mounting efforts and constant advancement to add to the successes achieved. The Soviet people and their Leninist Party will continue this noble offensive in the name of prosperity for the peoples, in the name of the present and future of mankind. It is relevant here to quote Marx's words, said more than a hundred years ago and fully confirmed today. "On you..., " he said in an address to Communist workers, "depends the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war."⁴

Today socialism, while intensifying its efforts in the fight for peace, is able "to command peace". This is a great blessing to mankind. What men need is genuine peace backed up by deeds, not mere words. "The strengthening of peace," Leonid Brezhnev has said, "is too serious a matter for the present and future generations of people, which cannot be subordinated to considerations of expediency or to one's mood."⁵

The great fervour and sincerity with which our Party and Soviet people fight for peace are generally known. And the world public give full credit to them for this. This was aptly pointed out at the 25th Congress of the CPSU by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. "Firmly abiding by Lenin's ideas," he said, "the USSR has become the world's most reliable bulwark of peace and a reliable shield guarding the small and weak nations from the aggressive ambitions of imperialism. If it were not for the Soviet Union, the capitalist powers, in view of the energy crisis and the lack of raw material resources, would not have hesitated to redivide the world. If it were not for the Soviet Union, it would have been impossible even to imagine the degree of independence which the small states enjoy today, the success of the peoples' struggle to regain control of their natural wealth, and to hear their imposing voices today in the concert of nations. The present degree to which peace has been secured, the enormous privilege which the new generations of mankind have obtained by being able to avoid being drawn into a world catastrophic conflagration, hope for a future in which cooperation of all states will prevail—for all these the peoples are indebted primarily to the triumph of Lenin's ideas in your country and their consistent application in Soviet foreign policy."

The 25th Congress has stressed that the CPSU's international activity is the concern of the whole Soviet people. The great cause of

fighting for peace, for the building of the new, communist society constitutes the meaning of life of all Communists, and of all Soviet people. The Soviet Union, the great, heroic Soviet people led by the Leninist Communist Party, will continue to stand firmly in the united front of the socialist community—an alliance of sovereign peoples and states which are jointly exercising an ever greater influence on the course of world developments, on the social progress of mankind.

It is with fresh vigour that the great Lenin's prophetic words ring out today: "The workers' movement will triumph and will pave the way to peace and socialism."⁶

The CPSU and the Soviet people, together with the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries, are tirelessly augmenting their contribution to the noble cause of strengthening peace and security through selfless labour, persevering efforts aimed at deepening détente and making it an irreversible process. Relying on the world socialist system, the revolutionary detachments of the international proletariat are uniting and heightening their militancy. Consistent struggle for a genuine peace is one of the internationalist duties of the working class; it clearly reflects the active humanism inherent in it.

The fight for peace is continuing, and no let-ups or pauses are permissible in it.

NOTES

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. II, 1969, pp. 193-194.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 29, p. 319.

³ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 7.

⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁵ *Moscow News*, Supplement Issue, No. 25 (1276), 1975, p. 6.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 253.

Peaceful Coexistence and Economic Cooperation

NIKOLAI SHMELEV

International détente has created a more favourable climate for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for their cooperation in various fields, and in the economic field in the first place. "A specific feature of our times," L. I. Brezhnev noted in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "is the growing utilisation of the international division of labour for the development of each country, regardless of its wealth and economic level. Like the other countries, we strive to use the advantages of foreign economic relations to utilise additional possibilities for the successful fulfilment of economic tasks and saving time, for enhancing production efficiency and speeding up scientific and technical progress".¹

The successful Conference in Helsinki created a new stimulus for further expanding all forms of international cooperation. The Conference succeeded in working out and securing in the Final Act a code of behaviour of states with different social systems. The document not only defines the basic principles of mutually advantageous international cooperation on the basis of equality in the fields of economy, science and culture; it also lists a great number of joint projects which can bring tangible benefits to both large and small states.

One cannot, of course, ignore the fact that after the Helsinki Conference certain forces in the West have intensified their activities

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to bury détente or to turn it into a "sale and purchase" article, to achieve the "ideological demobilisation" of the socialist countries. But peaceful coexistence, needless to say, does not mean the cessation of the ideological struggle between countries with different social systems, leave alone "ideological demobilisation". The Soviet Union and other socialist states have always stressed that détente has nothing to do with a social status quo.

The coalition of reactionary politicians, of representatives of the military-industrial complex, of trade union bureaucrats and of Zionist leaders in the USA have launched a vociferous campaign about the alleged "one-sided character" of détente. They demand, writes *US News & World Report*, that the Soviet Union should demonstrate that the cooperation between the two Powers is by no means "a one-way street favouring Moscow".² The ultimate purpose of this sort of policy is obvious: to secure at the negotiating table what imperialism was unable to secure with threats of the use of force in the long cold war period.

However, the manoeuvres of the opponents of détente are not meeting with support even among their own followers who are not blind to the realities.

The cold war apologists, who maintain that détente is of vital importance only for the socialist countries, would do well to remember certain fundamental facts of history. "...For the last 20 years," noted the well-known American financier, David Rockefeller, commenting on the embargo policy towards the USSR and other socialist countries, "we have cut off most trade, most exports, and this has not brought them to their knees, has not forced them to come begging to us, and has not prevented them from rearming and becoming more powerful in the world."³

The socialist community produces nearly one-third of the global industrial output and has become the most dynamic economic force in the world. During 1971-1975, the CMEA countries' industry grew four times as swiftly as that of the developed capitalist states. The socialist community is a union of a new type, one based on unity of positions and actions. This gives added strength to each of its participants in coping with national tasks, and greatly enhances their influence on international affairs.

The socialist countries, CMEA members, have achieved a high degree of self-sufficiency in the main branches of the manufacturing industry, particularly in mechanical engineering and the production of energy resources and raw materials, which secures their technical and economic independence of the capitalist world. The aggregate scientific potential of the CMEA countries, measured in terms of scientific workers, exceeds any other national or regional potential: more than one-third of the world's scientific personnel works in the socialist community. The development of the key industries, the deepening of fundamental and applied researches, the expansion of the mass production of consumer goods are secured in the socialist countries on the basis of the harnessing of national resources and their steadily increasing mutual cooperation.

The postwar experience has shown that the socialist countries possess everything necessary for achieving a high level of economic and technological progress. At the same time they are interested in broad long-term ties with all countries of the world, including the West European countries. Witness the proposal made by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on behalf of all its member-states to the European Economic Community to establish official relations between the two organisations.

The draft agreement submitted for consideration to the EEC Council of Ministers contains, among others, provisions aimed at expanding trade on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment granted reciprocally, developing business contacts and mutually advantageous ties, the joint study of major problems of cooperation, and concluding special bilateral and multilateral agreements between the CMEA countries and Common Market agencies.

A characteristic feature of the Tenth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) will be the greater involvement of the Soviet economy in the international division of labour, the continued promotion of our economic cooperation with other countries on a long-term basis and the enhancement of its effectiveness.

With this aim in view the export potential of the USSR will be systematically expanded by building up stocks of traditional and also new types of products. "We shall continue devoting paramount attention to promoting and strengthening cooperation *with socialist countries*," said A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress. "The 20-year Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration and the Coordinated Plan for Multilateral Integration Measures, first adopted by CMEA at its session in the summer of 1975, are becoming increasingly important for our cooperation. The Soviet Union wishes its cooperation *with the developing countries* to take the forms of a stable and mutually advantageous division of labour. These aims are served by the treaties and agreements on long-term economic cooperation signed in recent years with a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries. We shall expand cooperation with the developing countries on democratic and just principles and help them to strengthen their economic independence.

"In the conditions of détente new qualitative aspects are being acquired by our economic relations *with the developed capitalist countries*, relations that can develop successfully on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We shall continue the practice of signing large-scale agreements on cooperation in the building of industrial projects in our country and on the participation of Soviet organisations in the building of industrial enterprises in Western countries. Compensation agreements, especially those covering projects with a short recoupment period, various forms of industrial cooperation and joint research and development are promising forms of cooperation".⁴

The dialectical unity of détente and broad international cooperation lies in the fact that détente releases the potentialities latent in free and stable international exchange based on equality. In its turn, cooperation forms the framework of a lasting and constructive peace, the economic, scientific and cultural ties which objectively induce the participating countries to show restraint in disputable political matters. That is why the socialist states attach not only economic but also paramount political importance to mutually advantageous cooperation, regarding it as one of the principal safeguards of a durable peace and security.

The need for further deepening détente, radically improving the international political climate and for broad cooperation between the socialist and developing countries and between the socialist and capitalist countries is dictated by the objective requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, by the deep-going processes under way in the system of the global division of labour. In its turn, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between states with different social systems strengthens and broadens the material basis of the peaceful coexistence policy.

The accelerated internationalisation of economic life is becoming a most characteristic tendency of world development. Economic, scientific and cultural ties are expanding, the participation of national economies in the international exchange of output and of scientific and technological achievements is intensifying, the specialisation and cooperation in production are assuming an ever broader character.

The demand for optimisation of the scale of production in the key branches of the manufacturing industry and, correspondingly, for optimisation of the size of the market for their output exceeds the national possibilities not only of small but also of relatively large states and in some cases even the possibilities of regional associations. The need to ensure reliable supplies of energy resources and industrial raw materials, in turn, intensifies the interdependence of individual states. Finally, the front of fundamental and applied researches has become so widely extended that not a single state in the world is able to ensure an equal degree of success in all the directions of scientific and technological progress. The growth of world trade in licences is evidence of this.

At the same time, some major economic problems are of more than national or regional significance; they are, in fact, of a global character and their effective solution is consequently possible only through international effort.

External economic ties are becoming an important condition of the intensification of the economies of the socialist countries, of the growth of their efficiency. Scientific and technological progress augments considerably the economic stimuli for the socialist countries' participation in the international division of labour much more actively than ever before. This is evidenced by the more rapid growth of their foreign trade compared with their national income: in the first

half of the 1970s this increase for most of the CMEA countries was 150-250 per cent.

The main direction of the inclusion of the CMEA countries in the system of the international division of labour was, and remains, their mutual cooperation, the expansion of fraternal mutual assistance, and the realisation of the Comprehensive Programme for socialist economic integration. Over the past five years the Soviet Union's trade with the CMEA countries has more than doubled, reaching 26,000 million rubles annually. On the agenda are the elaboration and fulfilment of long-term programmes designed to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the CMEA countries in energy, fuel, main types of raw materials, to more fully satisfy the demand for foodstuffs and consumer goods, to raise the level of mechanical engineering and to speed up the development of transport.

At the same time, the socialist states consistently come out in favour of the further expansion of cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social system, including the industrial capitalist countries which account for more than 30 per cent of the CMEA countries' foreign trade.

In their foreign economic policy, the socialist countries proceed from the fact that the expansion of East-West cooperation should not simply be mutual; it should be of a mutually balanced character.

Such cooperation creates additional possibilities for utilising the natural resources of the socialist countries by attracting foreign financial resources, equipment and technical know-how on a compensatory basis, repaying the credits granted with part of the output of the enterprises built.

One of the results of the expansion of economic ties is the increasing currency receipts by the socialist countries and new markets for their output. Contributive to this, besides the development of traditional forms of trade, are the cooperation agreements with capitalist firms, the promotion of scientific and technological cooperation, exchange of licences, joint programmes of fundamental and applied research.

The cooperation of the CMEA countries with capitalist states is not one of expediency. Underlying the long-time interest of the socialist countries in broadening cooperation are their long-term economic development plans, the course towards intensification of production and raising the economic effectiveness of investments, towards maximum satisfaction of the growing requirements of the population.

It goes without saying that the other side, too, receives palpable advantages from economic cooperation. The expanding export of goods to the socialist countries is becoming an important factor of technological progress, of increasing output capacities and ensuring employment in a number of traditional and new industries in the West. The CMEA countries are valuable markets for such industries of the advanced capitalist states, as metallurgy, machine-tool making, the production of chemical and petrochemical equipment and industries engaged in the manufacture of precision instruments and electronic

devices. For some important industries and large industrial associations in France, the FRG and Italy exports to the CMEA countries have in recent years become the main stimulus to research and development. Thus, the participation of a number of Western companies in the construction of the motor factory on the Kama River, the biggest of its kind in the world, is a serious test for the production and technical potentialities of the said companies.

Some industries and economic regions of the capitalist countries are doomed to stagnation in the competitive struggle if they fail to find new possibilities for preserving and expanding their production activities. In Great Britain, for instance, shipbuilding, machine-tool making and the production of engines are experiencing mounting difficulties and they will hardly be able to operate normally without utilising all potential international possibilities.

The 1974-1975 economic crisis graphically showed the importance of the socialist markets for the industrial capitalist countries. For example, in the first five months of 1975, the FRG's exports to EEC countries declined by nearly 12 per cent and to the USA by nearly 35 per cent, while to the CMEA countries it increased by more than 24 per cent. As the chairman of Krupp Konzern E. Momsen noted, "the aspect of stability of trade with the East deserves special attention on the part of the Western countries.... Dependence on market-determined ups and downs is typical of trade with the industrial states of the West—we felt this particularly keenly this year which was marked by a general recession in the economy. Conversely, trade with our Eastern partners who, owing to their centralised system of management, are not subject to these market fluctuations is, in my opinion, a factor that makes it possible to give our foreign trade an element of stability.... This is of great importance in providing our workers and employees with jobs".⁵

In the crisis year of 1974, for example, the West German Mannesmann metallurgical concern decided after receiving a big order from the Soviet Union to build a new pipe-rolling mill with an annual capacity of one million tons of pipes. That same year big Soviet orders halted the curtailment of production at enterprises of the West German Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz concern and made it possible to take on additional workers.

According to some estimates, \$1,000 million worth of US exports to the Soviet Union would mean jobs for more than 60,000 American workers. If we take into account the fact that the productivity of labour in most of the other capitalist countries is, on the average, half that in the United States, the conclusion suggests itself that East-West trade would mean at least two million more jobs in the industrial capitalist states. That is of no small importance in the present conditions in which the unemployed army in the developed capitalist countries alone numbers, according to official figures, more than 15 million.

Capitalist states are objectively interested in greater shipments of raw materials and fuel from socialist countries. Oil and oil products, gas, chemical raw materials, ferrous and non-ferrous metals,

diamonds, chrome and manganese, timber and sawn-timber, asbestos and other raw materials from the socialist states hold a considerable place in international trade in these goods. The USSR has in recent years become a major supplier of enriched nuclear fuel.

With the energy and raw-materials deficit in existence the role of the socialist countries as promising suppliers of various goods becomes more and more evident. These countries are steadily becoming major exporters of finished articles and industrial equipment. According to the UN Economic Commission for Europe, they have comparative advantages in such fields of production as metallurgical equipment, iron and steel, turbines and generators, nuclear reactors and power stations, many types of metal-working machine-tools, mechanical and optical precision instruments, certain transportation facilities, printing equipment, fertilisers and of a number of other items. Soviet power-generating and metallurgical equipment, automobiles and products of the instrument-making industry; Czechoslovak programme-controlled textile equipment and metal-working machine-tools; mechanical precision instruments, optical devices and printing equipment from the GDR; Hungarian pharmaceuticals—these are all winning increasing recognition among Western consumers.

Business circles in the capitalist countries display a growing interest in the achievements of the socialist countries in some key areas of science and technology. In the report of the Sub-committee for National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs published on June 10, 1973, it was stressed that modern technological processes developed in a whole number of branches of the Soviet economy are of considerable interest to the USA and other highly developed capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union cooperates with scientific institutions of industrial capitalist countries on 600 scientific problems. The positive results of these ties for the West are exemplified by France whose scientific possibilities in such fields as space technology, nuclear physics, chemistry and petrochemistry, and telecommunication have broadened considerably thanks to cooperation with Soviet scientific institutions. Since 1962 the Soviet Union has sold the United States twice as many licences for new technology as it has purchased from that country.

In 1975 trade between the CMEA countries and developed capitalist states exceeded \$50,000 million. Mammoth joint projects are being built. Among them are the 5,000 kilometre-long Trans-European gas pipeline with an annual capacity of 30,000 million cubic metres of natural gas, in the construction of which leading West German, French, Italian and Austrian firms participated; the construction of the motor factories in Togliatti, Izhevsk and on the Kama River with the participation of American, West German, Italian and French companies; the construction of the artificial fertiliser complex with the participation of American firms; the project to build a metallurgical complex near Kursk with the participation of West German firms; the agreement on the construction of the Iran-FRG-

Austria-France gas pipeline across the territory of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, which will be built with the technical assistance of the FRG, France and Austria; the participation of France in the building of a pulp-and-paper mill at Ust-Ilimsk, as well as projects for her participation in building an aluminum complex; Japan's participation in the development of the mining and the timber-processing industry of the Soviet Far East; technical and financial assistance of a number of Western companies in developing the rich copper-ore deposits and oil-refining industry of Poland.

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An analysis of the tendencies of the capitalist economy shows that the need of the Western powers to develop economic ties with the socialist countries is becoming increasingly pressing. The growing inter-imperialist contradictions and the fierce struggle between the three centres of capitalism's economic power, the USA, Japan and the Common Market, are engendered by competition, the search for new markets, and by the problem of keeping enterprises running at their capacities and of ensuring employment. All these factors will continue to operate for a long time to come. Hence, prospects of cooperation with the socialist countries, the size of their markets, the enormous scale of possible joint projects are becoming an important object of the foreign economic strategy of the Western powers and groups competing with each other. It is characteristic that the number of long-term agreements signed for a period of up to ten years on economic cooperation between the socialist and capitalist states exceeds the number of the usual trade agreements between them.

The long-term approach is consonant with the interests of the partners. It holds out big prospects within the framework of cooperation on a European basis.

After the Helsinki Conference new possibilities have opened up for joint efforts by the European countries: expansion of the trans-European network of gas and oil pipelines; linking up the power systems, and cooperation in the field of nuclear energy; modernisation of the communications systems, including all kinds of transport; joint scientific research, including space exploration; protection of the environment. With the experience they now have of joint operations the socialist and capitalist countries will find it easier to resolve the new problems posed by scientific and technological progress.

If the potential possibilities of mutually advantageous cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries are to be realised a number of big obstacles hampering this process have to be overcome. The main obstacle is the discriminatory restrictions in the foreign economic practices of the capitalist states, their desire to impose on socialist countries inequitable conditions. In the USA, for example, because most-favoured-nation treatment is not extended to many socialist countries the tax imposed on their export items is 50-100 per

cent higher than that on goods imported from industrial capitalist states. This discrimination actually closes the American market to the output of most of the manufacturing industries of the socialist countries. This, needless to say, adversely affects the development of their trade with the USA.

According to the American economist T. Wulf and his colleagues, the adverse effect of discriminatory tariffs, that is, the amount by which they diminish the potential export of the socialist countries, roughly equalled 65 per cent to 100 per cent of the actual volume of CMEA exports to the United States in 1968-1971. Calculated in terms of the volume of their exports to the US in 1974, potential losses add up to the significant sum of \$600-900 million.⁶ If we take into account the negative effect of other discriminatory trade practices the figure will nearly double.

The new US Trade Act has practically not changed this abnormal situation. The discriminatory reservations contained in the Act make it utterly unacceptable from the viewpoint of long-term prospects as a legal basis for widening trade relations with the socialist countries. The question in this case is not of some kind of special privileges, but of extending to the socialist countries the same regulations the USA applies in its trade relations with industrial capitalist states.

The pressure brought to bear by America's reactionary circles has laid its imprint on the clauses concerning the system of crediting US exports to socialist countries. The artificial limitation of the powers of the US Export-Import Bank in respect to long-term credits to socialist countries calls in question a number of major projects the mutual advantageousness of which has been confirmed by experts of both sides.

The adversaries of détente are opposed to the normal practice of crediting large-scale projects of mutual advantage on the grounds that this will allegedly place the American economy in dangerous dependence on the socialist countries. Utterly untenable are the conclusions contained in the report of the group of "Sovietologists", prepared for the US Senate Subcommittee on Arms Control of which Senator Jackson is the chairman. The report states in part: "Competition for investment in the Soviet Union and the granting of large long-term credits to it would not only divide the West, and strengthen economically, politically and military its most dangerous and avowed adversary, but would also reduce political options for the West in the future by making it (particularly the United States) dependent on the USSR for a substantial amount of the energy supply and other essential goods. It would give the Soviet Union a lever on Western policy.... Moreover, this Western policy may produce the opposite effect from the intended one of "intermeshing" Western and Soviet economic interests.⁷

The far-fetched and biased character of such arguments are obvious. Détente is a process of promoting confidence among nations, of expanding businesslike cooperation on an equal basis. The American business world fully realises this. It is not accidental that many big US company leaders have expressed themselves against the

artificial obstacles put in the way of relations with the socialist countries.

As regards the problem of so-called dangerous level of dependence, its practical untenability is shown up by the assessments of Americans themselves. Thus, in the opinion of the group of experts who drafted the government programme to reach energy independence by 1985, this level in deliveries from one source begins beyond 18 per cent of US demand for energy resources. As a leading financier stated in an interview given to *US News & World Report*, "If we bought all of the output of the two Siberian gas fields, by 1980 that would represent only 4 or 5 per cent of total US demand for natural gas".⁸

The new Trade Act adversely affects the economic interests of the United States itself. According to the Secretary of the Treasury W. Simon, as a result of the operation of this Act in the first nine months of 1975 alone US firms lost \$1,600 million in Soviet orders to their West European and Japanese competitors. This loss is particularly indicative in the light of the general tendencies in the economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries. In a speech at the Metropolitan Club on May 29, 1975, former Secretary of Commerce, R. Morton, estimated that the scale of industrial purchases by the European CMEA countries in the West may reach \$100,000 million in 1976-1980. It is absolutely clear that sooner or later realism, common sense, the need to consider the objective interests of the American people will gain the upper hand.

Certain obstacles to economic cooperation are created by the Common Market's trade policy. The economic barriers put in the way to European cooperation by the EEC are of the most diverse forms: customs tariffs, the system of agrarian protectionism and, finally, non-tariff restrictions many of which are directed specifically against the socialist states.

One can often come across the assertion in the Western press that the promotion of European economic cooperation allegedly undermines the deepening integration processes in Western Europe. This approach to the question is a biased one, to say the least. The interest of the peoples of Europe require that the EEC and the economic organisation of the socialist community should not be in opposition to each other but should use their possibilities for solving problems of European importance. Both the EEC and CMEA have many spheres of activity that are of common interest. To quote Hans Friderichs, a Federal Minister of the FRG, "one cannot do without direct contacts between CMEA and the EEC if the possibilities of mutually advantageous economic exchange are to be fully realised.... The signing of agreements on the granting of most-favoured-nation treatment, on liberalisation of trade, on technical standards and promotion of European projects is possible through talks between the two organisations."⁹

The solution of long-term problems of joint financing is a most important element of European cooperation. Apparently, the means for developing European cooperation will be mobilised alongside

using traditional channels, by attracting new sources of financing. It is indicative that Hungary, for example, has in recent years floated several bonded loans on European money markets. The CMEA countries and their joint banking institutions have begun to be more active on these markets.

The policy of active participation in the international division of labour poses certain demands also on the socialist countries, particularly on the structure and quality of their exports, and on their external economic activity. As the Soviet economist O. Bogomolov has put it, "highly concentrated export production, which calls for large capital investments, cannot develop with an eye to single, more or less chance, foreign trade transactions."¹⁰

The economy of developed socialism has all the possibilities for effectively resolving these complex problems in a relatively short space of time. The rapid structural changes in the national economies of the socialist countries, the perfecting of the socialist economic mechanism show that the basis for realising these possibilities is successfully being created.

"In foreign economic relations," we read in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress, "are intertwined politics and economics, diplomacy and commerce, industrial production and trade. Consequently, the approach to them and their guidance must likewise be comprehensive, linking up the efforts of all departments and our political and economic interests".¹¹

The expansion of international cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs is an important factor of the deepening of détente, the further strengthening of peace and security among peoples. By pursuing an active policy of developing businesslike relations with all states, irrespective of their social systems, the socialist countries are making a worthy contribution to this historic process.

NOTES

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, pp. 97-98.

² See *US News & World Report*, January 5, 1976, pp. 20, 24.

³ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1973, p. 40.

⁴ A. N. Kosygin, *Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, pp. 51-52.

⁵ *Vorwärts*, December 11, 1975, p. 23.

⁶ See *Tariff, Legal and Credit Constraints on East-West Commercial Relations*, Ed. by J. P. Hardt, Ottawa, 1975, pp. 49-52.

⁷ *Détente: An Evaluation*, Subcommittee on Arms Control, US Senate, Washington, 1974, p. 11.

⁸ *US News & World Report*, August 13, 1973, p. 40.

⁹ *Vorwärts*, December 11, 1975, p. 22.

¹⁰ *Kommunist*, No. 5, 1974, p. 98.

¹¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, p. 101.

Public Opinion in World Politics

VITALY SHAPOSHNIKOV

In his report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, emphasised that "a great role and responsibility devolve on the public mass movement to consolidate peace. The past five years have seen such milestones in the growth of movement as the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, the Brussels Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security, and the World Congress of Women in Berlin. Our Party and the public in our country took an active part in all these events. In future, too, we shall not spare any effort in drawing the broad popular masses into the efforts of consolidating peace."¹

Such is the standpoint of Soviet Communists. It is based on their belief in the creative power of the masses, in their political reason. Communists regard the growing influence of the public forces on the foreign policies of states as an expression of the increasingly bigger role played by the popular masses in history, as a general law of social development. They believe that this is of great importance for the cause of peace, for the deepening of détente.

It seems that from this fundamental methodological position one should approach the study of the dynamics of the development of the public peace movements as a whole and of the major international forums where new features in the development of these movements have manifested themselves most distinctly. These congresses and assemblies have no precedents in history both as regards their socio-political composition and the scope of the adopted programmes. The fact that representatives of hundreds of national and international

organisations of differing ideological orientations were able to reach agreement on a number of fundamental issues of European and international security reflects the new and deeper feeling of solidarity of the peoples in their struggle for peace.

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The influence of the public forces on the development of present-day international relations is extremely diverse. It manifests itself above all in the strong impact of the world revolutionary process, of the peoples of the countries of the socialist community on the destinies of peace and social progress. A considerable influence on international relations is also exerted by the public movement for the removal of the threat of a world war and for the reconstruction of international relations on the basis of a lasting peace and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Although this movement has more limited goals it involves broad strata of the population.

Ever new organisations and groups are constantly joining the peace movement on the basis of a general democratic programme and the role played in it by workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle strata, is growing. The international realities created by the existing correlation of forces and the development of détente have led to a situation in which certain groups belonging to the ruling class of the capitalist countries and even individual representatives of monopoly capital, displaying political maturity, share some of the movement's aims (especially those regarding the complete removal of the threat of a world thermonuclear war and the need for peaceful coexistence as the only conceivable alternative). It is the genuinely democratic, popular mass organisations that form the peace movement's main body, its principal driving force.

The new factors in the character and structure of the antiwar movement, which reflect the considerable extension of its basis, by no means remove the fundamental differences which exist both in the ideologies and in the political positions of various sections of this movement.

Today there is no longer any need to prove the great contribution to détente and to the democratisation of international relations made by the popular masses, the peace forces. A whole set of proposals that have either already been secured in international treaties and agreements or are the subject of discussion, was first put forward by public opinion, first arose on non-governmental level.

Still greater tasks confront the public forces with regard to the materialisation of détente, to investing it with concrete meaning, in other words, the realisation of everything valuable reflected in the many recent bilateral agreements and in the Final Act of the European Conference. Of paramount importance in this respect is the activity of the governments of the participating states. But very important too is the role of the public forces.

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Take, for instance, the problem of the realisation of the understandings reached in Helsinki. The countries of the socialist community fulfil their obligations scrupulously, which, however, cannot be said of all their partners. And it is not accidental that the proposal put forward at the Moscow Congress of Peace Forces to set up a mechanism of public control over the fulfilment by the states of their stipulated obligations is meeting with such active support today.

The public forces should participate in the realisation of the Helsinki recommendations, notes the concluding statement of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation which met soon after the European Conference. It follows from the Final Act of the Conference that implementation of a considerable part of its recommendations calls for the initiative and highest activity on the part of the public forces and non-governmental organisations.

That is one side of the matter. The other one is that the public peace forces' activity itself is in large measure stimulated by the understandings reached at governmental level. This aspect was mentioned, in particular, by Leonid Brezhnev who emphasised in his speech in Helsinki that the understandings reached at the Conference expanded the possibilities of peoples to increase their influence upon the so-called "big politics".²

The peace forces are becoming an ever more influential international force, which again bears out the truth, in the sphere of international relations, of Lenin's words that "as man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase".³

The prestige and influence of public opinion, formed by the activities of the peace forces and therefore reflecting the vital aspirations of the peoples, have grown considerably in recent years. Bourgeois scholars and politicians used to consider public opinion a "negligible quantity" in world politics, though sometimes they hypocritically referred to "public opinion" to explain their imperialist actions and conceal their real motives and reasons. Today the role played by public opinion in international affairs is a real quantity and the attempts to falsify it in order to justify actions undermining peace and the security of nations are proving increasingly unsuccessful.

No bourgeois government can now ignore in its practical policy public opinion as a reflection of the ideological, political, socio-psychological and, finally, military-strategic state of society, the degree of its support for or resistance to the government's foreign policy. This was most evidently proved during the aggression in Vietnam when the rapid evolution of public opinion became a factor of the crisis of the foreign policy pursued by US imperialism.

In the moulding of world public opinion an ever more active role is played, alongside the public forces within individual countries, by the international democratic movement for the removal of the threat of a world war, for the discontinuation of the arms race and for disarmament, for the development of cooperation between states and peoples.

In its composition and character the movement has already outgrown the bounds of the antiwar movement proper (in its traditional pacifist form which was typical of many liberal bourgeois organisations in the beginning of the century and in the period between the two world wars). This is due not only to the fact that today many truly popular, democratic mass organisations participate in it, but also because of the different scale of the goals that arise and can be attained in the present historical conditions. Today it differs greatly from what the mass peace movement used to be after the Second World War. At that time it mainly bore the character of a purely antiwar struggle. That was determined both by the demands of the situation existing in the late 1940s and early 1960s and the possibilities of the public forces themselves who were coming out with a programme calling basically for a struggle to remove the threat of a world war, liquidate the critical local conflicts that threatened under certain conditions to erupt into a world clash. That was the movement's main goal during the cold war. The struggle against the menace of a thermonuclear war was reflected in the historic Stockholm Appeal, the decisions adopted at the Peace Congresses at that time, and in other actions.

The antiwar public movement intensified considerably its activities in the middle of the 1960s, especially under the impact of the Vietnam events. The mounting struggle of the peoples against the imperialist aggression in Indochina induced various public forces that had either acted separately or had not been active enough to take joint actions and come out in solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

The 1967 Stockholm Conference on Vietnam was attended not only by mass democratic organisations but also by federalist, pacifist, religious and other organisations. The successful cooperation at the Stockholm Conference of Communists, Social-Democrats, Catholics, Christian-Democrats, of people with differing outlooks, political and other convictions, destroyed the myth that such cooperation is impossible in principle. The Conference became a standing coordinating body of the world solidarity movement with the struggle of the peoples of Indochina.

The qualitatively new features of the peace movement clearly manifested themselves in the late 1960s and early 1970s at a number of large international, regional and national meetings. The shift from the cold war to détente that had begun by that time and the experience of the cooperation of various antiwar movements in the struggle against the aggression in Vietnam proved that it was both possible and necessary to extend the socio-political range of that cooperation.

At the same time the tasks to be resolved by the peace forces were becoming more complicated and the front of their struggle was expanding.

The antiwar orientation remains central to the movement's development, determining its main goal. At the same time the range of international problems towards which the attitude of different public forces is either a common one, or one that coincides in many respects is widening. Thus, they are ever more purposefully and actively

voicing the demand for discontinuation of the arms race; for equal economic cooperation without any discrimination and to the mutual benefit of all peoples; for the establishment of fruitful contacts in the fields of science and culture, information and education for the sake of peace; for an exchange of cultural and spiritual values, and for effecting a number of other goals that are of consequence for the present and the future. Public forces are exerting every effort to consolidate the positive changes in these fields, to make them irreversible and to promote the further reconstruction of the system of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

When analysing the programme documents and concrete actions of the peace forces one cannot fail to observe that they ever more strongly emphasise the interdependence between the solution of the problem of international security and the struggle for national independence, the democratisation of social life, and against unemployment and inflation, against hunger, poverty, disease and other social calamities. The consolidation of the peace forces facilitates the mobilisation of public opinion in support of the policy aimed at deepening détente and the creation of a new psychological climate favourable for the further advance along the road of strengthening peace and international cooperation.

All these major new phenomena in the peace movement manifested themselves most distinctly during the Moscow Congress in 1973. It was the largest international forum in the history of the mass movement for peace. It was attended by diverse political and social forces of our time—by more than 3,500 delegates and observers from 143 countries; more than 1,100 national and 120 international organisations and movements were represented.

Besides Communists who made up about a quarter of all the delegates, national-democratic, Socialist, Social-Democratic, liberal, peasant, Christian-Democratic and other parties and political associations, trade-union, youth, women's and religious organisations and movements were represented at the forum. So many intergovernmental organisations showed great interest in the Congress. Among the delegates were Ministers and other government figures, more than 200 MPs, businessmen from capitalist countries, scholars, cultural workers.

In spite of the differences in views, the participants in the Congress in assessing various political institutions showed a clear understanding of the need to work out a programme for joint actions in the main directions of the struggle. The discussion showed naturally the existence of different approaches to concrete international problems. And the fact that the Congress nevertheless succeeded in working out a common platform was indisputably a great success of the peace movement.

The participants in the Moscow Congress characterised their forum as "...the beginning of joint national and international efforts to strengthen understanding and cooperation among people of different shades of political opinion for peace..."⁴ The Congress worked out

common positions of principle which continue to serve as a platform of joint actions by the peace forces. The documents of each of the Congress commissions graphically show how fruitful was the discussion, how broad and at the same time businesslike and constructive is the programme for future work.

The Congress' Appeal to all people of the Earth to unite efforts to secure a just and lasting peace in the world formulates the demands of the peoples to make the principles of peaceful coexistence a universally accepted standard of international relations; to abolish racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms; to achieve general and complete disarmament; to channel the resources now used for military purposes to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease; to protect human rights more effectively; to grant the peoples the full and sovereign right to own and be the masters of their national resources; to fulfil the UN decisions which serve the interests of peace, security and justice.

The World Forum of Peace Forces convened in Moscow on January 14-16 on the initiative of the Council, enabled the representatives of mass movements of diverse political and ideological orientations to sum up the results of joint actions on the broad democratic and anti-imperialist platform worked out by the Congress.

It enabled its 500 delegates from 115 countries to share the experience of their many-sided activities and to chart new directions of cooperation in the struggle to extend détente and social progress. What lent the Forum particular dimension, as underscored in the Communiqué unanimously adopted by its participants, was the high level of representation both of the influential political parties from most of the countries of the world and of international, regional and national organisations.

The Moscow Congress furthered the cooperation of peace forces not only in the international arena but also within a number of individual countries where the efforts of these forces had been uncoordinated for a long time. Attempts had been made to intimidate public organisations of the West by asserting that the Congress was allegedly designed to "absorb" them by creating a kind of superstructure. However, neither the Congress itself, nor the successfully functioning International Continuing Liaison Council it established, has ever infringed the independence of these organisations. The International Council has not only been able to preserve the relations of cooperation but also to deepen them, and to achieve a better coordination of the positions taken by various forces on key problems of international relations. The Council also arranged the necessary measures for implementing the recommendations of the Congress and its 14 commissions, with due account of the numerous initiatives of various organisations.

The cooperation of various public forces is increasing as the practice of cooperation reveals the groundlessness of the prejudices, estrangement and mistrust that separated them for a long time. Representatives of organisations, that did not have stable contacts formerly, are now discussing concrete problems in a businesslike

atmosphere. Having acquainted themselves with each other's positions they find a common language on a wide range of questions. Such cooperation corresponds to the interests of both large mass organisations and of organisations that have a smaller influence but feel associated with a great common cause.

The joint efforts of the peace forces in respect to disarmament acquire special significance. This is conditioned by a number of factors. First, as a result of the efforts of the Soviet Union, the world socialist community and of all peace forces, many seats of military conflicts have been eliminated and the threat still existing in some "hot spots" reduced, which is essential for further fruitful efforts in the field of disarmament.

Second, the state of the disarmament issue itself has changed considerably as a result primarily of the conclusion of a number of major agreements between the USSR and the USA. The already existing set of international agreements in the field of disarmament, the continued US-USSR strategic arms limitation talks, the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe can considerably facilitate the solution of these vital problems.

Third, the public is now more acutely aware of the extremely dangerous nature of the arms race under present conditions: the quantitative stockpiling of thermonuclear weapons has been supplemented by the greatly increased qualitative modernisation of the weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery; there is a danger of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction appearing now.

The rapid development of the mass campaign to stop the arms race and for disarmament that was launched on the basis of the New Stockholm Appeal, as also the broad public support for the World Conference to Stop Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente in Helsinki (September 23-26, 1976), speak of the great possibilities of cooperation by the public forces. The preparations for the Conference promoted the expansion of the social base of the disarmament movement, the drawing closer together of the positions of its participants on many cardinal issues. A considerable contribution to this was made by the international symposium of scholars in various fields on the theme "The Role of Scientists and of Their Organisations in the Struggle for Disarmament" held in July 1975 in Moscow on the initiative of the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW). The free discussion, the constructive exchange of opinions between scientists and specialists in different areas helped the participants to better realise the responsibility the development of the scientific and technological revolution imposes upon scientists, particularly in questions of disarmament. In our times when new possibilities have appeared not only for halting but also for reversing the arms race, progressive scientists see it as their social duty to promote in every way possible the measures taken both by governments and by public opinion to achieve mankind's sacred goal—general and complete disarmament.

In this connection one cannot but stress the importance of opposing the circles which would like to cast doubt on everything that has been achieved in the hard struggle for disarmament, and which try to arouse mistrust in the proposed initiatives and in the current negotiations. A discreditable role is also played by the scientific centres in the West which, though declaring they are "politically unbiased", are in fact at one with those circles. In fact they are trying to discredit détente and the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state which from its very inception has been struggling for disarmament. Any unbiased person can clearly see the great difference between the peaceloving and constructive Soviet approach to the problems of disarmament and the demagogic and obstructionism of the forces who are doing all they can to delay and muddle up the solution of these urgent problems.

The peace forces can also do much in the struggle for regional security as one of the real ways towards universal peace. They made a great contribution, for instance, to the success of the All-European Conference.

The lessons of the development of the movement for security and cooperation in Europe are very instructive. The East-West cooperation of public forces in Europe continued even in the years of the cold war, although, on the whole, it was greatly undermined in that period. The split in the trade-union, women's, youth and other mass movements considerably weakened and limited the influence of the public forces on European and world politics.

The cooperation of national, regional and international organisations during the preparations for and holding of the First Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for Security and Cooperation in Europe (Brussels) in 1972, and the activities of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation have helped to overcome the inertia of the cold war which still makes itself felt among some circles in Western countries. Communists, Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, trade unions, clergy, peasants', youth and women's organisations of different orientations are represented in the Brussels movement. Developing and following the traditions of the antiwar congresses of the 1930s in Paris, Amsterdam, the Hague and Brussels, enriching them in many respects with the experience of the postwar struggle for peace, the European public movement has made and continues to make a significant contribution to building a Europe of real security and equal cooperation between states and peoples.

A major result of the Brussels movement is that it helped considerably to overcome the differences of opinion on a number of issues between the international democratic federations and their national organisations, on the one hand, and the trade-union, women's, youth, pacifist and other organisations that had been opposing them for a quarter of a century, on the other hand. For a long time these two streams in public movements, far from coming into contact with each other in the struggle for their demands which sometimes even coincided, drifted further and further apart.

The expansion of non-governmental contacts in Europe

strengthens mutual understanding among the peoples of the continent and thus advances détente. This applies also to the traditional youth rallies, to the cooperation of women's organisations that has increased considerably due to the important events of International Women's Year, to the fresh contacts between trade union centres. Regional non-governmental organisations which unite men of science, technology, medicine, the arts and other specialists now cope with tasks of European significance.

The accumulated experience of joint public actions in Europe enabled the Second Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in April 1975, to set new targets. The Brussels-Liège Assembly showed that in the three years of its development the movement for European security and cooperation had become part and parcel of Europe's socio-political life.

The All-European Conference has created the prerequisites for a considerable expansion and intensification of the cooperation between the peoples of our continent in the fields of economics, science, technology, and in the humanities. Public organisations play a significant role in the realisation of these possibilities. There is a number of problems that cannot be solved without their active participation. These include the development of scientific contacts, the preservation of the cultural heritage of the peoples and the enrichment of its humanistic and democratic trends.

Peaceful coexistence is not the privilege of a specific geographic region. Détente will expand, deepen and spread to all areas of the world. The peace forces realise that the progress of détente presupposes the involvement of all the continents and states, and making détente global.

The programme of action for the public forces adopted at the Moscow Congress and which is now being put into effect, fully corresponds to this truly universal task. The international meetings in Samarkand, Baghdad and Delhi have shown that world public opinion is ready to spare no effort in order to firmly establish the principles of peaceful coexistence in the international relations of Asian countries, to draw all states, large and small, into this process.

The General Declaration adopted by the XIIth Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation in 1975 expressed satisfaction with the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and emphasised that the principles of the Final Act can be implemented in the other continents as well. The work and documents of the Session were another demonstration of the Afro-Asian peoples' striving for unity with the forces of world socialism in the common struggle for a peaceful future, for the freedom, independence and social progress of peoples.

Colonialism and neocolonialism, racialism and apartheid are dangerous sources of international tension and conflicts. The urgent elimination of this offspring of imperialist policy remains a major task of the peace movement. Recent developments show that this is being immensely facilitated by détente, and that growing tension and

conflict situations, on the contrary, are, as a rule, used by imperialism for blackmailing and exerting pressure upon the young states.

The public realises ever more clearly that it is the circles and groups that are opposed to détente and peaceful coexistence who are abetting the colonialists and racists. The recent period has witnessed the intensification of joint actions by public organisations against apartheid, the consolidation of the solidarity movement with the struggle for national independence. Public opinion is resolutely demanding the boycotting of racist and colonial regimes, is constantly drawing attention to the atrocities perpetrated by those regimes. It is thereby making an important contribution to the isolation of the reactionary forces in the world arena, to the completion of decolonisation. By demonstrating its solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola and the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression, by condemning the terror in Uruguay, Nicaragua and Paraguay, the genocide in South Africa and Rhodesia, the imperialist policy of diktat, fascism and racialism in all its manifestations, public opinion thus comes out in defence of peace and democratic ideals as the values common to all mankind.

For many peoples of the world peace means not only a durable but also a democratic peace making possible the solution of such crucial issues as poverty, hunger, sickness, illiteracy, social inequality. Détente has created the prerequisites for putting these problems in the focus of international attention. Upon the deepening of détente and its consolidation greatly depends how rapidly and effectively these problems will be solved. The close interconnection between peace and development was emphasised by the World Conference on Development held in Budapest, October 1976, on the initiative of the World Peace Council. This representative meeting discussed the wide range of development tasks facing public opinion.

The active intervention of the public in world affairs is also of great importance for strengthening confidence among states and peoples, for developing mutually advantageous cooperation in the fields of economics and environmental protection, culture and science, information and personal contacts. Not only political organisations but also professional unions and scientific associations have recently expressed their increased desire to establish contacts on questions concerning the strengthening of international cooperation in the fields of education and culture, and the expansion of economic, scientific and technical ties.

Public opinion is paying ever greater attention to environmental protection. The determination to put an end to the wasteful attitude towards nature, to do everything to increase its resources is becoming a factor of the rapprochement of peoples and of growing solidarity. Various public circles concerned about the deterioration of the environment are becoming convinced that the solution of these problems depends on taking urgent measures to strengthen international security, on the struggle against the arms race, that the problem of preserving the biosphere is linked with the solution of the socio-political issues of the day. On the one hand, this makes it

possible for the broad ecological movement to become an active participant in the struggle waged by the peace forces, and on the other, this promotes the expansion of the basis on which the cooperation of peace forces of differing orientations is founded and develops.

The struggle for social progress and human rights is an important direction of the cooperation of the peace forces in our times. The whole weight of the crises and inflations under capitalism falls on the working people. In many capitalist countries the civil and economic rights of the working people are violated, the inequality between men and women still exists, racial discrimination is preserved, fighters for peace, democracy and national independence are subjected to brutal repressions. The solidarity movement has helped to save the lives of many patriots, to rescue them from fascist torture-chambers.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU in its Statement "Freedom for the Prisoners of Imperialism and Reaction!" called "upon all the Communists of the world, the working people of all countries, and public and political organisations to join still more actively in the struggle to end the terror and reprisals directed against the vanguard forces of progress, democracy and socialism, to join in the struggle to free all those imprisoned by reaction".⁵

The solidarity movement with the people of Chile has assumed truly universal scope. This was demonstrated, in particular, by the 1975 International Conference in Athens. Life itself has confirmed the view expressed in the documents of the Moscow Congress that "the forces which are against détente, against consolidating international security are the same forces which attempt to hinder the march of the peoples along the road of national liberation and social progress".⁶

Prominent figures of various political parties, trade unions, academic and religious circles cooperate fruitfully and effectively in the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile. The Commission has made an essential contribution to the work of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

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The international public peace movement is developing under the slogan of strengthening the unity of its various streams. Not only the social structure of the peace movement has changed. Also its political base has expanded considerably in the last few years.

There are all grounds to believe that this base will continue to expand, for life itself raises new complicated problems which require joint decisions and joint actions, and dictate the need for the further development of the cooperation of all peace movements. With this aim in mind the participants in the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin in June 1976 stressed in the final document that they "advocate constructive dialogue with all other democratic forces, each of these forces fully retaining its

identity and independence, so as to arrive at fruitful cooperation in the struggle for peace, security and social progress".⁷

Assessing the achievements of the last few years in this field the peace forces at the same time see the big obstacles that still have to be overcome. Leonid Brezhnev noted in his report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU: "The opponents of détente and disarmament still dispose of considerable resources. They are highly active, operating in different forms and from different angles. Though imperialism's possibilities for aggressive action are now considerably reduced, its nature has remained the same. This is why the peaceloving forces must be highly vigilant. Energetic action and unity of all the forces of peace and goodwill are essential."⁸

Imbued with the spirit of internationalism and genuine humanism, the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples outlined by the 25th CPSU Congress is further proof of the vitality and foresight of the plans of Soviet Communists. These plans reflect the vital interests of the peoples, take into account the positions of the peace forces of various trends who are regarded by Soviet people as their natural ally in the struggle for peace.

NOTES

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, pp. 42-43.

² See *Pravda*, August 1, 1975.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 2, p. 524.

⁴ *World Congress of Peace Forces. Documents*, Moscow, 1973, p. 26.

⁵ *Pravda*, March 2, 1976.

⁶ *World Congress of Peace Forces. Documents*, p. 18.

⁷ *Pravda*, July 1, 1976.

⁸ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 40-41.

Peace Forces: Principles and Forms of Cooperation

OLEG KHARKHARDIN

The growing framework of the public movement for a just and democratic peace opens up new areas in which common positions may potentially emerge—and do emerge, as practice shows—on many cardinal problems in international relations. But the vital need for cooperation among public forces of differing political and ideological orientations and the shaping of the objective potentialities for doing so do not at all mean that this kind of cooperation easily becomes a regularity in international life. It would be an oversimplification to assume that this process develops without difficulties or vacillations. The need arises steadily to work to break up the ice of wariness and mutual mistrust, and to overcome the stratified alienation of many years in an effort to make these give way to a dialogue, to mutual understanding and a readiness for concerted or joint action for common goals.

The present period sees deliberate and at times highly active attempts to frustrate the developing process of détente and mutual understanding among the public movements. Characteristically, these attempts are provoked by the same reactionary circles who hate the idea of détente and who hamper the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among states with opposite systems. At the same time these same circles keep saying that cooperation among differently oriented public forces allegedly has no prospects before it because of the class contradictions and ideological differences among their members.

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However, the development of cooperation among various political and public forces on an ever wider range of general political problems which are of concern to the whole of mankind has resulted in an understanding of the fact that joint action is quite realistic when it is based on good will among all the participants and on an effort to seek mutually acceptable decisions, on mutual respect for the positions and views of the parties. It is far from easy to realise in practice this principled approach to the idea of cooperation, but the process of achieving such cooperation among the various sectors of the peace forces has nevertheless been making headway.

It is under the incipient détente that a qualitative change has taken place in the establishment of contacts among various peace forces on the urgent problems of international security and peaceful cooperation, and this has become one of the component elements in the restructuring of the whole system of international relations.

The World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow is an expression of the fundamentally new qualitative changes not only in the scope but also in the very character of cooperation.

The preparations for the Congress are of undoubted interest. The meetings and conferences held on a regional and national level before the Congress hammered out the principles on the basis of which it was held. They were: open and public character, democratic methods of work, joint formulation and adoption of concerted decisions. The important thing to stress is that these principles, which had been tested in practice, also provided a basis for subsequent action in implementing the Congress decisions.

In the history of public movements for peace various organisations had united and had held congresses which were large-scale according to the standards of the period. Still, in terms of the spectrum of trends in social thought represented, the range of problems discussed the principles taken as a basis for its preparation, and, finally, in terms of its scope and organisational forms, the Moscow Congress is unprecedented. Let us also recall that its decisions were taken with the approval of all the participants. That is what makes it possible to regard its decisions as a genuine expression of international public opinion.

Because a "formula" for cooperation had been worked out before the Congress through the efforts of the various movements and organisations involved in its preparation, a basis was created for fruitful work at the Congress and for further consolidation of the public forces, a process embodied in joint action in realising the adopted decisions. The Congress was preceded by two international consultative meetings on the character of its work and its procedures, and also a series of international and regional conferences on problems included in its agenda. The initiative came from the World Peace Council, but the Congress was prepared as a joint measure by all the organisations and movements concerned. In a message to the Second International Consultative Meeting for the World Peace Congress, UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim wrote: "I am glad to note that the World Congress has secured support from a broad range

of various international and national public organisations, and that it is to consider urgent and important problems.”¹

Preparations for the Congress were carried on by a representative International Committee. Reviewing in retrospect and analysing the experience of its work, one could say that it took much effort to achieve the main thing, namely, to work out an agenda and the standing orders, and to solve a great many other important problems, taking the fullest possible account of the wishes of all the participants, dialectically combining these wishes with the general purposes, tasks and potentialities of the Congress.

The success of the Congress is largely due to the positive changes in the international arena, and to the fact that the initiative for convening such a broad forum of public forces so different in political and ideological orientation proved to be timely and had good ground prepared for it by the whole of earlier development. Let us emphasise that the organisations taking part in the Congress took a constructive approach to the joint preparations for it. Each of these organisations, whether big or small, can rightly claim the Congress for its own: it was prepared on the basis of complete equality, it was open to all the public forces with a sincere concern for strengthening peace and seeking to make a contribution to this cause. Addressing the Second International Consultative Meeting for the World Peace Congress, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra noted that “the special characteristic of this Congress is that it is to be prepared and held jointly by numerous organisations”²

A mere enumeration of the problems on which a common approach was found and agreed decisions reached shows broad possibilities available today for cooperation among the most diverse political and public forces acting for peace. Special decisions and recommendations were approved on questions like peaceful coexistence and international security; Indochina; the Middle East; security and cooperation in Europe; peace and security in Asia; disarmament; the national liberation movement and the struggle against colonialism and racism; development and economic independence; the environment; cooperation in the field of education and culture; economic, scientific and technological cooperation; social progress and human rights; cooperation among intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations; and Chile.

The Congress determined the general principled approach and platform for the action by the peace forces, and these were expressed in the documents it adopted. The communique summing up the results of its fruitful efforts says that “it is necessary actively and concertedly, having set aside everything that divides us, to promote the incipient advance towards peace and security.”³

The Congress urged all the organisations involved, both national and international, to endorse the practical recommendations and to implement them to the extent and in the forms which accorded with the methods, traditions, status and conditions of their work.

Guided by the principles of respect for the independence of the organisations and movements concerned, the Congress also address-

sed a call to all of them to develop the same spirit of cooperation, dialogue and joint action which was characteristic of that forum. As Canon Raymond Goor quite rightly said, new discussions and meetings would only then lead to mutual accord when their participants succeeded in rising above their closed world and reaching an understanding on the main thing, on the need for joint action for the sake of seeking ways to peace.⁴

The Congress adopted a decision on organisational matters, which gave a practical basis for its continuation. The Steering Committee of the Congress was transformed into the Steering Committee of the International Continuing Liaison Committee. Since October 1974 this body has been known as the Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces (CLC). It was also decided to set up the Working Commission consisting of the President of the Steering Committee, the Vice Presidents, the Executive Secretary, the Chairmen of the Congress committees and representatives of all the international organisations which are members of the Steering Committee.

The efficacy of this mechanism greatly depends on how successful the CLC is in selecting from the mass of views and ideas put forward by the various organisations those which can unite everyone.

When characterising the public forces which constitute the mechanism of cooperation among various peace forces that is unprecedented in political breadth one must mention in the first place the World Peace Council, which has existed since 1949 and has been the highest governing body of the peace movement. In its activity, the World Peace Council consistently relies on the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, extending its political, geographical and social basis from year to year through the involvement of new public strata which come to realise the viability and justice of the stand taken by this most massive movement of our day.

Since their emergence, a substantial contribution to the peoples' struggle for peace has been made by international democratic bodies, which rely on mass organisations like the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the International Union of Students.

In the past few years, ever greater importance within the system of international non-governmental organisations is being assumed by socio-political movements and organisations of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where an active role belongs to parties that have become the ruling parties in their countries and those that still have to carry on a national liberation struggle against colonial and racist regimes.

A new and important phenomenon characteristic of the present stage in the development of cooperation among various peace forces is participation in their joint or concerted action of numerous organisations and movements, both traditional and newly emerged, which are either liberal, pacifist or Social Democratic. Among them is

the International Peace Bureau, the World Association of World Federalists, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the International Federation of Women in Legal Careers, the International Union of Socialist Youth, the European Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth, the World Federalists Youth, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, and many others.

There are limits to the joint action by various public forces within the framework of the general democratic movement, and these are set by the fundamental ideological positions which rule out any compromise. The objective class, political and ideological contradictions remain. The purpose and historic mission of the general democratic public movement is not to regulate in any way, let alone reconcile, these antagonistic contradictions; it emerged and has been developing in order to promote the deepening of the international détente and to make it irreversible, so creating an atmosphere in which these contradictions are channelled into a course which does not threaten mankind with a thermonuclear conflict and the destruction of human civilisation.

Speaking of joint action by the Communists and other parties and democratic forces, L.I. Brezhnev said in his Report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU that the basis for such an association is provided "by a common concern for the security of the peoples, a wish to curb the arms race, and to repulse fascism, racism and colonialism. It is precisely on this plane that we displayed and will continue to display initiative and good will".⁵

The experience of the past two or three years testifies to the growing premises for developing fruitful cooperation among various peace forces, primarily in the field of disarmament, the pivotal line in the activity of the International Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces. The public forces of the whole world actively prepared for the World Conference to End Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente (Helsinki, September 1976). The Conference was preceded by a number of international meetings which helped to lay the political and organisational foundations for what is perhaps the most important undertaking of the CLC after the Moscow Congress. Such meetings on the basic aspects of the disarmament problem were held in Warsaw in September 1975 ("Halting the Arms Race, Arms Reduction, Disarmament and Détente"), in Paris in October 1975 ("The Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Disarmament"), in Panama in December 1975 ("Disarmament and the Developing Countries"), and finally in Frankfurt on the Main in January 1976 ("Disarmament and Social Institutions in a Changing World").

The Steering Committee came out with a number of other initiatives on problems like development, energy raw materials, and food; economic, scientific and technological cooperation and the rational use of natural resources; the energy crisis and worldwide interdependence; the holding of an International Culture and Education Year; a broad international campaign for the spread of knowledge about human rights and basic freedoms, and for ratifica-

tion of the international pacts on human rights; and on the convocation of a representative conference of international non-governmental organisations to work out a programme for joint action with the United Nations. Many of these initiatives have already been realised, while others have been set in train.

The Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces also made a contribution to implementing the programme of International Women's Year, notably the holding in Berlin of a World Congress on International Women's Year.

The Steering Committee was presented with the draft of the Charter on peaceful coexistence, international security and cooperation, prepared by an international working group (which met in Geneva in March 1974) and which was discussed at an international seminar in Warsaw in October of that year. It was decided to publish the draft and to start a broad discussion on it in international and national organisations.

In accordance with a proposal approved by the Steering Committee, an International Conference on Cyprus was held in London on May 10 and 11, 1975, which showed that broad circles of peace forces resolutely insist on fulfilment of the relevant UN resolution, and speak out strongly for the national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The organisations and movements represented on the Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces took part in and gave extensive support to the sessions of the International Committee for Investigating the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, which were held in Helsinki, Copenhagen and Mexico City, and also to the International Conference of Solidarity with the Chilean People, which was held in Athens in November 1975.

The Plenary Meeting of the Steering Committee of the Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Vienna from November 27 to 30, 1975, was attended by representatives of 25 international and 44 national organisations. They discussed questions like the role of non-governmental organisations and public forces in implementing the decisions of the European Conference in Helsinki, and economic cooperation in the light of the principles established at that conference. They considered a number of new initiatives coming from various organisations, and adopted recommendations concerning participation by other organisations in implementing these to the extent to which they accord with their own plans.

In connection with the initiative of the World Peace Council on starting a mass campaign in support of the New Stockholm Appeal to end the arms race, the Steering Committee recommended all international and national organisations to study the possible forms of their participation in the campaign. The World Association of World Federalists informed the Committee of the efforts aimed to strengthen cooperation between non-governmental and intergovernmental bodies.

Other proposals were also considered for joint or concerted action by organisations represented on the Council to deal with the pressing problems of our day (the Middle East, Cyprus, Chile, Spain, Angola, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and so on).

The Steering Committee noted with satisfaction that the programme of joint initiatives outlined for 1975 was, in the main, successfully realised, and stressed that the forms of cooperation and dialogue between organisations of different political orientation would be improved and developed in the future in the course of fresh joint measures. On the whole, the Vienna meeting once again served to bear out the effectiveness of the system of interaction and cooperation of the peace forces engendered by the Moscow Congress.

The question of the principles and forms of cooperation among all the organisations taking part in the general democratic movement of the peace forces tends to acquire ever greater practical importance as the tasks facing the movement become more complicated. The movement itself took shape to some extent in the spirit of consensus, as the organisations involved had to find a common approach to many pressing problems of our day, without giving up their own programmes or their own aims, through a search for mutually acceptable decisions. To entrench this tendency, and to fulfil the adopted wide-ranging programme for joint action, there is need to go on elaborating the organisational forms of interconnection.

Considering the multiformity and growing diversity of the political and public forces displaying a readiness to continue cooperation, the Steering Committee worked out, back in 1974, a draft Declaration of Principles for Cooperation Between Peace Forces.

Adopted after wide public discussion the Declaration envisages *"Respect for the independence and autonomy of the various political, social, professional, cultural, scientific and other organisations and associations, their ideological, political and other differences, and also their organisational principles and regulations, their national peculiarities and the specific conditions of their activities"*. The proclamation of this principle puts an end to the earlier discussion about whether the International Council is some kind of new "superorganisation" designed to suppress its members' sovereignty and to dissolve them in some kind of "superstructure".

"A wide-ranging and constructive dialogue, democratic in form, which implies the free exchange of opinion on current problems without any pressure being brought to bear on others or any imposing of views and positions."

The whole practice of preparing the Moscow Congress, its proceedings and its results, and the subsequent activities of its agencies show that scrupulous observance of this principle largely helps ensure not only the maintenance but also the steady enlargement of the political, geographic and social basis of cooperation, and involvement in it of new peace forces coming to realise the benefits of such broad contacts.

"Complete equality in the formulation and adoption of concerted decisions and recommendations regarding joint initiatives and united

and parallel actions." The high authority and the high degree of effectiveness vested in decisions and recommendations adopted collectively with the observance of this principle are seen from the available experience in fulfilling the action programme by the peace forces.

"The unlimited right of each organisation to select the forms, means, orientations and methods of its activities and to determine the nature and degree of its participation in joint or agreed action with other organisations and movements, as well as the right of each organisation to act on its own initiative." This principle it would seem does not call for comment, but I should like to add, however, that the practical activities of the CLC have already clearly revealed and will evidently establish in the future such a form of preparing a collective action programme under which individual organisations and movements propose for joint action various planks of their own platforms which are of universal interest.

It is important to emphasise that the Declaration brings out two principles, which, I believe, are now of especial importance:

"Mutual trust and the desire to overcome the prejudices and biased attitudes, dogmas and myths of the 'cold war' period."

"Rejection of all ideas and actions which oppress and divide people through the spread of fascism, militarism, violence, colonialism and racism". Observance of these principles fully opens up the possibility for advancing along the path of stronger cooperation among the various forces represented in the multilateral non-governmental contacts, in the interests of consolidating peace, national independence and the security of the peoples, in the spirit of the current democratisation of international relations. Their observance will help to overcome the alienation and even the outright hostility in relations among some organisations, movements and trends working for peace, although relapses into the past do occur from time to time and have an effect not only and not so much in virtue of the internal processes as under the sustained impact of the forces hostile to the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations.

The last principle is a *"wide-ranging exchange of information, mutual assistance and support in the execution of joint initiatives"*, and it determines the practical aspect of interaction among the various peace forces. Its application will immensely enhance the effect of action by each organisation individually and by all of them together.

The Declaration of Principles for Cooperation Between Peace Forces is the fruitful result of collective effort and the comparison of various standpoints. It sums up the experience already gained in joint action by the world peace forces and lays a long-term foundation for further advancing the consolidation of the differently-oriented public forces.

This is a process that is of exceptional importance for the future of the world, a promising but complicated process. There are still many obstacles in its way. Here is an example of resistance to the development of cooperation among the peace forces. Take the forum for disarmament at York, Britain. The idea of such a forum, as an

international measure, was put forward by one of the oldest pacifist organisations, the International Peace Bureau, and met with broad support from dozens of diverse public movements, organisations and individuals, including British trade union leaders, many members of the British Parliament, and so on. The refusal of the British authorities to issue entry visas to several members of the International Preparatory Committee for the Forum prevented its being held on a broad international basis. As a result, it was held as a national British affair, attended by representatives from a number of international and national non-governmental organisations.

But despite all the obstacles which the peace forces have to overcome in their efforts, as their joint action programme is implemented on the basis of the principles mentioned above, there is an ever more pronounced tendency to make world public opinion strongly aware of cooperation in the interests of building a just and lasting peace, which is of common concern for the whole of mankind.

As L. I. Brezhnev said, "the long years of the cold war have left their imprint on the minds not only of professional politicians; they have resulted in prejudice, suspicion and poor knowledge—even a reluctance to acquire knowledge—of the real position held by others and their possibilities. Certainly, it is not easy to turn over a new leaf but this has to be done; it is essential to learn to cooperate".⁶ This naturally implies a search for new forms of such cooperation and their steady improvement with an eye to the aims and tasks of the peace forces at this or that stage. And this also implies collective formulation of acceptable organisational and political principles on which such cooperation could rest.

The general democratic movement of the peace forces, enriched with new content and new forms of interaction, has been making an ever more tangible and positive contribution to the democratisation of international relations.

NOTES

¹ *The Soviet Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, Bulletin No. 3, August, 1973, p. 9.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ *Pravda*, November 3, 1973.

⁴ See *The Soviet Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, Bulletin No. 1, 1973, p. 16.*

⁵ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976, pp. 55-56.*

⁶ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism, Moscow, 1974, p. 177.*

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The Economic Crisis in Capitalist Countries (1974-1975)

(Statistics)

In the second half of 1974, the economy of the capitalist world was plunged into another crisis of overproduction, which has proved to be the gravest and deepest since the crisis of 1929-1933. In contrast to all the earlier postwar crises, when the decline in production in some states and industries went hand in hand with growth in other countries and new industries, when the crisis in the production sphere was paralleled by a more or less favourable situation in the services, and by a growth of international trade, the 1974-1975 world economic crisis within the capitalist system was truly comprehensive.

Within two years, industrial output in the capitalist world fell by 8.1 per cent, including 11.6 per cent in the capitalist countries. Here and below all the data indicate the drop from the peak of industrial production reached on the eve of the crisis to the lowest point of its decline. The crisis decline in production affected virtually all the industries, including electronics, petrochemistry, manufacture of the means of automation, and so on. It is estimated that steel output in the capitalist world declined by 70 million tons (14.5 per cent), cement output by 71 million tons (14.8 per cent), passenger car output by 5.4 million (18.6 per cent), and truck output by 1.5 million (18.3 per cent). Oil production fell by 237 million tons, or 10.1 per cent.

The most marked decline was in the industry of the developed capitalist countries. In metallurgy it came to 26.8 per cent, in textiles, garments and footwear to 17.7 per cent, in transport engineering to 15.2 per cent, in the chemical industry to 13.8 per cent, in metalworking to 11.6 per cent, and in general mechanical engineering to 10.2 per cent. The manufacture of electronic and radio equipment fell by more than 20 per cent, and of instruments by 12 per cent. The production of plastics dropped by 25 per cent. There were two exceptions: coal and electric power. The acute energy crisis forced the capitalist countries to start reviving the coal industry and to develop the power industry on that basis and also on the basis of atomic raw materials.

In the two years, total volume of private investments in fixed prices throughout the economy of the developed capitalist countries dropped by an average of 10.1 per cent, including investments into production by 4.5 per cent, and into housing construction by 32.5 per cent. In some countries, the fold-up of capital construction was on an even greater scale. In the USA, total investments by private corporations fell by 19.8 per cent, including investments in production by 13.1 per cent, and housing construction by 43 per cent. In Japan, private investments dropped, respectively, 21.5 per cent, 22.7 per cent, and 22.0 per cent; and in the FRG, 18.6 per cent, 16.1 per cent and 23.0 per cent.

Bankruptcies among industrial, financial and commercial companies were on a massive scale. Within the two years, more than 121,000 companies with a capital over \$1 million each went bankrupt in 10 countries of the capitalist world (USA, Japan, FRG, France, Britain, Italy, Canada, Spain, Australia and Sweden). In the USA, the number of bankruptcies in 1975 was 73.4 per cent up on 1973, and in the FRG 66.8 per cent.

Unemployment assumed tremendous proportions. According to the International Labour Organisation, in late 1975 the crisis had made redundant a total of 18.5 million persons, or double the figure for 1973.

The decline in the real incomes of the population led to a sharp reduction in the purchase of everyday consumer goods.

In contrast to all the earlier world crises of overproduction, the 1974-1975 crisis led to a further intensification of inflationary processes, apart from the usual contraction of industrial output and investments, the growth of massive unemployment, and so on. Thus, world export prices for raw materials went up by 2.8 per cent, fuel was an average of 10.4 per cent more expensive, and manufactured goods—32 per cent. The high cost of living soared: from July 1974 to December 1975, the prices of food and everyday consumer goods in the developed capitalist countries increased by an average of 18.7 per cent.

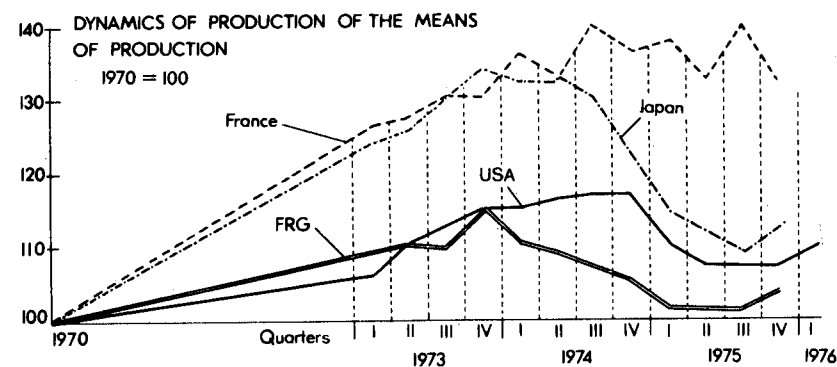
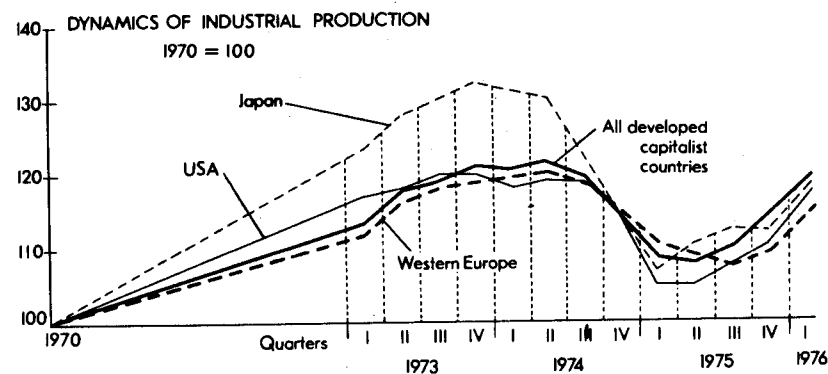
The crisis of overproduction was accompanied by a sharp disruption of world economic ties, a considerable reduction in international trade and an acute sharpening of competition on the markets. The quantum of exports in 1975 was 5 per cent down on 1974, and imports 13 per cent down, including 7.2 per cent and 11.6 per cent, respectively, for the developed capitalist countries. There was a marked growth in balance of trade and payments deficits. Within the two years, according to the OECD Secretariat, these totalled, for the group of developed capitalist countries, respectively, \$20,300 million and \$39,200 million.

Such are, in brief, the preliminary results of the economic crisis of 1974-1975.

The statistical data published below were prepared by the Market Sector of the Institute of the World Economy and International

Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the basis of the data contained in the international publications of the United Nations and the OECD, and also of national statistics and various publications by the most prominent research centres in the leading capitalist countries.

The editors intend to return to the subject in subsequent issues.



1974-1975 Crisis in the Basic Sectors of the Economy and Industries of the Capitalist World

Table 1

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Dura- tion of de- cline (months)	Depth of de- cline (per cent)	
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Indicators Precrisis peak			
Capitalist world as a whole	1970=100	1974, April-June	1975, April-June	124	114	12	8.1
Index of industrial pro- duction							
Coal	million t	1974	1975	1,096	1,180	12	+7.7
Oil	million t	1973	1975	2,348	2,111	24	+10.1
Electric power	000 million kwh	1974	1975	4,750	4,820	12	+1.5
Steel	million t	1974	1975	484	414	12	14.5
Cement	million t	1973	1975	498	427	24	14.3
Passenger cars	million	1973	1975	29.0	23.6	24	18.6
Trucks	million	1973	1975	32.8	6.7	24	18.3
Merchant ships launched	million g.r.t.	1974	1975	777.8	810.0	12	+4.1
Exports: value	\$000 million	1974	1975	100.0	95.0	12	5.0
Imports: value	\$000 million	1974	1975	768.7	803.0	12	+4.5
quantum	\$000 million	1974	1975	100.0	87.0	12	13.0
World raw-material export prices	1963=100	1974, January-March	1975, July-September	289	297	21	+2.8
World fuel export prices	"	"	"	537	593	21	+10.4
World manufactures export prices	"	"	"	169	223	21	+32.0

Table 1 (ctd)

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Dura- tion of de- cline (months)	Depth of de- cline (per cent)	
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Indicators Precrisis peak			
All developed capitalist countries							
Total industrial production	1970=100	1974, April-June	1975, April-June	121	107	12	11.6
Extractive industry	"	1974, April-June	1975, April-June	102	97	12	4.9
Power engineering	"	1974, Oct.-Dec.	"	128	127	6	0.1
Manufacturing industry	"	1974, April-June	"	119	104	12	12.6
Total of fully unemployed	thous	1974, January-March	1975, Oct.-Dec.	8,605	16,050	21	+86.5
Consumer prices	1970=100	1974, April-June	1975, Oct.-Dec.	139	165	18	+18.7
Exports: value	\$000 million	1974	1975	544	580	12	+6.6
quantum	1974=100	1974	1975	100.0	92.8	12	7.2
Imports: value	\$000 million	1974	1975	612	605	12	1.1
quantum	1974=100	1974	1975	100.0	88.4	12	11.6

¹ During the crisis, some indicators (number of unemployed, bankruptcies, etc.) did not decline but actually rose. That is why Tables 3-9 give their precrisis lows and crisis peaks, and the actual overall growth (+).

Table 2

USA

	Unit of measure-	Year and month		Indicators		Dura- tion of decline (months)	Depth of de- cline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point		
Gross national product	\$ 000 million, current prices	1974 Oct.-Dec.	1975 January-March	1,441.3	1,433.6	3	0.5
"	"	1973 Oct.-Dec.	"	845.7	780.0	15	7.8
Gross private investments	\$000 million, 1958 prices	1973 April-June 1974	1975 April-June	128.4	97.8	24	23.8
production	\$000 million, 1958 prices	1972 April-June	"	96.5	80.3	12	16.8
housing construction	\$000 million, 1958 prices	1973, Nov.	1975 January-March April	35.3	17.3	27	51.0
Industrial production	1967=100	1973, Nov.	"	127.5	109.9	17	13.8
Production of the means of production	"	1974, Oct.	1975, July	114.0	102.2	9	10.4
Production of the articles of consump- tion	"	1973, Nov.	1975, March	133.5	118.2	16	11.5
Manufacturing industry	"	1973, Nov.	"	127.4	107.7	16	15.5
Leather and footwear	1967=100	1972, April	1975, March	94.4	63.5	35	32.7
Extractive industry	"	1974, March	1975, Aug.	112.2	105.3	16	6.2

Table 2 (ctd)

	Unit of measure-	Year and month		Indicators		Dura- tion of decline (months)	Depth of de- cline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point		
Power engineering	1967-100	1973, Oct.	1974, Jan.	165.3	153.0	3	7.4
Steel	million t	1973	1975	136.0	106.0	24	22.1
Automobiles							
passenger cars	million	1973	1975	9.7	6.7	24	30.9
trucks	"	1973	1975	2.9	2.2	24	24.1
Cement	million t	1972	1975	75	59	36	21.3
Ships launched	thous. g.r.t.	1974	1975	810	750	12	7.4
Electric power	000 million kwh	1973	1974	1,947	1,940	12	0.4
Oil	million t	1972	1975	467	425	36	9.0
Coal	million t	1974	1975	537	590	12	+9.9
Total unemployed	thous	1973, Oct.	1975, May	4,100	8,538	19	+108.2
Unemployment level	%	1973, Oct.	1975, May	4.6	9.2	19	+100.0
Prices: consumer	1967=100	1974	1975	147.7	161.2	12	+9.1
wholesale	"	1974	1975	160.1	174.4	12	+9.0
Real weekly wages of production workers in manufacturing industry	\$, 1967 prices	1972, Oct.	1975, Apr.	97.27	87.67	18	9.9
Stock quotations	1941-1943=100	1973, Jan.	1974, Dec.	118.42	67.07	23	43.4
Bankruptcies ¹	number of cases	1974	1975	9,915	11,300	12	+14.0
	"	1973, Dec.	1975, Apr.	693	1,202	16	+73.4
Foreign trade: exports	\$ million	1974	1975	97,908	106,981	12	+9.3
imports	"	1974	1975	100,251	95,410	12	4.8

¹ The first line contains data for the year, the second, for the month.

Table 3

Japan

	Unit of measurement	Year and month		Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point		
Gross national product	000 million yen, current prices	1974, October-December	1975, January-March	139,229	137,272	3	1.4
" " "	" " "	1974, July-September	1975, January-March	89,990	89,038	8	1.1
Gross capital investments	000 million yen, 1970 prices	1973, April-June	1975, January-March	37,985	30,679	21	19.2
State	"	1973, January-March	1974, April-June	9,527	7,016	27	26.4
including housing construction	"	1973, April-June	1974, January-March	413	339	9	17.9
Private including: housing construction	"	1973, October-December	1974, April-June	7,048	5,641	6	20.0
industry	"	1973, October-December	1975, April-June	1,929	1,492	18	22.7
Industrial production	1970=100	1973, Nov.	1975, Feb.	136.1	105.1	15	22.8

Table 3 (cont)

	Unit of measurement	Year and month		Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point		
Production of the means of production	1970=100	1973, Nov.	1975, Aug.	146.6	106.1	21	27.6
Production of consumer durables	"	1973, Nov.	1975, March	136.0	113.9	16	16.3
Extractive industry	"	1973, Nov.	1975, Feb.	132.9	104.4	15	21.5
Manufacturing industry	"	1973, Nov.	1975, Feb.	133.4	104.6	15	21.6
Electric power	000 million kwh	1973	1975	369.0	334.6	24	9.3
Oil	thous. kl	1973	1975	817.4	784.2	24	4.1
Coal	million t	1973	1975	22.4	19.3	24	13.9
Automobiles	thous.	1973	1975	7,042.0	6,942.0	24	1.4
Steel	million t	1973	1975	119.3	102.2	24	14.3
Ships launched	million t	1973	1975	15.6	...	24	...
Total unemployed	thous.	1973, Oct.	1975, Nov.	530	1,320	25	+149.1
Prices: consumer wholesale	1970=100	1973, Nov.	1975, July	130.4	172.8	20	+32.5
Real wages	"	1973, Nov.	1975, Sept.	125.6	157.3	22	+25.2
Stock quotations	"	1973, Nov.	1975, Feb.	103.7	98.2	15	5.3
Bankruptcies	1968=100	1973, Jan.	1974, Oct.	410.9	265.5	21	35.7
Foreign trade: exports	number of cases	1974	1975	11,681	12,600	12	+8.7
imports	\$000 million	1974	1975	55.54	53.36	12	3.9
"	"	1974	1975	62.11	57.18	12	8.0

Table 4

FRG

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)	
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Indicators			
Gross national product	DM 000 million, 1962 prices	1974, January-March	1975, July-September	149.9	142.0	18	5.3
Gross capital investments	"	1973, January-March	1975, April-June	39.3	32.0	27	18.6
equipment	"	1973, January-March	1975, January-March	19.3	16.2	24	16.1
construction	"	1973, January-March	1975, April-June	20.0	15.4	27	23.0
Industrial production	1970=100	1974, April-June	1975, July	114	100	17	12.3
Extractive industry	"	1971, March	1975, Aug.	105	80	53	23.8
Manufacturing industry	"	1974, Jan.	1975, July	114	98	18	14.0
Construction	"	1972, Dec.	1975, Aug.	120	88	32	26.7
Electric power	000 million kwh	1974	1975	306	297	12	2.9
Hard coal	million t	1974	1975	95.0	92.0	12	3.2
Steel	"	1974	1975	53.0	41.0	12	22.6
Cement	"	1974	1975	35.4	32.7	12	7.6
Automobiles	thous.	1973	1974	3,964	3,124	12	21.2
Total unemployed	thous.	1973, Jan.	1975, Dec.	228	1,345	35	+489.9
Consumer prices	1970=100	1974, Jan.	1975, Oct.	123.3	137.0	21	+11.1
Wholesale prices	1960=100	1974, Jan.	1975, Aug.	121.0	136.0	19	+12.3
Bankruptcies	number of cases	1973	1975	5,515	9,200	24	+66.8
Foreign trade: exports	DM 000 million	1974	1975	230.6	220.2	12	4.5
imports	"	1974	1975	179.7	182.2	12	+1.4

Table 5

France

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)	
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Indicators			
Gross national product	000 million francs, current prices	1974	1975	1,324.8	1,430.0	12	+7.9
"	1970-100	1974, July-Sept.	1975, January-March	124.0	117.0	6	5.6
Gross capital investments	000 million francs, 1974 prices	1974	1975	347.7	332.1	12	4.5
production	"	1974	1975	229.0	213.0	12	7.0
private housing	"	1974	1975	73.6	70.6	12	4.0
state	"	1974	1975	41.9	45.3	12	+8.2
Industrial production	1970-100	1974, July-Aug.	1975, May	129	108	9	16.3
hard coal	million t	1974	1975	22.9	22.4	12	2.0
electric power	000 million kwh	1974	1975	180.2	178.4	12	1.0
oil refining	million t	1974	1975	127.7	107.0	12	16.2
steel	"	1974	1975	27.0	21.5	12	20.0
passenger cars	thous.	1974	1975	3,045	2,952	12	3.0
merchant ships launched	thous. g.r.t.	1974	1975	1,349	1,300	12	3.0
Sulphuric acid	thous. t	1974	1975	4,662	3,774	12	19.0
Superphosphates	thous. t	1974	1975	1,262	920	12	27.0
Synthetic rubber	"	1974	1975	463	349	12	24.5
Cement	million t.	1974	1975	32.3	29.2	12	9.6
Artificial silk yarn	thous. t.	1974	1975	42.1	28.0	12	33.5
Staple fibres	"	1974	1975	83.7	56.8	12	32.1

Table 5 (ctd)

Unit of measurement	Year and month			Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
	Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point			
Synthetic fibres	1974	1975	237.7	207.8	12	12.6	
Total unemployed (monthly average)	1974	1975	497.7	839.7	12	+69.0	
Prices: consumer wholesale (manufactured goods)	1974	1975	136.7	152.2	12	+11.3	
Industrial stock quotations	1974, June	1975, June	208.5	186.8	12	10.4	
Bankruptcies	1973, May	1974, Sept.	120.3	64.8	16	46.1	
Foreign trade: exports	1974	1975	11,981	14,871	12	+24.1	
imports	1974	1975	226.9	217.9	12	4.0	
000 million francs, 1974 prices	1974	1975	257.1	227.6	12	11.5	
000 million francs, 1974 prices							

Table 6

Great Britain

Unit of measurement	Year and month			Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
	Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point			
Gross national product	1974, July-Sept. 1974	1975, April-June 1975	12,234	11,785	9	3.7	
"	1974, July-Sept.	1975, July-Sept.	113	108	12	4.4	
Gross capital investments private	1974, January-March 1974	1975, April-June 1974	2,532	2,416	15	4.6	
state	1974, January-March 1974	1975, April-June 1974	1,458	1,397	12	4.2	
housing construction	1974, January-March 1974	1975, January-March 1975	1,074	898	3	6.4	
production, including machinery and plant	1974, January-March 1974	1975, April-June 1975	442	385	15	12.9	
building and installations transport	1974, January-March 1974	1975, January-March 1975	949	913	12	3.8	
Industrial production extractive industry	1974, January-March 1973	1975, April-June 1975	880	815	15	7.4	
1970=100	1973, Oct.	1975, Aug.	337	222	18	34.1	
"	1974, July	1975, June	111.3	98.8	22	11.2	
"	1974, July	1975, June	94	86	11	8.5	

Table 6 (ctd)

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point			
manufacturing industry	1970=100	1973, Oct.	1975, Aug.	112.3	98.9	22	11.9	
construction	"	1973, July-Sept.	1975, April-June	107	93	21	13.1	
steel	million t	1974	1975	22.4	20.3	12	9.4	
automobiles	thous.	1974	1975	1,936	1,430	12	26.1	
ships launched	thous. g.r.t.	1974	1975	1,672	1,873	12	+12.0	
electric power	'000 million kwh	1974	1975	274.5	252.5	12	8.0	
coal	million t.	1973	1974	132	111	12	15.9	
Total unemployed	thous.	1973, Dec.	1975, Aug.	513.5	1,250.4	20	+143.5	
Prices: consumer	15 Jan. 1974=100	1974	1975	108.5	133.0	12	+22.6	
wholesale (raw materials)	1970=100	1974	1975	215.3	232.5	12	+8.0	
wholesale (manufactured goods)	"	1974	1975	152.0	188.0	12	+24.0	
Stock quotations	1970=100	1973	1974	130	76	12	41.5	
Bankruptcies	number of cases	1974	1975	5,716	7,500	12	+31.2	
Foreign trade: exports	£ million	1974	1975	16,494	19,134	12	+16.0	
imports	"	1974	1975	23,117	23,390	12	+1.2	

Italy

Table 7

	Unit of measurement	Year and month			Indicators		Duration of decline (months)	Depth of decline (per cent)
		Precrisis peak	Lowest point	Precrisis peak	Lowest point			
Gross national product	000 million lire, current prices	1974, April-June	1975, April-June	97,182	92,809	12	4.5	
Gross capital investments	"	1974	1975	22,752	20,249	12	11	
state	"	1974	1975	5,021	4,680	12	6.8	
private housing construction	"	1974	1975	6,937	6,243	12	10.0	
production	"	1974	1975	10,794	7,772	12	28.0	
Industrial production	1970=100	1974, Apr.	1975, May	126.0	101.7	13	19.3	
extractive industry	"	1974, Jan.	1975, June	114.0	85.7	17	24.8	
manufacturing industry	"	1974, July	1974, Dec.	131.9	100.8	5	23.6	
steel	million t.	1974	1975	23.8	22.4	12	5.9	
automobiles	thous.	1974	1975	1,631.3	1,337.7	12	18.0	
ships launched	thous. g.r.t.	1974	1975	1,028	1,018	12	1.0	
electric power	000 million kwh	1974	1975	141.7	140.0	12	1.2	
oil refining	million t.	1974	1975	126.6	110.5	12	12.7	
cement	"	1974	1975	36.3	35.1	12	3.3	
Total unemployed	thous.	1974	1975	484	667	12	+37.8	
Prices: consumer	1970=100	April-June 1974	April-June 1975	134.5	164.9	12	+22.6	
wholesale	"	January-March 1974	January-March 1975	160.6	190.2	12	+18.4	
Real wages	1966=100	1974	1975	156.2	166.4	12	+6.5	
Bankruptcies	number of cases	1974	1975	3,883	3,806	12	1.9	
Foreign trade: exports	000 million lire	1974	1975	19,677	19,185	12	2.5	
imports	"	1974	1975	26,608	23,947	12	10.0	

Defeat of Imperialism in Angola

ARKADY BUTLITSKY

The first half of the 1970s witnessed the final phase of the colonial system's downfall in the African continent. Its main milestones were the victories of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola.

At no time and nowhere has the struggle against colonialism been easy, but the events in the People's Republic of Angola were particularly dramatic. International imperialism and South African racism used force in an attempt to hinder decolonisation and turn Angola into a springboard for a counter-offensive against free Africa. But this attempt ended in a debacle.

For its natural resources Angola is the richest country in Africa. For instance, it is the world's fifth largest producer and exporter of diamonds (2 million carats in 1973).

From the moment that the industrial production of diamonds was started in Angola their output and marketing were monopolised by Diamang, with the Portuguese government owning 11 per cent of its shares. But the Portuguese name was a cover for the Forminière concern of Belgium, the De Beers South African monopoly, and British and US capital. Diamang was a state within a state. In Lunda region, which is almost twice as large as Portugal, it wielded all the authority and laid down the law. The roads leading to the diamond fields were patrolled by the company's private army equipped with helicopters, armoured cars and the latest models of firearms.

Moreover, Angola is rich in oil whose explored reserves and output are steadily growing (in 1974 oil headed Angola's exports). Most of the oil (roughly 7,600,000 tons) comes from Cabinda, in the northwest of the country, where the deposits are worked by Gulf Oil of the USA. It is estimated that the oil reserves in this region add up to 300 million tons. Petrangol (Companhia de Petroleos de Angola), in which US (Texaco) and Belgian (Petrofina) capital predominates, is the second largest producer. It is believed that in the region of

Antonio do Zaire, where Texaco is working a concession, the oil reserves are ten times as large as in Cabinda. The oil refineries (annual capacity—1,000,000 tons) in Luanda also belong to Petrangol.

The Cassinga iron ore deposits are among the largest in the world. The Companhia Mineira do Lobito, which was mining these deposits, was regarded as the property of the Portuguese government, but actually capital was invested in Cassinga by the Krupp concern and also by Dutch, US and Austrian banks. Construction was started of a new port at Mossamedes that could handle 7 million tons of ore annually.

To this it may be added that Angola occupies fourth place in the world for the output of coffee and has enormous deposits of copper, titanium and manganese ore.

Unlike most of the other African states Angola has a relatively developed infrastructure: over 3,000 kilometres of railways and nearly 50,000 kilometres of motor roads, of which 10,000 kilometres are tarred. It has a network of modern airfields, ports and communications.

Since the war, particularly during the last 10 or 12 years, there has been a considerable growth of private South African investments in the Angola economy. For instance, the De Beers monopoly has, in addition to its shares in Diamang, 45 per cent of the shares of Consorcio Mineiro de Diamantes which prospect for diamonds in the basin of the Kwango River. Another South African company, General Mining and Finance Corporation, was involved in prospecting for uranium ore and other radioactive minerals. In 1973, a concession to work mineral wealth in Angola was given to the Companhia Mineira do Cunene, in which the South African Consolidated Investment group held the controlling block of shares.

South African capital was also very active in Angolan banking. The Industrial Development Corporation, a South African company, gave practically unlimited credits to the Angolan Banco de Fomento Nacional and established a large credit institution jointly with the Totta Bank belonging to the Portuguese CUF trust. Lastly, with its participation, the Banco Portugues do Atlantico and the Bank of Angola set up the large Bank of Lisbon and South Africa.

South African capital is the largest shareholder in the hydropower project on the Kunene River. In Pretoria they spoke openly of their intention to include Angola's power-generating capacities in the power system of the entire Southern Africa controlled by the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM), a South African state-monopoly concern.

Another indicator is the South African trade expansion: South African exports to Angola, which in 1964 amounted to 2 million rands, increased to 44 million rands in 1974. In the light of these facts it is not hard to see how much influence is wielded in South Africa and some Western capitals by forces interested in preventing progressive, democratic circles from coming to power in Luanda.

With the liberation struggle mounting in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia and in view of the decolonisation of Mozambique, the

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rulers of Pretoria and Salisbury and their patrons felt that Angola's retention in the sphere of influence of the pro-imperialist, pro-colonialist forces was almost the only means of giving the racist dictatorships in the subcontinent the chance for a long postponement. At their meeting immediately after the revolution of April 1974 in Portugal, Vorster and Smith hastily discussed the possibility of the white minority seizing power in Angola and Mozambique with the appropriate support from Pretoria and Salisbury, up to military intervention. In the summer of 1974, South African troops began to concentrate in areas bordering on Mozambique where decolonisation was proceeding apace. But in September of the same year, when the Mozambique ultra attempted an uprising, they were not supported by Pretoria.

There were serious grounds for this unexpected caution on the part of the South African leaders who in effect left their Mozambique friends to their fate. In this they were evidently induced by a sober assessment of the situation in the region and the firm resolve of the Portuguese Command in Mozambique and the FRELIMO to crush the uprising and repulse any attempt at intervention. Also, Pretoria was held back by the fact that the South African economy was heavily dependent on Mozambique communications, which would unquestionably have been cut for an indefinite period, had hostilities broken out.

Lastly, there is reason to believe that the ruling circles in Pretoria and in some NATO countries, who were showing a heightened interest in the affairs of that region, came to the conclusion that in the light of the complications springing from similar actions in Rhodesia itself the attempts to Rhodesianise the former Portuguese colonies were inexpedient.

They preferred Katangasation, i. e., the use of local reactionaries and traitors of the Tshombe ilk, who proclaimed Katanga's "independence" in the early 1960s. But for various reasons in Mozambique nothing came of the bid to set up small splinter African groups which could be depended upon in a struggle against the FRELIMO. In the case of Angola, the preparations were carefully laid, with the result that at the needed time two claimants to the role of an Angolese Tshombe could appear on the scene: Chairman of the FNLA H. Roberto and the UNITA "leader" J. Savimbi.

In the course of the foreign intervention against Angola and in the intricate political struggle in the Organisation of African Unity light was shed on many details of a conspiracy backed by international imperialist circles who operated in unison with the South African racists. It was revealed, in particular, that as early as 1961 in its search for a candidate to the role of Washington's puppet in Angola, the CIA's choice fell on Roberto. After the April revolution in Portugal the ruling circles of the USA decided to place the pending decolonisation of Angola under rigid control and prevent that country from becoming a progressive, democratic state. This attitude stemmed logically from the USA's long-term strategy relative to the south of Africa. This policy, *Le Monde diplomatique*

wrote in January 1976, was based on the postulate that the south of Africa would remain a critical zone where large US and Western investments would consolidate the Washington-Pretoria alliance. Furthermore, this alliance would be strengthened by the fact that Africa and the sea lanes surrounding it were in the sphere of the US Navy's "strategic calculations".

Characteristic in this context were the recommendations of the special inter-departmental group for African affairs, which was assigned by the US National Security Council to draw up recommendations relative to the problems of the south of Africa. These recommendations, approved at summit government level, are evidence of the intention to use the white minority regimes in the subcontinent to safeguard the investments and profits of the American monopolies. In one of the sections of this document, which in the Washington corridors of power was nicknamed the Tar Baby, it is stated: "The whites are in Africa and plan to stay there. Constructive changes can only take place with their assistance. The blacks have no hope of winning the political rights they want by force: violence would only lead to chaos and more possibilities for Communist interference. After making our attitude towards the white regimes more flexible in some issues, we could secure some change in the colonial and racial policies. By extending more substantial economic aid to independent African nations... we could foster a union of white and black states and influence them... Underlying our contacts in this region of the globe are our considerable interests, and we can safeguard them only by paying an acceptable political price."¹ Although in the document there is no dearth of assurances about the desirability of "peaceful changes" in Africa, it is clear that the policy recommended in it is aimed at suppressing the liberation struggle of the African peoples and maintain and strengthen US capitalism's positions in the south of Africa.

This is borne out entirely by the implementation of the recommendations approved by the White House in early 1970. The embargo on purchases of Rhodesian chromium was lifted and more military aid was given to the Portuguese colonialists up to the day of the Caetano regime was overthrown; this found expression in the USA's triple veto in the Security Council to prevent the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. Lastly, this was seen in the undisguised American support for the South African intervention in Angola and for the splinter FNLA and UNITA groups that acted hand in glove with the interventionists.

Following the failure of the neocolonialist gamble in Angola the American press lamented the "mistakes" made by the US policy in African countries. *The New York Times* wrote: "Many ingredients helped to bankrupt the policy: our own racism and lingering notions of white supremacy; business investments in South Africa, Rhodesia and Angola; obsessive hostility for any program that sounded like Communism; obsessive concern for 'stability' and benevolence toward regimes, black or white, that promised it". Between the lines there is the obvious idea that the unfortunate part of the whole

business was not that the USA joined in the Angola adventure and supported the racist regimes of Southern Africa but that from the very outset the gamble was doomed to failure as US policy was founded on "incredibly wrong premises".²

But the US ruling circles thought differently on the eve of the invasion of Angola. According to the foreign press, in January 1975 the Washington Committee of 40, the working organ of the US National Security Council, whose jurisdiction covers approval of the plans for secret CIA operations, sanctioned the immediate granting of 300,000 dollars each to Roberto and Savimbi. Virtually a month later the splinter FNLA and UNITA groups started hostilities against the MPLA. In June of the same year the CIA forwarded another 10 million dollars to them, not counting the supplies of weapons and equipment costing 50 million dollars. Mercenaries were trained in the USA under CIA patronage and sent to Angola. US warships with orders to be prepared to carry out a special assignment in the course of the Angola conflict sailed in the direction of Angola in December 1975. On January 2, 1976, the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston wrote that despite the efforts of Congress to prevent US involvement in the Angolan civil war, open US action was being escalated. Two weeks later, the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg reported, without mincing words, that in Angola the USA had started a military operation reminiscent of the first phase of the war in Vietnam, when American military advisers were sent to that country.

Nevertheless, the US ruling circles had to reckon with feeling in and outside the Capitol, particularly after US imperialism's defeat in Vietnam. Despite the efforts of the White House and the State Department, the Senate and the House of Representatives firmly refused allocations for the Angola gamble.

As regards the Pretoria racists, they had no difficulties of this kind. More, initially, when the prospects for intervention in Angola looked rosy it was welcomed by the entire white camp in South Africa: in one way or another the legal opposition, namely the leaders of the United and the Progressive parties, supported the Vorster government's Angola policy.

True, the South African leaders also had difficulties. The very fact of an alliance with the apartheid regime left the mark of Cain, and this had to be reckoned with by any African country or splinter group that openly cooperated with the Pretoria racists. For that reason every effort was made to disguise the intervention. In the meantime, on October 23, 1975, a motorised column of South African troops crossed the Angola frontier. Its operations were preceded by an invasion by a large contingent of mercenaries, whose task was to collect spy information and thereby ensure an escalation of the intervention. As a matter of fact, in Pretoria they calculated that even this would not be necessary. Under the time-table drawn up by US and South African strategists, the combined forces of South African regular troops, contingents of mercenaries and ENLA and UNITA gangs were to occupy Luanda by November 11, i.e., the day the independence of Angola was to be proclaimed officially.

These designs were frustrated by the heroic resistance put up by the MPLA's combat units. The motley forces of internal and international reaction were halted at the near approaches of Luanda. On November 11, the flag of the People's Republic of Angola was raised over the capital. Four days later a new large South African armoured force invaded this new independent country. In early December, yet another South African motorised unit appeared on the battlefields of Angola. By inertia Pretoria continued to deny its participation in the intervention, but after captive South African soldiers were shown at a press conference in Luanda, the South African ruling circles felt that it was senseless to deny the facts any longer. At a cabinet meeting on January 14, 1976, it was decided to increase the South African military presence in Angola, while parliament quickly rubber-stamped a draft bill authorising the government to intervene with armed force in the affairs of African states south of the equator if the security of South Africa was threatened.

Pretoria's Angola policy was charted and put into effect in close coordination with Washington. On February 18, 1976, France Presse reported from Durban that a senator representing the ruling Nationalist Party in the South African parliament declared that the USA had given definite assurances before South African troops invaded Angola. He said that with US support South Africa would defend what was considered then and was still being considered Allied interests in Angola.

To this we may add the statements of foreign journalists specialising in problems of Southern Africa to the effect that US military cooperation with South Africa began long before the recent events in Angola and that the CIA had long ago come to an understanding with the South African secret services, with cooperation following the pattern of NATO contacts. The *Observer* of London, quoting secret documents that fell into its hands, reported that US aircraft were directly involved in the operations in Angola, where they dropped ammunition for the South African interventionists.³

There was a kind of division of labour also in Pretoria's and Washington's acts of subversion against the Organisation of African Unity. In order to engineer a split in that organisation South Africa launched its notorious "peace safari" during which ranking Pretoria emissaries, including Prime Minister Vorster, visited a number of African capitals. Intimidation with the bogey of a "Communist threat" and promises of all sorts of aid were used to incline individual African leaders to a "dialogue", in other words, to an unprincipled compromise and reconciliation with the racists.

The "peace safari" was deliberately conducted when the Portuguese colonial empire fell apart. The racists began planning intervention against Angola immediately after the revolution of April 1974 in Portugal. Already then the South African strategists considered it crucial to neutralise the Organisation of African Unity, to deprive it of its ability to act resolutely and as a united body. As the extraordinary

OAU Assembly in Addis Ababa (January 1976) showed, their efforts were not quite in vain. It will be recalled that the Assembly could not reach agreement relative to the full and unconditional recognition of the People's Republic of Angola with the MPLA at its head. Some African states supported a draft resolution, which, behind a screen of calls for "national reconciliation", clearly pursued the aim of bracketing the patriotic MPLA forces with traitors of Angola's national interests, with the FNLA and UNITA splitters. This was what US diplomacy wanted. It spared no effort to influence the participants in the Assembly. On its eve, US Assistant Secretary of State W. Shauffele toured the capitals of Zaire, Gabon, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Senegal in order to persuade the leaders of those countries to support the US stand. The same purpose was pursued by the US President's message to heads of African states. Speaking at the OAU, the head of the Nigerian government delegation called these actions an insult to Africans.

It would be hard to overrate the victory of the Angolan patriots who defended the young republic's independence and sovereignty. This victory, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA Central Committee Alves Batista said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, was won as a result of the disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the heroic operations of the Cuban volunteers, and the solidarity and support of all progressives forces in the world.

Angola was the burial ground of many myths, particularly the myth about the total superiority of the South African military machine in the African continent. At the same time, the striving to use its military might to intimidate the independent African states and the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia fighting for freedom, was far from the last aim of Pretoria's Angola campaign.

As was noted by Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party, new, promising prospects have now opened up for the liberation movements in the subcontinent. Never before, he said, had there been such favourable political and material conditions for the struggle to abolish racism and foreign rule. There is evidently some appreciation of this fact among the ruling circles of Pretoria and Salisbury. However, one can doubt the ability of the racists to assimilate the lessons of history with any profundity. The South African government ignores the many pertinent decisions of the UN and intends to continue its occupation of Namibia. With Ian Smith at their head the Rhodesian ultra are stepping up repressions against the African population and are not ceasing hostile acts against neighbouring states. Having clearly lost their sense of reality, the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury are still hoping that the interest of the Western imperialist circles in the affairs of that region will induce the latter to have recourse to military intervention in the event of a "critical" situation.

In combination with the increasing solidarity of all the progressive forces, the major changes in world politics, the growing might of the

socialist community and the successes of the national liberation struggle are making it possible to crush the intrigues of international reaction. "Our Party," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom.... We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist conviction."⁴

NOTES

¹ *Le Monde diplomatique*, January 1976, p. 17.

² *The New York Times*, March 2, 1976.

³ See *Observer*, January 11, 1976.

⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, p. 21.

John Capodistrias and the Greek National Liberation Revolution of 1821

GRIGORY ARSH

The activities of John Capodistrias, prominent Greek political figure and statesman, were closely linked with the liberation struggle of the Greek people against Turkish oppression and for the national independence of their country.

In the early years of the 19th century Capodistrias's homeland, the Ionian Islands, became the centre of the national liberation movement of enslaved Greece. It was there, in the former Venetian possessions, that the first Greek autonomous state of the new era appeared — The Sept Insular Republic. Capodistrias was one of the founders of the Ionian Republic and held the post of secretary of state for three years (1803-1806).

After the fall of the Ionian Republic the Greek communities in Russia became the temporary centre of the Greek liberation movement. In 1814 the secret national liberation organisation "Philiki Etaireia" ("Society of Friends") was formed in Odessa and began to prepare for an armed uprising against the Ottoman yoke.

During this period the Greek hopes of Russia's assistance in the liberation of their country from foreign oppression, which had never really faded, were revived.

John Capodistrias arrived in St. Petersburg in 1809 at the invitation of the Russian government to accept a post in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Six years later he became a secretary of state and from 1815 to 1822 headed Russia's Ministry for Foreign Affairs along with

K. Nesselrode. Capodistrias's rise to prominence was due, in most part, to Alexander I's liberal tendencies at the time.

The Greek patriot strove to utilise the prominent position he held in the Russian government in the interests of his country. In 1814 he founded the national educational society "Philomousos Etaireia" ("Society of Friends of the Muses") which promoted the spread of education in Greece. Capodistrias was also the initiator of the diplomatic demarches of 1814-1820 by the Russian government in defence of the Ionian Islands, which had found themselves under the colonial yoke of Great Britain. In the last four years of his life (1827-1831) Capodistrias was head of the Greek state during one of the most trying and complicated periods in its history.

Historical interest in Capodistrias and his activities in connection with the liberation of Greece has been steadily growing in recent years.

In our opinion, certain works by Greek authors portray Capodistrias's ideological and political position on the eve and at the beginning of the Greek revolution of 1821-1829 as being more radical than it really was. The material in Soviet archives is of paramount importance to any study of his activities in Russia. It provides, in particular, the possibility of comprehensively examining the complex question of Capodistrias's attitude to the Greek revolution in 1821-1822, when he was still a member of the Russian government.

The purpose of this article is to give a brief account of Capodistrias's activities in the period preceding the Greek revolution.

In 1819-1820 the revolutionary mood of Greek society heightened. The question arose of direct preparations for a liberation uprising. With that end in view the supreme committee of "Philiki Etaireia" decided to appoint an authoritative and influential figure as head of the society. In January 1820 E. Ksantos, an emissary of "Philiki Etaireia", arrived secretly in St. Petersburg for talks with Capodistrias. Capodistrias, however, rejected the offer of the Etaireist organisation. Though a staunch champion of the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman yoke, he did not consider the Greeks to be either educationally or morally ready as yet for independence. In addition, being opposed to revolutionary methods of struggle, he placed his main hopes for the liberation of Greece on Russia's policy. After Capodistrias' refusal Ksantos turned with the same proposal to Major-General Alexandros Ypsilantis, another Greek patriot in the service of Russia. A man of progressive convictions and ideologically close to the Decembrists, Ypsilantis agreed to head the secret society. The new leader of "Philiki Etaireia" based his headquarters in Odessa and subsequently in Kishinev in the second half of 1820 and immediately began to lay the groundwork for the liberation movement.

The Danube Principalities became the first centre of the national liberation struggle. On February 24, 1821 (this date and all subsequent ones are given according to the Old Style), Ypsilantis published in Jassy his famous appeal "To Arms for Faith and Homeland". His call evoked a fervent response among all Greek patriots. Hundreds of

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volunteers from all sides streamed into his camp in Moldavia. Within a month an uprising had broken out in Greece itself.

News of the uprising in Greece reached Capodistrias in Laibach (Ljubljana), where he was attending a congress of the Holy Alliance held to discuss the question of fighting the revolution in Italy. The first report came from Ypsilantis himself. In a letter to the tsar dated February 24, 1821,¹ he announced that he had agreed to lead the Greek uprising against Ottoman domination, planned for a number of years already by the secret Greek society. Ypsilantis said his decision had been motivated by the wishes of his deceased father and the request of the Greek nation. He appealed to Alexander I to render armed assistance to the Greek people, drive the Ottomans out of Europe and thus acquire the title of "liberator of Greece".

Simultaneously Ypsilantis sent a private letter to Capodistrias. In it he informed him of the motives prompting him to head the Greek national liberation movement. The contents of this letter came as a complete surprise to Capodistrias. In a private letter to his friend A. Shreder, counsellor at the Russian Embassy in Paris, he wrote that the news of the Greek uprising came like a bombshell. Two days later, on instruction of the tsar, Capodistrias sent an official reply to Ypsilantis's letter to Alexander I. Ypsilantis's actions were condemned. It was emphasised that the Russian government could not support him since the uprising was directed against a power with whom "Russia, as she has stated and does herein state, firmly intends to maintain stable relations of peace and friendship". Ypsilantis was accused of deceiving his countrymen by promising them Russia's help.²

Capodistrias's letter was written on the instructions given him by the tsar. But at the same time it reflected to a certain extent his own attitude to Ypsilantis's action. He considered revolutionary action with the aim of liberating Greece to be premature and dangerous, since, in his opinion, the country was not in a position to win its freedom by revolt and civil war. If we take into account the fact that the beginning of the uprising coincided with the congress of the Holy Alliance which had gathered to fight revolutions, then in Capodistrias's eyes this circumstance made the actions of "Philiki Etaireia" in Moldavia seem all the more like a dangerous venture. He reaffirmed his condemnation of Ypsilantis's actions in a number of private letters written during that period.

In a letter to A. Sturdza, his friend and closest associate, Capodistrias spoke of Ypsilantis as a man with good intentions but using wrong methods. In upholding the class position of the tsarist government Capodistrias defended the official thesis that Ypsilantis's action deserved to be condemned as it was organically linked with the revolutions in Italy and Spain.

Nevertheless, despite his sincere conviction about the prematurity and danger of the "Philiki Etaireia" undertaking, Capodistrias felt very uncomfortable when signing the official letter to Ypsilantis on March 14, 1821. It was unpleasant and even agonising for Capodistrias, a Greek patriot, to condemn publicly on behalf of a foreign

government another Greek patriot, notwithstanding the deep ideological differences between them. This act, which put him in an awkward position in the face of public opinion and his country, troubled his conscience. The question of patriotic duty and official duty confronted Capodistrias and the other Greeks in the official service of Russia much more acutely than ever before. In a private letter to G. Stroganov, Russia's envoy to the Porte, which he sent from Laibach along with official instructions concerning Ypsilantis's action, Capodistrias drew the envoy's attention to the highly delicate position of his subordinates—the Russian consuls in the Ottoman Empire, who were all either Greeks by origin or had been born in Greece. He wrote that even if they did not yield to temptation and followed their sense of duty rather than their emotions no one would believe that sacrifice all the same. They would be blamed for not speaking out against Ypsilantis's uprising energetically enough. He stressed that in speaking of the consuls he was expressing what he felt in his own heart.

There can be no doubt that Capodistrias, like other moderate figures in the Greek national movement, did not want an uprising of Greeks against the Ottoman Empire, at that period at any rate. But the uprising had become a fact. Dispatches reaching Laibach from Constantinople and other places told of new centres of revolutionary activity in the Turkish Empire and of the brutal mass repressions which the Porte unleashed against the Greek population. These dramatic events deeply troubled Capodistrias and heightened his national feelings.

Following his patriotic convictions, he began in practice to defend the just cause of his homeland. His aim was to make Russia's policies more favourable for Greece and to prevent Britain and Austria from intervening on the side of the sultan, especially since they had taken a particularly hostile position in respect to the Greek revolution. On March 14, 1821, in a private letter, Capodistrias formulated the official point of view on these events as follows: "We do not approve of the fact of the revolution, but nevertheless we will remain strictly neutral provided Russia's friendly intervention is not needed to protect the Greeks from the vengeance of the Turks."³ Here he not only summed up the first official reaction of the tsarist government to the Greek uprising but also set forth concisely the programme of his future actions on behalf of his homeland. Execution of this programme was to prove anything but easy.

Beginning with the end of 1820 foreign policy of the tsarist government took on an openly counter-revolutionary character. In October 1820, at the congress in Troppau, Alexander I supported Austria's intervention against the Neapolitan revolution. This spelt the end of the pseudo-liberal phraseology and constitutionalist manoeuvres characteristic of tsarism's European policy ever since the downfall of Napoleon. This turnabout greatly weakened Capodistrias's personal status in Russia's government. Being an opponent in principle to Austria's policy of armed counter-revolution he boldly defended his own point of view at this congress thereby provoking the

displeasure of the tsar and worsening his own position. Nesselrode, concealing his jealousy of and hostility towards his colleague behind a façade of friendliness, informed his wife in a letter from Laibach dated March 4, 1821, that Capodistrias no longer enjoyed the favour he had once held and that he had brought this upon himself by the persistence and imprudence with which he had expressed his opinions. This was written a few days before the news of Ypsilantis's actions in Moldavia was received. These actions further complicated Capodistrias's relations with Alexander I. Metternich, who hated the Greek patriot, wrote gloatingly to one of his colleagues on April 10, 1821: "We are leading Emperor Alexander... He has lost all his counsellors. He considers Capodistrias to be the leader of the Carbonari."⁴

Though Metternich was obviously indulging in some wishful thinking, Capodistrias's position at that moment really was serious. Considering Alexander I's mood it was difficult and dangerous for Capodistrias to approach him on behalf of the Greeks who had revolted. It was necessary to try to convince him that the movement in Greece differed ideologically from the revolutions in Spain and Italy. In order to influence the tsar in this direction Capodistrias decided to use Sturdza's evaluation of the Greek uprising given in a letter. Sturdza felt that the Greek uprising could not be likened to the revolutions in Italy and Spain since the Greeks, unlike the Spaniards and Italians, were bound to the sultan not by ties of his subjects but by "the bonds of slaves". They were fighting, he maintained, not for chimerical privileges but for life, property and faith. Therefore it was wrong to consider them unfaithful subjects rebelling against their lawful monarch. To liken the Greeks who had revolted to Europe's radicals would be the same as to put the Christian governments on the same level with the Porte, Sturdza contended.

In Russia's ruling circles Sturdza enjoyed the solid reputation of being a zealous monarchist and an adherent of orthodoxy. Therefore his criticism "from the right", if one may call it that, of the official point of view on the Greek revolution came very opportunely for Capodistrias.

On his way back from Austria Capodistrias made a brief stopover in Ustye, near Orsha, to discuss the Greek situation with Sturdza. He returned to St. Petersburg on May 26, 1821, after nearly a year's absence. It had been a very difficult year for Capodistrias. The events in Greece, the turnabout in Russia's European policy in support of open counter-revolution and his dissent with the tsar on this account, also personal grief (while in Laibach he had learned of the death of his father), all this told on his health. He had to muster every fibre of his being, and all his powers of intellect for the new, decisive stage in the struggle to change Russian policy in the interests of the insurgent Greeks.

In the spring of 1821, notwithstanding Alexander I's condemnation of Ypsilantis's action, Russo-Turkish relations quickly began to deteriorate. At that time Turkish authorities were making a wide

practice of searching Russian ships sailing through The Straits and forcing them to sell their cargoes. This caused much damage to Black Sea trade and shipping and infringed upon the interests of the state treasury and the landowners of the south of Russia. The economic factor undoubtedly greatly influenced Russia's policy during the period of the East question of 1821-1829. However it would be incorrect to link it with the specific demarches of tsarist diplomacy in the summer of 1821. The mass repressions and executions by the Porte of the Greek population in March and April of 1821 and of which many ecclesiastics, including the Patriarch of Constantinople himself, fell victim had immeasurably greater significance then. These excesses infringed upon the tsarist government's status of protector of Orthodox religion in the Ottoman Empire. This enabled Capodistrias to insist on decisive measures in the Balkans and at the same time to appear in the role of defender of the established system of Russia's patronage of the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire, basing himself on the Kuchuk Kainarji and other Russo-Turkish agreements.

The psychological atmosphere in the Russian capital was also of great significance for Capodistrias's efforts in support of the Greek cause. It was quite different from the situation in Laibach. There Capodistrias's voice sounded weak against the background of the chorus of the frantic European reaction which heaped abuse and slander upon the Greek fighters. In Russia, however, the uprising of the Greeks had evoked tremendous sympathy in the most diverse circles of society. The Decembrists were fervent advocates of Greek freedom and Decembrist writers and publicists, and the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, whose ideas were close to theirs, hailed the national liberation revolution in Greece and sang the praises of its heroes. They were also firm supporters of military action by Russia against the Ottoman Empire, seeing in this the most effective way of aiding those fighting in Greece. They hoped that a victorious campaign in the Balkans would hasten the overthrow of autocracy in Russia. But even the sections of the population alien to freedom-loving sentiments greeted the Greek uprising, in which they saw above all a struggle of Christians against the Muslim yoke. A number of prominent dignitaries, governors and military men felt that, on the basis of the traditional policy of protecting the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire and proceeding from their own political interests, Russia should support the Greeks. This was also the point of view of a number of ministers. Capodistrias knew of this even before his return to Russia.

Of course, it is impossible to suspect all those high officials of being sympathetic to the revolutionary movement. They spoke out on behalf of Greece from definite traditions and the interests of Russia's official policy. But the final word rested with the Emperor. This was particularly the case in questions of foreign policy, which Alexander I dealt with himself to the end of his rule. The existence of pro-Greek tendencies made Capodistrias bolder and more persistent. He could speak out as a representative not only of Greek interests but

also of a certain group of the ruling circles of Russia. In order to fulfil the wishes of this group and above all to discharge his patriotic duty Capodistrias had to wage a difficult struggle. He began it immediately after his arrival in St. Petersburg. Capodistrias's correspondence with Sturdza in the summer of 1821 reflected the difficulties of this struggle.

On June 4, 1821, the tsar approved the draft of a dispatch to Stroganov and the text of the note he was to present to the Porte, both drawn up by Capodistrias. The envoy was instructed to demand in the form of an ultimatum complete freedom of shipping through The Straits in accordance with Russo-Turkish agreements. The Greek uprising was condemned in the note, but at the same time the Russian government resolutely demanded that persecution of the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire not involved in the liberation struggle cease. Stroganov was to state that non-compliance with these demands would place the Porte "in an openly hostile position in respect to all of the Christian world, legalise defence of the Greeks and force Russia to take them under her protection, for she has the right to do so, and render them assistance, together with all of Christendom, for she cannot allow her brothers in faith to become victims of blind fanaticism". In the event of an unfavourable reply to his note Stroganov was to leave Constantinople with his entire embassy staff.³

Stroganov's new instructions signified a change in Russia's stand in the East question. The insistence of Capodistrias and Stroganov and above all the development of events forced Alexander I, notwithstanding his fear of "playing into the hands" of the revolutionaries and breaching the solidarity of the states of the Holy Alliance, to take decisive action against the Porte. Capodistrias was convinced that the Porte would refuse to meet Russia's demands and thus Stroganov's demarche would lead to a break in Russo-Turkish relations and, in the final analysis, to a Russo-Turkish war. Notes about Russia's action were sent to Britain, Austria, Prussia and France on June 22, 1821. Russia asked these states to support her decisive steps in respect to the Porte and to give thorough consideration to the East question in light of the possibility of a new Russo-Turkish war. Alexander I regarded this diplomatic demarche first and foremost from the point of view of preserving the unity of the Holy Alliance and of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement with the European states on the Turkish affair. However his secretary of state, who directly prepared the corresponding documents, had other considerations. Capodistrias viewed Russia's diplomatic initiative as an important step towards neutralising the states hostile to the Greek uprising. After the tsar had decided on his diplomatic demarches in Constantinople and the European capitals, Capodistrias thought that war would break out in the immediate future and expressed this opinion to foreign diplomats. A break with Turkey seemed inevitable and Capodistrias staked his entire political future on it.

The numerous dispatches from Russia's ambassadors and consuls which reached the ministry provided Capodistrias with extensive information, the most reliable under the conditions, on the course of the liberation struggle in Greece and on the broad response it was evoking in many countries. The letters and personal appeals which reached the Greek patriot from various quarters conveyed to him the passion of the struggle and the patriotic ardour that infused his countrymen.

In St. Petersburg Capodistrias received Ypsilantis's reply to his official letter of March 14, 1821, sent from Laibach. In this highly interesting and hitherto unknown document the leader of the Greek revolutionaries declared once again that his actions were dictated by purely patriotic sentiments. He emphasised very strongly that for Greeks there was no other way to liberation from Turkish despotism than by armed revolt. As the "custodian" of the aspirations of the Greek nation, Ypsilantis stated that Greece was determined to continue the fight for a radical change in her position and expressed the hope that the tsar would render assistance in this matter. Ypsilantis himself declared his readiness to go anywhere into exile if only the aspirations of his unfortunate homeland were realised.

News of the response in Europe to the Greek struggle and of the hopes of public opinion that Russia would come resolutely to its defence also reached Capodistrias. Such information was contained in the various private letters he received from Russia's diplomatic representatives abroad.

Almost all of Russia's ambassadors and envoys in the European capitals felt that traditions and practical political interests made armed action against the Porte necessary. Some of the more influential and independent-minded diplomats, such as Karl Pozzo-di-Borgo, ambassador in Paris, and Yu. Golovkin, ambassador in Vienna, expressed their opinions directly in official dispatches and memoranda intended for the ministry. Others limited themselves to private letters addressed to Capodistrias. The resident minister in Florence, A. Sverchkov, voiced support of the Greek cause as did P. Krüdener, chargé d'affaires in Switzerland, A. Italinsky, envoy to Rome, and other diplomats.

The papers, dispatches and letters placed daily on Capodistrias's desk testified to the fact that a change in Russia's policy in the direction of decisive action against the Porte was impatiently awaited everywhere. All this, of course, was moral support for Capodistrias in the difficult struggle he was waging in the summer of 1821.

In August 1821 the struggle in the ruling circles around the future direction of Russian policy on the East crisis reached its culmination. It was then that St. Petersburg learned of the Porte's rejection of Russia's ultimatum and of the arrival in Odessa of G. Stroganov and his entire embassy staff. The question arose of the future steps of the tsarist government. Capodistrias considered that "measures of compulsion" were needed in order to secure the Porte's acceptance of Russia's demands. He had elaborated a system of such measures in a special memorandum even before the Porte's rejection of Russia's

ultimatum. He proposed, among other things, to send Russian troops to the Danube Principalities to drive the Turks out by force. In advancing such a proposal Capodistrias acted as spokesman of the "military group" in the ruling circles of Russia.

However, another highly influential group existed in the ruling echelons which considered it advisable to conduct a cautious policy on the East question. Nesselrode was one of this group (the obvious divergence in the views of the two secretaries of state for foreign affairs manifested itself, in particular, in the fact that Nesselrode refused to sign the memorandum drawn up by Capodistrias on Russia's eventual steps in the event of the Porte's rejection of the Russia ultimatum). This group reflected the interests of the more reactionary section of Russia's ruling class for whom the preservation of the Holy Alliance, which had been created to fight revolution, had priority over other state problems.

Alexander I fully shared the views of this group, and this played the decisive role in the outcome of the internal struggle within the ruling camp. The unfolding of events and the pressure brought to bear by the "military group," whose most energetic and active figure was Capodistrias, apparently forced the tsar to go a little further along the path to war with the Porte than he himself would have liked to. And besides, Alexander I invariably proceeded from the possibility of coordinated action with the states of the Holy Alliance and with Britain on the East question. However, feelers put out in European countries in the summer of 1821 showed that a war by Russia against Turkey would not receive support from a single state and that Britain and Austria would oppose it in every way possible. Beginning with June 1821 both Metternich and Castlereagh put joint pressure on Alexander I, impressing upon him in every possible manner that a war by Russia against the Porte would open a breach for European revolution. London and Vienna wanted in this way to keep the St. Petersburg cabinet from taking new decisive steps in the Russo-Turkish conflict.

The arguments of the allies were in accord with the tsar's own sentiments. His main foreign-policy aim at the time was to preserve the Holy Alliance as a stronghold against revolution. If we add the fact of Russia's insufficient military preparedness, it can be said that from the beginning of the East crisis, including the summer of 1821 when it was most critical, the possibility of independent Russian military action against the Porte was not viewed seriously by Alexander I. However, taking into account the big differences within the ruling echelon over policy on the East question as well as the fact that many civil and military high officials were favourably inclined towards war with the Porte, the tsar preferred to manoeuvre and keep even his closest counsellors ignorant of his intentions to the very last moment. This moment arrived after the break in Russo-Turkish relations: further decisive steps by Russia would inevitably lead to war, while inactivity at that moment was equivalent to retreat. At an official briefing in August 1821 given by both secretaries of state Alexander I rejected Capodistrias's proposal to use military force on

the Danube and the Black Sea. Nesselrode and Capodistrias received instructions to prepare material for resuming negotiations with the Porte and for continuing talks with the allied courts concerning a coordinated policy in the East. Thus ended Capodistrias's efforts to convince Alexander I to cut the eastern knot by sword.

This new change in Alexander I's policy on the East question was an unexpected blow for Capodistrias and one he took extremely painfully. Never before, nor even afterward, did he express such open doubt about the sincerity of the Emperor's intentions. This rejection of monarchist piety shows how deeply shocked Capodistrias really was when he became convinced that the tsar had no intention of conducting a determined policy in the East. His conviction was probably based not only on his understanding of the essence of Russian state interests but also on the widespread belief among the Greek patriots that protection of the Greeks and other Christian peoples of the Balkans was not only Russia's right but also her duty.

Alexander I's refusal to act decisively on the East question meant political defeat for Capodistrias. After August 1821 his official status steadily deteriorated. Relations between the tsar and his minister became strained. Metternich's intrigues added fuel to the flame and the campaign against Capodistrias took on ever greater scope. Metternich's dispatches to the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg often expressed the conviction that Capodistrias was the inspirator of the Greek revolution. In order to reinforce this version various Greek letters intercepted by the Austrian police were forwarded to St. Petersburg. They were intended to prove Capodistrias's participation in the activities of the Greek revolutionaries. Metternich's intrigues were facilitated by the fact that similar rumours were afloat at the time. They had been spread by the Etairists themselves, though for a different purpose of course. They wanted to use Capodistrias's authority in the interests of their secret society. These rumours often reached even the tsarist authorities. Alexander I, on receiving such reports from various channels and knowing of the personal friendship which had once united Capodistrias and Ypsilantis, possibly began to suspect his minister of taking part in the preparations for the Etairist uprising in Moldavia. The estrangement of the autocrat and his once trusted minister grew. At the end of December 1821, an exchange of rather sharp letters took place between Capodistrias, on the one hand, and Alexander I and Nesselrode, on the other. It was clear from these letters that Capodistrias was gradually being pushed aside from affairs concerning Russia's policy on the East question.⁶ The thought of resigning which he first began to consider in August of 1821 was to return more and more often.

However, Capodistrias delayed taking the final step. Notwithstanding the cooling of personal relations and a certain mistrust displayed towards the Greek patriot, encouraged, according to certain sources, by both the Vienna and London cabinets, Alexander I rendered Capodistrias's intellect and diplomatic talents their proper due and was prepared to make use of his services as before, on condition, of

course, that he be no more than an obedient executor of the tsar's will. Capodistrias himself probably did not lose hope that the course of events would finally force Alexander I to agree to "measures of compulsion" against the Porte. In any event he felt that retaining his position in the tsarist government was a certain guarantee of the continuation of Russia's independent approach to Greek affairs. However, these hopes and calculations turned out to be unfounded.

In the spring of 1822, despite Capodistrias's categorical objections, Alexander I accepted Metternich's offer to convene a conference of states on the East question in Vienna and for him to meet with the Austrian emperor to discuss these problems. A special authorised representative, D. Tatishchev, was sent to Vienna to hold preliminary talks. Capodistrias regarded the tsar's new diplomatic steps as a further subordinating of Russia's policy to the Austrian system. He felt, and not without reason, that a closer coordination of Russia's foreign policy actions with Austrian policy would have unfavourable consequences for Greek affairs and leave an undesirable imprint on decisions in Vienna and in Verona, where a new congress of the Holy Alliance was to take place in the autumn of 1822.

Capodistrias decided to hold himself aloof from these diplomatic measures and not to participate either in their preparations or in discussions of them at official briefings. Alexander I allowed his closest advisers to express their opinions, even when they differed from his own. But he could not permit such an expressive though silent protest against the very foundations of his foreign policy. After a while the tsar, during a private audience granted Capodistrias, proposed that he leave for the mineral springs to restore his health, formally retaining his post. This decision on Capodistrias's virtual dismissal was taken in May of 1822. Capodistrias's health during that period had indeed deteriorated as a direct result of his painful reaction to the trend of Russian policy at the time.

At first his own withdrawal and then his formal dismissal from affairs of state marked the end of an important stage in the Greek patriot's political biography. In the course of the year following the beginning of the Greek revolution that Capodistrias preserved his position in the Russian government, he used it very purposefully and actively in the interests of insurgent Greece. In Greek works one can find lofty and sometimes exaggerated evaluations of the importance of Capodistrias's diplomatic activity for the fate of the Greek revolution. However, it is beyond doubt that Capodistrias was instrumental in promoting the activation of Russia's policy on the East question in the first year of the Greek revolution.

All of Capodistrias's main activity in 1821-1822 was concentrated in the sphere of Russian diplomacy. But as a Greek patriot he was deeply concerned about the internal strength and possibilities of insurgent Greece. Capodistrias wanted to help his countrymen to find their bearings in a complex international situation and to show them the most intelligent, from his point of view, direction of internal

political development. He strove above all to convince Greek figures that they should not particularly place their hopes on the assistance of official Europe in the fight for liberation.

Having rid himself and wishing to rid the Greeks of any illusions in respect to European policy, Capodistrias wanted at the same time to reconcile the Greeks to this policy. Of course to give the Greek insurgents political advice and in general to maintain any relations with them, considering his official position and Alexander I's condemnation of the Greek uprising, was a rather complicated and delicate matter. Capodistrias was very cautious in his contacts with insurgent Greece and preferred to deal with the Greeks in the service of Russia. He sent one of them, A. Pini, Russia's consul general in Moldavia and Walachia, a special injunction so that the latter might give the Greeks "salutary advice".

In that "Pro Memoria" Capodistrias emphasised that the Greeks should spare no effort to present the aims and nature of their struggle in the best light. Furthermore he set forth his own interpretation of the struggle, which the Greeks were to adopt and use as a practical guide. Capodistrias called this struggle a defensive one. They had taken up arms because the Porte had declared war on them by its *khat-sherifs* (decrees of the sultan), by the number of innocent victims in Constantinople and the nature of the repressions, and by the system of death and destruction it was carrying out in Moldavia and Walachia. Capodistrias appealed to the Greeks to unite and stand firm under the aegis of the church. In choosing the forms of their political organisation the Greeks were carefully to avoid anything which might frighten the Holy Alliance Europe. At present they were not to seek a republican or any other representative forms of government, they were only to defend themselves from the enemy who had sworn to destroy them. When, by their own means, they were able to protect themselves from that danger, they could then begin to devote themselves to their future destiny. They could consider this destiny secure from the moment it no longer was contingent on the arbitrary rule of the Turks and was under the protection of the European states, and Russia in particular. But the Greeks, he stressed, could count on Europe's protection only if they were carefully to guard themselves against revolutionary ideas. Pini zealously strove to disseminate these precepts among the Greeks.

In evaluating the content of these precepts it can be figuratively said that he wanted to use such make-up on the face of the Greek revolution as would render it less repulsive in the eyes of counter-revolutionary Europe. At the same time this advice followed from the essence of Capodistrias's world outlook and from his concept of the social and political development of Greece. These precepts highly impressed moderate Greek political figures.

Capodistrias left St. Petersburg on August 8, 1822. He set out for abroad in a palace road-coach; his apartment on Palace Square remained at his disposal. But in St. Petersburg it was known that this time it was not a question of the state secretary's usual trip to the

mineral springs. The political import of Capodistrias's departure was clear to such a well-informed and thoughtful observer as N. Karamzin. On August 10, 1822, he wrote his Moscow correspondent: "It is a pity that the amiable and intelligent Count Capodistrias is leaving us. There are too few like him." A month later, continuing to reflect on the same matter, the historian wrote: "Europe has buried the Greeks; may God resurrect the dead!"⁷

Notwithstanding the hostility of the reactionary governments of Europe, the Greek revolution continued to gather strength. The subsequent political biography of the Greek patriot was inseparably linked with its course of development. After his departure from St. Petersburg Capodistrias settled in Geneva at the end of 1822 and lived there for more than four years. All that time he continued to be considered as being employed in Russian government service. During his stay in Switzerland Capodistrias did much for the development of the philhellenic movement in the European countries and rendered assistance to the Greek refugee war victims. At the same time he closely followed events in Greece and maintained contacts with the leaders there. In 1825-1826 the military situation deteriorated sharply for the Greek insurgents. Sultan Mahmoud II sent the army of the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha, a new army trained on the European model, to put down the uprising. A considerable part of the Peloponnesos found itself under the heel of the enemy once again, Missolonghi, an important Greek stronghold, fell, and the defenders of the Acropolis were holding out with difficulty. The situation was made even more complicated by the incessant internal struggle among the Greek leaders.

Many Greek patriots saw a way out of the existing situation in the appointment of John Capodistrias, whose high position in Russia and national patriotic activity had won him fame and authority in Greece, as head of state. On April 3, 1827, the National Assembly in Trizin elected him president (ruler) of Greece for a term of seven years. In July 1827 Capodistrias requested to be officially relieved of his duties in Russia's service and in January 1828 arrived in Nauplia, then the capital of the Greek state.

By that time a change favourable to Greece had taken place in the international situation. On June 25 (July 6), 1827, the Anglo-Franco-Russian Convention, according to which those states recognised the autonomy of Greece, was signed in London. The convention provided for measures of compulsion for ending the Greco-Turkish war. As a result, in the battle of Navarino, which took place on October 8, 1827, the united fleets of Britain, Russia and France routed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet. However, the position of Greece, which for seven years had waged an unequal struggle, continued to remain extremely serious.

Capodistrias took energetic measures to improve the military and economic positions of Greece and restore internal order and security. A centralised system of government was established which dealt a blow to the hereditary rule of the large feudal families. The Greek

army and fleet became regular. The president made every effort to promote the spread of knowledge. Under his administration a state system of elementary education was set up in the country. All these measures were directed at creating a centralised state and had a positive effect. But Capodistrias was far removed from the ideals of the Greek revolution and took little account of the constitutional practice established during its course. He dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and the ministers became mere executors of his will. In 1828-1829 the Greek War of Independence came to a successful conclusion. In October 1828 Capodistrias's diplomatic demarches led to the withdrawal of Ibrahim Pasha's army from the Peloponnesos. The president made no small effort to liberate the Greek regions which still remained under the rule of the Porte. Greek forces began their attack in Western and Central Greece. These operations had great political significance as the British government intended to limit the territorial boundaries of the Greek state to the Peloponnesos and the Cyclades. The new Russo-Turkish war which began in April of 1828 and which forced the Porte to withdraw a considerable part of its forces from Greece helped the Greeks gain success. On September 12, 1829, the Greek forces, commanded by Dimitros Ypsilantis, Alexandros Ypsilantis's brother, emerged victorious in a battle near Petrarch, the final battle of the Greek War of Independence. Not long before, on September 2, 1829, a peace treaty had been signed in Adrianople between Russia and Turkey under which the Porte was forced to recognise the autonomy of Greece. Thus the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829 was the decisive external factor in the successful conclusion of the Greek national liberation revolution. On January 22, 1830, the rulers of Britain, France and Russia signed a protocol in London by which Greece was proclaimed an independent state.

The Greek revolution was over but the internal struggle in Greece continued. The dictatorial actions of the president aroused the protest of democratic circles. However, in the opposition that was formed the decisive role belonged to the big ship-owners, feudal-particularist elements and professional politicians, who used constitutional phraseology in the struggle to overthrow Capodistrias and seize power. The opposition was supported by Britain and France, who were dissatisfied with the president's foreign economic policy. In 1831 the opposition organised armed actions against the central authorities in a number of regions of Greece. Capodistrias was assassinated in Nauplia on September 27, 1831, by Constantine and George Mavromikhalis, members of a prominent feudal family in the Peloponnesos. After his death civil war broke out in the country which ended in 1833 with the ascent to the throne of Otto of Bavaria, who was forced on the Greeks by the "protector states".

The national liberation revolution of 1821-1829 led to the overthrow of the century-old Ottoman yoke and to the establishment of an independent Greek state. The independence of Greece was first and foremost the result of a long and stubborn struggle by the Greek

people and the selfless efforts of many Greek patriots. John Capodistrias's contribution to the national liberation of Greece from foreign oppression was a significant one.

NOTES

- ¹ For the text of the letter see: A. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom Türkische Reiche*, Vol. III, Vienna, 1867, pp. 61-62.
- ² *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.
- ³ A. Shidlovsky, "Correspondence of Count J. A. Capodistrias", *Vestnik vsemirnoi istorii* (Herald of World History), St. Petersburg, 1900, No. 5, p. 172.
- ⁴ N. Schilder, *Emperor Alexander the First, His Life and Rule*, Vol. 4, St. Petersburg, 1905, p. 471 (in Russian).
- ⁵ A. Prokesch-Osten, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-101.
- ⁶ The texts of these letters were published by P. Pogodin. See "Report on the XXXVII Presentation of the Count Uvarov Awards", St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 32-35 (in Russian). Recently they were republished by the British historian C. Crawley, who did not mention P. Pogodin's publication, possibly unknown to him. C. W. Crawley, *John Capodistrias: Some Unpublished Documents*, Thessaloniki, 1970.
- ⁷ *Karamzin's Letters to Alexei Fyodorovich Malinovsky*, Moscow, 1860, pp. 66-67 (in Russian).

Significance of the Cultural Heritage and the Ways of Preserving It

BORIS PIOTROVSKY

A characteristic feature of the history of culture is the constant employment and assimilation of the cultural heritage of past epochs.

Soon after the Soviet power was established Lenin said that in building up the new, socialist culture all the achievements of world culture that had formerly belonged to the ruling class had to be used and made available to the entire nation. In a work headed *The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Power* he wrote: "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."¹

This thesis was lucidly formulated in the draft resolution of the Proletarian Culture Congress in October 1920: "Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value created in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture."² Socialist culture does not emerge in a wilderness; it assimilates all the finest achievements of the exploiter society.

The handing down of the experience, knowledge, discoveries and material and spiritual values of the past is an intricate process that proceeded in different forms in the different epochs of human history. At all its phases there was an unremitting struggle between the old and the new, which brought to light the stable and unstable elements of culture.

In every culture there are cultural layers of the heritage of different periods. Some have their roots deep in the ages, others are

B. Piotrovsky, Academician, Director of the Hermitage State Museum, author of Archaeology of Transcaucasia; The Van Kingdom (Urartu); Karmir-Blur; "Urartu", Archaeologia Mundi, Geneva, 1969 (in English, French and German).

new acquisitions.³ The fact of the existence of these elements of different epochs reflects the dialectic of the development of culture: on the one hand, strong elements representing the cultural heritage are preserved, tradition, which is often an indication of ethnic or historical community; on the other hand, obsolete elements, so-called survivals holding up advancement, are weeded out and replaced by new elements conforming to the changed conditions of the given stage of development. But people are not always able to determine the progressive and regressive elements of culture, and history provides striking examples of advancement slowed down under the impact of retarding survivals. This is observed most frequently during the transition from one social system to another. There are two ways by which culture may be renovated with new elements, some of which are transformed elements of the cultural heritage of the past—by borrowing from without or by developing new elements in one's own environment without outside interference.

The gradual development and transformation of the stable cultural heritage, of stable traditions, and the emergence of new phenomena in culture mirror society's actual life.

How was the cultural heritage handed down in different epochs of human history?

In primitive society this was usually linked with tradition that took the form of a group ritual, in which the cult of ancestors, i.e., the transfer of experience by inheritance was clearly discerned. For instance, among the mountain-dwelling Tajiks pottery was a purely female occupation, and it was handed down by inheritance from mother to daughter. The elder potter was recognised as the custodian of all traditions, rituals and knowledge, and she represented the patron spirit of the potters on Earth and was the continuer of the work of deceased potters.⁴

The experience and knowledge of preceding generations were transferred by ritual linked with the ancestor cult; tradition was the most widespread form of the transfer of the cultural heritage.

Legends were passed on also by word of mouth from generation to generation, and it was easier to memorise them if they had a definite rhythm, in other words, were a song.⁵

Pictorial portrayals known as mnemonic symbols were also linked with ancient legends. These were the beginnings of a written language, which made it easier to hand down the cultural heritage.

In the early states tradition was the principal condition for handing down experience and knowledge to future generations. Traditions were particularly stable in Ancient Egypt. The mode of portraying man in Egyptian drawings was the result of many centuries of primitive portrayals implicit in the art of all primitive peoples. Moreover, it is no accident that in the course of two and a half millennia the Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, developed under the first dynasty of pharaohs, passed on portrayals of the archaic period of Egyptian history, and many of them were no longer known to Egyptians of the period of recorded history.

The festival of Sed (Hebsed), the festival of Egypt's reunification, the rebirth of the pharaoh and the royal jubilee, which preserved emblems and rituals originating in archaic times, were celebrated from the first to the Ptolemy dynasty.

At the same time the tradition in the culture of Ancient Egypt did not lead to stagnation. The productive forces of society and the material and spiritual cultures developed intensively, Ancient Egypt influenced greatly the neighbouring countries, and maintained close relations with many countries of the Ancient East.

Foreign influences were processed and, as new elements, entered the culture of Egypt, which never lost its specific, inimitable make-up.

Tradition was a way of preserving the cultural heritage, a form of ideology, in which the cult of ancestors, coming deep from the ages, was clearly seen. The Egyptians felt this tradition in their day-to-day life on account of the grandeur and stunning monumentality of the relics of the past, such as the great pyramids built by the pharaohs of the III and IV dynasties.

For three and a half millennia the Egyptians revered their deified architect Imhotep who built the stepped pyramid and temple complex of the Pharaoh Zoser.

Ancient Egypt was a model of an ancient Eastern despotic monarchy, where all official culture was determined by the ruling class. (As is known, in every civilisation Lenin distinguished two cultures: one of the ruling classes, and the other of the exploited).

The next phase in the development of culture, which influenced a huge area of the world, is represented by the antique world, chiefly Ancient Greece. Unlike the ancient Eastern kingdoms, this was a state without a despotic royal power and without the deep-rooted traditions of primitive society and the Ancient East.

The culture of Ancient Greece took shape under the impact of Egypt, on the one hand, and of Hither Asia, on the other. But this was not merely borrowing but a creative assimilation of the cultural heritage of the major states of the Ancient East. The art of Ancient Greece was formed in constant struggle between the ideology of the demos and the ideology of the aristocratic élite of the towns. Students of antique art, who linked the florescence of classic art in Athens in the 5th century B.C. with the victory of the democratic forces are probably right. This victory accelerated the development of realism and destroyed the fossilised forms of frontal sculpture. A free pose, movement and facial expression began to be conveyed in sculpture. Although the Greek temple originated from the ancient temples of Asia Minor and Hither Asia, which is seen, say, on the example of the Urartu temple of the close of the 9th century B.C. in Musasir portrayed on the reliefs of the palace of the Assyrian king Sargon, it acquired features of its own.

While borrowing and assimilating the foreign cultural heritage, the Greeks evolved their own ideas about beauty, their own ideal standards of art forms. For instance, the Ancient Greek architectural orders were established in the 5th century B.C.: Doric, Ionic and

Corinthian, which strongly influenced the culture of the whole ancient world.

Canons were evolved in sculpture in the mid-5th century B.C., and this found expression in the theoretical treatise *Canon* by the outstanding sculptor Policleus. This treatise set mathematically substantiated rules for sculpturing the human figure. In the art of Ancient Greece the canons differed qualitatively from those of the Ancient East and the Middle Ages, when the interpretation of an image and iconography were linked mainly with religion and traditional art tastes of the ruling classes. Canons in Ancient Greece plainly mirrored the general trend towards a scientific generalisation of a multitude of elements of culture borrowed from neighbouring countries and assimilated into an integral and unique system.

The Greeks assimilated the wisdom of the Ancient East and developed the cultural heritage of that mighty civilisation.

The formation of the empire of Alexander the Great ended a brilliant period in the history of classical Greek art. When the towns lost their former significance and antique democracy declined, a new art characterised by religious and artistic syncretism appeared with the formation of new monarchies. Hellenic art (from the end of the 4th to the 1st century B.C.) was unable to surmount this syncretism and eclecticism. Despite the spread and influence of Hellenic culture, local traditions, which proved to be very stable, gained strength in countries embraced by that culture. These traditions continued to develop and in some cases even influenced Greek culture. This was a new form of the cultural heritage that differed entirely from the heritage of the Ancient East and classical antique culture. Hellenic culture powerfully influenced the culture in Hellenistic states and in neighbouring territories.

Parallel with Hellenistic traditions, the traditions of antique art were continued in Ancient Rome, which traversed the long and intricate road from the polis of the local Etruscan culture to a huge empire embracing a large portion of Europe, North Africa with Egypt, Asia Minor and Hither Asia.

Alongside the development of true Roman art, particularly portrait sculpture, Roman artists copied noteworthy models of classical Greek art which have been preserved to our day, and in this was manifested an original form of utilising the cultural heritage of past ages.

A new period of the history of culture in the East and in the West opened with the fall of Rome. Already at the outset of the Middle Ages the Eastern peoples had made great advances in culture; many discoveries were made in the field of technology, there were philosophical and religious systems and increasingly close relations were promoted between regions. Despite the huge heritage received by them from Hellenic culture, the Eastern peoples evolved their own culture independently, and the borrowed Greco-Roman art acquired a new meaning. Traditions and innovations, the surmounting of local narrowness in the system of diversified international relations and the creative assimilation of a heterogeneous cultural heritage, indicative of the mediaeval cultures of Asian and North African countries, were

shown, for instance, at the exhibition of mediaeval Eastern painting at the Hermitage State Museum (Leningrad) in 1967.

Rome was superseded by Byzantium whose culture consisted of an intricate intertwining of various traditions and heritages: this could be seen, in particular, at the exhibition of Byzantine art in collections in the Soviet Union, which was held at the Hermitage in 1975. A creative assimilation of the antique heritage with pronounced spiritualistic elements in religion and mysticism is clearly seen in the art of Byzantium.

Byzantium was superseded by mediaeval feudal states with a new culture. Intolerance of everything non-Christian and of the culture of the ancient world began to take shape among the ruling feudal class and in the church. But this intolerance was non-existent among the masses, among the urban population. This is exemplified by the mediaeval towns in the Transcaucasia, where Islam and Christianity not only lived peacefully side by side but established close relations.

Many outstanding antique monuments were destroyed in the drive of the ruling class for a new ideology. In the culture of this period the ascendancy was gained by elements of the cultural heritage for which antiquity was alien. Nonetheless, antique influence is clearly traced in the dogmatic art of mediaeval Europe. The renunciation of antiquity in the Middle Ages was just as natural as the return to monuments of antique culture during the Renaissance.

European Renaissance culture arose with the birth of capitalist relations, in the struggle against mediaeval feudal culture; it shed the dogmatic ecclesiastical character inherent in mediaeval art.

The new bourgeois world outlook led to the appearance of national consciousness, to patriotic sentiments and, at the same time, to the wide utilisation of the national cultural heritage. Humanism, a characteristic feature of Renaissance ideology, contributed greatly to turning attention to antique culture characterised by secular art and to art centred on man. But this process was by no means a return to antique ideology.

Humanism pursued the aim of combating feudal ideology and helped to evolve the ideology of a new historical epoch, of the epoch of capitalism. Here, too, the vigorous utilisation of the cultural heritage had a specific form.

The Renaissance witnessed the beginning of a scientific study of ancient monuments, and this ushered in a new phase in drawing upon the cultural heritage of the past. Italian writers and scholars studied Ancient Greek, looked for old manuscripts and made collections of antique articles. That was the period witnessing the first scientific excavations of ancient monuments. For a long time afterwards the term "archaeology" was applied solely to the study of antique monuments.

Spectacular discoveries were made in the middle and the latter half of the 19th century when the great relics of Ancient Egypt and the monumental sculptures and reliefs from the palaces of Assyrian kings were found. This was followed by the discovery of totally unknown cultures—Crete, Mycenaean and Hittite. Archaeology began to

accumulate considerable material shedding light on the high level of art and culture in forgotten and newly discovered countries.

In Spain archaeologists discovered astonishing monuments of distant primitive art; among them were the now famous Paleolithic drawings discovered in the Altamira Cave in 1876. Then followed the discovery of cave drawings in France; those were examples of remarkable primitive art, ingenuous and appealing.

Major successes were scored in the study of ancient art also by ethnography, particularly in America, Africa and Oceania. The relics of primitive art proved to be, to some extent, in harmony with the quests of artists who departed from pomposity, intricate forms and profound detail. There was simplicity of form in primitive art which portrayed the characteristics of human beings, animals and plants. The rapid development of archaeology and ethnography thus led to the discovery of new relics of the ancient cultural heritage that had been forgotten by men. Science began to popularise these relics, while artists used them in their work because at the close of the 19th and in the 20th century art was in search of new forms.

Many outstanding modern artists used antique art and West European painting of the 16th-18th centuries as the basis of study. For instance, Auguste Rodin had his own collection of antiquities. In the 19th century Russian artists sought inspiration in the halls of the Hermitage, although externally their own works were far from the models to be found there.

In *The Evolution of Modern Sculpture, Tradition and Innovation* A. M. Hammacher analyses how modern artists and sculptors use the heritage of ancient and contemporary cultures.⁶ He distinctly shows the harmony and direct dependence of some works of Picasso, Matisse, Modigliani and other masters on examples of primitive and ethnographic art. He reveals the link between the work of the Italian sculptor Alberto Giacometti and the archaeological relics of Etruria dating from the 1st millennium B.C.

Hammacher compares some sculptures by Rodin, Bourdelle and Maillol with the ancient art of Europe, including antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Science has opened for artists splendid models of ancient art relating to different stages of development and conforming to the aesthetic requirements of given epochs, with requirements that have not lost their significance to this day.

Let us glance at the work of the eminent British sculptor Henry Moore, who created such remarkable sculptures as "Atom Piece", "King and Queen" and "Family Group".

Early in his career Moore took a keen interest in modern African sculpture, then in the 1920s and 1930s his attention was attracted by ancient Mexico. He created a number of monumental sculptures whose affinity to Mexican sculpture is seen at the very first glance. Later, primitivism began to predominate in his work, and he turned to antique prehistory, to Cycladic sculptures. After a period of fascination with constructivism, which brought him close to Naum Gabo, a Moore came under the influence of strict Romance sculpture, and under that influence he worked on a sculpture of Virgin Mary. He

showed me works produced under the impact of antique art—a prostrate warrior with a shield, and recumbent women in folded clothes, which echoed the sculptures of the Parthenon.

Also, my breath was taken away by the exhibition "Picasso and Antiquity" in the Karlsruhe Museum, which I visited in 1974. With enviable doggedness Picasso worked on antique images, this being shown by many of his sketches, some of which were crossed out by his own hand. The museum's department of antiquities contained lithographs by Picasso while on display in the hall devoted to his work were samples of antique ceramics, and this proved to be quite compatible.

Studies of the work of famous modern artists have convinced me that no major contemporary artist can do without samples of the great heritage of the past, despite the fact that his own work may be ultra-modern.

A feature of human thought is that it cannot create an idea of something absolutely unknown. Logical thought is based on experience and knowledge, and it develops by making secure and combining the accumulated understandable knowledge and discoveries. Without drawing upon the achievements of preceding epochs it is impossible to build a new culture; advancement can be speeded only by borrowing from a neighbour with greater experience and knowledge, by drawing upon his cultural heritage.

That explains why the question of the ways of preserving and developing the cultural heritage occupies such an important place in human history. This question touches upon the national cultures of the republics of the Soviet Union and the cultures of the developing nations that have shaken off colonialism and foreign yoke and embarked upon independent development.

The cultural heritage is an historical category, and if by its character the development of a national culture does not conform to socialism and clearly hinders economic and cultural union and cooperation, the cultural heritage acquires the form of nationalistic survivals and an idealisation of the past. In this case it will be gradually rejected.

This fully applies also to the new developing states, where various development tendencies are to be observed. Many of them face the difficult task of giving effect to major socio-economic reforms while preserving and developing the progressive features of their national cultures.

The native language (in an environment with a large range of languages of different tribes) is sometimes an obstacle to union, in which case recourse is made to bilingualism with the language of the former colonialists adopted as a common language.

Ethnographic and historical data indicate that in all epochs of the existence of human society there were many cases when bilingualism and trilingualism were a reality. Multilingualism became particularly pronounced in the motley urban population of the Middle Ages and the subsequent epoch.

In view of the fact that many cultural workers of the new states studied in Western Europe, there have been cases where West European art that has no link whatever with the cultural heritage of their homeland was transplanted directly to their countries.

Take the example of the Arab Republic of Egypt, where the local intelligentsia began to develop rapidly in the latter half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. The noted Egyptian sculptor Mahmud Muhtar (1891-1934) studied in Cairo and in Western Europe. While strongly influenced by Rodin, he did not depart in his work from the principles of Ancient Egyptian art. From the heritage of the past he took the monumentality, generalisation and expressiveness of form. The breath of antiquity is felt in his sculptures, but at the same time his work is very modern.

On the other hand, Ramses Younan, an artist of a younger generation, brought to Egypt abstract painting which was totally alien to the heritage of the past. In the art of modern Egypt one can frequently find not only stylisation in keeping with ancient culture (the works of Kamal Ibeid, conveying pre-dynastic, dynastic and Islamic ceramics) but also a faithful copy of antiquity (decorations in the work of Aida Abdel-Kerim).

On the example of modern Egyptian art one clearly discerns three orientations inherent in the new developing states: utilisation of the basic principles of the national art of the past, the transplanting of alien, borrowed art, and the copying of ancient art. A bitter struggle rages between the first two orientations, and in that struggle transplanted foreign art sometimes gains the upper hand and local art loses its national colour. The development of a national cultural heritage or the assimilation of borrowed art cannot but affect the destiny of a national state.

Socialist nations develop not through fusion and assimilation, but by drawing closer to other nations while preserving their own culture with the entire wealth of its national forms and socialist content. National forms are determined by the cultural heritage developed entirely in conformity with the socialist ideals.

Such, in brief, is the role of the utilisation of the heritage of the past in the culture of different epochs and some regularities of that process. It is quite evident that no culture can be built without developing the achievements of past generations.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 29, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 317.

³ See E. A. Baller, *Successiveness in the Development of Culture*, Moscow, 1969; Yu. Bromley, *Ethnos and Ethnography*, Moscow, 1973, p. 67 (both in Russian).

⁴ See E. Peshchereva, *Pottery in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 116-130 (in Russian).

⁵ See K. Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, Leipzig, 1896.

⁶ See A. M. Hammacher, *The Evolution of Modern Sculpture, Tradition and Innovation*, New York, 1969.

The Nature of the Aesthetic Sign

MIKHAIL KHRAPCHENKO

The place and role of sign phenomena in art culture has been appraised in different ways by various representatives of present-day philosophy and art studies. The opinions expressed range from a complete denial of sign processes in literature and art to their recognition as the main feature of artistic creativity. Those who hold the latter stand proceed from the idea that literature and art as a whole, like other forms of man's spiritual activities, possess the nature of a sign. Charles Sanders Peirce, one of the founders of present-day global semiotics, has emphasised the universal significance of signs; he holds that "every thought is a sign",¹ thereby extending the sign concept to all areas of human thought. In his opinion, sign qualities are inherent, not only in thought but in the emotions as well. "Everything in which we take the least interest creates in us its own particular emotion, however slight this may be. This emotion is a sign and a predicate of the thing."² Since artistic creativity is inseparable from thought and emotions, it should also be seen as a sign phenomenon.

A. Cassirer, who advanced the symbolical theory of human consciousness and behaviour, saw man's main feature in his being a creator of symbols (*animal symbolicum*). In his opinion, any spiritual culture is nothing but a sign, a code. Similar ideas were developed by L. Vygotsky, the Soviet psychologist, who wrote: "...Signification, i.e., the creation and use of signs, is man's main and most general activity, that which, in the psychological sense, distinguishes man from animal..."³

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However, as we see it, the principles of global semiotics cannot be recognised as correct and well-grounded: they do not stand up to criticism from the positions of present-day science and the methodology of dialectical materialism. The interaction between man and Nature, their interlinks, develop on the basis of human consciousness being a relatively equivalent reflection of actual phenomena. It is because thinking is not divorced, in principle, from being, and that it registers and summarises features of the actual world that mankind is able to penetrate ever deeper into the secrets of Nature and make use of her resources to satisfy its needs and achieve technological and social progress.

Lenin's theory of reflection, which has established the unity of being and thinking, affirms man's activity, the reflection of reality in his mind being neither contemplative nor passive: it contains a lively reaction to man's surroundings and is a source of action. In this, it is social practice that provides the touchstone to the degree in which representations of reality that have taken shape or undergo change are true or false.

It does not at all follow hence that signs play no significant role in the cognition of reality. Their significance consists, first and foremost, in their accumulating scientific experience, the outcome of numerous researches. In this capacity, they are an essential component and an effective means of gaining an understanding of the world around us. In science, however, signs and sign systems are created, not with the aim of substituting a fixed system of conventional symbols for a cognition of reality grounded in the reflective capacity of man's consciousness, but of continuously developing and perfecting that cognition. The systematic employment of signs in various areas of science does not affect the essence of cognitive processes. In this sense, sign systems in science do not possess the universal ontological significance that some adherents of global semiotics would endow them with.

While aesthetic signs have a specific function to perform, they, too, do not possess properties of universality. Only those phenomena in art have a sign nature whose meaning and essence consist in a mediated "testimony" to reality in the human thought they are indicative of. However, the great variety in the development of art cannot be reduced to just that. Judgements on the universality of aesthetic signs are not, in our view, grounded in actual facts.

At the same time, while theories that defend the global sign nature of man's spiritual activities cannot be regarded as valid, the same also applies to views that deny the significant part played by signs and sign systems in everyday life, for we quite frequently come up against facts of their existence. As we see it, there is no room for the viewpoint that sign processes are alien to literature and art by the very nature of the latter.

It should be stressed that a denial of signs and sign systems in art culture is voiced from two completely different angles. The adherents of extreme subjectivist and abstract-formalist trends in art eschew all and every correlation of works of art with actual objects and

phenomena. From their point of view, any product of creativity is absolutely autonomous, self-contained, and independent of social life. That is why they rise up against the establishment of any nexuses and correlations between art and reality; they are also opposed to the recognition of aesthetic signs designating existent objects, as well as to actual phenomena expressed in art culture. Thus, some semioticians are doubtful of the link between signs and objects and processes of reality, whose independent existence and significance they emphasise. It is obvious that any sign that does not relate to the phenomenon it signifies, to some idea, is a logical absurdity. Still more remarkable, however, is the rejection by some researchers of the sign notion itself because of its denoting something that actually exists. Such views have been most consistently voiced by the French scholar J. Kristeva, for whom, as an adherent of an abstract-formalist approach to literary phenomena, any "presence" of reality in a work of art is unacceptable.⁴

The denial of signs and sign phenomena in art and literature coming from those who stand for the concept that works of art should contain an extensive reproduction of life is based on the premise that, in one way or another, literature and art reflect actual processes in reality, man's life; at least, should convey them. Anything that infringes the principle of a truthful depiction of reality, of man's life, lies, in essence, beyond the realm of genuine art. From this point of view, phenomena that are called aesthetic signs have no direct bearing on an aesthetic cognising of the world.

While the falseness of ideas of the non-contiguity of art and reality is fairly obvious, the views on sign processes in art harboured by those who stand for the identity of the truth of life and that of art deserve critical comment. Scholars who deny the role of aesthetic signs do not take sufficient account of the variety in art forms, which is revealed in the historical development of art. There can be no doubt that an aesthetic cognition of the world is expressed, not only in a realistic analysis and synthesis of phenomena of reality. With all the specific features in the links between social life, on the one hand, and mythological art, Romanticism and Symbolism, on the other, the latter are also particular varieties of an aesthetic attitude towards the world.

Even a superficial glance at the history of art will show that, in different periods of history, artists have made extensive use of such aesthetic signs as symbols and allegories, without which it is impossible to understand European mediaeval art, for example, or the art of other times and peoples. In mediaeval literature and art, symbols and allegories were that inherent mode of embodying ideas and emotions which gave the fullest expression of the essence of the artistic thought of the period.

Many other kinds of aesthetic signs also exist. For instance, stereotypes hold a predominant place in the present-day mass culture of capitalist countries. In essence, these are undoubtedly signs of a special kind. The mass-produced characters in the numerous detective and psychopathological novels and films, far from reflecting reality, provide substitutes for it or, to put it more precisely, divert the

reader or viewer from the actual processes in life, from its contradictions and conflicts. Gaudy and obstreperous variations of one and the same characters, motivations and situations do, in fact, exert a strong influence on the mass "consumer" of art.

Aesthetic signs also differ in some of their inner properties and in the function they perform. At the same time, they possess features which draw them close to other categories of signs. "A sign...is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect of capacity.... The sign stands for something, its *object*" is how Charles Peirce has described the essence of signs.⁵ A representation of reality is how the French linguist Emile Benveniste has described what he considers the most important feature of signs in general and language signs in particular. "It is the role of a sign to represent and take the place of a thing operating, as its substitute to the mind."⁶ This is a thought it is hard to argue with, but it should be supplemented. Signs are substitutes, not only for actual objects but also for processes, as well as human representations and ideas. Its substitutive function is one of the main indications of a sign, but not the only one. A sign possesses other properties and functions as well.

In considering the features of aesthetic signs, one should emphasise that the process of substitution in the sphere of art often takes the shape of a personification of phenomena and of human qualities and ideas. As a mode of the artistic cognising of reality, personification is to be met in the art of different periods of history. Prior to the Middle Ages, it was widespread in the art of antiquity. With artists of the Renaissance and the period of Classicism, personification appeared in another quality. For instance, Albrecht Dürer, the outstanding German Renaissance artist, made frequent recourse to allegory as a form of personification to embody his creative ideas. In his celebrated "Apocalypse" series of woodcuts, the artist allegorised such things as war, plague, justice and courts of law, and so on. His well-known woodcuts "The Knight, Death, and the Devil", and "Melancholia" were in the same vein.

In its concretely sensual indications and in its function, personification, like other kinds of aesthetic signs, quite often comes into close contact with synthetic art images that have no mediated link with reality but are dynamic generalisations of life's phenomena and their development. It is often hard to distinguish externally between synthetic art images and aesthetic signs, but that should not lead to the conclusion that no clear-cut line of division exists between them.

While aesthetic signs are *substitutes* for actual phenomena and embody human representations and ideals, a synthetic art image is a *reflection* of processes taking place in the lives of people. This is undoubtedly a highly important distinction. To understand this distinction correctly, it should be borne in mind that both a substitution of aesthetic signs for reality and the latter's reflection in synthetic art images have numerous facets. Reflection of reality is not one and the same first and foremost in various branches of art. While it is most often effected in literature, painting and sculpture in the form of a *depiction* of man and the world about him, reality is

reflected in the field of music and also of lyrical poetry by means of the *expression* of human emotions and ideas. The reflection of life also differs in the modes in which it is effected in different periods of history and in different art trends. The direct links between a synthetic art image and actual reality in no way precludes, not only a broad range of aesthetic generalisations but also their unequal expression in volume and depth.

The thought is sometimes voiced that it is difficult and even impossible to draw a line of distinction between a synthetic art image and an aesthetic sign, on the basis of the attitude towards reality. Just like a sign, an art image is, as it were, a substitute for objects and phenomena of reality. A picture, sculpture or literary work acquaints us with something we did not know before. In a certain sense, the images given shape in these works are substitutes for the reality that has found reflection in them and which they present to the reader or viewer. According to this viewpoint, an art image is nothing but an iconic sign.

However, all this is far removed from the truth. As we have already pointed out, an art image does not always possess depictive features. Thus Charles Morris, the US scholar, attempted to examine music from the positions of its depictive signs, which did not and could not lead him to any serious conclusions, since music has long been known to be an expressive art. The link between a musical image and reality is different from that of an image in painting, for example.

But even when a synthetic art image contains depictive qualities, its sense and meaning cannot be reduced to a substitution of what is real. Some researchers, who insist that an image performs the function of denotation and substitution, emphasise its similarity to what it reflects. This stand, however, is quite insufficient for any creative generalisation.

The essence of a synthetic art image consists, not in the simple registration of the external features of actual phenomena but in a revelation of their deep-lying qualities, the trends in the development of man and society. It is obvious that, in any embodiment of the typical, considerable importance also attaches to a depiction of the tangible characteristics that distinguish one phenomenon from another. However, such traits are highly useful and essential only when they help convey the leading principles that determine the specific features of reality and people's lives. As long as they remain merely indications of similarity, they play a definite part in reducing art to the level of unpretentious illustrations.

The distinctions between an aesthetic sign and a synthetic art image do not consist only in a difference between the principles of substitution of phenomena of reality, and their reflection. There exist important distinctive indications, namely, that an aesthetic sign is always conventional, while a synthetic art image contains something new and unexpected which affects and changes established notions of reality.

Aesthetic signs are conventional because of their inner nature. As denotations of objects, phenomena and ideas, they can function with

full force only if understood and recognised by certain social strata or at least by some group of people. Without this recognition an aesthetic sign is non-existent. Its conventional basis can be very broad and quite narrow. An aesthetic sign is often used by various strata of society and a vast number of people, but it often caters for a fairly exclusive circle of connoisseurs. All this, however, does not change the essence of an aesthetic sign.

Of course, an understanding of an artistic image by its art "consumers" is essential for its effective functioning, but in this case that is not the outcome of some socio-aesthetic convention but is a dynamic absorption of the results of an artistic cognition of the world. Besides—and this is very important—major creative generalisations are often denied immediate recognition by readers, viewers and listeners. Without ceasing from being profound artistic discoveries, they may be latent for a time because they are not objects of active public interest and do not exert any major public influence.

An essential distinction between an aesthetic sign and an artistic image is also revealed in the structure of their meanings. An aesthetic sign possesses a property which can be described as a striving for its meaning to be invariable. A sign usually possesses a stable significance and resists any multiplicity of interpretation, at least for a definite period of time. That is natural. Any multiplicity of the meaning attached to a sign hampers its existence, a certain constancy of understanding being an important condition for a sign to function. Indeed, if a denotation changes its meaning, its relation with what is denoted loses the permanence which determines the regular functioning of a sign.

In the Middle Ages, signs, including the aesthetic, often had several meanings, which however were themselves canonised. The possibility of their being interpreted in different ways was in certain measure constant. Yet the stability of an aesthetic sign cannot be regarded as an absolute magnitude: its conventional understanding can gradually change under the impact of various social causes, so that it is perceived and interpreted in a new way. However, it is a definite norm for an aesthetic sign to have a single meaning over a definite period.

In his defence of a symbolical interpretation of art, the French semiotician Roland Barthes insists that, as a symbol, a work of art contains a plurality of meanings. "A work," he writes, "contains several meanings simultaneously because of its structure, and not because of any disability in those who read it. That is exactly why it is symbolical: a symbol is not an image but a plurality of meanings."⁷

Barthes's ideas are erroneous, first and foremost, because he attributes a symbolic nature to all art and to the most various of its phenomena, this running counter to the real facts. At the same time, Barthes is not inclined to regard symbols as a mode of the artistic cognising of the world, from the historical viewpoint. He has transferred to aesthetic signs the plurality of meanings that is actually inherent in a synthetic artistic image. This is untenable as a whole, and is an expression of the shortcomings in the universal theory of signs

and symbols, whose adherents refuse to take note of the non-homogeneity of the various forms of art, its internal differentiation. Besides, Barthes has interpreted the very plurality of an artistic image in the spirit of subjectivism; he has ignored all the deep objective content and the tri-dimensional nature of the generalisation contained in a synthetic artistic image. It is these that make for the possibility of its being perceived and understood in different terms.⁸

Besides everything else, a synthetic art image has the notable property of being capable of attracting and absorbing fresh phenomena of reality which are far removed in time from those which provided their prototypes. While possessing various features related to the prime source of an artistic image, these phenomena of reality endow it with a new quality enriching and transforming it in the perception of ensuing generations of readers, viewers and listeners. This is possible because, in its most various manifestations, life literally pulsates in an artistic image. Here too—true, on a different plane—the distinctions reveal themselves between an artistic image and an aesthetic sign, with its striving towards stability of meaning.

* * *

The adherents of the global concept of symbols and signs place particular stress on the communicative functions of signs in general, some scholars seeing their main feature in this. Of course, their communicative function is among the chief properties of aesthetic signs. Even when they embody aesthetic signs, works of art are designed to enable people to communicate, the conventional nature of signs being an essential premise of that intercourse. However, far from being distinct from their other functions, the communicative functions of aesthetic signs are closely linked with the latter. With all their specific features, aesthetic signs cannot be fully separated from an artistic cognition of reality.

Man's striving to assimilate his world in terms of images and to generalise it finds bold expression already in the early stages of the development of art, first and foremost in primitive man vividly depicting in cave drawings and in figurines the wild animals he sees and hunts. The images he creates of the various animals reveal a desire to register—probably for ritual purposes—their characteristic features, movements and behaviour. At the same time, cave drawings often show more conventionalised and mediated forms of links between man and Nature.

Here is what A. Stolyar, a student of primitive art, has had to say about the principles of classifications of its relics: "If we take as a significant criterion of primitive art its division according to its depictive nature (in other words, how individual aspects of its creative perception is conveyed) we shall come up against three basic groups of relics: those that convey definite *topics*, *sign* or symbolical relics, and the rhythmical or *ornamental*."⁹

A definite interest is presented by this scholar's opinion, not only as regards the three types of primitive pictorial art, but also the relations between them. "The role of each of these groups in the overall inception and development of creativity is also unequal. An exceptional place belongs to the plot form, which at the time doubtlessly presented the basic stream of creativity, especially if appraised with the yardstick of aesthetic enrichment." At the same time, this researcher goes on to remark, "there is reason to believe that, in the early stages of the development of art, this plot form, which was based directly on an image of reality and reflected the latter in the least conventional language, in a number of cases, genetically enriched the subject matter of the two others. Thus, the extreme degree of generalisation in the depiction of an entire subject, or a part that is important in meaning, and their elevation to the level of a linear scheme produced sign symbols, while the rhythmical and the compositional repetition of the latter multiplied the ornamental motifs."¹⁰

Other researchers have also noted the appearance of aesthetic signs on the basis of pictorial principles.¹¹ The role of schematic depictions in the development of culture and art is distinctly to be seen, for instance, in the wide spread of signs standing for the Sun, which various peoples have depicted as discs, wheels, and so on. At the same time, there has taken place an important process of the formation of signs, consisting in the expression of the properties of one object or phenomenon with the aid of a depiction of another object or phenomenon according to the principle of contiguity or similarity. Thus, at the early stages of the development of culture and art, air was depicted pictorially with the aid of bird figures, and water, by drawings of fish. Various phases of human life were depicted through drawings of trees, and so on.

What was "invisible" to the eye, less comprehensible and far removed from the mind found expression with the aid of the familiar, the tangible and the obvious. A number of scholars think that similes and metaphors were the most ancient means of the aesthetic perception of the world. A metaphor which had become more or less established came into frequent use, turning into an aesthetic sign. Folk poetry, as is common knowledge, is full of established epithets, similes and metaphors depicting humans as birds, beasts, trees, or plants. Surely this is a notable indication of the way aesthetic signs appeared.

The likeness expressed in an established metaphor is no doubt closely related to personification which, however, involved a fairly wide range of phenomena in the early stages of the development of culture and art. It was intimately linked, in the first place, with man's mythological ideas of reality, mythology engendering that mode of the aesthetic understanding of the world which has been termed personification.

In characterising distinctions and contiguities in synthetic artistic images and sign phenomena in art, we must emphasise the dual nature of signs in general, and aesthetic signs in particular. Cognition, Lenin

pointed out, includes "the possibility of the flight of fantasy from life".¹² From the angle of its results, a "flight of fantasy" may indicate both a broader depiction of reality and a departure from any attempt to reveal its actual properties, a departure into the labyrinth of the illusory. Such "divergencies" make for a better understanding of the essence of aesthetic signs and their historical fate. In the further development of art, aesthetic signs, which owe their appearance to the need for artistic generalisations, on the one hand preserved, in one way or another, their specific link with an embodiment of the real and characteristic, but on the other often appeared as denotations of established representations of the supra-sensual and the unrealistic; they operated as canons of stereotypes which replace a genuine picture of life.

These two processes were constantly intertwining and clashing, the personification of phenomena of life and of ideas—their "humanisation"—often proving, not simply a mode of their denotation, a kind of signal, but also a means of embodying profound human emotions, thoughts and aspirations. A substitution for actual objects, or an expression of ideas referring to the illusory and the unreal often merged with a direct revelation of men's early qualities, their psychology. Of course, the degree in which an aesthetic sign is replete with dynamic human content differs in various historical circumstances, depending not so much on the features of the denotation itself as on the impact of the earthly, the sensual on the artistic consciousness, its contraposition to the abstract and the illusory.

The dual nature of aesthetic signs perhaps stands out in particular relief in the role symbols have played in art. A symbol may lead the reader or viewer away into the sphere of the irrational, the labyrinth of the mystical, while at the same time being a means of generalising reality. Actual human qualities, man's inner world, have been tellingly expressed in many mythological symbolical images of antique art created by Dante, Goethe, Byron, and many other outstanding writers and poets. Powerful expression of man's emotions and aspirations are to be seen in the religious paintings of such outstanding painters as Giotto, Raphael, Michelangelo and Rublev.

The history of world art shows that an aesthetic sign now departs from a synthetic artistic image, now approaches it. It often happens that an aesthetic sign, which becomes transformed together with the mobile non-canonic principles that have penetrated it, acquires the features and properties of an artistic image. On the other hand, an artistic image sometimes turns into a sign as a result of frequent repetition and a kind of attrition and automatism. In particular, many outstanding works of Russian icon-painting may be cited as typical examples of a blending of aesthetic signs with uncanonic principles. Like many other paintings on religious themes, icons are understood and appraised today otherwise than they were in the past, including the times of their appearance. However, changes in the aesthetic impact of signs—in this case, of such canonic signs as icons—depend less on their sign properties than on the measure and the degree in which they embody non-sign qualities.

To anyone who is religious, an icon is an object of worship that always gives the believer a sense of communion with the kingdom of heaven; to us, they present value and interest only if they give vivid expression to man's emotions and thoughts, his spiritual world. It is such features that were profoundly expressed in the works of the leading masters of Russian icon-painting, this alongside the canonic ideas.

The stability in sign-meaning we have spoken of should not be identified with the nature of the objects and phenomena they refer to. A sign denotes not only what has taken shape in some measure, but also what is developing; it indicates, not only the conservative aspects of life but also its dynamic features. For instance, a laurel wreath has come to symbolise an outstanding achievement; a torch stands for enlightenment and progress; a red banner symbolises the revolutionary struggle, and so on.

Literature and art often contain symbols and signs that characterise protest and a struggle for a better world, a striving to establish justice and humanism. Typical of such aspirations are such works as Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and *Historical Writings* of the Russian Decembrist Ryleyev. *Prometheus Unbound* is full of symbols and personifications, this lyrical drama containing such characters as Earth, Ocean, Ocean's Daughters, the Phantasm of Jupiter, the Spirit of the Earth, the Spirit of the Moon, the Furies, and so on. Each of these is an embodiment of some principle of life, and many of its manifestations. The main character—Prometheus is utterly opposed to Man's social enslavement, to the fear and deception he is subjected to. An ardent fighter for freedom of thought and liberty, he dreams of the triumph of justice, love and truth throughout the world.

The scenes describing the liberation of Prometheus and the emotions and hopes born of that liberation are a view of a radiant future, a picture of mankind's future. Together with certain elements of utopianism inherent in *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley's lyrical drama as a whole, and its characters as mythological symbols, contain generalisations of an imposing scale.

Ryleyev's *Historical Writings* also contain a number of forceful heroes with sign features, but, unlike Shelley, he has endowed actual historical personages with the qualities of fearless patriots, heralds of ideas of freedom and fighters against social evil. In this case, historical personages are not depicted in their actual lives but as carriers of certain lofty emotions and aspirations, this with the purpose of showing them to the poet's contemporaries as models of civic courage.

Using the method of romantic art, Ryleyev generalised the various characteristics of historical personages, attributing features of an ideal universality to the conflict some of them were engaged in against the rulers of the society they lived in. In this, the ideal, as depicted by Ryleyev, was often far removed from the actual. Thus Artemus Volynski, a prominent politician of the times of Peter I, Catherine I, and the Empress Anna Ioannovna, was in no way distinguished for radical convictions or clearly expressed sentiments of social protest.

His rivalry with the royal favourite Biron ended in his execution. With Ryleyev's *Volynski* the historical figure is not only a patriot and devoted to good works but is also a sworn enemy of tyranny.

Similar principles in the depiction of the main characters are also to be seen, with various modifications, in several of Ryleyev's other historical works. A depiction of an historical character as one endowed with ideal features was a sign of the lofty norms of human behaviour which the poet considered essential to his contemporaries. In this case, aesthetic signs were a kind of characteristic of progressive features that were appearing in society and had a strong influence on the youth of the time.

The sign features manifested in some of Shelley's and Ryleyev's romantic works do not mean that Romantic art possesses a sign nature in essence. Its forms and content are far more complex, since Romanticism has revealed various creative trends.

Its emotional key is a most important feature of an aesthetic sign. While many other signs are marked by neutral representation, aesthetic signs contain, internally and structurally, a definite emotional factor. This refers to all and any modes of aesthetic denotation: personification, symbols, allegories and so on. Any sphere of aesthetic signs that has taken shape in one way or another gives vent to various kinds of emotional expressiveness, often ranging from the tragic to the comic, and from the sublime to the repulsive and horrible.

Besides a non-homogeneous mode of denotation, the above-mentioned instances of aesthetic signs often reveal differences in their dominating emotional ideas. While *Prometheus Unbound* is a blend of lyricism and tragedy imbued in the finale with notes of joy and radiance, a number of Ryleyev's historical writings have a different tonality—the heroic, or rather the heroic imbued with a sense of self-sacrifice. The struggle against tyranny and for the triumph of reason and liberty called for great sacrifices, which Ryleyev considered fully justified. He was sure that the example set by those standing in the forefront would be taken up by the others who followed them.

The distinction between an attitude towards reality as expressed in synthetic artistic images and the emotional key registered in aesthetic signs is beyond doubt. In synthetic artistic images, the tonality of a work and its various parts merges both with the depiction of man's life and with the expression of his emotions and strivings. At the same time, the emotional key in aesthetic sign conveys, in one way or another, principles of duty or else characterises actual objects and phenomena in a mediated fashion.

For instance, the difference in the tonality of the eight allegorical figures standing in the Place de la Concorde in Paris and symbolising France's main cities are indirect denotations of differences in actual phenomena of reality. Any analysis of works of art on religious themes, for example, will show that Christian symbolism is marked by a poetical treatment of humility, forgiveness and suffering, while Tibeto-Mongolian religious symbolism is dominated by a cult of cruel

and menacing forces of the other world, a cult of fear of such forces.

The principles of obligations were expressed differently, for instance, in the emotional key marking allegorical depictions of human virtues and vices in the period of Classicism. The very sequence in which human qualities were divided into positive and negative, as well as the emotional character of the allegories testify eloquently to an embodiment of what ought to be accepted. Norms reveal themselves distinctly in the depictions, not only of positive but also negative qualities in man.

The emotional key of aesthetic signs, and the attitude towards reality expressed in synthetic artistic images, with all their differences, undoubtedly draw signs and images closer together. They do so far more than the principles of artistic generalisation which, in certain circumstances, are also present in aesthetic signs. This affects a certain community of structure in works embodying synthetic artistic images, and works in which aesthetic signs are predominant.

Of course, the artistic concepts of a period, the aesthetic views of individual *maestri*, and the range of phenomena and problems they deal with all influence the structure of creative works. At the same time, however, a very important part is played here by the aims and purposes of the emotional impact on readers, viewers and listeners, these being a constant and at the same time variable ingredient of artistic creativity. Such aims and purposes, while changing in content and nature, exert an active influence on the structure of creative works.

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Works dealing with problems of semiotics in literature, folklore and art reveal a fairly wide variety in the understanding of the basic forms of aesthetic denotation and the kinds of aesthetic signs. Thus, to Roland Barthes a work of art as a whole is the predominant sign-symbol in literature. Ts. Todorov regards as a basic sign-unit now a narrative sentence, now an utterance. In his *Morphology of Folk Tales*, which is widely read and has influenced many researchers, the Soviet author V. Propp has come to the conclusion that the situations, the functions of the main character, are the most stable typological element in folk narrative creativity. The sign character is most typical of them. The Soviet writer M. Bakhtin has also dealt with sign situations in his book *François Rabelais and the Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, but he has also noted the sign significance of images of the body and its nether parts in Rabelais.

The one-sided and contradictory nature of some of these viewpoints is readily discernible. Even if we disregard the universal significance that some semioticians attach to symbols, it will appear evident that symbols and works of literature cannot be regarded as identical in the sphere of art, in which sign phenomena play a predominant part. This is also untenable, because a work of art is a non-homogeneous whole in internal structure and essence. It reveals

the clash between various principles that oppose or counteract one another. An embodiment of conflicts in their infinite variety of forms is an inalienable feature of literature at various stages of its historical development. Reducing the meaning and significance of a literary work to a single symbol (even given a wide range of interpretations) greatly simplifies and distorts the content of a creative work.

Just as unjustified and contradictory is the idea of a narrative sentence or an utterance being fundamental sign categories. In literary language, just as in everyday speech, Todorov points out, one meaning can be chosen from numerous others. However, the problem of meaning is far more complex in literature than in speech.

In essence, Ts. Todorov has himself admitted that the framework of an utterance in a work of literature is very vague, as are its links with the other artistic elements. Its meaning is hard to establish, since it depends on many correlations with other utterances in a work of literature. All this reveals the amorphous nature of the categories the researcher operates with. In his propositions, the particular acquires a self-sufficing role, the individual elements failing to create an overall system.

As I see it, using the idea of narrative sentence and utterance to explain literary phenomena is unproductive because neither of these categories characterises the specific features of literary creativity. That is why an utterance as understood by linguists is not that component in a work of literature that can serve as a basis or point of departure for an analysis of an aesthetic sign's properties.

In their analyses of works pertaining to various kinds of art, the adherents of global semiotics have in recent years made constant use of the concept of "artistic text", with emphasis on two aspects of the phenomenon: its structural features and sign nature. Some semioticians operate with the more general concept of "text", to which they attach an extremely broad meaning. From their point of view, this is a fundamental concept in present-day semiotics.

However, the range and the limits of this concept are very vague since it unites phenomena that are absolutely non-homogeneous. Besides, its content fluctuates with the views, tastes and intentions of individual researchers. Characteristic in this sense is a statement by Maria Renata Mayenowa, the Polish scholar: "The concept of text is very important to semiotics. It does not refer without fail only to language structures. *Any sign structure which conveys a definite and integral meaning is a text.* [Italics mine—M.Kh.]. A picture, a rite, or a definite behaviour are texts, from the semiotic point of view. In many respects, it is difficult to give a precise definition of a text. It can change together with the researcher's point of view and with the particular major cycle a text is considered in respect of."¹³

The question of necessity arises: if no clear understanding of the range and actual content of the concept exists, how can it present any basic significance? An obvious contradiction exists here.

In this approach, a "text" can only be something with a definite meaning. On this basis, one can of course bring together and unite such phenomena, for instance, as marriage rites and Rembrandt's

paintings, road signs and Beethoven's symphonies, various kinds of apparel and Goethe's *Faust*. Such comparisons, however, can lead nowhere: their significance for serious semiotic conclusions is not great, and they are quite unnecessary for the understanding of outstanding works of art. The absence of actual links between the phenomena under comparison obviously determines the shakiness and the questionableness of the conclusions usually drawn from such comparisons.

Attempts to semiotically define the content and the meaning of the term "artistic text" also lack conviction. For instance, here is how B. Uspensky explains the essence of this concept, in his article "The Structural Community in Various Kinds of Art, on Material Provided by Painting and Literature": "...The words *artistic*, *text*, and *narrative* are understood in the broadest sense and can be applied, not only to the art of literature but also to pictorial art...and other kinds of art immediately linked with semantics (i.e., the representation of some actuality taken as what is denoted). (Thus, the Russian word *khudozhestvenny* is understood in the sense of the English word "artistic" and the word *text* as any semantically organised sequence of signs...)." ¹⁴

As we see, art in this interpretation is intimately linked with a simple representation of actual phenomena and with an understanding that claims to operate as a denotative. But, as has already been pointed out, this approach cannot explain the specific features of art as a whole and, in particular, such areas of art as music and architecture. No semiotician has been able to explain, for instance, which particular phenomena of life are represented in works of architecture. Besides its disregard of the particular features of art, the theory of "artistic text" also plays down the qualitative non-homogeneity of its various phenomena. From the viewpoint of this theory, the term "artistic text" can apply in equal measure to Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and the paintings, say, of Salvador Dali, Mozart's symphonies and Western films, and so on.

By itself, the concept of "text", even if taken together with the word "artistic", contains a definite meaning which, however, does not actually correlate with works of music for example, and, moreover, distorts their specific features. Further, what is there in common between a text and, for instance, portrait painting? A semantic sequences of signs? But that is an abstraction which provides nothing for an understanding of the essence of art, or of what can be called aesthetic signs.

Any concept or scientific generalisation should embrace those general features in phenomena that shed light on their characteristic properties. In the given instance, certain structural qualities in works of literature are arbitrarily imposed on other branches of art. In view of its internal contradictoriness, the concept of "artistic text" in the broad sense can hardly yield any tangible results in any investigation into various branches of art.

As has already been said, sign phenomena in an artistic culture do not in full measure comprise a particular area, but they are not

separated by a gulf from the other spheres of that culture. The facts of the history of art show that sign processes usually extend to those kinds and forms of the aesthetic understanding of reality which are also inherent in a generalisation of that reality in terms of images. In respect of literature, this refers, first and foremost, to the characters in a story and the conflicts they live and act in. This also refers in considerable degree to paintings depicting some particular subject. The attention of writers and painters is constantly focused on man and his relations and links with the world around him, his orientation in that world. There is therefore nothing surprising in sign processes taking place within the mainstream of the leading branches and forms of aesthetic experience. That these processes have meanings and importance differing from those of synthetic artistic generalisations is another matter.

However, sign phenomena in literature and art reveal themselves, not only in the main fields of the aesthetic embodiment of life but also in other and more "particular" forms. Literature and art absorb a multitude of ready-made signs that have arisen over a lengthy period of time. Thus, mediaeval and Renaissance paintings often contain heroes of mythological antiquity and characters from later religious legends; these may be depicted grappling with dragons and other monsters; at the same time these characters act, in such cases, as sign embodiments of definite ideas. The monsters depicted are signs symbolising the evil existing in the world.

Besides such "competing" signs, mediaeval and Renaissance paintings also contained a large number of concomitant signs depicting birds, beasts, flowers, plants, various objects and so on. These were sometimes prominent in the composition but were more frequently details conveying a definite meaning. Thus, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's painting *The Madonna and the Infant Christ* depicts the latter holding a goldfinch in his left hand. Anyone unfamiliar with the meaning of signs used by Renaissance painters will hardly understand why this bird should appear in the painting; in fact, the bird has a special sign significance, because the goldfinch was for a long time a symbol of grief and suffering. In this picture, it symbolises Christ's future passion.

Certain symbolical details were an essential part of Buddha sculptures in ancient Indian art: the slight elevations on the crown of Buddha's head and between his eyebrows, his retracted ear lobes and the like were all signs of his wisdom and omnipotence.

The symbolical use of plants, flowers, animals and birds was widespread in European as well as Eastern art. Thus, in certain circumstances, the eagle symbolised resurrection, the owl—the demonic and the kingdom of darkness, the peacock—vanity and amorality; the chestnut symbolised purity and virtue, the olive branch was (and often still is) a symbol of peace, a circle stood for life without end, eternity, while scales symbolised justice and equality. Sometimes a sign was a means of distinguishing people from others in a picture. Thus, a halo round the head symbolised saintliness.

Descriptions of details and objects often acquire a symbolical function in literature. In Pushkin's poem *The Dagger*, for instance, this weapon is a symbol of political struggle, vengeance and retribution.

Even particular words that are "focal" in a text sometimes become "signals" in lyrical poems. Examples are the use, in Decembrist poems, of such words as "tyrant, despotism, law, citizen, the public weal, and freedom". These denoted integral and different spheres of life; they stood for definite convictions and ideas. On the one hand, they were signs for social and political despotism and oppression; on the other, they were indicative of the new kind of "citizens" who were out to establish new principles of life ("law", "the public weal", and "freedom").

Such sign-words were used in the poems of a number of Decembrists, including Ryleyev's *Citizen*.

Of course, the personification of an idea and a sign detail in a painting, a personage as a symbol and a sign-word are far from identical phenomena, but when they appear in close contact with one another and together with sign-situations, they are indicative of various roads and means of aesthetic denotation.

The interlinks between signs and their relation to extra-sign systems are also matters of debate. Here is what Emile Benveniste, who has been quoted above, has to say on the links between language signs: "The value of a sign is determined solely in the system in which it is integrated. There are no trans-systemic signs."¹⁵ On the other hand, however, he goes on to assert: "In reality, the world of signs is a closed one. There is no transition from the sign to the sentence, either through syntagmas or otherwise."¹⁶ In respect of the world of aesthetic signs, neither of these propositions is tenable.

Trans-systemic signs are to be met fairly often in art. For instance, the Delacroix painting "Liberty Guiding the People" is highly realistic in its treatment of the subject, including the allegorical figure of Liberty. Despite its seeming dissonance with the other components in the painting, this figure is inherent in the entire structure, and in many respects determines the overall appeal. In just the same way, works in which aesthetic signs predominate often contain artistic images marked by an emphatic "reality". Some of Hoffmann's novels can serve as examples.

Systemic links are indubitably important in revealing the meanings of individual signs, but it is hard to agree that their meaning is determined only in a system. This can hardly hold for languages, and is still less true of aesthetic signs. If we take such aesthetic signs as characters in a story or situation, their special role in a system and their definite independent significance are obvious. While undergoing the impact of an aesthetic system as a whole, they themselves exert a considerable influence on its definiteness. As for the systemic relations of aesthetic signs, one should constantly take account of so important a factor as the invasion of trans-sign phenomena, which quite often impair the "purity" of sign processes.

The spread of sign phenomena in literature and art and the measure of their sign function in various historical periods are not one and the same. That measure was the greatest in antiquity and the Middle Ages, in the first place because of the role then performed by mythology and religion in society's spiritual life. However, even later, during the Renaissance and the periods of Classicism and the Enlightenment, sign processes were quite intensive in literature and art, though in forms different from the previous. In fact, the mythology of antiquity exerted quite a strong influence on European artistic culture until the beginning of the 19th century. Of course, the images were modified, acquiring a different content and significance and entering into close contact with the development of social reality. Nevertheless, the images of ancient mythology played a tangible part in the aesthetic consciousness and culture of the time.

Sign phenomena in Renaissance, classical and Enlightenment art obviously did not consist merely in an acceptance and development of images of antiquity and the experience of mediaeval art. New ways of aesthetically denoting, by means of signs, such things as social phenomena and man's life had appeared, these new ways standing in special relationships and interaction with the synthetic artistic generalisations of reality. New aesthetic canons were created and stable artistic forms and traditions developed.

Folk art creativity and, first and foremost, folk poetry saw the appearance of stable modes of using signs in the field of aesthetics, modes that were greatly distinct from those which had taken shape in the art of urban cultural centres. The outstanding Russian scholar A. Veselovsky devoted much time and effort to the study of migratory subjects, typologically cognate motifs and stable poetical formulas (epithets, metaphors, epic repetitions and parallelisms in oral and written poetry).

However, what was done by A. Veselovsky does not fully cover the range of what we now call sign phenomena. The scholar's attention was focused on the repetitiveness only of some elements of poetic creativity which he examined, in many respects, in isolation from one another. Nevertheless, A. Veselovsky was a major initiator of historical poetics, in which considerable attention was paid to those crystallised kinds of poetical expressiveness which have come to be called toposes.

He was inclined to think, though with some hesitation, that these stable and repetitive means of artistic expression were the building material used by writers of various periods and trends. "Is not poetical creativity," he wrote, "restricted by certain definite formulas and stable motifs adopted by one generation from the preceding, which itself received from its predecessor, whose prototypes we shall inescapably meet in age-old epics and further at the level of myths, in concrete definitions of primitive language? Does not each new poetical epoch work with images passed down from ancient times; does it not revolve within its framework, permitting itself only new

combinations of the old ones which it merely fills with a new understanding of life, which comprises its progress as against the past?"¹⁷

Veselovsky expressed his viewpoint in the form of a question. Besides, he emphasised the role of actual life in the evolution of poetry, and in instilling fresh content in the traditional images and forms. It was later that universal significance was attached to the ideas of the repetitiveness of the fundamental elements of artistic creativity. These ideas have blended with the assertion that all phenomena of literature and art are of a sign nature. Many semioticians lay heavy stress on the need to reduce what is fresh and original in artistic culture to what is already known, in other words, to a change in information codes. Here is what Umberto Eco, a prominent Italian scholar in the field of semiotics, has written on this matter: "...It is the task of structural poetics to establish in artistic solutions that are considered original the presence of rhetorical schemes. ...This will make it possible to reduce to the social many things that have been hastily assigned to manifestations of individual genius."¹⁸

The discounting of what is original and individual is highly characteristic of adherents of semiotics. This sometimes goes hand in hand with a defence of the social nature of artistic creativity, as has been done by Umberto Eco. It is common knowledge, however, that the social nature of art is in no way equivalent to the predominance of platitudes, of accepted rhetorical schemes. The strength of Marxist theory lies in its revealing the social nature of the creations of great masters, of geniuses who have created inimitable images and works. Common statements, toposes do, of course, exist and their role is not insignificant. However, to reduce the entire development of art to various combinations of them means denying the major achievements of art.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to identify aesthetic signs and sign systems with toposes. Dürer's artistic allegories, Shelley's mythological symbols and the depiction of certain historical characters in Ryleyev's poems are no doubt aesthetic signs, but it is quite impossible to regard them as toposes. Toposes, canons, are only a variety of aesthetic signs.

This is clearly manifested both in the artistic culture of the 16th-18th centuries as well as in later art. For instance, we can see in Romanticism, especially during its decline, the growing influence of "common statements", a unification of characters and situations, and stereotypes in language.

But that is not all there is to sign phenomena in Romanticism, which have revealed themselves most fully in what is sometimes called the metaphysical trend in Romantic art. A marked feature of this trend was the striving to affirm the idea of the existence of two worlds, the possibility of escaping from the realm of reality into an other world. Embodiments of the irrational and the supernatural were prominent part in works of the metaphysical trend, whose "insight" into the unknown often proved grounded in signs of illusory

representations regarding the supernatural as existing in the minds not only of the writers themselves but also of their readers. Couched in realistic terms, such signs encouraged a conviction in the unrealistic.

The new features in the aesthetic signs created by the social Romanticists expressed their social ideals; what was only emergent in the life of society or was simply thought of as possible or desirable was often depicted as something already consummated and irrevocable. The authors' social utopias were often marked by a keen sense of history.

As was already noted Romantic art extended far beyond the sign processes occurring in it. Even when the supernatural came into the picture, a point of departure had to be found which was based on a depiction of the mundane and ordinary: that was how the outstanding Romanticists were able to penetrate deep into the facts of everyday life, particularly when they were dealing with a range of problems they felt profoundly involved in, which bore upon the main traits of human nature and man's inner world. In their striving to understand the specific in man, irrespective of the ever-changing concrete conditions and circumstances marking a particular period, and to describe his potential abilities and possibilities, the Romanticists created works containing, in terms of art, generalisations of enormous value.

Sign processes influenced realism in art, especially in the 19th century, in far lesser degree. That was only to be expected, since realism has always been distinguished by a faithful reflection and profound generalisation of trends and processes in the development of reality. Its perceptiveness and sensibility to new phenomena in life has made it eschew canonic principles and establish denotations of reality that have become obstacles to a generalisation of changes in it, this in terms of images. Realism's direct links with the world about us in no way precludes an "indirect" reflection of the latter, this finding expression in an extensive use of certain conventions in depicting characters and events, this by means of showing how these are seen through the eyes of other people in the story, and of the employment of the principles of the parabolic in the development of a narrative dramatic action; and so on.

Realism often "debunks" signs functioning in social life, whose actual significance lies in the reinforcement of illusions and superstitions, and the deception of self and others. A good example of this is provided by many pages in the writings of Leo Tolstoy, for instance, in the description of a religious service in *Resurrection*.

He also castigates signs indicative of membership of the social upper crust, as well as widely accepted sign forms of behaviour that often serve to gloss over falsehood, utter selfishness and hostility towards others. In this sense, special significance attaches to his story *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, which provides a scintillating analysis of sign forms of usual behaviour and intercourse among the social élite, a sign system that is also characteristic, in varying degree, of other sections of society. A criticism of signs linked with the assertion of social conservatism, prejudice and injustice is also prominent in the

writings of other realists, such as Gogol, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Thackeray, Anatole France, and Thomas Mann.

Though realistically minded artists have disfavoured sign phenomena, processes connected with the latter arise periodically in realism as a trend. They manifest themselves whenever newly discovered characters, the ways these are depicted, structural principles in a work of art, and the language they are couched in become trite and stereotype. In that case, the reflection of new phenomena and characters and a search after effective ways of depicting them yield place to cut-and-dried images, situations, and details, which have merely to be brought together in a semblance of a work of art. Repetition of what has already been discovered, and imitation of what is well known mean a divorce of art and literature from reality, and the transformation of images into signs denoting not so much real objects as abstract ideas.

Sign processes of this kind occur in different periods in the development of Realism. They were clearly to be seen, for instance, during the emergence and efflorescence of the Natural School in Russia, where Gogol's innovative writings opened up a road for interesting creative seekings by other outstanding Russian authors such as Turgenev, Nekrasov, Ostrovsky, Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy. At the same time, however, Gogol's *Dead Souls* and *The Inspector* evoked a wave of sedulous imitations in prose and play writing of the late 1840s and early 1850s. The stereotypes that became the vogue in the depiction of characters, the choice of detail, and the language used were far removed from the real truth of synthetic artistic generalisations, despite their external verisimilitude. The same was to be seen when the popularity of Zola's works led to widespread and unbridled imitation.

Twentieth-century art has seen a marked growth of sign processes, this, in my opinion, being linked in the first place with a mounting mythologisation of contemporary social phenomena, and secondly, with the ever greater alienation that is a feature of capitalist society. When they were coming to power and capitalist relations were developing and flourishing, the bourgeoisie were marked by the calculating sobriety of their view on reality, and scathingly criticised dogmas and myths of all kinds; in the epoch of imperialism, with the upsurge of the class struggle of the working class, they are assiduously glossing over the actual nature of many social phenomena and, primarily, the essence of a political system which the bourgeoisie would present as the triumph of democracy, and are camouflaging the machinery of their rule and of the exploitation of the working people.

The bourgeoisie have created numerous myths that find expression in works of art. Among such myths are many that idealise and embellish capitalist reality, but there are also such that hyperbolise what is claimed to be the old Adam, and insist on the inevitability of the repellent and frightful manifestations of man's *I* that capitalist society engenders and fosters. Religious fanaticism and mysticism are being intensively implanted by the bourgeoisie of today. Imbued with all these myths, which it propagates, and under the impact of

bourgeois ideology, art is being drawn ever more into the realm of signs, which does not prevent it, however, from exerting quite a considerable influence on various strata of society, especially the lower ones. The nature of the aesthetic signs changes in accordance with the features of the various myths, which idealise the reality depicted or else are marked by a sombre cruelty, a cult of the superman, or ascetic religious ideas.

The impact of alienation processes on the development of sign phenomena in 20th-century art should also be regarded as manifold. Full of contradictions, intricate conflicts and sudden developments, today's social reality, in the first place in capitalist society, is seen by many outstanding artists as something strange and incomprehensible, the processes therein being perceived not only as alien to man and his spiritual make-up but as a formidable, uncontrollable and blind force which invades and then sways human lives. Hence the appearance of symbols of fate, foredoom, the impasse of human destiny, gloom, a bottomless pit, and the like.

The phantasmagorical nature of developments in social life was often equated by artists with an illusoriness of its content and all its foundations. In its turn, this brought forth the idea that what really matters is not the external reality about man, but his inner world, in which the subconscious is predominant. That was why the Surrealists asserted that art should address itself to a re-creation of dreams, states of insanity, deliria, and all mental processes that are not governed by reason.

The non-acceptance of reality and its acute discord often leads creative minds into the realm of fancy, inducing them to create scenes of ideal harmony and consummate beauty. On the other hand, ideas of an illusory world about us serve as starting points for an analytical resolution of what meets the eye, and a search for the basic elements of the material, which lie beyond the bounds of what the senses can perceive. Such was the road taken by the Cubists, those harbingers of abstract art. Pictures of ideal harmony linked in some measure with "pure" colour lines and patches and with colour combinations were called genuine art creativity by the abstractionists.

In these creative trends too, as followed by writers and pictorial artists, the sign forms employed were naturally not the same. In the modes of denoting ideas and the phenomena of reality, the Symbolists differed from the Futurists in the same way as the Surrealists did not resemble, in this sense, the Cubists and the representatives of abstract art. At the same time, certain common social sources characteristic of various 20th-century art trends gave all of them a definite cognation.

What has been said above regarding the various kinds of aesthetic signs and sign processes is all designed to emphasise that, while possessing some features in common, sign phenomena are also marked by a considerable range of change. The nature of aesthetic signs is to be seen not only in their invariable properties but also in their development and transformation, in a relationship with synthetic artistic generalisations. The historical approach to sign phenomena, one that is alien to adherents of global semiotics, is just as essential as

their theoretical treatment is. It does not follow, however, that the two approaches should be blended on equal terms. The present article has placed stress on an elaboration of some theoretical problems connected with a study of aesthetic signs.

NOTES

- ¹ *The Collected Papers of Charles S. Peirce*, Cambridge (Mass.), Vol. I, 1960, p. 284.
- ² C. S. Peirce, *Selected Writings*, New York, 1966, p. 67.
- ³ L. Vygotsky, *The Development of Higher Mental Functions*, Moscow, 1966, p. 111 (in Russian).
- ⁴ See J. Kristeva, "Sémanalyse et la production du sens", *Essais de sémiotique poétique*, Paris, 1972, p. 222.
- ⁵ *The Collected Papers of Charles S. Peirce*, Vol. 2, 1960, p. 135.
- ⁶ E. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, Paris, Vol. II, 1974, p. 51.
- ⁷ R. Barthes, *Critique et Vérité*, Paris, 1966, p. 50.
- ⁸ For further details, see my article "Life Everlasting. The Inner Properties and Functions of Literary Works", *Znanya*, 1974, No. 1.
- ⁹ A. Stolyar, "On the Genesis of Pictorial Activities and Their Role in the Development of Consciousness", *Early Forms of Art*, Moscow, 1972, p. 37 (in Russian).
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- ¹¹ See, for example, E. S. Glenn, "The Symbolic Function, Particularly in Language", *Semiotica*, The Hague, Vol. VIII, 1973, No. 2, pp. 97-131.
- ¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 38, p. 372.
- ¹³ *Russian Literature*, The Hague-Paris, 1972, No. 2, p. 154.
- ¹⁴ "Recherches sur les systèmes signifiants", Symposium de Varsovie, 1968, Présenté par J. Rey-Debove, The Hague-Paris, 1973, p. 443.
- ¹⁵ E. Benveniste op. cit., p. 53.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- ¹⁷ A. Veselovsky, *Historical Poetics*, Leningrad, 1940, p. 51 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ U. Eco, *La struttura assente*, Milan, 1968, pp. 76-77.

Philosophical Orientation of Linguistic Research

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Linguistics has become one of the key sciences nowadays. Its intense development is primarily explained by the fact that the scientific and technological revolution has brought into the foreground a number of linguistic trends and problems involving not only purely technological fields, but also some areas that previously fell within the domain of philosophical theory. These include, among others, problems of information, the construction of automatically controlled systems, profounder studies in the psychology of thinking, the development of national languages and systems of writing, the role of language in international communication, and the effect of speech on behaviour in mass communication. At the same time, the area of linguistic investigations proper extended considerably, covering nowadays the study of about 5,000 languages. As a result, favourable conditions were created for rapid progress in linguistic studies. The problem of structural complexity and development of the humanities has also acquired vital importance.

Under these circumstances, a clear theoretical orientation of linguistic research becomes essential to determine the real prospects for solving the enigma of the speech-and-thought mechanism and other applied problems to name the major questions. The latter largely depends on the results obtained in theoretical linguistics (information systems, machine translation, automatic control systems servicing, etc.).

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Philosophical orientation of theoretical linguistics must be regarded the primary area of language study. Philosophical orientation alone can provide the basic criterion for evaluating and selecting the direction of research which promises truly positive, profound results.

However varied the modern scientific approaches to language phenomena may be (descriptive linguistics, glossematics, transformational grammar, generative semantics, etc.), each branch is in fact based on philosophical principles, for these are the point of departure for any linguistic theory. None of the particular scientific theses formulated within a special theory, none of the more concrete methods taken in itself, can be regarded as independent propositions. They are incorporated into the entire system of knowledge about a given subject, resting upon certain common foundations. The common foundations of a given theory form the philosophical basis which determines its orientation and eventually its prospects.

Two basic principles may be regarded as fundamental for the further development of Marxist-Leninist linguistics, *the social character of language* and *the intimate connection between language and thinking*.

Taken separately, these principles may be interpreted differently and accepted by most diverse directions in linguistics (e. g., the principle of the social character of language in glossematics, the principle of connection between language and thinking in generative linguistics, etc.). However, only Marxist linguistics alone provides a materialist interpretation of the social character of language and its connection with thinking, and of the mutual interdependence of these essential attributes of language.

Materialist linguistics must proceed from the principle of the integral connection between the social and the communicative nature of language which is ultimately determined by the social character of human consciousness. The problem of the subjective and individual character of language (speech) may be solved, in the long run, only on the basis of the social functioning of consciousness of any member of the social group.

In explicating the principle of the social character of language, Soviet linguistics proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of language as a social phenomenon. All functions of language may be characterised as a manifestation of man's social activity.

Karl Marx pointed out that "the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations". Language as one of the manifestations of social cohesion between people is determined by the concrete conditions of a given historical period.

The Marxist thesis of the social character of language is realised theoretically and practically in implementing the state language policy. In the Soviet multinational state, the literary languages of the peoples of the USSR are a most important means of drawing the vast masses of working people into the social and cultural life of the

country. The forms in which language exists, the division of language into territorial and social dialects, the stratification into genres and styles and the development of terminological systems are all of them, after all, the outcome of conditions under which language is functioning in playing its role of the most important means of communication. The history of development of every language is unique, for it is intimately connected with the history of the people speaking that language.

The policy of the Soviet state on the national question was the foundation on which all languages of the USSR flourished. In the process of the development and convergence of socialist nations, national languages are mutually enriched; common features are developed and they interact with Russian which serves as the language for inter-nation communication. Contacts and interaction between these languages provide valuable material for scientific generalisation and serve as the basis for goal-directed language policy from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. It is a well-known fact that Soviet experiences in implementing the policy on national languages and the development of education are a guideline in solving problems of language and nationality policies for many countries of the world. The connection between theory and practice, characteristic of Soviet science, is the motive that explains the prominence given in Marxist linguistics to such vital problems as the functioning of language in bilingual social groups (schools, professional groups, families, etc.), the specific features of language development in the age of scientific and technological revolution, the role of language in enriching Soviet man's cultural life. The driving force behind intensive development of socio-linguistics is the vital needs of the society.

Soviet linguistic science has always laid special emphasis on problems of formation and development of national literary languages. Materials for work in this direction were drawn both from languages of the Soviet Union and from foreign languages. An important achievement of Soviet linguistics was the publication of a number of historical studies in different literary languages in the specific historical context of their functioning.

Another significant achievement of Soviet linguistics was the elaboration of the category of dialect as a socio-linguistic phenomenon, determined, firstly, by the inner features of language structure, and secondly, by definite socio-historical relations.

Soviet linguists regard the formation of national languages as an integral part of the formation of nations. Taking into account the socio-historical conditions of language development guarantees the correct solution of the problem of the relationship between the language of a nationality and that of a nation, the connection between the language of the entire people and the territorial dialects, the distribution of dialects in cognate languages. A national language, as a definite historical period in language development, incorporates the literary language (in its written and spoken colloquial forms) which

has complex and variable relations to non-literary speech varieties (dialects, semi-dialects, various forms of popular speech, etc.).

The role of dialect, which serves as the basis for the formation of the literary language in its early stages of development, was uppermost in the minds of Soviet linguists precisely because the problem of constructing a literary language was extremely vital for many peoples of the Soviet Union. For quite a few of them, favourable conditions for the functioning of their languages as literary ones did not arise until the Great October Socialist Revolution. The national literary language with a universal sphere of application may be based on a different dialect or dialects than the written language that had been used by the given people. Of course, in this case, too, many elements of the old written language may enter the national literary language, sometimes acquiring a certain stylistic colouring. Research done by Soviet linguists has shown that, if a literary language is to function without a territorial or social limitations, its norms must be unified. A literary language functions within a nation, once it has been formed, as a common national norm. Under these conditions, the literary language is actually called upon to represent the linguistic unity of the whole people and play the role of the common language of the people.

Soviet linguists, concentrating on the social conditions of the functioning of the languages of peoples of the Soviet Union, have described the forms of development of literary languages in a socialist state. This concerns not only languages with a recently acquired system of writing, in which case the creation of writing systems and the formation of a literary norm were the direct outcome of Leninist nationality policy, but also languages with old established systems of writing that before the Great October Socialist Revolution did not cover all the spheres of social life.

In explicating the thesis of the connection between language and thought, Soviet linguistics proceeds from the principle of materialist epistemology which defines the essence of thinking, of human cognition as the process of reflecting the objective world. The development of linguistics within a period of more than one hundred years has confirmed quite convincingly the well-known thesis of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about language being the immediate reality of thought and the most important means of communication between people.

By viewing language as the immediate manifestation of thought, we can explain the function of language in society as the only and overall means of communication capable of conveying, through the structure of language matter, the whole content of human thinking that is being continually enriched in the uninterrupted process of the practical and theoretical exploration of the world.

Modern linguistics has to solve many methodological problems in the light of the theory of reflection, one of them being the problem of the essence of the linguistic sign. The development of linguistics after F. de Saussure and the rise of semiotics as the general science of sign systems posed the acute problem of the specificity of the linguistic

sign as compared to the set of all possible signs of one or another semiotic system. Unjustified extension of the concept of sign irrespective of the nature of the system in which the sign is functioning, in other words obliteration of the boundary between natural and conventional sign systems, is fraught with the theoretical danger of identifying the human language with a symbolic code or technical sign systems. In some trends of modern linguistics, this approach divorced language from thinking and reduced its status to that of a complicated but essentially engineering system of signs. The very significant demarcation line between human consciousness (and language) as phenomena of reflection and all secondary sign systems was disregarded in scientific investigations. Language was thus included among technical instruments whose description requires nothing more than good mathematical formalism.

Numerous works abounding in rich symbolic ornamentation, however, remained peripheral with respect to the main body of linguistics, achieving partial successes in marginal fields but failing to construct an adequate theory of language.

Exaggerated emphasis upon formalisation of language arising from an incorrect interpretation of the nature of language can only be rectified through comprehensive and profound analysis of human language as the material vehicle of expressing human consciousness.

If any conventional semiotic system actually exists insofar as it can be interpreted by means of the natural language, it would be an obvious contradiction to identify language itself with semiotic systems of the same type, without setting it aside, from the very outset, as a necessary stage and the basis of the existence of all other man-made semiotic systems.

Some vagueness in the interpretation of language as the material implementation of thought might give rise to numerous views about the identity of the linguistic sign with any other sign. The essential feature of natural language, that was pointed out by classics of Marxism-Leninism as the basic one, is the inseparable connection between language and thought. This feature is taken into account by the majority, if not by all, linguistic trends, including idealistic ones. However, the interpretations of this basic property of language and the conclusions drawn in this connection are diametrically opposed to each other. It is quite obvious that the greater the variety of interpretations and solutions of this basic problem, the more pressing is the need for a systematic and comprehensive study of this feature of language from the point of view of materialist dialectics.

In materialist linguistics, the basic epistemological problem of the correlation between language, thought and objective reality is taken to be unambiguously and consistently solved on the basis of Marxism. As for determining the mode of existence of language as an integral phenomenon, the forms of its structural organisation and social goals, these are problems that have yet to be solved within the framework of the Marxist theory of language. There is no universally accepted interpretation of the ontology of language in modern linguistics, since, apart from the solution of the basic philosophical problem, the

definition of the nature of language also depends upon the choice of some language aspect (dynamic or static, behavioural or structural, communicative or nominative) as the basic and sometimes as the sole feature defining the essence of language in the given linguistic trend (cf. the definitions of language system by F. de Saussure, L. Hjelmslev, N. Chomsky and others).

For example, the objective-subjective nature of human language, social in its origin and functions and individual in its implementation, which is reflected in the two-dimensional structural-semiotic organisation of language, is completely ignored by certain linguists, continually debated by some, and relegated from the sphere of ontology to that of description by others. But it is precisely this feature of natural language that reveals most fully the dialectical nature of language (of systemic language means as nominative-classificatory categories and of speech products as actual utterances) which is a simultaneous unity of two opposites which define each other—of the historically inherited and the actually existing, the old and the newly born, the universal and the individual.

The basic Marxist theses on language have a direct bearing on a number of special problems of language theory.

There are several factors that make the linguistic study of language ontology on the basis of Marxist dialectics and historical materialism particularly vital.

Some idealist trends in modern philosophy (linguistic positivism and physicalism, general semantics, *a priori* linguistics of the English philosophical school, some existentialist trends, hermeneutics, and others) have chosen language as the primary object of study, the only means of obtaining knowledge about reality. Thus, philosophical definitions of language that are the outcome of declaring the various aspects of the natural or artificially created languages to be absolute continue to influence the understanding of the essence of language, the direction and method of studying it in linguistics. One need only point out such facts as the exaggerated interest in the formal aspect of language, in logical schemes and models, the diminished interest in the objective and categorial content of concrete languages, the extension of purely philosophical and logico-mathematical concepts to linguistics, the preference for the operational definition of linguistic meaning to the detriment of the substantial one, etc.

One of the most important tenets of materialist epistemology, that serves as the guiding principle for linguistics, is this: whereas the content of the sign belonging to an artificial conventional system is ascribed to it or given by the conditions of a certain theory, the linguistic sign is not formed by an act of man's will as, in itself, it is the immediate form of existence of human consciousness. All the offshoots of the abstract logical trend ultimately result in a purely formalistic interpretation of language phenomena, in which the meaningful aspect of language proves to be divorced from consciousness itself.

Semantics came to be regarded as a mere feature of the formal system of language which is realised in a certain formal arrangement

of language units. The distributional and transformational directions, in linguistics as the major schools of descriptivism actually rejected the interpretation of semantics in terms of the materialist epistemology of thinking, and instead tried to construct a theory which would describe the dynamics of the combination of linguistic forms.

The transformationalist trend sets itself an even more complex task, that of penetrating into the mechanism of language competence through the construction of a generative grammar of language that would be capable of generating an infinite set of well-formed sentences from a set of strictly formulated (formal) rules, in other words, a grammar supposedly capable of functioning according to a definite algorithm, without the participation of man's creative consciousness.

The realisation that obvious errors were committed in negating semantic aspects of the language took different forms within various linguistic trends in recent decades. Some of them tried to find the way out of the situation by going back to Cartesian philosophy, others undertook a "major overhaul" of the concepts of structural linguistics bringing back semantics in its full extent into the system of language (generative semantics). However, there is no need for Marxist linguistics to evolve new theoretical principles to resume the study of the semantic aspects of language. The concentration upon semantics, which brought about theoretical upheavals in structural and generative linguistics, is an organic and uninterrupted major trend for Marxist linguistics.

Therefore, one of the major problems nowadays is the categorisation of the most important concepts of lexicology, semasiology and grammar in terms of the general philosophical orientation of linguistics—namely, the thesis that the content and structure of thinking are fully manifested in the units and categories of language.

The discreteness of language is another important problem of modern linguistics; it entails the necessity of analysing, apart from words and word-combinations, the relatively complete units of language—utterances, that are independent in their structure and meaningful in their content and, consequently, unambiguously interpreted in the process of communication. This may serve as a key for the solution of the problem of correlations between different units of a language system and their role in constructing communicatively meaningful segments of speech (correlations between morphemes, words, word-combinations, sentences—simple and complex).

The basic principles of Marxist linguistics also have a direct bearing on the set of problems involving the functional and performative aspects of language.

There is little doubt that the study of language structure presupposes the investigation of the functional load of the pertinent language elements and language as a whole, as a means of communication. Modern linguistics (psycholinguistics included) reverts to the interpretation of language as the overall means of expressing the human consciousness and psyche, introducing sound mentalism into all research irrespective of various linguistic trends.

As concerns the main trends in American and West-European linguistics, the desire to supplement the structural principle with the principle of performance, the study of the "cognitive" element (the concept of generative semantics, the ideas of deep and surface structure, the various attempts at a formal definition of meaning, etc.) brought about a drastic change in the fundamental notions about language (the replacement of a static structure by a generative one). As for Marxist linguistics, the consideration of the performative and functional aspects of language has always been an organic development of its basic propositions.

However, Soviet linguists still have to solve some vital problems in the study of these aspects of language. There is little progress in the study of performative aspect of language, and to some extent it has been neglected although it determines not only semantic categories (and above all the character of lexical meaning), but also indirectly its internal structure of language. In considering the problem of relationships between language, objective reality and thought, insufficient attention is paid to the practical cognition of speakers of that language and the registering of results of this cognition in language units.

Little account is taken of the fact that language is a social form of human activity through which objective reality is transformed in a practical and goal-oriented way, and that socio-historical experience involves the objectification of instruments of labour, natural phenomena, etc., its results being registered in language units, elements of linguistic systems and speech units. We must also bear in mind that no linguistic system can express any results of cognition regardless of its relation to the tasks of sensual-practical activity of the users of that language system. The primary task of studying the semantic aspect of language is to determine the ways in which the meanings of systemic language units add up to the subsequent synthesis of the content of speech units, and to establish the degree to which the meanings of nominative language units represent the functions, external form, the method of using the object, the subject or the object of an action, etc., that is, the results of mastering the world through practical activity.

Any approach to language, any interpretation of functions of language units must continually resort to the communicative content of language which is ultimately determined by epistemology.

The substantive interpretation of the lexical meaning of the word has yet failed to explain, from the point of view of the process of cognising the object-world, such widely used concepts as "logico-material" and "logico-object" content forming the basis of the lexical meaning of the word; the relationship between the sensual (impressions, emotions, etc.) and the rational in the meanings of words has not been cleared up, the various classes of words have not been studied from the point of view of their semantics, and in their denotative, significative and connotative aspects.

The philosophical interpretation of language also touches upon a different area; the correlation, results and forms of expression and

interaction between the material and the ideal in language. Not explicated are the frequently used definitions of language as a "secondary material" system, an "ideal-material", "structural-substantial" formation and the like.

The creative aspect of human consciousness is not sufficiently emphasised by linguists. Accordingly the creative character of language is not fully brought out.

Theoretical linguistics must not lose sight of the fact that the functional approach to language cannot be divorced from the natural properties of language as the expression of consciousness, and not only in the sense that each particular speech unit realises a concrete semantic content, but also in the sense that the language as a whole must be considered as the vehicle of individual and social consciousness.

The communicative and semantical structural approach to language or, in other words, the investigation of language from the point of view of its nature and functions, essentially forms an integral aspect of language study both in general theory and in all the concrete and applied fields.

The increasing interest in the study of the performative aspect of language goes hand in hand with the study of its semantic aspect.

The present stage in the development of linguistics gives ample proof for the need for a consistent development of a unified socio-epistemological theory of language, an interpretation of the accumulated facts and research results on the basis of the Marxist definition of language.

The fact that linguistic research is directed not only at the functioning of certain units in a given language, but at general laws of the functioning of language as well, may be regarded as an objective tendency within science to return to the task of creating a universal theory of language on a new basis. Here language is conceived as an essentially uniform means of communication between people irrespective of their national and linguistic background. It is a tendency to study the absolute and implicit universals of languages and their typological investigation. Marxist epistemology, which studies forms and laws of thinking, sets the primary goal of linguistics as that of fundamental study of the essential and universal quality that determines its relations to thought. That is why the development of studies in linguistic universals is of considerable interest not just for typological or structural-typological research, but also for the determination of the universal properties of language. This must be viewed as one of the most important problems of general linguistic methodology.

The problem of methodology and research methods is one of the most essential components of Marxist science of language.

Soviet linguists have always made a strict distinction between methods, *the* method, and methodology. Methods are concrete ways of registering the basic language facts and introducing them into scholarly discussion, whereas the method includes both a generalisation of special methods and a linguistic explanation. The task of

methodology is correlating the category of method with the general philosophical method, dialectical materialism, thereby correlating method and theory with Marxist world outlook.

Modern linguistics abounds in a variety of special linguistic methods, some well-established (e. g., the comparative-historical method) and some developed within recent decades (the distributional, transformational, statistical methods among others).

Other approaches to language study are also taking form, among them the historico-typological, areal, contrastive-comparative and semiological methods. All of these special linguistic methods and approaches have the right to exist and have been successfully applied in linguistics.

The Marxist interpretation of the relationship between the method and methodology explains the requirements of Marxist philosophy with respect to the category of special linguistic methods. It is obvious that special linguistic methods in themselves cannot serve as the ultimate sanction and substantiation of certain views on language. Methods cannot be placed in the category of methodology or of the explanatory theory of language; insofar as they are specifically linguistic, one cannot apply the same standards and philosophical evaluation procedures to methods as to methodology.

At the same time one must not forget the actual and stimulating demands made by the Marxist outlook upon every linguist and, in particular, theoretician, namely, the requirement to take into account the methodological basis of the various methods used in research work. This requirement makes it imperative to work constantly to generalise specific categories of particular methods.

The natural tendency towards generalisation arises in every major linguistic research and even more so in the work of an entire linguistic school or trend. The results of the process are presented in the form of general categories and concepts of modern linguistics. Lenin's dictum about the natural sciences applies to these results as well: "The results of natural science are concepts, and... the art of operating with concepts is not inborn, but is the result of 2,000 years of the development of natural science and philosophy."² The process of generalisation and categorisation engendered the new field of general problems of linguistic theory and method developing in close contact with philosophy.

Linguists working in this field use such concepts, from different sciences, as meaning, sign, invariant, isomorphism, organisation, system, symmetry, asymmetry, structure, algorithm, probability, etc., as well as society, collective, social group, class development, historical process, etc.

Owing to their relative independence, these concepts, on the one hand, form an autonomous field of research arising from the generalisation of the results of special linguistic investigations, and on the other hand, being relatively independent of concrete philosophical doctrines, become an area of intense conflict between materialism and idealism.

Among the shortcomings in this fields is a certain lag in the development of general linguistic methodology as compared to the achievements in the special fields.

Thus, there are sometimes unjustified attempts at extrapolating special linguistic categories to general or even philosophical categories. These attempts are mostly made by modern positivists presenting concepts and methods common to a number of special sciences (nowadays this mostly concerns the systemic-structural and the generative ideas) as categories of general scientific methodology and philosophy. As is shown by research in the field of Marxist philosophy, no general scientific system of methods can replace the universal method of dialectical materialism, and these attempts are untenable both in principle and in particulars of content.

A special scientific system cannot be raised to the status of a general scientific method. However, the dialectical systems principle, that was originally elaborated and applied by Karl Marx to social phenomena, must occupy a fitting position in the methodology of linguistic research.

The recent decades were marked by intense and, on the whole, fruitful work by Soviet linguists in the field of linguistic theory and general linguistic methods. Soviet linguists have succeeded in giving a profound analysis of all basic general linguistic categories proceeding from the standpoint of dialectical materialism.

The achievements of Soviet linguistics in this fields stem not only from its fundamental philosophical standpoint, but also from the fact that it inherits best old traditions of linguistics in our country and uses the achievements of modern world linguistics.

Constructing a unified positive theory also implies criticising and overcoming the defects, blunders and flaws in all the other concepts of language, not infrequently equipped with a detailed system of methods for empirical research.

Further development of language theory on a dialectical-materialistic basis presupposes, apart from general methodological adequacy of theory to the object itself, i. e., language, the consideration of the entire concrete specificity of language data obtained by scholars belonging to different directions through different methods from most varied languages.

NOTES

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 14.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 38, p. 264.

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The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement for National Independence and Peace

ALEXANDER DZASOKHOV

The mainstream of the struggle waged by world public opinion for universal peace and security was augmented in the late 1940s by a torrent of peaceloving forces from the developing countries. It is a main feature of the peace movement in Asia and Africa that it spread to these continents in the course of their peoples' struggle to cast off the colonial yoke. The historical and political realities led to the struggle for peace in this area developing, in the first place, against colonialism and imperialism, against all and any forms of suppression of the liberation movement of the peoples. Further, with the mounting successes of the national liberation movements, Afro-Asian mass organisations have been linking their actions for peace with the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and for the political and economic independence of the newly free countries.

These bodies include representatives of public opinion in the countries of the two continents, including countries and territories that are still under colonial and racist rule. The Afro-Asian public bodies representing broad circles of society maintain direct links with international democratic mass movements and form part of the worldwide front of the peoples' struggle for peace and security. The high assessment given by Leonid Brezhnev in the Report of the CPSU's Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the Party, to the role now played on the world scene by the developing countries is fully applicable to the activities of the bodies mentioned above. "It is now quite clear," said Leonid Brezhnev, "that with the present alignment of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able

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to resist the imperialist *diktat* and achieve just—that is, equal—economic relations. It is also clear that their already considerable contribution to the common struggle for peace and the security of the peoples is quite likely to become still more substantial.”¹

Throughout the existence of the Soviet state, the Government and public opinion in our country have supported the struggle waged by the peoples for national liberation and social progress: the freedom and independent development of every people is a guarantee of durable peace in the world. This idea was clearly expressed as far back as our socialist state's first foreign policy document—Lenin's celebrated Decree on Peace. The liberation from the colonial yoke of peoples oppressed by imperialism, and their collaboration with other peoples on terms of equality have always been advanced by the Soviet Government as an essential condition for the consolidation of world peace and of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social and economic systems.

Closer cooperation between the USSR and other socialist states, and the developing countries; consistent support of the struggle the peoples are waging for national liberation and social progress; a resolute rebuff to the imperialists, and the elimination of remnants of colonialism and of manifestations of racism and apartheid—are main lines in the implementation of the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, as formulated by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, is the logical continuation and development of that policy in the conditions of today. All Soviet people give unreserved support for the active and dynamic peaceable policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Government. The active participation of the Soviet public in the solidarity movement of the countries of Asia and Africa is a vivid manifestation of the Soviet people's internationalism, and of their unswerving resolution to work for peace and friendship of all peoples.

* * *

The first steps to give organised form to the solidarity of the fighters for freedom and peace in the two continents were made in Asia, where, in 1947 and 1955, conferences of Asian countries' public forces were held in Delhi, with the active participation of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's outstanding statesman and public figure. The 1955 conference led to the establishment of the International Committee of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, which initiated the formation of national committees of solidarity in many countries of the continent. The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries, which followed the Delhi Conference of 1955, gave a fresh impetus to a broader unification of the forces of peace.

A number of international factors promoted this movement. The threat was growing ever greater of US intervention in the domestic affairs of the peoples of Asia, especially Southeast Asia. The imperialists launched acts of aggression against a number of Arab countries, the most dangerous of such acts being the Israeli-British-French aggression against the Egyptian people in 1956.

The decisive action of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries prevented the extension of the Middle East conflict at the time. The might and international prestige of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries became a bulwark of the national liberation movement and the struggle for peace and world security. It was against this background that the decolonisation of Asia was completed, and the national liberation movement in Africa irreversibly went from strength to strength.

The social forces of both continents realised the need to pool all efforts and give one another support in the common struggle for freedom and independence, peace and social progress. This objective historical need found expression in the establishment of a broad-based and representative non-governmental organisation involving both continents, i. e., the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), which was set up at the first Solidarity Conference of the peoples of the two continents held in Cairo at the end of 1957.

In keeping with the specific features of the political set-up in both continents, delegates from 45 dependent countries and territories took part in the Conference on a footing of equality with delegations of countries already liberated. The Conference's main document declared that the principles of peaceful coexistence as adopted at Bandung in 1955 should remain the foundation of international relations, and that the prerequisites for durable peace could not be created unless international tension was eliminated. The Conference voiced the hope that Asia and Africa would become zones of peace, and it supported the idea that a World Congress for Disarmament and Peaceful Coexistence should be held (in 1958). In a special resolution, it condemned imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, and called for concrete action against all its intrigues.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation is a broadly representative body, membership in which is open to movements, parties and solidarity committees in which progressive forces in the two continents are united. An institution of associate members also exists. Since its inception, the Organisation's membership has grown to 86 countries. Representatives of the socialist countries of Asia—the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic—are active in the organisation. An important part in the solidarity movement is also played by revolutionary-democratic parties that are in power in Angola, the Congo, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Mozambique, Sierra-Leone, Somalia, Tanzania and a number of other countries, in all of which important social and economic changes are being effected along the road of non-capitalist development.

AAPSO's activities are ever more promoting cooperation between the national liberation movements and the countries of the socialist community. The solidarity movement is not only closely linked with mass organisations in the socialist countries of Europe, but has also drawn close organisational ties with solidarity committees in those countries which have been AAPSO-associated members since March 1974. The participation of such mass organisations in AAPSO is an effective form of achieving aims shared by the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

The Preamble to the AAPSO Constitution points out that the Organisation is part of the world anti-imperialist front. The solidarity movement of the peoples of the two continents presupposes mutual aid rendered by the peoples that are fighting for liberation, national independence and social progress. At the same time, AAPSO is working to achieve ever closer cooperation with progressive forces throughout the world. These two aspects of the solidarity movement are closely interlinked.

The solidarity movement blends the concrete interests of individual national movements with the overall aims of Afro-Asian solidarity and with the struggle for peace and security throughout the world. It was for that reason that, even prior to the US aggression against the peoples of Indochina, AAPSO provided the patriotic forces of South Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, which were engaged in the struggle for national liberation, with the means of revealing to world public opinion the aggressive imperialist policies pursued in Southeast Asia by US ruling circles. In 1961, the Third Solidarity Conference, held in Moshi, Tanzania, initiated international representation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam; it was with active AAPSO support that the National United Front of Cambodia won international recognition.

For the peoples of the two continents, international solidarity action against the US aggression in Indochina became an excellent political school, which confirmed that the struggle for peace was a major task confronting AAPSO, inasmuch as it helped mobilise broad social forces to counter the imperialist policies of aggression and colonial adventurism.

AAPSO has developed ever closer ties with the World Peace Council. During the Stockholm Conference on Indochina, ties were established with many other international and national bodies that had come out for an end to the war in Indochina.

AAPSO has invariably come out firmly for a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. On the very first day of the June war of 1967, it released a statement condemning the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist patrons. A month later, the Organisation conducted an extraordinary conference in Cairo, in support of the Arab peoples and with the participation of delegates from 49 Afro-Asian countries, a number of international organisations, and representatives of mass organisations of the European socialist countries. The Declaration issued by the Conference emphasised that, in giving support to the Israeli aggressors, imperialism was defending

its monopoly exploitation of the natural wealth of the Arab and Afro-Asian countries and its own military bases in this part of the world.

The conferees had high praise for the assistance and support given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the Arab peoples at that difficult hour. The Conference mapped out a programme of action in support of the just demands of the Arab countries, and emphasised the need for a united stand by international democratic organisations.

AAPSO proceeds from the principle that no durable peaceful settlement in the Middle East is possible without respect for the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This stand has found expression in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) being a full member of AAPSO.

The latter's ever broader contacts with various inter-governmental bodies such as the UN, UNESCO and ILO are supplemented with its active collaboration with the Organisation of African Unity and its Liberation Committee. Its close contacts with the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, International Democratic Federation of Women and other international non-governmental organisations has helped to turn the solidarity movement into an important factor for greater unity between the national liberation movement and progressives throughout the world.

Social and political activity developed apace in the Afro-Asian countries when preparations got under way for the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, and during the Congress itself. The close links between the solidarity movement and other detachments of peaceful and progressive forces, and the common tasks pursued by them were forcefully manifested in the fact that the delegates to the World Congress of Peace Forces (Moscow, 1973) included about one thousand representatives of revolutionary-democratic parties, national liberation movements and mass organisations in 72 Afro-Asian countries.

As member of the Steering Committee of the International Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces, AAPSO is making a major contribution to the implementation of the documents and recommendations adopted by the Congress. In 1975 alone, AAPSO representatives took part in preparing and holding over 40 international meetings and conferences convoked for these purposes.

The striving of Afro-Asian progressives to continue the policy pursued by the World Congress of Peace Forces with the aim of bringing together various detachments of the liberation movement and to achieve united action by the patriotic forces was clearly expressed in the deliberations of the Eleventh (Baghdad, 1974) and Twelfth (Moscow, 1975) Sessions of the AAPSO Council. These highly representative meetings continued the work done by the Moscow Congress. Delegates confirmed that the solidarity movement of democratic forces in the two continents is at the same time an essential part of the world army of fighters against imperialism.

Important changes have been made of late in AAPSO's structure in view of the mounting role played by mass organisations in the conditions of international détente, and also of the specific features of the current stage of the national liberation movement. These changes have provided fresh opportunities to expand the social and political foundation of the solidarity movement and to further strengthen its ties with progressives throughout the world who are working for peace.

The World Congress of Peace Forces gave a fresh impetus to the broad-based movement to popularise and implement the ideas of collective security in Asia. The Congress approved the idea of setting up a system of collective security in the Asian continent, emphasising that such a system, open to all Asian states irrespective of their social systems, should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the principles of Bandung.

A special international meeting on the theme "The Struggle for Peace and Security in Asia Is a Vital Task of Our Times" was held in Samarkand in 1974 within the framework of the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity, and with the aim of implementing the World Congress's decisions. Its participants devoted much attention to various aspects of building up allround cooperation and achieving mutual understanding among the peoples of Asia. Serious considerations were advanced for closer economic ties between the Asian countries and those of the socialist community, this with the purpose of ensuring independence from the multinational monopolies. It was emphasised that economic cooperation could provide a sound foundation for the establishment of durable peace among nations.

Many of the speakers pointed out that implementation of the ideas of collective security in the continent could not be put off until the solution of all problems created by the differing approaches of individual countries to various social and political phenomena was achieved.

The Samarkand discussion showed that peace and security in Asia was not a problem only of relations between states; this stands in urgent need of active support from various quarters of society, and the extensive mobilisation of public opinion. The participation of a wide range of social and political organisations in the solidarity movement—organisations such as Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, national liberation movements, religious and peasant associations, scientists and so on—holds out the promise of a successful struggle in support of the principles of collective security in Asia, and for drawing ever more extensive social forces into that movement.

An important aspect of AAPSO's struggle for world peace has been its active support for the demands coming from the peoples of Asia and the Indian Ocean area that imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean should be dismantled. Numerous facts testifying to the dangers foreign military bases present to peace in Asia and the world were cited at the International Conference called by the World Peace

Council and AAPSO in Delhi in November 1974 under the title "For the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace".

The numerous events held in many countries to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Bandung Conference testified to the important part it played in the social and political life of the two continents. The International Conference, held in Cairo in 1975 on AAPSO initiative, on the theme "Bandung and Afro-Asian Solidarity" testified to the attractive force of the ideas of durable peace and collective security in Asia. The conferees called for concerted action against the imperialists and their accomplices, who are responsible for over 50 armed conflicts having flared up in the Asian continent during the last 25 years alone.

In its General Declaration, the Twelfth Session of the AAPSO Council (1975) called for further development of the mass movement for peace, security and cooperation in Asia and for the disbandment of aggressive blocs, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, Thailand, Japan and the Philippines and the liquidation of imperialist military bases, as well as for consolidation of the newly independent countries' sovereignty.

The task of the complete liquidation of colonialism is most pressing in Africa. The downfall of the last colonial empire—the Portuguese—was decisively predetermined by the successes scored by the patriotic forces of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola in the course of many years of national liberation wars. The close connection between the struggle for peace and the movement for national liberation has won widespread recognition and has been registered in a number of UN resolutions.

Soon after Mozambique won independence in 1975, a broadly representative International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, and also Angola was called on AAPSO initiative. Representatives of fifty countries and a number of international bodies who had come to the capital of Mozambique discussed problems determining the future of Asia and Africa, and called for closer unity of the national liberation movements.

As is common knowledge, the imperialists used the tactics of splitting the national liberation movements in Angola. That country's independence was proclaimed in conditions in which puppet groupings: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Full Independence of Angola (UNITA), both of which were backed by imperialist forces and their accomplices, unleashed a war against the genuine representative of the Angolan people the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and its government. When the Angola problem came up for discussion at the Extraordinary Session of the Organisation of African Unity in January 1976, AAPSO called upon the OAU to support the People's Republic of Angola, condemn RSA aggression, and recognise the MPLA government.

On AAPSO initiative, an Extraordinary International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Angola was held in Luanda, capital of

the People's Republic of Angola, early in February 1976. In his message of greetings to the Conference, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised that "the Soviet Union is in solidarity with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, with the legitimate government of that country, with all fighters for the national independence of the peoples of Africa. This stand of the Soviet Union is in full conformity with the many decisions of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity on questions of decolonisation and the elimination of racism and apartheid."² The Conference unanimously condemned the criminal acts of the imperialists and the world reactionaries against the Angolan people, and expressed complete solidarity with their struggle to build a new life.

In its message to Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Republic of Angola, the Conference stressed that the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity was bending every effort to render allround aid to the Angolan people in their just struggle. Its appeal to public opinion throughout the world pointed out that the aggression against the people of Angola, launched by the South African racists with support from international imperialist quarters, was a grave threat to the vital interests of all the peoples of Africa. The participants in the Luanda international forum voiced full support for the patriots of the Republic of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and also with all peoples fighting for their national and social emancipation.

It should be noted that the national liberation organisations that head the anti-colonialist struggle of their peoples, these including the African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African National Congress, the African National Council, and the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) are all full members of AAPSO. Since their very first steps on the international scene, they have made a tangible contribution to the solidarity movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

In the spirit of the recommendations of the World Congress of Peace Forces for closer cooperation between international non-governmental movements and inter-governmental bodies, the AAPSO is developing contacts with the Organisation of African Unity, with which it has conducted a number of joint measures, including the International Conference in Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in the South of Africa (Oslo, 1973).

The successful process of decolonisation has presented the democratic forces with new possibilities of waging the struggle against racism in South Africa and of the further isolation of the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes. In its Resolution on Africa, the Twelfth Session of the AAPSO Council pointed out that the radical shift in the alignment of forces in the South of the continent in favour of the national liberation movement had strengthened the positions and the possibilities of the patriotic forces of the Republic of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. At the same time, it emphasised that the new situation obtaining in that part of Africa was forcing the racists to

manoeuvre. In their attempts to preserve the status-quo, the Pretoria and Salisbury racists were resorting to the notorious policy of "dialogue", without, however, discarding the methods of naked aggression against a number of independent African countries, while at the same time increasing repression within their own countries. AAPSO is giving consistent support to the just struggle waged for independence by the peoples of the South of Africa, and is unmasking all attempts to pass over in silence the genuine nature of the contradictions between the exploiter and racist minority, on the one hand, and the masses, on the other.

The continuing process of détente, the mounting might of the national liberation movement and the exacerbation of the contradictions among the imperialists are creating ever more favourable conditions for economic and social progress in the new Afro-Asian states, which have become a strong force in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and for the extension of the sphere of equal international cooperation.

In recent years contacts have been consolidated between the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and the non-alignment movement, which has become an important factor in support of peace. AAPSO representatives attend conferences of the non-aligned countries in the capacity of observers. Characteristically, the PLO, which is a member of AAPSO, was accepted as a full member of the non-alignment movement in 1975.

AAPSO has invariably greeted the appearance of new independent states on the political map of Asia and Africa; in its practical activities it has tried to take account of the new problems facing the national liberation movements.

The tasks confronting the Organisation in the socio-economic area were given detailed examination at AAPSO's Fifth Conference (Cairo, 1972). The discussion showed that, in consequence of the imperialists' increasing neocolonialist machinations and also under the influence of the world revolutionary process, the views of representatives of the progressive public in the Afro-Asian countries are undergoing a considerable evolution towards a clearer and deeper understanding of the aims facing the present stage of the national liberation struggle, and of the need for ever closer cooperation of all fighters against the imperialism and a firmer alliance between the national liberation movements and the forces of socialism and democracy throughout the world.

The progressive public in both continents is coming out consistently in defence of the new states' sovereignty and their right to independently dispose of their national wealth. Within the framework of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement they are making an important contribution to solutions of the current problems of social and economic development. In 1972, the initiative by AAPSO and the World Peace Council resulted in the holding, in Baghdad, of an international seminar which members emphasised the great international significance of the struggle waged by the peoples of the

oil-producing countries against the system of neocolonialist exploitation of their national wealth.

In accordance with recommendations from the World Congress of Peace Forces, progressive organisations throughout the world returned to the problem of oil and other natural wealth at the second international seminar held in 1974, again in Baghdad. Facing the seminar was the task of the further and deeper study of the problem of raw materials, with due account of the experience gained by the developing countries in the struggle to gain control of their natural resources, oil in the first place. The seminar highlighted the usefulness of friendly relations between the oil-producing countries and the socialist states, which helps the newly free countries in their successful struggle to establish their sovereignty over their raw material resources and is the most important prerequisite of their successful social and economic development.

The common determination of the solidarity movement to give support to the Afro-Asian peoples in the area of their economic construction found expression in the deliberations of the Sixth and Seventh Special sessions of the UN General Assembly. These were attended by an AAPSO delegation, whose documents on these problems were widely distributed in the United Nations.

Emphasising the interlinks between the two fundamental lines of its activities—support for the peoples' struggle for national independence and social progress, and the struggle for peace, AAPSO stated in a resolution of the Twelfth Session of the Organisation's Council: "Participating in the world movement for peace and security, disarmament and détente, the Afro-Asian countries regard a democratic and equitable peace as the main prerequisite for the onward movement along the road of progress."³

The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has become one of the leading fighting detachments of the world's progressive forces in the struggle for freedom, peace and social progress on our planet. It possesses considerable possibilities of rendering effective aid and support to the forces of national liberation, and will continue to play an active part in the international democratic movement of the forces of peace.

NOTES

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, p. 22.

² *Pravda*, February 2, 1976.

³ *Pravda*, September 20, 1975.

In-Depth Analysis of the Objective Laws of the Development of Socialist Society

A round-table discussion arranged by the editorial board of the journal *Voprosy literatury* (Problems of Literature) brought together the editors-in-chief of scientific periodicals on the main social disciplines: economics, philosophy, history, Party history, and literary criticism. They discussed the problems which today confront social science as a whole and which are as meaningful and important for literature as they are for the humanities. They considered what scientists, writers and artists can and should do for the further improvement of social production, consolidation of the socialist rules of life and fulfilment of the other tasks facing Soviet society at the present stage. L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 25th Congress of the CPSU specifically noted the effectiveness of research at the conjunction of different sciences and the need to coordinate these and to take an interdisciplinary approach in tackling the key questions of social development. Below is a summary of the round-table discussion (*Voprosy literatury*, No. 3, 1976) which reflects the views of scientists on how to achieve such coordination and cooperation.

* * *

In his opening speech at the Round Table, V. OZEROV, D. Sc. (Philol.), Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Voprosy literatury*, emphasised that cooperation among the humanities is an objective tendency in present-day social development and is an expression of the demand of the times. Today, as never before there is the acute problem of moulding a new type of man, which is of tremendous practical importance in implementing current plans for the allround development of the Soviet people's economy and culture.

There is no doubt that each of the social sciences has its own set of problems and its own methods of tackling these. But ever more frequently the problems that are of concern to scientists in this or that field turn out to be also of primary importance for other social disciplines, and for writers and workers in the arts.

Many contemporary problems require a systems approach, and new methods of research originate at the conjunction of the sciences. Literary criticism has traditional ties with philosophy, history and sociology, and these should be further consolidated and multiplied. Mutual exchanges of experience will help each of the disciplines to

improve its methodology, to add to its instruments of research and gain a deeper insight into the objective laws governing the development of mature socialist society and its spiritual culture.

Creative effort in art, with its specific means, is capable of bringing out in life the tendencies which become the subject of scientific analysis, and also to some extent of bringing together scientists in all the social disciplines involved in the general effort aimed at studying the man of the new world, and fostering communist consciousness, that is, at tackling the main task which now faces all of those who work in the social sciences.

The fulfilment of this task will be facilitated by the coordinated efforts of scientists and artists, and by their creative exchanges and experience.

The pooling of efforts by scientists in the various social sciences will also help to cope with the great tasks of consolidating the socialist rules of life which at the present stage of communist construction are especially important.

Academician T. KHACHATUROV (*Voprosy ekonomiki* [Problems of Economics]), emphasised that contacts between the five journals represented at the Round Table are useful and have been predetermined by the fact that they have a common profile: they are theoretical journals designed to deal with the basic problems in the humanities. These contacts are all the more necessary in view of the fact that with the passage of time increasing importance attaches to the organic interconnection between the social disciplines and the need for scientists in the various fields—economists and philosophers, literary critics and historians—to work together. Ever more frequently various problems require exit into allied fields of knowledge and coordination of the efforts of many specialties, and turn out to be of interest to scientists who may, at first sight, not be directly concerned with the range of questions. He went on to consider the various aspects of economic development which economists believed to be of key importance.

The Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, sum up the results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan period and show that the country has advanced in all spheres of communist construction. The document emphasises that the main result of the past few years has been the creation of the necessary conditions for fulfilling new larger tasks in accordance with the Communist Party's long-term socio-economic policy.

The Congress materials stress that it is necessary above all to identify the outstanding questions which are of especial importance in ensuring fresh successes and a fresh upswing. Much attention must be given, for instance, to enhancing the efficiency in the use of resources available in the economy, for the purpose of continuing the dynamic and proportional development of the Soviet economy and improving our workmanship in every field.

These tasks are formulated in very broad terms, but they include a number of concrete questions on which economists have now focused

their attention and which are also of much interest to specialists in other fields, notably, sociology and philosophy.

We are justly proud of the fact that we have been developing our industry at a fast pace, especially the branches which are the basis of technological progress: electrical engineering, instrument-making and organic chemistry. We already lead the world in the production of steel, cement, fertilisers and many other products. At the same time, our use of raw and other materials, fuel and electric energy is not economical.

Elimination of these losses depends to some extent on capital investments, on the installation of better equipment, the creation of new production capacities, elevators, refrigerators, and so on. But at the same time, a sizable part of the losses can be eliminated through an improvement of the work of men and women, of planning and economic incentives.

This country, its economy has vast reserves which we have yet to learn how to use. These reserves, in particular, are latent in the organisation of labour and the attitude to work, and in the creation of conditions for a sharp increase in the quality of workmanship. Sociologists call this the "human factor", a factor which is now becoming of primary importance. And not only in the economic sense, for it involves the moulding of the new type of man, the man of the communist society.

There are many ways of boosting labour productivity. For the time being, our organisation of labour falls short of the scientific requirements of our day. This means not only the aspects of the scientific organisation of labour which are usually designated as "working conditions", "ergonomics" (lighting, cleanliness, temperature, colours, fitness of machinery and mechanisms, and so on), although it would be naive to ignore these, for they are all highly important. But of equal importance is the other side of the problem; it is impossible to boost labour productivity only by creating better working conditions, only through material incentives; there is need to organise the work correctly, and to direct it in such a way as to make the work interesting and creative.

It would be wrong to assume that economic considerations proper now tend to move into the background. On the contrary, the role of economic factors is steadily growing, as economics forcibly intrudes into fields like ecology, a field which the uninitiated may feel to be irrelevant. We all favour the preservation of forests, water and air, and this is necessary for the present and future generations.

The long-term perspective outlined by the CPSU Central Committee for the development of Soviet society, Academician Khachaturov went on, has economic problems ever more closely tied in with social and moral problems. This long-term perspective involves the construction of the material and technical basis of communism, the scientific and technological revolution, the improvement of social relations, the fostering of a communist attitude to work, improvement of planning, greater efficiency, higher productivity and better quality. We have here a whole complex of interconnected and interlaced

problems. Accordingly, the development of each of the social disciplines can hardly be imagined today without ever broader interaction with other sciences.

And not only with the sciences but also with literature and the other arts. After all, a long-term perspective for the development of our society implies allround growth of the economy and of the communist consciousness and communist morality. If our economic plans are to become reality, we need people with a social consciousness in the true and precise sense of the word, men and women capable of harmonising their individual and social interests, free from what we call the relicts of the past like money-grubbing and the consumer, and other philistine attitudes.

In a sense, this is also an economic task, but it is also a task facing literature and the other arts. This is a highly relevant topic and requires a high level of aesthetic creativity, and the ability to excite the interest of a large audience. Now and again, this is being done, as it has been in the film called *The Bonus*, in I. Dvoretzky's play entitled *Calling In an Outsider*, in some of G. Troepolsky's novels and essays, and other works. Academician Khachaturov went on to emphasise the following: "I make mention of these writings and these authors not because they have brought up problems in which I, an economist, take an interest. I do not think it is the task of literature to indicate to economists various shortcomings in the organisation of production or in the provision of material incentives. At any rate, it does not boil down to this. In my view, literature must have as its subject above all the process in which the new type of individual is shaped, the fostering of communist consciousness, a process which should be presented in all its complexity, without confining oneself to a presentation of our successes alone—which are, unquestionably, great—but also boldly showing the negative phenomena, in order to warn people, and to show, for instance, how a man who lacks civic awareness eventually slides down to the philistine level and becomes a 'drop-out' from life. By showing the negative sides of life together with the positive phenomena, the writer does a great and useful job, helping to fulfil the tasks set before Soviet society."

I. FROLOV, D. Sc. (Philos.), (*Voprosy filosofii* [Problems of Philosophy]) noted that economic problems and problems connected with consolidating the socialist rules of life are now becoming ever more closely tied in with each other and constitute an indissoluble whole.

Lenin used to say that success in the competition with capitalism depends on the extent to which we are able to boost our labour productivity. A higher level of productivity than that obtaining under capitalism is only a means for fulfilling the main task put forward by the communist doctrine: man's free, allround and harmonious development. The development of the human personality is the only and abiding aim which Marxism recognises in historical terms.

In present-day conditions, economic, cultural and human development are interconnected and interdependent processes. In many instances, the solution of economic problems calls for man's further

development as an individual, with higher cultural standards, culture being taken in the broad sense of the word, including the culture of labour.

We have entered upon a five-year period of efficiency and high quality, the latter being directly connected with the "human factor", with the development of the individual and a general rise in the people's cultural standards. The contribution by the social sciences to the solution of the problems arising from comprehensive social development will prove to be all the more tangible, the more effective and the higher the standard of quality of the effort put in by the scientists, writers and other workers in the arts.

In this context, what is meant by quality? I. Frolov believes that it implies the establishment of some standard models of culture, but not in terms of formal workmanship, but of high standards of thinking, both aesthetic and scientific.

Marxism is known to have produced the highest standards in thinking, and we discover these standards and models in any sphere we care to look at, including economics, philosophy, sociology and literary criticism. Indeed, one of the decisive advantages of Marxism is that when it emerged it had already risen to summits of philosophical, sociological and aesthetic culture. Even those who contest the ideas of Marx and Lenin, have to admit that these men were truly outstanding thinkers. We need to cherish, enrich and further develop this remarkable Marxist tradition of skill in starting from important practical tasks to formulate and solve fundamental problems in various fields of knowledge. This also helps to solve the practical problems most effectively and up to a high standard of quality.

Frolov went on to say that present-day philosophy is able to tackle comprehensive problems on a wide plane. Formerly, back in the 19th century, new fields of science emerged through a detailed fragmentation of the objects of research (whether of nature or society). With the start of the scientific and technological revolution, new methods of research came to play the crucial role, so generating new branches of science, like biochemistry or biophysics. Over the past 10 or 15 years, it has not been so much the emergence of new branches of science (although this process still continues), as the identification of comprehensive problems requiring concentration of efforts by many sciences with their specific methods.

In present conditions, philosophy to some extent fulfils the function of identifying such comprehensive problems because very frequently it is philosophy that provides the basis for a synthesis of many disciplines.

The speaker went on to say that in some instances there has been a certain separation of the sphere of philosophical knowledge and the sphere of culture in the broad sense of the word. Philosophy has somewhat moved away from culture as a whole to become an excessively specialised area; philosophers are concerned almost exclusively with professional matters. On the other hand, in literature and the other arts there is frequently evidence of a lack of the

necessary philosophical knowledge, so that critics are much too generous when they say that some writer has produced a truly philosophical work, whereas philosophers fail to find any serious philosophical matter in it.

Perhaps, the time has come to raise the problem of more intensive and profound assimilation of the philosophical legacy and modern philosophy by our workers in literature and the other arts. For their part, the philosophers should make a more serious acquaintance with mankind's aesthetic history and contemporary trends in literature.

Let us add that while the philosophers and the literary critics have different methodologies, they have a common subject of analysis: man, society, social regularities of contemporary development, the destiny of the world in this age of scientific and technological revolution, and the future of culture and humanism.

In our day, the problem of man has become the chief one, and not only for the humanitarian sciences. The rapid development of the sciences, notably, the biological sciences, has led to a situation in which man is also becoming the central object of analysis within the system of the natural sciences. Let us bear in mind that mankind's knowledge tends to double roughly every 10 years; but in biology it now doubles every five years, and in genetics, every two years. The intensive development of human genetics has posed a great many social and ethical problems.

A group of scientists, including Nobel Prize winners published a letter in 1974 proposing a moratorium on some types of experiments in genetic engineering. This moratorium was observed for 8 months. In February 1975, an international conference at Asilomar, Pacific Grove, in the United States, adopted a decision to ban experiments leading to a growth of oncogenic viruses and suppressing the immunity of the human organism; these experiments were classified according to the degree of danger, although the grounds for such a classification are fairly relative.

This is perhaps the first time in the history of knowledge that scientists, who had once been inspired by the idea of the boundlessness and "immensity" of knowledge have now proposed to limit and even to stop research in some fields for ethical and humanistic reasons. But how did they approach the problem? Did they consider it as a purely moral problem and the individual concern of every scientist, or as that of an autonomous community of scientists? Is it altogether possible to solve the problem with such an approach? The fact that an outstanding scientist has decided to abandon research in molecular biology in the belief that the results could be used to harm mankind is evidence of that scientist's excellent moral motivations, but it does not solve the problem itself. His place will be taken by 20 scientists who are unburdened by any ethical considerations and who are capable of carrying the research to an end, so obtaining the same results endangering the future of mankind.

Consequently, it is not a matter of the individual ethics of Scientist A or Scientist B, but of the social and socio-ethical regulation of scientific development, and of the problem of "human factors" in

science. That is where writers and other artists should have their say and produce works designed to quicken the social conscience. Of course, under socialism these problems arise and are tackled in a fundamentally different manner, but even there the responsibility of scientists for the future of science—of all science—has been steadily growing.

The humanistic and moral set of problems is now also coming to the forefront in the sphere of the scientific and technological revolution. It is becoming ever more obvious (for everyone, including scientists) that the development of science does not exhaust all the forms and areas in which men are able to display their creative capabilities. Meanwhile, blind adoration of science, and its treatment as being of absolute importance in mankind's general culture frequently leads to a loss of the humanistic orientation.

"I think that the discussion of these key problems," I. Frolov said in conclusion, "should now be carried on not only through interaction by scientists from various fields, but also through interaction between science, literature and the other arts. Only then will it be possible to gain a profound and comprehensive (instead of a one-sided) understanding of these problems, which are exceptionally intricate and responsible problems of man, that we are confronted with by the processes of communist construction, the development of science and the whole of mankind's culture."

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V. TRUKHANOVSKY, (*Voprosy istorii* [Problems of History]), said that like other participants in the meeting he was interested in the very idea of establishing broader contacts between journals dealing with the social sciences. The interaction between the humanitarian sciences has been growing broader, and the need to strengthen ties between them and tackle the common problems through joint efforts is becoming more obvious.

Of all the social sciences, he said, history is, perhaps, closest to literature and the art of the writer. Everyone knows that the classics of historical science were always excellent writers, while the literary classics as a rule took a tremendous interest in history and had an enviable knowledge in this field.

It is also common knowledge that in our day historical subjects are very popular in Soviet literature, for many talented writers work in the historical genres. In the past few years, there has been growing public interest in the key events of the past, the intricate problems of history, its outstanding events and its remarkable men.

Purely scientific works on history are being ever more widely read not only by professional historians. But the prevailing view is that historians tend to be dull in their writing, because they lack the necessary literary skills. Nor can one say that this is mere prejudice, for the literary level of many of our works certainly leaves much to be desired.

The historians, for their part, frequently say that when writers deal with historical subjects they allow themselves excessive freedom in the treatment of the facts and so tend to transgress the historical truth.

They are also concerned about the relaxation of class criteria by some writers in evaluating the activity of various historical personalities.

It has become common practice in documentary writings and biographies to add "conjecture" to the documents, with the amalgam of fact and fiction being presented to the reader as authentic. Of course, writers of fiction have the right to flights of fancy, which are, in fact, necessary, but these should not clash with the facts, and the invented episodes should accord with the spirit of the times. The speaker said it was time to tackle the problems of the aesthetic education of the readers more actively than had been done in the past. The moulding of a new type of man, of the man of the communist society was a key task which the Party put forward before all scientists, writers and other artists.

Historical science can and must make a contribution to fulfilling this task, because without a knowledge of the past it is impossible to gain a true knowledge of the present. The current very high interest in history is, apparently, due to the much higher spiritual requirements of Soviet people, who are conscious of being the legitimate heirs of all the lasting values that their country's history has accumulated over the many centuries. Writers are aware of this interest and there is a growing number of historical works, which are of course quite different in character, range of problems and aesthetic value, but which now constitute a special field in the literature of the recent period. There is an ever marked approximation between history and literature, and this is an internal process involving the principles of analysis and generalisation of the facts.

One could gain the impression that all that this amounts to is a penetration of historical science into literature, but there is also a reverse process, which in literary criticism has for the time being gone virtually unnoticed or unappreciated. In the past few years, historians have prepared and published serious and solid studies on the historical views of the Russian classics, like Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy and Blok. Some works analyse the historical conceptions reflected in literature, and show the conceptions of history by our outstanding writers. This provides fresh confirmation of what previous speakers at this Round Table have said about everyone here having many problems and interests in common, which is why our contacts should be more solid.

After all, are not writers interested in the problems on which historians now concentrate? Take the problem of the subjective factor in history. Soviet historians have given much attention to the basic regularities underlying the historical process, and that is quite natural. Here our science has important achievements, even considering that a great deal still remains to be done in the methodology of historical analysis. But the subjective factor, the mentality of the masses in periods of great historical changes, the impact this has on the course of various events, all these are problems, whose importance was emphasised by Lenin, and which, it is quite obvious, have yet to be adequately studied. Only in the past few years have we had some works in which the epoch is seen through the activity of some

remarkable personality, like A. Manfred's *Napoléon Bonaparte* and N. Molchanov's *General de Gaulle*.

There is no doubt that this is a field which also belongs to literature. The contact between historians and writers whose works contain an analysis of the psychological motives in the behaviour of the individual in various historical circumstances could be so fruitful!

Indeed, other problems on which historians have been working are of more than historical interest, for these are highly pertinent problems which also face other humanitarian sciences and the arts.

Marxist historical science, Marxist philosophy, economics and literary criticism have been taking an active part in the battle of ideas, which continues to rage in the modern world, and in our principled ideological dispute with bourgeois scientists seeking to denigrate the Soviet people's past and its life today. Here again it is necessary to have the skill to cull the facts from the diverse humanitarian sciences and from the most diverse walks of life in order to present an even more vivid and convincing picture of the greatness of our ideals and the Soviet people's accomplishments.

Primary importance now attaches to the elaboration of the history of Soviet society in the epoch of developed socialism. The formation of the socialist social formation, and the ways and regularities of its development constitute an exceptionally responsible and important complex of problems. Of course, one must consider these as a complex of inter-related economic, philosophical, historical and other problems. After all, the moulding of a communist consciousness, a communist attitude to work, the problem of efficiency and quality is one that historians find as important as economists and philosophers.

In conclusion, Trukhanovsky declared: "Man in the epoch of developed socialism, Soviet man in the closing decades of this century is now the chief topic both for scientists and artists."

A. KOSULNIKOV, D. Sc. (Hist.), (*Voprosy istorii KPSS* [Problems of the History of the CPSU]), noted that he found it a noteworthy fact that representatives of the various social sciences had met together for discussion and that in the course of it they had been constantly referring both to literature and the other arts.

The sciences, including the humanities, are now entering upon a new period of development and are faced with exceptionally complicated and crucial tasks. The material of the 25th Congress of the CPSU orients us towards an analysis of theoretical problems of developed socialism, the regularities governing its development into communism, and the mechanism of their operation and use. It is now hard to imagine any genuine progress in any of the social sciences without steadily growing contacts with other humanitarian and natural sciences, without a constant exchange of experience, ideas and methods of research.

When considering the tasks of the social sciences at the present stage, L. I. Brezhnev pointed to the need to continue work in the scientific generalisation of the CPSU's worldwide historical experience, and this should be a guideline for the whole of the science dealing with the history of the Party. After all, there is a need to show the

substance of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism in our times.

This important task calls for the generalisation of the vast socio-historical experience of this country, of the other socialist countries and of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world. Its fulfilment requires an in-depth analysis of the key regularities of world development and the important changes in the balance of strength on the globe, together with the growing attractiveness of socialist ideals for the whole of mankind. Of course, we must tackle the task with due account of the complexities of the current stage of ideological life, giving a principled rebuff to all manner of attempts to distort the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of communist construction by bourgeois ideologists and various revisionists, whatever their camouflage.

The speaker said that every work, whether scientific or artistic, should give one a sense of being made "to order by the times". It should take full account of the tendencies which are in evidence today and which will develop tomorrow, and give a clear-cut evaluation of new phenomena. It should assimilate all the experience accumulated in the ideological struggle and take account of its key lines at the present stage; finally, it should visualise the readership, who expect of the author not just a rehash of home truths but a creative analysis of the problems of today from Leninist positions.

Only if all these conditions are observed, can one say that our work is up to a truly high standard of quality. In the field of the humanities and aesthetic culture, the criteria of quality are not as obvious as they are in the sphere of material production, but there, too, these are of primary importance. Scientific and artistic scrap is so much more dangerous because it cannot be as easily detected as rejects are in production. We have yet to develop a more implacable attitude to drabness, primitive thinking, inability to raise topical problems, poor writing and clichés both in the social sciences and in literature. Nor are we always duly aware of the fact that all of this has a direct bearing on the quality of scientific and artistic works, which means, on their effectiveness as well.

The most important task facing the science of Party history has been, is and will be the elaboration of the ideological and theoretical legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics. Lenin's ideological legacy is an inexhaustible treasure-house, to which we return again and again in our search for the answers to the problems posed before us by life. Like the writer, the historian needs to gain a deep insight into the historical situation and the concrete conditions of the revolutionary struggle at the stage at which a given work was written by Lenin, so as to show his thinking from inside, in a manner of speaking, into the very circumstances in which the given work originated. But even this is not enough: while Lenin's text was meaningful for the period in which it was written, it continues to have lasting importance for future decades, and for the development of Marxist theory as a whole. This means that the historian or the writer must show how the propositions formulated by Lenin in the given work were translated into practice,

how they helped to build the new life and how they help us today in fighting bourgeois ideology, opportunism and revisionism. Only if a study or literary work dealing with some Leninist topic is analytical and presents the problem in depth, can we say that it makes a substantial contribution to the development of Lenin's ideas.

Today, the speaker went on, it is especially important to show more fully and vividly in art Lenin's great humanism, his exceptional modesty, dedication, and boundless devotion to the cause of the Party and the revolution. One article about some new Soviet films says that in this period when material welfare standards are rapidly growing and the scientific organisation of labour is being ever more extensively applied, there is allegedly less and less room in our life for self-sacrifice and heroic labour endeavour. That is a deeply erroneous view. Of course, the Party has been doing a great deal steadily to raise the Soviet people's living standards and to make their work easier, labour more productive and living conditions better. We cannot but take pride in the great achievements in this field, but the sources of heroism have not run out in any sense. Nor will they run out when the construction of communist society is completed. On the contrary, moral factors now tend to be ever more important, so that the key task is to work for the purity of socialist moral principles and socialist spiritual ideals. Of course, the current processes in our society have become more complex, as has our people's spiritual world. But never before have readers yearned for a hero whom they could regard as a real hero to imitate. That is why, possibly, biographies of revolutionary leaders and remarkable Communists of the past are so popular today. In conclusion, Kosulnikov said: "Let us hope that our writers will be able to produce on the strength of modern and living material—which is fascinating, complicated and abounds in romanticism—images of men and women who are in the forefront of communist construction, who are inspired by the revolutionary ideals of older generations and translate these ideals into practice. Our heroic period itself calls on art to produce such a hero."

CRITICAL STUDIES AND COMMENT

Bourgeois Historiography of the Three Russian Revolutions

VLADIMIR SALOV

Foreign bourgeois literature on the history of the three Russian revolutions represents a historiographical complex the creation of which was begun during the first revolutionary onslaught of 1905-1907. In this complex it is easy to detect two basic trends which determine, in fact, its historiographical colouring. The one is the modelling of the conception of the three revolutions according to the thesis of the inherent backwardness of Russia, the other— attempts to predicate the revolutionary transformation of Russia on the "theory of modernisation" which is supposedly leading to a single industrial society.

One of the basic propositions of Leninism was that the revolutions in Russia took place "in the era of the very advanced development of capitalism throughout the world and of its comparatively advanced development in Russia".¹ The high degree of the concentration and centralisation of industrial capital, the existence of big monopolies which controlled up to 80 different kinds of production (coal, metals, oil, the output of the light and food industries, etc.), was a significant feature of Russian capitalism. There were more than 150 such monopolies, among them the Prodamet, the Prodrugol, the Prodvagon, and the Gvozd. V. I. Lenin characterised Russian capital as monopolistic capital.²

However, advanced industrial and finance capital in Russia was combined with an extremely backward semi-feudal agrarian system

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and semi-feudal absolutist power—the tsarist autocracy. This resulted in a deepening conflict between rapidly progressing capitalism and the grim survivals of serfdom, “between capitalism, which is highly developed in our industry and considerably developed in our agriculture, and *the system of landownership*, which remains mediaeval, feudal”.³ On the eve of the 1905-1907 revolution a contradiction arose in the country “which most profoundly of all explains the Russian revolution, namely, the most backward system of landownership and the most ignorant peasantry on the one hand, and the most advanced industrial and finance capitalism on the other!”⁴

To this concept, to the materialist thesis of the growing and deepening conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production as the underlying cause of revolution modern bourgeois historiography contraposes the anti-scientific model of the deep-rooted backwardness of Russia, a backwardness which allegedly predetermined the “specific” features of the three Russian revolutions and the establishment of Soviet power.

The thesis of the age-old backwardness of the country was advanced still by Menshevik historiography; this thesis underlies the Trotskyist falsification of the history of the Russian revolutions. The American historian, Professor Martin Malia in his “Backward History in a Backward Country”, in fact admits that the pattern of Russia’s backwardness devised by the Mensheviks is used by Western authors in their works; it is basic to Trotsky’s “law of combined and uneven development” and his thesis of “permanent revolution”.⁵

Compared with Western countries, writes the French historian René Girault, “Russia, it seems, was incapable of overcoming her turpitude and more and more became a part of Eastern and Southeastern Europe—underdeveloped, agrarian and archaic.”⁶ At the beginning of the century Russia, writes Marcel Liebman, a professor at the University of Brussels, “was dominated by an anachronistic power and was herself an immense anachronism”, “being still completely in the Middle Ages”.⁷

The bourgeois historiographical model of the age-old backwardness of Russia also includes the Menshevik thesis of the backwardness of the Russian working-class movement and its immaturity compared with the working-class movement in Western countries, the incapability of the Russian workers for political struggle. Thus, the American historian Donald W. Treadgold in his “The Seeds of Revolution” includes the working class and peasantry of Russia among the undeveloped classes of the country.⁸ Discussing the specific features of the revolutionary movement in Russia Professor K.-H. Ruffmann (FRG) asserts that one cannot speak of the Russian workers as proletarians in the full sense of the word.⁹ Here Ruffmann and his numerous followers ignore a characteristic feature of the growth of Russia’s industrial proletariat—its early and high degree of concentration which considerably increased its strength and conditioned its revolutionary character.

The number of industrial workers in Russia on the eve of the 1905-1907 revolution totalled three million (together with miners and

railway workers); more than half of them (52.2 per cent) were concentrated in large industrial enterprises employing 500 workers or more, and more than one-third (35.1 per cent)—in the bigger enterprises employing 1,000 and more workers. Millions of the exploited employed at small urban and rural industrial enterprises united around this proletarian nucleus which, moreover, consisted mostly of hereditary workers. At the close of the 19th century the total number of proletarians and semi-proletarians (hired workers with allotments) was 63.7 million of whom not less than 22 million were proletarians.

Bourgeois historians explain also the victory of the October Socialist Revolution by the age-old backwardness of the country, drawing from this the conclusion about the inapplicability of the Marxist doctrine to the conditions of Russia. “Could a direct revolutionary transition to socialism have taken place in economically backward countries by following the analysis of Marx and Engels?” asks the earlier mentioned Girault.¹⁰ The West German historian D. Geyer writes: “If Russia had broken with her monarcho-despotic and patriarchal past and become a bourgeois-capitalist state the revolutionaries would not have had any chances of being victorious.”¹¹ Developing this thesis the American scholar Allan Wildman writes: “...the Bolsheviks succeeded because they were willing to ‘exploit’ the backwardness of Russian conditions and capitalise on the inherent *buntarstvo* of the uncultured Russian masses”.¹² He is joined by his French colleague Marcel Roncayolo who writes in the first volume of *Histoire du monde contemporain*: “In less than a year Russia passed from a monarchistic regime of an autocratic trend to a republic of the Soviets, from a structure patently pre-capitalist to a society that has taken the path of collectivism” and draws the conclusion that “the evolution is an abrupt and unexpected one because it is precisely in the least developed Great Powers that the workers win power”.¹³ This anti-Leninist thesis also underlies Isaac Deutscher’s Trotskyist book *The Unfinished Revolution* and the writings by the Austrian revisionists Ernst Fischer and Franz Marek, which is indicative of the intertwinement of principal Western historiographical concepts. These are levelled at the Leninist doctrine of the unevenness of development under imperialism, of the possibility of the weakest link in its chain breaking, that is, the possibility of the socialist revolution being victorious initially in several or even in one country.

Bourgeois historiography’s thesis of the supposed backwardness of the Russian proletariat is part and parcel of the anti-communist thesis according to which it was this backwardness that allegedly played a fatal role in the development of the working-class movement, depriving the working class of independence and enabling the Bolsheviks to capture that movement. This is the view of the American historian D. Treadgold who writes: “Perhaps, in retrospect, it was the failure of an independent labour movement to take root that was most fateful of all in determining the outcome, since it was the capture of that movement by the Bolsheviks that made possible their

seizure of power.”¹⁴ This is an instance of gross distortion of the role of the Bolshevik Party which headed the working class, the leading force in the three Russian revolutions. The thesis of the backwardness of the Russian working class acquires yet another anti-communist nuance when bourgeois authors try to prove that the working class, by gradually evolving along the path of the working class of Western countries could have achieved victory without the Bolsheviks as the American scholar Reginald E. Zelnik believes.¹⁵ In this case, too, the thesis of backwardness is directed against the leading role of the Communist Party.

Zelnik attributes the intensification of the revolutionary activity of the working class at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century to the considerable replenishment of the working class from the ranks of the peasantry who, he says, constituted the most militant part of the proletariat. He amplifies this idea about the “specific character” of the Russian working-class movement with that about the paradoxicality of the country’s socio-economic development which, according to him, was reflected in the fact that in the period from the middle of the 1880s and up to the eve of Bloody Sunday (1905) St. Petersburg took on many of the characteristics of a modern urban industrial centre which was not the case elsewhere in the country.¹⁶

Speaking of the “specific character” of the working-class movement in Russia Professor Jacob Walkin draws the conclusion that “at the base of the revolution was the emergence of a primitive, elemental and anarchistic force, the agrarian disorders of the peasants and the factory disorders of the half-peasants who constituted the bulk of the workers”, and that the Bolsheviks in 1917 capitalised on “this primitive and anarchistic force” that “ragged on unchecked”.¹⁷ This is yet another instance of the numerous attempts made by bourgeois historians to cast a shadow on the Bolshevik Party whose ideology, they would have us believe, imbibed anarchism.

In their efforts to authenticate the model of the age-old backwardness of Russia and its working-class movement, bourgeois historians fall back on references to certain erroneous propositions advanced by Soviet historians in the discussion on the character of Russian absolutism and in some works on the history of the working-class movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. The American historian Th. Esper, interpreting the statements by some participants in the discussion in a vein that suited him, writes that in the course of the discussion the existence of the capitalist stage in Russia’s development was called in question and that the conclusions following from the discussion testify, according to him, to the convergence of Marxist and Menshevik views. On the basis of such an interpretation of the facts he infers that up to 1917 Russian society was still a serf-owning or semi-serf-owning society.¹⁸

No less indicative in this respect is Zelnik’s “Russian Workers and the Revolutionary Movement”, mentioned earlier. He does not conceal his satisfaction in connection with the erroneous propositions on the backwardness of the Russian working-class movement

contained in the book *The Working Class and the Working-Class Movement in Russia. 1861-1917* (Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1966, in Russian), and draws the sweeping conclusion: “If one accepts some picture along the lines of the one just sketched, then the weakness of Lenin’s early concept of the Russian workers as a class likely to fall victim to bourgeois-liberal ideology... becomes apparent.”¹⁹

A characteristic feature of all works of this type is the total absence of the principle of strict scholarly verification of this or that proposition: the conclusion about the age-old backwardness of Russia does not correlate with the concrete objective process; it is based on subjective statements by individual historians. Consequently, the bourgeois theory of the age-old backwardness of Russia and its working-class movement would not stand the test of verification; it cannot disprove and shake the truth of Lenin’s theories regarding the capitalist development of Russia and that the strength of its working class was in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Herbert J. Ellison in his work “Soviet Historians and the Russian Revolution” admits that because of a politicised interpretation of the writings by Soviet historians many of the articles on Soviet historiography are not scholarly reviews of the historical literature.²⁰

The model of the deep-rooted backwardness of Russia is heavily leaned upon by a number of historians to substantiate their far-fetched concept of so-called “specific Russian socialism”. In his work *La révolution russe de 1917* the French Slavacist François Coquin writes: “The fact that the revolution took place in backward agrarian Russia was bound to have consequence for the destinies of socialism in Russia and for the purity of the revolution”, which allegedly did not acquire an international character. According to Coquin, the revolution did not go beyond national frontiers. Hence the appearance of “Russian socialism” or “Bolshevik socialism” which the European proletariat supposedly finds difficult to understand. In developing this anti-communist thesis Coquin and his colleagues are prepared to acknowledge certain facts, in particular the popular character of the October Revolution, the existence of the worker-peasant alliance, etc. But when speaking of the masses the accent is on the “specific character” of their actions compared with those of the masses in Western countries, as allegedly manifested in the non-acceptance of the parliamentary form of government and democratic liberties. “The workers and peasants,” Coquin asserts, “accepted only a social revolution, only it had value in their eyes. Not parliament, nor democratic liberties, nor a Constitution interested them but the land—for the peasants, the factories—for the workers and Russia—for the working people”.²¹ As we see, the recognition of some facts and their biased interpretation pursue a definite purpose—to give credence to the thesis of the undemocratic sentiments of the Russian working class.

The second trend of bourgeois historiography, as already noted, is linked with the so-called “modernisation” theory. Russia’s backwardness, in the opinion of some Western historians, could have been overcome through economic and political modernisation of the

country, leading to a single industrial society. The first path to modernisation, writes George D. Jackson, the liberal path of capitalist industrialisation, was not available to East European countries because of the lag established already in the Middle Ages between East and West, and the latecomers cannot industrialise according to the same pattern as their West European predecessors because the cost of borrowing capital has soared and the capital available is less likely to be drawn to them. The path suitable for only these countries is the Russian communist model of state-controlled industrialisation and rural collectivisation. As they ward off the threat of the lag becoming a permanent state such countries, the historian reasons, inevitably pass through chaos and revolution which in this sense is historically conditioned and logical, and which acquire epochal significance.²²

We might also note that the advocates of the "modernisation" theory have put forward the concept "revolution of the type of the developing countries". Some (the English historian John Keep among them) write about the revolution of 1905-1907 as the first revolution of this type and others, like the American historian Theodore H. von Laue, believe that this definition applies more to the October Revolution of 1917 than to the first Russian revolution.²³ The historical experience of Russia is presented in the latest bourgeois writings (Malia in particular) as the experience of "the first nation to make it from the 'third world' into the 'second'—indeed as the pivotal case in this fashionable division of the planet". While admitting that this experience "surely has relevance for still later developing societies" Malia hastens to add that Western historians "must be wary of literally projecting the Russian experience elsewhere".²⁴ It is all too obvious that the bourgeois historians seek to distort the objective law of development of the October Revolution, the common peculiarities that are of enduring significance for all countries and peoples, for they embody the characteristic features of the revolutionary process connected with the breaking-up of the old world and the establishment of a new social structure, with the building of socialism.

The modelling of such "modernisation" is directed against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the objective law of development of the socialist revolution, it is linked with the interpretation of the October Revolution as a "specifically Russian" model. This is admitted on the pages of the ten-volumed *A Comparative Encyclopaedia* of the social sciences, publication of which began in 1972 in the USA and the FRG, and in which such leading Sovietologists collaborate as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alex Inkeles and Boris Meissner. The article on the October Revolution in the sixth volume of the *Encyclopaedia* ("Marxism, Communism and Western Society"), expounds some theories on modernisation which recognise the inevitability of the October Revolution on the way to global industrialisation (C. E. Black) and the creation of highly industrialised affluent societies (W. Rostow), to the realisation of agrarian reform (B. Moore, E. Carr and others) and various structural changes ("social revolution" à la Coquin).²⁵

While recognising the inevitability of the October Revolution the authors of various theories of modernisation are at the same time trying to find what were the chances of transforming the old system without resorting to violence. In the words of the English historian Paul Dukes, to a large group of Western historians who are called "optimists", "the reign of the last tsar is of greatest interest not as the final stage in the relentless march towards revolution but as a period when there were many opportunities for the old regime to reform itself by peaceful means and thus to avert destruction...."²⁶ All kinds of objective and subjective facts and processes are used as pointers in the reconstruction of these probabilities. That is why to most Western historians Nicholas II is the central figure. His overthrow in February 1917 is seen as a tragedy which lay in the fact that he lived with the temptations of the moment and therefore was practically not in a position to choose a way of escape. Among works of this trend is the psychoanalytic study by the American writer Robert K. Massie *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York, 1967). Martin Malia, for example, believes that the Russian autocracy, allegedly devoid of a class content and rising above civil society, was able to compel society to compete for modernisation since in Russia, he says, it was precisely the state that completely replaced the dynamic Anglo-French bourgeoisie.²⁷

When speaking of the possible ways of peaceful transformation some historians shift the accent from the backwardness of Russia to its Westernisation and Europeanisation, referring to the dynamic process of modernisation that allegedly unfolded in Russia on the initiative of foreign capital at the close of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. According to these historians, foreign manufacturers brought a spirit of dynamism into society which was in a state of lethargy and stagnation.²⁸

This problem is treated differently in the works of the French historian René Girault, mentioned earlier. Although foreign capital, in particular French, played a significant part in Russia's economy its development, he notes, was based nevertheless on Russian capital, and he concludes that: "Russian finance capital evolved in the direction of the shaping of the classic structure of monopoly capitalism, which more and more approximated the Western or American model."²⁹

In many works the view is expressed that at the close of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century Russia became an integral part of the world economy. John McKay and Paul Dukes, referring to the experience of tsarist Russia, declare, for example, that it is possible for the developing countries to cope with the problem of dependence upon foreign capital and in this connection assert that the rate of industrial growth in Russia at the turn of the century was somewhat higher than in the West. According to the French historian Pierre Pascal, Russia in 1905 was more and more becoming an European country.³⁰ This natural process, it appears, was interrupted by the revolutionary euphoria of 1905-1907. And as for the first Russian

revolution—it was allegedly caused by the Russo-Japanese war (A. Spector, E. Hölzle, K.-H. Ruffmann, and others).

The period following the first Russian revolution is characterised in bourgeois historiography (P. Scheibert, T. Laue, L. Kochan and others) as the “Witte era”, that is, the period of intensified industrialisation at the expense of agriculture, when obvious preference was given to foreign capital invested in heavy industry.³¹ Recognising the high degree of industrial development in Russia on the eve of the First World War, the advocates of the modernisation theory adduce that the initial cause of the fall of the autocracy in February 1917 should be sought in the crisis provoked by a destructive war.³² In the 1960s, writes the American scholar Leopold Haimson, a conception began to crystallise “that between the Revolution of 1905 and the outbreak of the First World War a process of political and social stabilisation was under way in every major sphere of Russian life which, but for the extraneous stresses that the war imposed, would have saved the Russian body politic from revolution—or at least from the radical overturn that Russia eventually experienced with the Bolshevik conquest of power”.³³ This conception is prevalent in Western historiography. Thus, another American historian, G. Stephenson, believes that given time and no war the industrial revolution in Russia would have made possible the peaceful transformation of Russian society.³⁴

Many bourgeois authors, however, while noting the high level of Russia’s industrial development, put the accent on the country’s economic backwardness owing to the structural crisis in agriculture, as they put it, and to the extremely low level of agrarian production. In the opinion of the West German historian J. Notzeld it was impossible to overcome this crisis with the help of foreign capital, as was done in industry, and thus create the necessary balance between industry and agriculture. What is more, says Geyer, continuing this idea, the foreign loans, simply brought Russia, already burdened down with enormous loans, closer to a semi-colonial status.³⁵

The conclusion is drawn from the specifics of the Russian economy that the attempt to model the country’s agriculture along the lines of market capitalism was foredoomed, since even the Stolypin reforms ignored these specifics. According to the same Geyer, Russia’s domestic policy in 1907-1914 was a repressive pacification strategy (*Pazifizierungsstrategie*), which did not mirror the social and economic specifics of the country. As a consequence, this policy became increasingly irrational, reflecting the steadily growing instability of the traditional élite. Geyer and other supporters of this theory then go on to say that in the conditions of the age-old backwardness of Russia the Bolsheviks opened up new opportunities for action while the Mensheviks’ and the Cadets’ search for a social-reformist solution had not the slightest chance of success.³⁶ From this point of view the First World War not only did not interrupt the process of growing stabilisation and progress but it also temporarily stalled the revolutionary eruption of a structural crisis in Russia. Such is the trend of thinking of a number of Western historians on the agrarian problem.

Speaking of the political measures which allegedly could have led to the peaceful reconstruction of Russian society Ernst Birth in his work *The Octobrists (1905-1913)* writes that the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, was a chance to modernise the Russian state without the sacrifices and violence of a revolutionary transformation.³⁷ But this supposedly existing possibility of evolutionary transformation was not used and was subsequently lost.

Attempts are made to find alternatives of a constitutional-legal nature. For example, the English historian G. Hosking in his book *The Russian Constitutional Experiment. Government and Duma 1907-1914*, characterises the Stolypin programme as a kind of constitutional nationalism which resembled what Joseph Chamberlain advocated in England several years earlier. According to Hosking the “model of the Octobrists” and not the “model of the Cadets” was the most successful.³⁸

It is interesting to note that some present-day bourgeois historians and lawyers when characterising the “constitutional model” of autocratic Russia consider that the thesis of pseudo-constitutionalism is an erroneous one in application to the constitutional-legal order that was established after the revolution of 1905-1907. The West German lawyer L. Schulz in his work *The Constitution of Russia in 1906* takes issue with M. Weber who wrote in 1906 that this constitution was a fiction. Schulz considers this characterisation incorrect since the Constitution of 1906 in his view was a decisive turning point in the constitutional-legal development of Russia which in this respect was evolving in the direction of the West.³⁹

Today bourgeois historians, adapting themselves to the new situation of détente, fall back, in words of P. Dukes, to the so-called balanced appraisal of the part played by the Soviet Union in the contemporary phase of world history.⁴⁰

The answer to the question what does this “balanced appraisal” really amount to may be found in Dukes’s latest work, reflecting the process of agonising rejection by some Western ideologists of the crude clichés of the cold war and a more sober treatment of history. Dukes is prepared to recognise many indisputable facts. The institution of the Soviet Union he writes “was the result of the Russian Revolution of 1917”, and “made a profound impact throughout the whole of the terrestrial globe”. He writes: “Few Western historians would deny this, although not many of them would choose to agree with their Soviet colleagues that ‘the Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated a new era in the history of the Soviet peoples and of all mankind, and marked the beginning of the transition from the old, exploiter society, to the new socialist system’.

“The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the first major society to announce its creation according to a coherent ideology. Since 1917, the claims of this ideology—Marxism-Leninism—to be not only a scientific, global and progressive explanation of history but also a guide to its transformation have come to be widely accepted in the Second and Third World and to a considerable extent in the First.

The events of 1917 and subsequent years have therefore been a subject of great controversy among both supporters and opponents of Marxism-Leninism."⁴¹

It should be noted that in this "great controversy" Marxists, true to the Leninist principles of consistent defence of historical truth, aim to bring the truth of the October Revolution to millions of people. The acceptance of certain facts as a means of construing arbitrary concepts can hardly be regarded as a repudiation of anti-Sovietism. Such concepts are, if anything, a form of so-called "democratic anti-communism".

In his account of events Dukes proceeds from the fact that the Revolution of 1917 was part of the organic evolution of Russian history and in no sense an unfortunate accident or avoidable tragedy. At the same time he proceeds from the thesis of Western historiography that the modern and even the mediaeval periods of Russia's history weighed very heavily upon the new society and prevented it from fully justifying the great hopes laid upon it. Indeed, Soviet society did not justify bourgeois historians' hopes of its degeneration, its rejection of the international principles proclaimed in October 1917.

The selection and interpretation of facts in the historiography reviewed here are modelled according to the cited concepts. The facts are ignored if they do not fit into these models. In his review of the collection of materials of the colloquium of Western historians on the 1917 Revolution the French historian P. Sorlin noted with good reason that the reports of R. Pipes, E. H. Carr and M. Rubel, although they proceed from different premises, coincide in their basic content and argumentation, for these authors have little regard for the facts as such and are more concerned with the selection of facts from a definite political point of view.⁴²

Finding the application of Marxism to an interpretation of the history of Russia to be an impossible task⁴³ bourgeois historians are now trying to propagandise a slightly modernised version of the historiographical concepts of the Mensheviks, Cadets, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Trotskyites.

NOTES

- ¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 16, p. 324.
- ² See *ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 358.
- ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 75.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, p. 442.
- ⁵ See M. Malia, "Backward History in a Backward Country", *The New York Review of Books*, October 7, 1971, Vol. XVII, No. 5, p. 38.
- ⁶ *Revue historique*, October-December 1969, p. 485.
- ⁷ M. Liebman, *La révolution russe*, Paris, 1967, p. 11.
- ⁸ See D. W. Treadgold, "The Seeds of Revolution", *Problems of Communism*, Vol. XII, No. 4, July-August 1963, p. 31.
- ⁹ See K.-H. Ruffman, *Sowjetrussland. Struktur und Entfaltung einer Weltmacht*, Munich, 1971, p. 93.
- ¹⁰ *Revue historique*, April-June 1972, p. 516.

- ¹¹ D. Geyer, "Oktoberrevolution", *Revolution und Gesellschaft. Theorie und Praxis der Systemveränderung*, Ed. by Th. Schieder, Freiburg, 1973, p. 121.
- ¹² *The Russian Review*, October 1973, p. 432.
- ¹³ M. Roncayolo, *Histoire du monde contemporain*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1973, p. 73.
- ¹⁴ D. W. Treadgold, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- ¹⁵ See R. E. Zelnik, "Russian Workers and the Revolutionary Movement", *Journal of Social History*, Winter 1972-1973, Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 225.
- ¹⁶ See R. E. Zelnik, "Two and a Half Centuries of Labor History: St. Petersburg (Petrograd) Leningrad", *Slavic Review*, September 1974, pp. 523-524.
- ¹⁷ J. Walkin, *The Rise of Democracy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, London, 1963, p. 206.
- ¹⁸ See Th. Esper, "Recent Soviet Views of Russian Absolutism", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Winter 1972, p. 628; S. H. Baron, "The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in Russia", *The American Historical Review*, 1972, June, p. 718.
- ¹⁹ R. E. Zelnik, "Russian Workers and the Revolutionary Movement", *Journal of Social History*, Winter 1972-1973, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 225-226.
- ²⁰ See H. J. Ellison, "Soviet Historians and the Russian Revolution", *Russia, Essays in History and Literature*, Ed. by L. H. Legters, Leiden, 1972, p. 137.
- ²¹ F.-X. Coquin, *La révolution russe de 1917*, Paris, 1974, pp. 12-13, 23.
- ²² See G. D. Jackson, "Peasant Political Movements in Eastern Europe", *Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change*, Ed. by A. A. Landsberger, London, 1974, pp. 270-271.
- ²³ See *The Journal of Modern History*, March 1965, p. 109.
- ²⁴ M. Malia, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ²⁵ "Marxism, Communism and Western Society, A Comparative Encyclopaedia, Vol. VI, Ed. by C. D. Kernig, New York, 1973. See article in *Social Sciences*, No. 3, 1976, devoted to an analysis of this publication.
- ²⁶ P. Dukes, *A History of Russia. Mediaeval, Modern, Contemporary*, London, 1974, p. 176.
- ²⁷ See M. Malia, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.
- ²⁸ See review on John McKay's book, *Pioneers for Profit, Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialisation, 1885-1913*, 1970, Chicago Press, *Annales. Economies, Societies, Civilisations*, September-October 1973, No. 5, p. 1194.
- ²⁹ *Annales*, 1970, No. 1, p. 132.
- ³⁰ See P. Pascal, *Les grands courants de la pensée russe contemporaine*, Paris, 1971, p. 13.
- ³¹ See *Die russischen politischen Parteien von 1905 bis 1917*, Edited by P. Scheibert, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 5.
- ³² See D. Geyer, "Oktoberrevolution", *Revolution und Gesellschaft*, p. 123; R. Kanet, *The Soviet Union and the Developing Nations*, Baltimore, 1974.
- ³³ L. Haimson, "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905-1917". *Slavic Review*, December 1964, p. 620.
- ³⁴ See G. Stephenson, *Russia from 1812 to 1945. A History*, New York, 1970, p. 180; see also H. Jablonowski, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Cologne, 1972, p. 156.
- ³⁵ See D. Geyer, "Oktoberrevolution", *Revolution und Gesellschaft*, p. 125.
- ³⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 123-124.
- ³⁷ See E. Birth, *Die Oktobristen (1905-1913). Zielvorstellungen und Struktur. Ein Beitrag zur russischen Parteiengeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1974.
- ³⁸ See G. Hosking, *The Russian Constitutional Experiment. Government and Duma 1907-1914*, Cambridge-London, 1973, p. 250.
- ³⁹ See *Russlands Aufbruch ins 20 Jahrhundert 1894-1917*, Olten, 1970, p. 47.
- ⁴⁰ See P. Dukes, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 207.
- ⁴² See *Revue historique*, April-June 1971, p. 530.
- ⁴³ See M. Malia, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Human Problems of International Cooperation

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Alongside the efforts to strengthen international security the present-day peace movement pays increasing attention to problems of cooperation, which are of importance to all mankind.

The problems that are already exercising or may in the foreseeable future exercise a profound influence on the trends and prospects of mankind's development include: environmental pollution; pressure on natural processes that is today reaching dangerous limits; the situation taking shape in the sphere of the utilisation of natural resources; the food shortage and the rapid population growth in some regions of the world. Taken together, these problems are often referred to in literature as the "ecological crisis".

As has been shown by modern Marxist studies, the crisis character of these phenomena and processes is due chiefly to the contradictions of the present capitalist mode of production, mainly to the chaotic, ungovernable development of the capitalist economy and the drive of the monopolies for maximum profits.¹

The sum total of "underproduction" crises in definite branches of the capitalist economy (raw materials, energy, food), and also the spreading pollution and degradation of the environment are directly affecting the conditions of the existence of huge sections of the

world's population. Environmental pollution and the energy crisis are lowering the level and quality of life in industrialised capitalist states, while in the developing countries food and demographic problems are creating serious difficulties. In itself this fact alone is evoking a fairly sharp reaction among various social forces. At the same time, the most serious apprehensions are aroused among the public at large, scientists and political leaders of many countries by the long-term trends and prospects of the crisis processes of interaction between man and nature.

The International Scientific Symposium held in Prague in December 1973 under the auspices of the International Peace Institute and the Academy of Sciences of Czechoslovakia aptly defined them as global problems of modern civilisation. Whereas 15 or 20 years ago problems of this kind interested only a relatively small circle of scientists, today they are increasingly attracting the attention of broad public opinion, are the subject of international talks and agreements, comprise an entire trend in the work of the UN and many other international organisations and are becoming a sphere of an acute ideological struggle. The struggle waged by progressive forces for an international solution of problems affecting all mankind with consideration for the legitimate interests of all countries and peoples is a major component of the overall struggle of these forces for a lasting peace, peaceful coexistence and broad international cooperation.

A growing number of people are coming to the conclusion that concrete, sustained and purposeful actions are needed in order to solve ecological problems, both global and local. A reorientation is taking place in the work of Western public organisations and even a new type of public movement is appearing, which, with some reservations, may be called an "ecological movement". It consists of numerous organisations set up on a national and international basis that embrace growing sections of the population and pursue activities that are diversified in scale, orientation and potentiality. On the one hand, this movement includes various "traditional" societies and organisations for the protection of nature, the animal kingdom and so forth, that are winning a steadily growing influence and widening the scale of their work. "Specialised" organisations are also springing up, for instance, a movement calling itself "Save Our Seas". This movement is attracting youth, trade union, women's, religious and other organisations.

The problems of ecological crisis also receive much attention in many international scientific organisations and are widely discussed at meetings, symposiums and seminars. They are a standing issue of the discussions in, for example, the Pugwash Movement and at the regular Dartmouth Meetings of representatives of Soviet and American public opinion. These problems are being closely studied by the International Peace Institute which has sponsored two seminars—in 1973 and in 1975—to discuss them. Studies in this direction are organised also by many other authoritative national and international scientific centres.

E. Fyodorov, Academician, Director of the Institute of Applied Geography of the Main Board of the Hydrometeorological Service under the USSR Council of Ministers; author of numerous works on geophysics and also on interaction between society and nature.

Yu. Fyodorov, Researcher at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, the USSR Academy of Sciences, author of a series of works on international relations.

Relatively small, closed organisations uniting some political leaders, the heads of large companies and leading scientists have appeared in Western countries over the past few years. They are endeavouring to evolve the conception and strategy of a solution to the entire range of problems of the ecological crisis on a long-term basis. The best known organisation of this kind is the Club of Rome, which is associated with definite academic circles and with large Western corporations.

Ecological problems today occupy a major place in the international peace movement. It will be recalled that they were discussed at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in 1973, at the representative international symposium held under the heading "The Role of Scientists and Their Organisations in the Struggle for Disarmament" in 1975, at the 1972 and 1975 Brussels assemblies of representatives of public opinion for European security and cooperation, and at many other international meetings and forums. Cooperation among the different public organisations in ecological problems is unquestionably widening the social basis of the general democratic movement and offering the forces participating in the movement new areas for joint action.

Effective measures to resolve the new, vitally important problems confronting mankind can only be taken through equal and mutually beneficial cooperation and the concerted efforts of all the countries and peoples of the world. The main, decisive condition making such cooperation realistic is détente. This was clearly and lucidly stated by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow in October 1973. "Peace," he said, "is not only a question of security. It is also the most important prerequisite for solving the most crucial problems of modern civilisation. And here the very future of humanity is involved... Here it will be sufficient to mention but a few of the problems that are beginning to cause many people concern: energy supply, environmental protection, elimination of such blights as mass hunger and dangerous diseases, and development of the resources of the world ocean."²

Precisely this is the foundation of the conception defining the activities of the progressive peace forces today. The interconnection we have noted makes it possible to go over from the struggle against the direct threat of a thermonuclear conflict to a struggle for the materialisation of détente, of which the struggle against the ecological crisis is undoubtedly an important element. The peace movement is well aware, to quote a document of the Commission on Cooperation for Protection of the Environment set up by the World Congress of Peace Forces, that "anxiety about conservation and the desire to optimise inter-relations between man and nature are an additional stimulus to the efforts of society to strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence and obtain conditions that would exclude war from the life of man."³

The past decade provides innumerable examples showing that the antithesis of détente—the arms race, the aggravation of international

tension and international conflicts—sharply exacerbates the ecological, raw material and food problems and, in most cases, renders their solution impossible.

While only a few years ago the negative impact of the arms race and the cold war was interpreted as heightening the threat of a thermonuclear war, public attention is today increasingly attracted also by many other adverse effects of that impact. In particular, the arms race absorbs huge intellectual and material resources needed for the solution of all ecological problems, beginning from the prevention of environmental pollution and ending with the elimination of the food shortage.

With the arms race in progress the military industry unproductively and irrationally expends enormous irreplaceable natural energy and raw material resources. Moreover, it swallows vast funds needed to work out and make practical use of alternative sources of raw materials and energy.⁴

The manufacture and, particularly, the testing and storage of chemical and nuclear weapons are seriously damaging the environment. Enormous danger emanates, for instance, from the use of the world ocean as a dump for the waste from nuclear and chemical industries orientated on military aims. By devouring enormous sums of money, the arms race hinders the development, among other things, of purifying installations and the provision of all industries with such installations. Serious anxiety is caused by fundamentally new types of weapons, including those using natural processes or influencing the natural environment for military purposes. The arms race leads to the spending of colossal funds that could and should be allocated for aid to liberated nations with the purposes of helping them to resolve their food and demographic problems and surmount the growing gap between the development level of these countries and that of the economically advanced nations.

At international symposiums and meetings of representatives of public opinion the view is being moulded that with the normalisation of relations between countries belonging to the two different social systems and with the limitation and subsequent reduction of military expenditures there will be greater possibilities for allocating substantial funds for the solution of problems affecting all mankind.

Even local military conflicts, as was eloquently shown by the US aggression in Vietnam, inflict serious and frequently irreparable damage on the environment. Breaking out in regions with rich natural resources they inevitably reduce the output level; in any case, they raise the level of international tension, and this always affects the world market of raw materials and fuel; they lead to the squandering of available reserves of raw materials, fuel and so forth. They have a particularly adverse effect on the agriculture of all the countries involved and thereby aggravate the already difficult food situation existing in the developing countries.

Armed conflicts nullify the possibility of resolving the entire range of problems of the interaction between society and nature. This underscores the pressing need for all the forces, movements and

organisations worried about the ecological situation to take action to prevent international conflicts. Special significance, therefore, attaches to the creation of systems of collective security in all conflict-prone areas, notably in Asia, where, as everybody knows, the food and demographic problems are acute.

A specific feature of all the processes and problems forming the ecological crisis is that they cannot be entirely resolved on a national scale. Environmental pollution, for example, cannot be surmounted because large quantities of pollutants are carried from one country to another by air and water streams. Moreover, large-scale joint action is needed also in the world ocean and elsewhere.

The world's reserves of energy and other raw material resources are distributed very unevenly, and they can be rationally and profitably utilised by all countries only under conditions of peaceful development, on the basis of mutually beneficial trade and cooperation. Any attempt to resolve the problem of resources by force or by threats to, say, oil-producing countries, such as are made at times by some US politicians, is not only extremely reactionary and dangerous but also futile. Such an attempt can only aggravate the problem and will on no account resolve it.

The situation in this sphere is today complicated also by the need for extraordinarily large outlays of material and intellectual resources in any attempt to solve ecological problems. To develop reliable purifying installations for modern industry requires additional investments amounting to at least from 15 to 20 per cent of the total investments in basic industries.⁵ The cost of research grows steeply and this raises the cost of all the systems and projects linked with the ecological crisis. Most countries cannot afford the entire complex of expenses involved in surmounting that crisis. It is perfectly clear that for their solution these problems require the concerted efforts of many countries, and this is only possible in conditions of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, détente and discontinuation of the arms race.

The emergence of new problems of world development affecting all mankind do not, however, evoke similar responses from different public movements. The views on the reasons for their emergence, development trends and ways of their settlement are frequently antipodal. This is due to the fact that the deterioration of the environment, the shortage of food in developing countries and the energy and raw materials crises in capitalist countries directly affect the interests of practically all classes, strata and groups of the population, tell on the conditions of life of the broad masses and on the state of the economy, and acquire international significance. It is quite natural, therefore, that the main trends of the class struggle in the world today are expressed in the battle of opinions over these problems.

The motley character of the ecological movement, which reflects its heterogeneous social basis, the involvement in it of a large number of the most diverse social and political forces and organisations create many difficulties in its development and the danger that at certain

periods it may be used in the interests of monopoly capital. In many cases ecological problems are raised by bourgeois ideologists in order to divert the masses from the political struggle and foster pessimism. Reactionary circles try to make capital out of the anxieties of the man-in-the street of the Western countries, seeking to antagonise him against developing nations and the national liberation movements, which they depict, for instance, as the direct cause of the energy crisis.

The neo-fascists suggest resolving ecological problems with atomic bombs. For instance, a certain Garret Hardin believes that it is unlikely that civilisation and nobility of mind could survive everywhere. It would be better, he says, if they survived somewhere rather than nowhere. In his opinion, the privileged minorities should take charge of civilisation, which is being threatened by good but unfounded intentions.⁶ Elsewhere he asserts: The worst we can do to help one country or another to avoid over-population is to send it food. Atomic bombs would do much more good.⁷

In working out a scientific approach to new problems of world development it is of the utmost importance to ascertain what caused them. Only on this basis is it possible to give shape to a realistic programme of public activity capable of helping to solve these problems.

In their quest for ways of directing the ecological movement into a framework acceptable to capitalism, bourgeois ideologists attempt to prove that these problems are either an immanent outcome of scientific and technological progress and the economic growth stimulated by it, or the result of the rapid population growth in the world, or of the one and the other taken together. Various methods are being devised to surmount the ecological crisis in the capitalist world.

Some of these methods are simply curious, to say the least. For example, the British ecologist E. Goldsmith suggests a return to a primitive way of life. However, realising that this is impossible and seeing no way out, he maintains that catastrophe is inevitable.⁸

Barry Commoner, who is chiefly worried about environmental pollution, suggests a way out by removing unnatural technological processes and materials from industry, for instance, synthetic substance. He contends that a return to natural products that enter into the natural cycle of the rotation of matter in nature would ensure an acceptable interaction with nature.⁹

The conception evolved by the US experts J. Forrester and D. Meadows is influencing public opinion in the West. They suggest that development should in general be halted in order to protect mankind; that the population growth and industrialisation should be stopped (needless to say, in the developing countries); and that the consumption of natural resources should be cut to a minimum in order to achieve the so-called "global equilibrium".¹⁰ This viewpoint has become widespread among bourgeois scientists and publicists.

The idea of halting development has been sharply criticised by many segments of public opinion. Marxist scientists have noted

that it would be wrong to spread the development trends of capitalist society to all mankind.¹¹ In the developing countries scientists and political leaders have justifiably pointed to the enormous difference in the living standards of the different peoples of the world, a difference which cannot be overcome without industrialising the developing nations.

A somewhat different conception is propounded by M. Mesarovic (USA) and E. Pestel (FRG) in *Mankind at the Turning Point*, a work that has become well known in the West and written for the Club of Rome.¹² Their point of departure is that economic advancement cannot be halted, and they understand the distinctions between the existing social and economic systems. The gist of their theory is that the economic development of all countries could be coordinated on the scale of the entire planet. They attempt to prove that coordinated development is not only the sole possible course but that it is also profitable to all countries, bearing in mind not the immediate interests of individual groups, particularly the monopolies, but the long-term interests of the majority of the world's population. They make provision for a deliberate slowing down of the economic growth of industrialised countries and high rates of growth in the developing states.

Organised by the Club of Rome, a group led by the eminent scientist Jan Tinbergen is currently working on a project called "The New World Order", in which they suggest a number of concrete measures, whose adoption would, they believe, ensure mankind's transition to controlled organic development.

Mention may be made of some other proposals advanced in the West, in which an effort is made to find the possibility of surmounting the ecological crisis by "improving" capitalist society. Their underlying theoretical postulate is, as a rule, the explanation of the aggravation of the crisis phenomena in the relationship between man and nature by the opposition and contradictions between so-called "rich" and "poor" nations. Conceptions of this kind can only disorientate public movement.

Attempts have been made to interpret the ecological crisis and the measures to resolve it from the standpoint of the convergence theory. In these attempts it was ignored that, as distinct from the capitalist system, the socialist system with its public ownership of natural resources and means of production and long-term planning essentially presupposes and ensures a solicitous attitude to nature and its resources.¹³ More and more people are beginning to see the fundamental and practical advantages of the purposefully guided development of socialist society in its interaction with nature.

Of course, we are as yet not entirely satisfied with the state of environmental protection in the Soviet Union. We still have a certain carefree attitude, inherited from the past, to the extremely rich natural resources of our country.

Although in the Soviet Union the problem we are considering is not as acute as in other industrialised states, the Central Committee of

the CPSU and the Soviet Government are at present devoting growing attention to the thrifty utilisation of natural resources and to the protection of the environment.¹⁴ With the growth of the Soviet economy, increasing funds are allocated for environmental protection. Public opinion in the USSR shows a keen interest in the protection of the environment and the rational use of natural resources. On the initiative of public opinion special attention was given to Lake Baikal, a unique natural preserve. Since 1974 measures for the protection of the natural environment and the rational use of natural resources have been included in the state plan for economic development. The Nature Conservation Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR annually analyse the plans for industrial development from the angle of protecting the environment and rationally using natural resources.

The importance of this problem was underscored at the 25th Congress of the CPSU: "With the development of the national economy and the growth of towns and industrial centres ever larger funds will be required for environmental protection—in the current five-year period alone 11,000 million rubles are being allocated for this purpose. The trend towards increasing these allocations will continue. In view of the rapid rate of growth of the economic potential and the people's living standard, the funds for environmental protection can only be obtained by enhancing efficiency in production."¹⁵ Speaking of the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in this sphere, Leonid Brezhnev noted that "legal provisions have been prepared for spheres of life which had earlier remained outside the framework of legal regulation, like protection of the environment, including bodies of water, the earth, the air, and so on. It is a very good thing that we have now well-grounded legal rules making it possible to carry on purposeful work for the protection of nature."¹⁶

A view that has become widespread in the West over the past few years is that the international cooperation needed for the solution of ecological problems is bound up with the renunciation of national sovereignty, with a limitation on national independence and, above all, of the right of the peoples of the developing countries to control their reserves of energy and raw material resources. This view objectively serves the interests only of the neocolonialist circles eager to preserve their direct or indirect control of the natural resources of these countries.

Most of the theories and conceptions being evolved by Western specialists and used in an effort to influence the attitude and activity of the public forces of capitalist countries in this area do not essentially bring to light the most significant aspects of these problems. They ignore the fact that in the interaction between society and nature natural-scientific, technical and socio-economic factors closely intertwine. The latter play the decisive role inasmuch as they either create favourable conditions for the solution of these problems, as in socialist society, or reduce them to a crisis state, as in capitalist society.

To some extent the substance of the crisis mechanism in the

interaction between society and nature lies in the fact that parallel with the development of concrete crises of "underproduction" in capitalist society qualitatively new problems arise because the exponential growth of all aspects of human activity suddenly, as it were, leads to a situation where the resources and even the very territory of our planet cannot be regarded as limitless. The quantity of natural resources consumed annually has become perceptible compared with the size of the total resources or balance of each of them. The indirect influence that we exercise on the natural environment through production processes in some cases changes its structure, the natural rotation of matter and the energy balance to a larger extent than elemental phenomena.

The social movements and organisations in the West are particularly worried over the energy crisis, which is due not to any physical shortage of oil but to the structural specifics of the energy industry in the capitalist countries that have led to a rise of the price of oil products.¹⁷ In their hard and long struggle for political and economic independence the oil-exporting countries have won the possibility of removing the incompatibility between the prices of raw materials and of the equipment purchased in industrialised states. Meanwhile, the oil monopolies have taken advantage of the situation to raise the price of fuel and make considerable additional profits. This rise of the prices of fuel, energy and raw materials has drawn public attention to the problem of natural resources generally, to the incredible rate of their exhaustion and to more rational ways of utilising them.

The food crisis is seriously alarming world opinion. In terms of per capita of the world's population, the average increment of food output has always been insignificant. Lately the world's reserves of grain have simply been diminishing, while prices in the world food market have been growing.¹⁸

It is well known that backward social and economic relations are the main reason for the inadequate efficacy of agriculture in the developing countries. However, many Western specialists prefer to disregard the socio-economic reasons behind the aggravation of the food situation in those countries and try to explain them mainly from neo-Malthusian positions.

They link the food crisis with the rapid growth of the population. The rate of this growth is seen if only by the fact that according to UN forecasts the population of the developing countries will have increased by over two thousand million by the year 2000, with the Indian subcontinent and the Southeast Asian countries accounting for half this increment.¹⁹

The rapid population growth is unquestionably giving rise to many difficult problems in the developing countries, which seriously worry their peoples and governments, and also world opinion. The demographic situation inescapably increases the shortage of jobs for the able-bodied population, complicates the task of ensuring adequate supplies of food and deepens the existing socio-economic contradictions in the developing countries.

Many Western scientists and also public and political figures are inclined to explain the exacerbated food problem and the backwardness of the developing countries as being solely due to the demographic explosion.²⁰ Their suggestions boil down to reducing the birth-rate. Needless to say, a planned birth-rate may yield a definite effect, but it can under no circumstances serve as a means of resolving the entire range of difficult demographic and social problems. The way out can only be found by speeding the economic development of those countries.

Lastly, a difficult problem is to influence the environment, to reduce its pollution level which during the past few decades has reached a considerable magnitude in the industrialised capitalist states.

Of course, one of the most serious questions being asked by practically all peace-loving opinion is: how and by what means can these problems be resolved? Even if natural wealth is used most effectively and a solicitous attitude is adopted to the environment, each of the specific resources continues to be depleted, while the influence on the environment mounts. This raises the legitimate question: are there grounds, after all, for the numerous bourgeois theories widely circulated in the ecological movement in the West maintaining that mankind cannot ultimately avoid a conflict with nature because the planet, with its limited size and mass, cannot support an unlimited population?

It should be borne in mind that parallel with the exhaustion of each of the natural resources the possibilities continuously arise of satisfying man's requirements with fundamentally new means. For instance, at present clothes are made not only of flax, wool or silk; approximately half of them are made of synthetic materials, most of which are produced from petroleum. Energy is derived not only from coal, oil or rivers but also from nuclear and other sources.

The uses of secondary raw materials are being steadily widened. In effect, mankind does not irretrievably expend any of the elements it takes from the natural environment. Technological processes only transform these elements into some different form needed by society. Scientific and technological progress constantly increases this ability to transform matter from one form into another. In the foreseeable future mankind is thus in principle not threatened by any crisis of exhaustion of natural resources. Matter taken from the environment will be converted into various forms and used an unlimited number of times.

There is the problem of renewable natural resources such as forests, the biological wealth of the ocean, fresh water and so on. The proportion of some of them used at present is approaching the total magnitude of the credit section of their natural balance. However, at the level now reached by science and technology mankind is able to change the balance of at least some renewable natural resources. On a small, local scale this has been proceeding for a long time. Essentially speaking, agriculture is based entirely on cultivated, i. e., high-yielding varieties of plants and species of animals. Today this practice

could be spread to vast regions of our planet. For example, it is quite possible to begin the experimental breeding of food fish in the entire world ocean. Ambitious projects are already being proposed for remaking the natural conditions of large regions with the purpose of using their natural resources more effectively.

Environmental pollution which greatly worries public opinion in some Western countries, is by no means an inevitable result of industrial development and economic growth. Science and technology steadily improve the methods and equipment for purifying the waste of enterprises. Such for example, is the purifying equipment installed at the Baikal Pulp and Paper Mill in the USSR.

However, the principal way of solving this problem is to use closed technological cycles that exclude pollution altogether. Clean variants of many technological processes that had formerly been responsible for much of the pollution, for instance, the production of paper, have now been evolved.

There are major obstacles to the broad use of these methods in practice, mainly the high cost of re-equipping industry. B. Commoner estimates that the ecological reconstruction of the entire US industry requires about \$600 thousand million,²¹ that is, only six or seven US annual military budgets.

In analysing the debates over the food problem it should be borne in mind that the spread of the current highly productive technology of cultivating the land to all the land used for agriculture would provide the entire population of the world with adequate food supplies by the year 2000.

A similar situation is observed in other areas affecting all mankind. For most of them, natural-scientific solutions have been already found or are being successfully worked out. The implementation of these solutions, however, is slowed down and even blocked by capitalist social relations.

However, reality is already today dictating the need for serious steps to solve all the problems linked with the ecological crisis. These steps are by no means only technical; they have many social aspects.

Modern civilisation's global problems can ultimately be solved provided mankind is able to chart and reasonably achieve definite aims and regulate its development. This is only possible under the socialist mode of production. This is borne out by the steps being taken in that direction by the socialist countries. Many Western scientists and public figures are likewise beginning to understand that to end the crisis in the relations between society and the natural environment it is necessary to direct and even plan the future activity of all mankind.

The close link between the steps to regulate the ecological crisis and the socio-economic changes in the capitalist countries is opening up new possibilities for widening the social basis of the anti-monopoly struggle. These possibilities are founded on the inner incompatibility of capitalism's inherent striving for maximum profits and the efforts

needed for the optimal solution of the problems of resources, environmental pollution and so forth. The mainsprings of these problems are linked directly with the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. As a result of these contradictions, the material possibilities for satisfying mankind's requirements clash with actual, practical possibilities. Understood to one degree or another, this link creates favourable conditions for the appearance of new mechanisms of cooperation between progressive, democratic forces in the capitalist countries in the struggle against monopoly rule, for democratic changes and the rights of working people.

To sum up, it may be said that developments are increasingly bearing out Leonid Brezhnev's words that "it is impossible to make a good start in resolving the problems that affect the future of all mankind or to fulfil the many urgent tasks of today without a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence".²² The deepening of détente makes practicable the solution of these problems for the good of all the peoples of the world.

NOTES

- ¹ See *Political Economy of Present-Day Monopoly Capitalism*, Vols. 1, 2, Moscow, 1975; *Man—Science—Technology. A Marxist Analysis of the Scientific and Technological Revolution*, Moscow, 1973; E. Fyodorov, *Interaction Between Society and Nature*, Leningrad, 1972; R. Novikov, "Ecological Aspects of the Deepening of Capitalism's Contradictions", *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya*, No. 2, 1975.
- ² L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 176.
- ³ *World Congress of Peace Forces, Documents*, Moscow, October 25-31, 1973, p. 127.
- ⁴ See, for instance, *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and Its Exceptionally Pernicious Influence on International Peace and Security*, UN Document A/8469, October 22, 1971; *Disarmament and Development. Report of a Group of Experts on the Economic and Social Effects of Disarmament*, UN Document T/ECA/174, New York, 1972; *The Energy Crisis in the Capitalist World*, Moscow, 1975 (in Russian).
- ⁵ *IPW Berichte*, 1974, No. 1, p. 6; US ecologist Barry Commoner cites the figure 25 per cent of the cost of an enterprise (See B. Commoner, *The Closing Circle*, New York, 1971, pp. 283-284).
- ⁶ See B. Commoner, op. cit., pp. 295-296.
- ⁷ See G. Hardin, "The Immorality of Being Softhearted", *The Relevant Scientist*, Vol. 1, November 1971, p. 18.
- ⁸ See *Peace and Science. Global Problems of Modern Civilisation*, Vol. 1, March 1974, pp. 55-63.
- ⁹ See B. Commoner, op. cit.
- ¹⁰ See J. Forrester, *World Dynamics*, New York, 1971; D. Meadows and others, *The Limits of Growth*, New York, 1972.
- ¹¹ See I. Laptev, "Ideological Aspects of Ecological Problems", *Kommunist*, 1975, No. 17.
- ¹² M. Mesarovic, E. Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point. The Second Report to the Club of Rome*, New York, 1974.
- ¹³ See, for example, *Ecology and Economics: Controlling Pollution in the 70s*, ed. M. Goldman, New Jersey, 1972; M. Goldman, *The Spoils of Progress: Environment Pollution in the Soviet Union*, London, 1972.

VIEWS AND OPINIONS

Dante, Galileo, Einstein

BORIS KUZNETSOV

In this triad—Dante, Galileo and Einstein—the latter symbolises a certain modern quantum-relativist retrospection, an attempt to look into the past, towards the prologue of classical science, in the light of new and non-classical ideas, an attempt to reply to a question that is linked with the first two names.

What is it that binds Dante and Galileo together? What is the idea that runs through the pre-Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods, and unites the sources of the Renaissance with the classical science of the 17th century that stems from it? One who would try to reply to this question in the light of present-day science must deal with the more general question of the invariant nature of the ideas of space, time and movement, the all-pervading cosmological idea which runs through the history of human thought from the *Divine Comedy* down to Einstein's theory of relativity.

In the early years of our century, attempts were made to bring together Dante's cosmology with the ideas of non-Euclidean geometry, and, somewhat later and this time directly, with the general theory of relativity. The non-Euclidean geometry in the *Divine Comedy* was the subject of writings by Weber (1905), and Simon (1910). In 1922, in a work entitled *The Imaginary in Geometry*, Florensky identified with Einstein's twisted space the space Dante returned from, after macroscopically travelling in a single direction and visiting Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise, back to the starting point of his travels. This appraisal of Dante's cosmology excludes classical science, with its Euclidean world space, from the Dante-Einstein transformation and makes Galileo's name alien to our triad.

In reality, however, this transformation was continuous, a far more general idea proving the invariant. That is because, with Galileo,

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- ¹⁴ See *Conservation of Nature. A Volume of Normative Acts*, Moscow, 1971 (in Russian); V. Kirillin, "Measures to Improve the Conservation of Nature and to Rationalise the Use of Natural Resources. Report to the Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR", *Pravda*, September 20, 1972; "Decision of the CPSU central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on intensifying the Conservation of nature and improving the utilisation of natural resources", *Pravda*, January 10, 1973.
- ¹⁵ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 75.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- ¹⁷ See *The Energy Crisis in the Capitalist World*, Moscow, 1975 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ See V. Vashakov, P. Loyko, *Land and People. Land Utilisation Under Conditions of the Scientific and Technological Revolution*, Moscow, 1975; P. Markov, *Business on Hunger*, Moscow, 1975 (both in Russian).
- ¹⁹ *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya*, No. 9, 1975, pp. 92-106.
- ²⁰ Bourgeois theories of this kind are examined closely, for example, by T. Sentesh in *Third World—Problems of Development*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 71-78 (in Russian).
- ²¹ See B. Commoner, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
- ²² L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 176.

space was also twisted in a certain sense: the planets, left to themselves (Galileo did not know the idea of gravity), travel round the Sun in circular orbits; in his *Dialogue*, inertial movement is not straight but curvilinear. From Galileo's principle of circular cosmic inertia it follows that space is uniform along the orbit of a planet. That is all that there is to it. It is the uniformity of space (along circular orbits, with Galileo, and along the direct trajectory of a body left to itself, with Descartes) that was the most general idea in classical science. With Galileo, the circular space in which planets move is uniform; with Descartes and Newton, tri-dimensional Euclidean space is uniform. This uniformity of space is expressed in a conservation of an impulse, whereas the uniformity of time is expressed in a conservation of energy. Further, the law of the conservation of impulse as dealt with in the special theory of relativity expresses the uniformity of pseudo-Euclidean quadri-dimensional space-time, while the general theory of relativity summarises uniformity in a quadri-dimensional non-Euclidean continuum. Thus we find, in Galileo, an initial variant of the principle of uniformity and correspondingly (because of the Netter theorem) of conservation which, together with its modifications, displays the transformation, the change and the evolution of ideas of the world and the existence of the history of science, and at the same time forms a self-identical substratum of change, the subject of historical evolution.

It was not only this self-identical historical invariant of science that was a precondition of classical science and its later non-classical transformation. While transformation loses all meaning without an invariant (the predicates of a certain self-identical subject undergoing change), an invariant is meaningless without transformation: conservation is meaningful given a certain change. For centuries ahead, Galileo provided science with idea of uniformity and conservation. But who was it that gave science its impetuous soul, its constant urge towards modification of its own conclusions, and not only of its conclusions but also initial principles, methods and style? Who imbued science with this romantic drive to bring about transformation, Spinoza's *amor intellectualis*, which is the emotional accompaniment of cognition?

Peripatetic thought was bent on seeking for the static harmony of the universe: for instance, the location of "natural places" in Aristotle's cosmology, the mediaeval and fixed canons of morality, logic and beauty, and even of economics (a "fair", i.e., traditional rate of profit and so on). This static harmony could yield place to the dynamic harmony of classical science (which had become still more obvious in non-classical theories) given integral change in the criteria, not only of truth but also of good and beauty. The *Divine Comedy* was an encyclopaedia of this integral change of criteria. In populating the circles of Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise, Dante was guided by his likes and dislikes, his ideals, his notions and, first and foremost, his love. To him, his friends, and Cavalcanti, love was a supreme expression of the autonomous, inimitable and free nature of man's personality, his freedom from tradition, authority and univer-

sals. That love was directed, not towards a realistic (in the mediaeval sense) absorption of the individual by universals but to the inimitable image of the living Beatrice, not to a symbol but to the living Bice Portinari. In this sense, the *Divine Comedy* was an immediate sequel to Dante's *New Life*.

To Dante, Beatrice was the embodiment of the most overall universal, of all existence, the entire universe, in the most concrete, tangible and colourful sense. What could have been more concrete to the poet than the image of the young Florentine girl he had once met on the Lungarno near the Ponte Vecchio? A fiction of the reality of an idea outside of things—that most official version of mediaeval thought—could not withstand a synthesis of thought and a concrete, art-inspired and emotional understanding of the world. In the first Canto of *Paradise*, Dante learns from Beatrice her concept of the world, and is unable to tear his gaze away from those lips and her emerald-green eyes. This scene is an introduction to the profound ideological and psychological shifts that were part and parcel of the Renaissance, an introduction to a return to the oppositional stream in mediaeval thought, to nominalism, with its apologia for the concrete, an introduction of a *Natürphilosophie* that strove to find embodiment in an image, an introduction to an artistic world-perception that wished to become intellectual.

In the 17th century, scientific thought left the multicoloured and concrete world discovered in the 15th and 16th centuries, setting out for the ever more monochromic world which was so dryly expressed as a kind of drawing in Newton's *Principia*. However, the mechanico-mathematical thought of the 17th century and the one that followed was a new form and a direct outcome of what mankind had received in the 15th and 16th centuries. Lagrange's equations seem very far from the highly personalised and emotion-charged polychromous culture of the Renaissance; with Galileo, however, the quantitative and mathematical trend was intertwined with what stemmed from Dante and Giotto. Here the point of ontogenesis follows the same direction as the phylogenesis of science, making it compressed in time and therefore directly discernible. His *Dialogo* is still reminiscent of the *Natürphilosophers* of the Renaissance, but his *Discorsi* anticipated Newton and Lagrange. The *Dialogo* even contains a kind of embryonic form of the mechanico-mathematical thinking of Newton and Lagrange. That is why the epithet of "dry drawing" is used conditionally in respect of Newton and Lagrange, because the colours of the Renaissance still emerge from that drawing.

But let us return to the fundamental idea in the *Dialogo*—to the principle of inertia in space. In his *Dialogo*, Galileo went over from a fixed position of a body in its natural place—the cornerstone of the peripatetic harmony of the world—to the constant velocity of a body left to itself—the cornerstone of the kinetic picture of the world. In his *Discorsi*, Galileo now spoke of invariable acceleration—the foundation of the dynamic harmony of the universe. Thus there appeared prototypes of the first and second temporal derivatives from the position of a material point, prototypes of a differential idea of

movement from point to point and from instant to instant, a notion of the finite as the sum of an infinitely large number of infinitely small segments, integrals defined by the relations between the infinitely minute, variable quantities, the infinite variety embodied in local and infinitely small objects. Beginning with Galileo, the infinite was no longer a universal but something directly observable and reproducible in experiments. Variable quantities in their infinitely minute points and instantaneous being figured in the imaginary experiments discussed in the *Dialogo* and the *Discorsi*. Infinity as a universal did not disappear but merged with the nominalistic and local "here and now". That blending had already made fleeting appearances with the Paris Nominalists of the 14th century; in the 15th century, movement became an object of art under the brush of Leonardo da Vinci, whose *Treatise on Painting* substantiated such a programme for art, drawing it close to the dynamic programme of science.¹

However, it was with the *Divine Comedy* that infinity as embodied in the local, concrete and sensually perceptible, an infinity that had become an object of logical and at the same time artistic perception entered man's thinking and emotions. This was an invariant of the transformation from Dante to Galileo.

Here we have another "invariant", a somewhat peripatetic one which is reminiscent of the "natural places" in Aristotle's cosmology. In the history of culture, Florence has become a "natural place" for the masterpieces of the Renaissance, and not only because they are located at the Uffizi and the public squares of the city. When our contemporary wanders about the streets and squares of Florence, he is accompanied by the shades of the exile who recollected his native city from Ravenna, and of the prisoner of Arcetri. Their tragic fates did not break the links between Florence, and Dante and Galileo, which was why their fates remain so tragic.

But what was the specific feature of Florentine life which made the city the birthplace of so vast a number of great thinkers and artists? What were the overall features that reflected the special quality of their birthplace? This is a question of the invariants in the links between different genres, a question of what survived in the transition from one area of culture to another. We would at present refrain from discussing the question of the special features in the development of Florence during the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the city's economy, social relations, political events and culture, for that would lead us too far astray from our subject. The analysis should take as its point of departure the highly dynamic economic and social development of the city, not only the rate of change but also what might be called the level of the dynamism or the profound qualitative changes: the universality and the inertia (or rather the "inert mass") of canons infringed by economic, social, political and cultural changes. It was not only the subjects, the palettes, and the compositions that had changed in Florentine painting, but also the principles of perspective; in production, the change affected, not only the capacity and number of looms and water wheels but also the principles of their design; in science, it was not

only a matter of the number of facts explained but also the initial principles of scientific explanation, the very notion of the explanation. The higher the level of dynamism and the more the general fundamental foundations of action and cognition were subjected to reconsideration, the more energetic the impact on other branches of culture and the stronger the influence on other areas. In particular, the emotional and aesthetic impact of science is proportional to the level of dynamism in science, while the development of science in a country is in proportion, in rates and sweep, to the radicality of the economic, social and political changes characteristic of a country in any particular period. From the 14th to the 17th centuries, Florence was a state marked by profound changes in all areas of culture, this predetermining an impact of art on science more powerful than in any other city in Italy. That impact led towards each other an abstract-logical and sensualist perception of the world. But this drawing together, and even merging, of the *Logos* and the *Sensus* is the foundation of cognition, since both forms of amalgamation signify the emergence of a new stage in the history of knowledge.

A somewhat more concrete idea of what has been said above can be got if one will recall non-classical retrospection, Einstein, and ideas making it possible to see in a new light the relation between the Florence-born world-view of Dante, and the Florence-born concept of Galileo.

Though Einstein was no Florentine, he was linked with the Florentine spirit by certain important views on the nature of scientific creativity. In his autobiographical notes (1949), Einstein spoke of two criteria in the choice of a scientific theory: external confirmation and inner perfection. The former consists in a given theory being in keeping with empirical observations; the latter consists in a natural (with no supplementary *ad hoc* assumptions) and logical link between a given theory and the most general principles.²

The theory of relativity arose as a blend of these two criteria. Classical mechanics had lost its external confirmation and was running counter to the results of experiment. The Lorentz theory was in keeping with those results but contained no inner perfection. In it, the lengthwise contraction in the length of a moving core is deduced from electro-dynamic hypotheses specially proposed for the purpose. Einstein deduced that contraction from the more overall physical statements, from ideas of the relation between time and space and the quadri-dimensions of the world. But, in applying the criteria of internal confirmation to the Einstein's criteria themselves, we shall go over to the history of science and see that present-day criteria are a natural historico-logical conclusion drawn from the most general long-term appraisal of cognition, which is to be most distinctly seen in the specific features of the scientific thought of the Florentine Renaissance.

Florence was not only a city in which the *Accademia del Cimento* had raised high the banner of experimental cognition of the world; it was a city in which Nature came in for closer scrutiny than anywhere else, a city of passionate sensualism in art, in which vision has

become a religion, and religion had inconsiderable measure become a matter of seeing. The world was seen through the eyes of the artist, with uplift of the soul and a worship of beauty. This was no longer mediaeval nominalism and not yet the intellectual sensualism which was to come later. There was no hint here at any contrasting sensual impressions with logical understanding. This view of the world, this blend of a transformed nominalism and a transformed realism—a “sensualist realism”—was not only a feature of Florentine artists. Anyone who has walked the streets of this city and looked into the eyes of the living prototypes of the paintings of Botticelli and Lippi has appreciated the charmingly pensive attention, the attractive blend of keen gaze and placid thought that makes these people so reminiscent of the Uffizi canvases.

However, a keen-sighted pensiveness is not only a living reflection of a deep and thinking sensualism. Was not a loving and at times sad glance into the past a psychological component of humanism? Were not earlier recollections of the world of antiquity and an interest in it, an acceptance and purification of the heritage of antiquity, that kind of component? And was not humanism a preliminary preparation of “inner perfection” in science, a striving to blend new ideas with natural and logical links (and consequently historical links as well: Renaissance thinking cognised logical universals *in rerum*)?

Florentine humanism, like that of the 14th and 16th centuries in general, was a highly complex phenomenon, the term itself bringing together a variety of interlinked Renaissance trends and currents. The initial collecting of manuscripts of antiquity denoted a revival of interest in *studia humana*, in man’s inner world and creativity. This most general definition of humanism in the 16th century was reflected in *Natürphilosophie*: no longer was the Universe the City of God—*civita dei*—Nature now being seen from the viewpoint of *civita terrana*. In it were sought causal schemes that man could understand and were accepted into terrestrial applied mechanics. Sixteenth-century *Natürphilosophie* had humanised Nature itself.

To compare this process with modern science and to discern what might be termed the humanism of science in the 16th and 20th centuries, we shall have to add a few words on Einstein’s criteria of Truth: external confirmation and inner perfection, concepts that possess a certain moral equivalent. The ideal of a scientific explanation corresponds to a moral ideal. The topography of Dante’s *Inferno* and the structure of his *Purgatory* and *Paradise* stem from a recognition of fidelity and courage as supreme virtues: traitors are located in the centre of *Inferno*, between the jaws of Satan, the apportionment of places in *Purgatory* and *Paradise* being in direct accordance with the Florentine exile’s moral ideals. A re-reading of the *Dialogo* gives one a sense of the closeness between Galileo’s ideals of knowledge and the moral ideals of Dante. The ideas of Sagredo and Salviati were attractive for several reasons: their bold rejection of logical schemes, their fidelity to empirical impressions (their apologia for the historical antecedent of external confirmation), and at the same time their fidelity to logical conclusions leading

up to a bold denial of an empirical picture of an Earth in a state of rest. This blend of correctness and boldness in respect of the *Logos* and the *Sensus* always underlies a revolution in science, which invariably possesses a moral equivalent. In respect of the *Dialogo* that had come three hundred years earlier, in the *Divine Comedy*, while in another three hundred years the concept of an “equivalent” acquired a new form. Non-classical science has most vividly displayed the ideal of scientific cognition, a synthesis of external confirmation and inner perfection leading to fundamental changes in science. Yet the nexus between that synthesis and moral ideals has become less distinct, which is why the ascertainment of that link—the determination of science’s moral value—is now proceeding on the plane of historical retrospection.

It is within the same framework that the aesthetic value of science—the link between truth and beauty—is determined. By way of example, let us follow Spinoza in regarding freedom as an act determined by a subject’s inner essence, not by some external impulse. The subject possesses no freedom or individual being if his attitude to the world about him is restricted to a passive contemplation or a passive perception of universals. *Cogito* becomes proof of being (*cogito ergo sum*) when the content of consciousness includes autonomous and active appraisals of what is cognised, emotions, will—that which united *cogito* with *ago* and leads to *ago ergo sum* and to *ago ergo sunt*. Therefore truth as an object of knowledge is complemented by good and beauty, and it is then that the subject acquires freedom and individual being. Neither an understanding of universals nor a contemplation of concrete *rerum* frees man from being absorbed in the abstract, from a concrete man being equated with the abstract universal of a vessel of original sin in the interpretation of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. In this sense, the Renaissance was a revelation of man’s individual being through a blending of searches for the truth and a moral and aesthetic perception of the world. This merging may well be called Dantean, although it is also characteristic both of the 15th-16th and the 17th centuries; it may be called Florentine though it was inherent in thinkers of the Renaissance period in all its centres. The names register, not boundaries but the times, places and forms of the most intensive and manifest synthesis of truth, good and beauty; as for the very achievement of truth, they register the most intensive concatenation of external confirmation and inner perfection in the new ideas of the world.

Renaissance aesthetics were rationalistic. The rationalism of the Renaissance (and, in respect of the 17th century, its prerationalism) was an aesthetic one. The evolution of Renaissance painting was an ever greater transition of composition under the authority of the inner essence of what was depicted, the inner logic of the colours used, the *chiaroscuro* and perspective, an ever greater shedding of external and *a priori* traditions and allegories that determined composition; this was not a shedding of composition but a liberation of composition in the Spinozistic sense, a similar liberation of universals in Renaissance

Natürphilosophie from *a priori* criteria of dogmas and authority, this through their blending with the earlier antecedent of the Einsteinian external confirmation.

A. Gorfunkel, the Leningrad historian and philosopher, has written a treatise on the evolution of Renaissance ideas from Andrea da Firenze's fresco "The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas" in the church of Santa-Maria Nuova, to Raphael's "School of Athens". Highly realistic in the mediaeval sense is the former fresco, which depicts St. Thomas overcoming Averroës, with its strict hierarchical distribution of saints and angels floating over St. Thomas' head. But this was a realism that was embodied in painting, an embodiment that changed it, bringing it closer to the nominalist trend and infringing on the severely allegorical nature of the figures, which was wholly subordinated to the universals. It is not only the highly individualised and quite non-allegorical Averroës, who is nominalistic in this picture: when it is scrutinised by one familiar with later Renaissance painting, the entire picture seems bathed in a kind of translucency. To our contemporary, it is a reminiscent of da Vinci's "Last Supper", where the composition, which is free of any allegorical expression of the external and theological scheme of the figures of Christ and His Disciples, is subordinated to the play of light, to the qualities of natural light and air, and the play of colour, thereby expressing the character, the personality and the peculiarity of each figure. Our contemporary will go on to recollect the "School of Athens", in which the emphasis lies on inner perfection, not on external confirmation, with a new scheme that is harmoniously linked with the characters and what is individual, and in which very principles from which the logic of painting deduces all the details in the picture have become polychromous.

The intellectual saturation of Renaissance poetry and painting is another aspect of the emotional saturation in the *Natürphilosophie* of Dante, da Vinci, Telesio and Bruno, which was implicitly preserved in Galileo's *Dialogo* and was hardly discernible in the *Discorsi*, in which it had not disappeared but was embodied in something completed or seeming completed, objective and true, irrespective of the thinker's emotions, volition and activity. Style as an expression of individuality, the times and the country in question, as an impress made by the subject of cognition, now became a method prompted by the object of cognition. Florentine 15th century intellectualism, V. Muratov says, was distinct in principle from the later rationalism in what was most precious in it—a lofty intensity that was never later repeated.³ This intensity, which draws into scientific creativity the emotional, stylistic and subjective components of consciousness, became manifest at moments of the most profound transformations in the picture of the world. Such transformations not only reveal most accurately the world structure but demonstrate the might of man's mind at moments of peak intensity, and is imbued with humanism in a sense standing very close to science.

The mind's dynamism becomes most manifest when it reveals with the greatest profundity the dynamism of being. Revolutions in science

are, first and foremost, expressions of the new and most profound aspects of that dynamism. The theory of relativity revealed the dynamism of being, movement as a component of being in a most profound form—hence the depth of the historical retrospection and the revision of the entire history of thought. The theory of relativity raised, intensified, summarised, and gave concrete shape to the old aporia of being, which had been already expressed in antiquity: the past is no more; the future has not yet come, while the present is a zero line separating a zero past and a zero future, it is a naught between naught and naught. The history of thought is a consistent emergence from this aporia, the theory of relativity being its masterly solution: it revealed the quadri-dimensional nature of being, and the relative, approximate and, in a general sense, the fictitious nature of a structure that is only tri-dimensional, instantaneous, and at a standstill purely spatially. The "present" is merely a tri-dimensional section of a quadri-dimensional world. Being includes time, movement and change; the actual world exists in space and time; it is causal and its being is irreversible. Reason is a reflection of being, a uni-dimensional section of a quadri-dimensional world; it moves with the latter and expresses the irreversibility of the world-process; it is itself causal: *ratio sive causa*, as Spinoza put it. The mind's retrospection is not repetition but an irreversible movement along the spiral that Lenin wrote of in his *Philosophical Notebooks*; the history of philosophy, the history of science and the history of reason are just as irreversible as are the history of space and the history of mankind. Their invariants are dynamic, not the results of science. They undergo change, its efforts being flights of creativity, which never die but preserve their transforming function throughout the ages. The immortality of reason can be revealed and understood only in the light of the doctrine of the reality of space and time, the doctrine of reason as a reflection of the development of material being, in the light of a doctrine which embodies the living dialectic of being and cognition.

NOTES

¹ See P. Valéry, *Leonard et les philosophes. Les divers essais sur Leonard da Vinci*, Paris, 1938; V. P. Zubov, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Moscow, 1961, p. 320 (in Russian); B. Kuznetsov, "The Rationalism of Leonardo da Vinci and the Dawn of Classical Science", *Diogenes*, No. 69, 1970, pp. 1-11.

² A. Einstein, "Autobiographical Notes", *Albert Einstein, Philosopher-Scientist*, ed. by A. Schilp Tudor, New York, 1951, p. 25.

³ See V. Muratov, *Images of Italy*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1917, p. 157 (in Russian).

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS

The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has awarded L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the Karl Marx Gold Medal for his outstanding contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the scientific elaboration of current problems of developed socialism and the strategy of the world-wide, historical struggle for Communist ideals, for a lasting peace among nations.

On the occasion of his 70th birthday the USSR Academy of Sciences has sent Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev the following Message of Greetings:

Dear Leonid Ilyich,

The USSR Academy of Sciences and all Soviet scientists send their warmest greetings to you, staunch Marxist-Leninist, wise leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, outstanding figure in the international Communist and working-class movement, ardent champion of Communism, peace and social progress of mankind, on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

All your life is closely linked with the magnificent historic achievements of the Soviet people, with the epoch of the building of a developed socialist society and transition to communist construction. Your name is inseparable from the steady growth of the might, consolidation and international prestige of the world socialist system, from the triumph of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. Your contribution to the elaboration of the strategy of the world-historic struggle for Communist ideals, for world peace is universally acknowledged.

Dear Leonid Ilyich! Soviet scientists, Marxists all over the world are well aware of your outstanding theoretical activity which marks a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Your works further develop the Leninist principles of the home and foreign policy of

the CPSU in relation to the present-day situation, enrich the theory of socialism and serve as a lodestar in comprehending the processes of world development.

Of special significance for Soviet scholars is your proposition on the leading role of science in the economic and social progress of socialist society, on the organic link of theoretical studies with the vital tasks of practice, with life and interests of the working people. The constant concern of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Soviet Government for science, for the work of research institutes serves as a powerful stimulus for further creative work of Soviet scientists, mobilises them to new scientific achievements for the sake of our Great Motherland.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, all Soviet scholars are sincerely grateful to you, dear Leonid Ilyich, for your tireless concern for the allround development of Soviet science, for creating conditions for fruitful scientific quest.

On your birthday we wish you, dear Leonid Ilyich, from the bottom of our hearts, good health, new success in your creative multi-faceted activity for the benefit of the Soviet people, for the revolutionary renovation of the world, triumph of the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

The USSR Academy of Sciences

In May 1973, the Soviet Union joined the World (Geneva) Convention on Copyright. The Copyright Agency of the USSR (VAAP) was set up, and one of its founders was the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Below we publish an interview with Vasily Sitnikov, a deputy chairman of the VAAP Board.

Q. Could you characterise VAAP's role in developing international scientific ties, including those in the field of social science?

A. The turn in international relations from the cold war to peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems has been having a beneficial effect on the extension of contacts in the field of science and culture as a whole, on the scale, geographical structure and the quantitative and qualitative aspect of book exchange, in particular. The consolidation and diversification of international scientific and cultural ties has, for its part, helped to deepen the positive changes in the world arena, offering an example of how détente is being filled with concrete content, and serving to improve mutual understanding among nations, advance humanity's spiritual enrichment and promote the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Following the USSR adherence to the World Convention on Copyright and the establishment of VAAP, the latter has become an important element and an active participant in the international exchange of intellectual values. One of its central tasks is to ensure favourable legal and econo-

mic conditions for Soviet authors (in this case, social scientists) abroad, and for their foreign colleagues in the USSR. VAAP has worked to overcome the language barrier and to help literature in the humanities and the social sciences to acquire a readership among other nations.

VAAP's specific position, and its role of catalyst and accelerator of exchanges in scientific values has enabled it to exert a real influence on the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this process so as to make the important results of scientific research abroad accessible to Soviet readers, and to provide foreign readers—in the socialist, the capitalist and the developing countries—with an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the important achievements of research centres and individual scientists in this country in the philosophical, economic and historical sciences and in the study of the social and political problems of our day.

Q. What are the concrete lines and forms of this work?

A. We regard as our primary task extensive and swift acquaintance of foreign publishers with great diversity of books in the social sciences being published in the USSR. The types of information being published by VAAP are highly diverse in content, form and purposes. There is, first of all, the regular illustrated bulletin, the general catalogues and reference manuals, the prospectuses and booklets presenting a range of books on a given topic (for instance, the scientific and technological revo-

lution and the economy of the USSR; progressive movements of our day; the 30th anniversary of the victory in Great Patriotic War) and advertising handbills for individual publications. All these are published in Russian, English and French, and some are also translated into Spanish and German. A special feature are the annotated catalogues describing the most important works in a whole branch of science, and sometimes also in a number of allied sciences, and addressed, apart from the traditional partners of VAAP, to scientific centres as well. In the preparation of such catalogues on US studies in the USSR, sociological and historical literature, academic institutions have taken an equal part, including the Institutes of US and Canada Studies, the World Economy and International Relations, World History, Sociological Research, the Far East, Latin America, Africa, and Oriental Studies. Finally, in fulfilment of special orders from foreign publishers and copyright organisations, VAAP has worked in close contact with scientific establishments in the USSR to draw up recommendatory lists on specific problems to meet the special interests of various companies.

Being informed of the current and long-term plans of Soviet publishers and of the general lines of scientific research in academic institutes, which are expected to yield results of interest to specialists and to wider circles of readers, VAAP has willingly shared all the information at its disposal. For instance, speakers at the 25th Congress of the CPSU have noted the importance of the in-depth research into matters relating to the development tendencies of Soviet society and its productive forces; the Soviet state system and the forms and methods of educational and

ideological work; the environment and population; scientific analysis of the cardinal problems of world development and international relations; the revolutionary process, and the interaction and unity of its main streams, and the relation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism; and the contest of forces over the main issue of our day, the issue of war and peace. We are aware that some of the works being written under this programme at the leading scientific centres of the USSR are close to completion and will soon be handed over to the publishing houses. Thus, scientists at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations are about to complete the following monographs: *The Principles of the Theory of International Relations*, *The Deepening of the General Crisis of Capitalism*, *Environmental Problems in the World Economy and Politics* and *A Critique of Present-Day Bourgeois Political Economy*. Scientific workers at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences are working on *The Soviet State in Developed Socialist Society*, and *The Individual and Respect of the Law*.

On the whole, VAAP's information and consultative activity, which rests on a solid basis of its business contacts with Soviet publishers, academic institutes and editorial boards of journals, helps foreign companies to find their bearings in the vast flow of Soviet scientific publications and to learn well in advance about the coming publication of books and their objective merits. [At the end of this issue we give a list of the books brought out in 1976 and planned for publication by the central publishing houses in 1977.—Ed.]

At the same time, VAAP collects, classifies and sends to Soviet publishers information about new publica-

tions abroad on socio-political topics, and also specimens of books already published, frequently accompanied with authoritative conclusions and recommendations by the scientific centres and specialists concerned.

Q. Could you give some data on the republication of works by Soviet scientists abroad and by foreign scientists in the USSR [after the USSR's joining the World Convention on Copyright]?

A. VAAP's just over two years of work show that there is great interest all over the world in the publication of works by Soviet social scientists on the terms laid down by the Geneva Convention. Suffice it to say that in 1975 and the first quarter of 1976 VAAP conceded publishing rights abroad on 1200 works in the social and economic sciences and in the humanities. But Soviet literature on economic, social and political problems is naturally published more widely in the socialist countries.

Among the books by Soviet social scientists soon to appear abroad are monographs by A. Melnikov and A. Bogomolov on the present-day class structure and bourgeois philosophy in the USA /Brazil/, B. Topornin's *The Soviet Political System /Finland/*, E. Pletnev's *The Cosmopolitanism of Capital and the Internationalism of the Proletariat /Greece/*. American readers will be able to acquaint themselves with a collective work by scientists from the Institute of the US and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences entitled *Soviet-US Relations in the Global Context: the Final Quarter of the 20th Century*; N Bolhovitinov's monograph, *The Formation of Russian-American Relations. 1775-1815*; the fundamental

works by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Sladkovsky, *China and Japan and A History of Trade and Economic Relations Between Peoples of Russia and China (Until 1917)*.

The number of works by foreign scientists and journalists to which Soviet publishers have acquired rights through VAAP has been growing. We expect that the number of books by foreign authors published in the USSR will increase as the publishers bring out books by foreign authors which appeared in the original before the USSR adhered to the World Convention. Thus, the 1976 plan of Progress Publishers, the leading Soviet publishers of translated literature, in the main contains books dating from 1971-1973. Consequently, the books published abroad in 1974 and 1975 will mostly appear in Russian in 1978 and 1979. In this context, one should take account of the relative size of the printings put out by Soviet publishers of books by foreign authors, which range from 10,000 to 150,000 copies, averaging about 25,000-30,000 copies. Meanwhile, works by Soviet social scientists are, as a rule, published abroad in printings of 3,000-5,000 copies. Of course, large printings tend to shorten the list of books one would like to have translated and published, but they have one big advantage which is in line with our policy in the sphere of culture, and it is that they help broadly to circulate books and to make them accessible on a massive scale in terms of cost.

Apart from books which are translated from cover to cover, Soviet readers also have opportunities of acquainting themselves with separate chapters and extracts from works of foreign authors, as published in some of our journals, like

USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology.

Q. You speak about books. And what can you say about publishing separate articles?

A. Articles are a special sphere of exchange characterised by an exceptionally high level of activity. These are works of "minor forms" which are frequently harbingers of fundamental works, above all embodying the key immediate results of elaborations, some aspects of key problems, and analysis of current events and important international developments with extensive impact and long-term consequences. In 1975 alone, something like 900 articles by Soviet social scientists went abroad, and nearly 600 articles by foreign authors were published in Soviet periodicals through VAAP. Some deals in this field are truly large-scale, like the agreement with the American company, *International Arts and Sciences Press*, on publication by the latter of 14 topical reference collections on the basis of 63 central newspapers and socio-political and literary journals of the USSR.

Q. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the development of cooperation between the USSR and foreign countries in the field of scientific-book publishing, including the field of social science?

A. The facts given above show the interest displayed abroad

in the writings by Soviet scientists on a broad range of problems in Soviet and world history, economics, politics, philosophy and other branches of the humanities and the social sciences. The writings of foreign social scientists enjoy a well merited demand in the USSR, and this can be easily understood because men yearn to understand each other's spiritual world and to have a better knowledge of various aspects of life on the globe. The favourable premises which exist in this field give ground for hope that international cooperation in scientific-book publishing will grow and gain in depth, covering more and more subjects and lines of thought, and making use of progressive organisational forms like joint preparation of books and their simultaneous publication in several countries. Here, a great deal depends on how consistently and honestly the countries which had taken part in the European Conference in Helsinki are guided in their activity by the provisions of the Final Act. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared and able, as VAAP's practice shows, to work for the materialisation of détente, to meet its commitments in the sphere of international scientific and cultural cooperation with the attainment of positive results, and to translate into life the principles and understandings reached at Helsinki.

CERTIFICATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS IN THE USSR

In the past few years, the system of certification of scientific workers in the USSR has been restructured on the basis of the many years of experience in the maintenance of theses, the latest data in the study of science, and the views of many

scientific collectives and individual scientists and representatives of mass and production organisations. There was a broad discussion in the Soviet press of matters relating to the procedures governing the award of academic degrees and titles, and

the holding out of incentives and assessment of the scientific activity of specialists.

In 1974, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers issued a decree "On Measures for Further Improving the Certification of Scientific and Pedagogical Personnel". In accordance with the decree, the Higher Certification Commission (VAK) was reorganised. It ceased to be an agency of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education of the USSR, and became a state agency. A new "Statute on Procedures Governing the Award of Academic Degrees and Titles" was approved and became effective as of January 1, 1976.

We publish below an interview given to a correspondent of *Social Sciences* by Kirill Gusev, D.Sc.(Hist.), Deputy Chairman of the Higher Certification Commission under the USSR Council of Ministers.

Question. What are the academic degrees available to social scientists in the USSR? Can these be compared with the degrees awarded in other countries?

Answer. Back in 1934, the Soviet Government approved two academic degrees, that of candidate of sciences and doctor of sciences, which are common to all the branches of science. These degrees are not always identical to those which are awarded in other countries. Thus, the Ph.D. in the Anglo-American system of certification is roughly equivalent to the degree of candidate of sciences in the USSR. In some instances, the specialisation of academic degrees does not coincide either. In the USA, for instance, Ph.Ds. are awarded in all the humanities, and in the USSR—the degrees of doctor and

candidate of philosophical, economic, historical, juridical, philological, pedagogical and psychological sciences and the history of art.

In accordance with the "Statute on Procedures Governing the Award of Academic Degrees and Titles", approved by the USSR Council of Ministers in 1975, academic degrees may be awarded to persons who have not only profound professional knowledge but also a broad scientific and general cultural outlook, and who have defended a thesis to win the corresponding academic degree.

Aspirants to the academic degree of candidate of sciences must naturally have a higher education, must pass the candidate's examinations and display a capability for independent scientific research, and an ability to elaborate meaningful scientific problems which are of great theoretical and practical significance.

Aspirants to the academic degree of doctor of sciences must have an academic degree of candidate, and show themselves to be creative researchers capable of achieving a high theoretical standard in formulating and solving major scientific problems constituting a considerable contribution to science and practice.

Q. What are the requirements concerning the content and form of the thesis and how is it maintained?

A. The 1975 Statute has introduced a number of fundamentally new requirements into the certification of scientific workers. Above all they imply a higher standard of requirements on aspirants, the theses they present for defence, and on the expertise at every stage of the certification. The Statute emphasises that public defence of dissertations is the only ground for the award of academic degrees, but the dissertation

itself may be presented in the form of a manuscript, a published monograph or a scientific paper. The latter form, in particular, may be used whenever the aspirant's basic scientific propositions and conclusions are contained in works published earlier which are of high theoretical and national-economic importance, and whenever it is necessary to sum up the results of research carried out earlier by the aspirant. But whatever its form, the dissertation must be coherent, and its content must meet the tasks of the contemporary development of science and practice, and the requirements made on it as a work of qualification, testifying to the author's personal contribution to science and to his qualities as a scientist.

Dissertations aspiring to the academic degree of doctor of sciences must contain well-reasoned scientific propositions which may be assessed as a new and promising line in science, or a theoretical generalisation and solution of a major scientific problem which is of key national-economic, political and socio-cultural importance. A candidate's dissertation must give a new solution of a meaningful scientific problem which would be of great significance for the relevant branch of knowledge.

As a rule, the subject of the dissertation must be linked with the plan of the basic scientific work of a research institute or an institution of higher learning. The approval of the subject inaugurates a stage of certification which could be called the "preliminary-defence" stage. The first step in the approbation of a dissertation is a mandatory opinion handed down by the organisation where it has been performed. This opinion must determine the importance of the subject of research,

its independent nature, the author's personal contribution to the elaboration of the problem, the degree of novelty, the substantiation and authenticity of the scientific propositions advanced in the dissertation.

The second and most important stage is the defence of the dissertation at a meeting of a specialised council. This defence is public and is the main element of the certification. Specialised councils, consisting of distinguished scientists and leading specialists in the given branch of knowledge are responsible for awarding academic degrees and have the duty to ensure a high level of requirements on aspirants and to prevent the certification of works which are scientifically flimsy.

Each council has the right to take cognisance of dissertations in not more than three allied specialities, which are specified. The council sitting to consider the defence of doctoral dissertations must consist of at least five specialists who are doctors of sciences in each of the given specialities, and councils sitting to consider candidate's dissertations, of at least three doctors and three candidates of sciences in each of the specialities. In both instances, the council should not consist of more than 25 persons. In order to extend the circle of those who take part in discussing the dissertation, members of the scientific public and specialist practitioners are invited and may be co-opted as members of the council with deliberative vote.

In various parts of the country, 300 specialised councils for the defence of doctoral and 700 for the defence of candidate's dissertations have already been set up. Altogether, some 2,000 specialised councils are to be established.

Concerning the procedures governing the defence at specialised coun-

cils, these two circumstances should be noted: first, if the council is to have competence to take a decision, there is need for the attendance not only of two-thirds of its members, but of two-thirds of the specialists in the given field in which the dissertation is being maintained; second, before the secret ballot on whether the given work meets the requirements made on dissertations for the award of the corresponding academic degree is taken, the council must decide by open ballot on the text of its opinion setting out the most substantial scientific results obtained by the aspirant, the degree of their novelty, their importance for theory and practice, and recommendations for their application.

The adoption of such an opinion, first, enhances the responsibility of the members of the council for the certification and makes the discussion of the dissertation more active. Second, it should be borne in mind that the usefulness of the work and its scientific significance are not the same thing. Whereas, on the one hand, a work which is of no value to science and practice cannot serve as ground for the award of an academic degree, on the other, not every scientific work which has some practical value may be regarded as a dissertation. Third, the opinion is a document which makes it possible more fully and objectively to assess the work at the final stage of certification, when it is considered by the Higher Certification Commission (VAK).

All doctoral dissertations, and individual candidate's dissertations, by way of control, are examined by VAK expert councils for the purpose of primarily ensuring standard requirements in the various fields of science and exercising control over

the high scientific standard of dissertations.

There are seven such expert councils for the humanities: political economy and world economics, sectoral and concrete economic sciences, historical sciences, the history of the CPSU, philosophical and juridical sciences, pedagogics and psychology, philology and the history of art. The expert councils are made up of leading scientists and the most authoritative specialists in the given field.

The final decision on the award of the academic degree of doctor of sciences is taken, on the recommendation of the corresponding expert council, by the VAK Presidium, consisting of 25 leading scientists representing the main scientific organisations and centres in the country. The final decisions on candidate's dissertations, on the basis of opinions handed down by VAK experts and its certification departments, are taken by the Collegium of the Higher Certification Commission, an organ which is not as broad, which is designed to act more swiftly, and which consists of VAK staff workers.

Q. Could you give us some figures on the number of dissertations defended in the USSR every year, including those in the social sciences?

A. Yes, of course, but with one reservation: they include only those dissertations which have been considered by the Higher Certification Commission.

In 1975, 1,229 doctoral and 22,254 candidate's dissertations were examined and 1,089 and 21,891, respectively, were approved, and 140 and 363 rejected. Of the total number of dissertations examined, 174 doctoral

and 4,039 candidate's dissertations were in the social sciences.

However, the year 1975 is not typical because it was the year in which the VAK was reorganised, its new Presidium and Collegium approved, new departments and inspections established, new procedures formulated and new expert councils formed. All of this, quite naturally, led to some slow-down in the pace of certification. I should like to give you the 1976 figures. That year, 2,300 doctoral and 19,309 candidate's dissertations were considered, including 112 doctoral and 1,002 candidate's dissertations in the historical sciences, 118 and 1,176, respectively, in the economic sciences, 48 and 577 in the philosophical sciences, 34 and 291 in the juridical sciences, 99 and 735 in the philological sciences, 24 and 955 in pedagogics, 12 and 78 in psychology, and 7 and 91 in the history of art. Thus, in the humanitarian sciences, 454 doctoral and 4,905 candidate's dissertations were considered.

On average, one could say that the VAK examines some 30,000 dissertations a year, including about 3,000 doctoral dissertations, with the humanitarian and social sciences accounting for roughly 20.5 per cent.

On January 1, 1976, according to VAK data, the Soviet Union had 1,747 doctors and 12,395 candidates of historical sciences, 1,481 doctors and 23,109 candidates of economic sciences, 742 doctors and 7,756 candidates of philosophical sciences, 537 doctors and 3,323 candidates of juridical sciences, 1,304 doctors and 12,046 candidates of philological sciences, 262 doctors and 6,409 candidates of pedagogical sciences, 156 doctors and 1,217 candidates of psychological sciences, and 194 doctors and 1,567 candidates in the history of art.

Q. Could you characterise the role of the Higher Certification Commission in the certification of specialists and in training scientific personnel in general?

A. The Statute, approved by the USSR Council of Ministers in 1975, emphasises above all that the VAK is the only agency authorised to award academic degrees and titles (senior research associate, docent and professor), to form specialised councils and to decide in which specialities they are competent to consider dissertations for defence. The VAK is the agency which heads the state-wide system of certification and which directs its work. Its task is to ensure a high standard and uniformity of requirements in the certification of the most highly qualified personnel both from the standpoint of the quality of their research and pedagogical activity and their personality as scientists.

However, the role of the VAK is determined not only directly by the certification of scientific and pedagogical personnel. It has every opportunity of exerting an active influence on the subject-matter of scientific research. Together with the State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education and other ministries and departments, it has been authorised to take part in planning the training of scientific and pedagogical personnel and in raising the standard of postgraduate studies. Consequently, the VAK has an important role to play in developing the country's scientific potential.

Q. What in your opinion are the advantages of the state-wide system

of certification of scientific personnel?

A. First, it is a coherent system ranging over all scientific establishments and institutions of higher learning in the country, regardless of their departmental subordination. This makes it possible to certify scientific and pedagogical personnel on the strength of general scientific and state, instead of departmental and sectoral interests and principles. Such a system helps to ensure uniformity of requirements and coordination of work in certification on a countrywide scale. The system that has been established promotes the concentration of scientific personnel and the most qualified solution of the main problems of certification. The following fact shows that the state system ensures higher standards of certification: the examination of dissertations by its agencies has increased the number of rejected doctoral dissertations three-fold, and of candidate's dissertations, four-fold. Finally, the state-wide system of certification has promoted the most rational distribution of those who have academic degrees and titles among the branches of science and the national economy.

COOPERATION BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS

The Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences has been cooperating with archaeological institutes in other socialist countries for nearly 20 years. Particularly close contacts were established in 1971-1975. On the basis of bilateral cooperation archaeologists of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are working on important

Q. What are the procedures governing the defence of dissertations and award of academic degrees to foreign nationals?

A. In the first half of 1976 three foreign nationals were awarded the degree of doctor of historical sciences and one—the degree of doctor of economic sciences. Fifteen foreign nationals received diplomas of candidate of historical sciences, 33—of economic sciences, 3—of philosophical sciences, 10—of philological sciences, 3—of juridical sciences, 13—of pedagogical sciences, 3—of psychological sciences, and 3—in the history of art. In all 83 foreign scholars were awarded academic degrees and diplomas in the social sciences. Consequently, a considerable number of citizens from other countries also defend dissertations in the USSR every year. The procedures governing the defence of dissertations and the award of academic degrees established for Soviet citizens also apply to foreign citizens maintaining dissertations in the USSR. These procedures, on the one hand, create all the necessary conditions for successful defence, and on the other, ensure a sufficiently high standard of certification.

scientific problems of Europe's ancient history and also of the history of many other peoples. The following are only a few areas of that cooperation: the development of primitive society (with Poland), the origin and early history of the Slavs (with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), Paleolithic, Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age cultures in Southeast Europe (with Bulgaria), the interaction of the antique world

with the peoples of Eastern Europe (with Bulgaria and Rumania), Slav and proto-Bulgar cultures on the territory of the USSR and Bulgaria (with Bulgaria), the transition from primitive to class society (with the GDR), the ancient links between the populations of Hungary and the USSR (with Hungary), the peoples of the northern Black Sea area in the epoch of migration (with Hungary), and the genesis of archaeological cultures of Central and Eastern Europe (with Rumania and Yugoslavia).

This cooperation is implemented in various forms: participation in bilateral and multilateral scientific conferences and symposiums, joint expeditions, participation in the work of international organisations, joint publications, training of post-graduate students, and so forth. Let us consider some of these forms.

Significant scientific results are yielded by joint expeditions studying and excavating archaeological relics. During these expeditions the sides exchange know-how in field work and improve their methods. Different angles of approach to one and the same material, to one and the same find ultimately leads to a more correct interpretation of the material. Soviet archaeologists are undertaking joint expeditions with archaeologists from Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary and Mongolia.

A Soviet-Mongolian expedition led by Academician A. Okladnikov has been working in Mongolia for nearly a decade. It consists of anthropologists, ethnographers, experts on the history of the East, linguists and staff members of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The expedition is working on many important problems, for instance, the settlement of the Central Asian plateau by man, the genesis

of early cattle-breeding cultures, and problems of towns in nomadic feudal society.

The results are outstanding: the finding of Lower Paleolithic relics has made it possible to establish that Mongolia has a history of hundreds of thousands of years; stone age cave drawings have been discovered; a detailed study has been made of ancient art indicating that it dates from the "animal style" of Scythian times. The expedition is continuing its work and it is expected to make many other interesting discoveries.

The results of many years of study of archaeological relics in Bulgaria by a Soviet-Bulgarian archaeological expedition have made it possible to create the foundation for the solution of a number of important theoretical problems, such as the formation of productive forms of economy in Europe and the ethnogenesis of the population of Southeastern Europe. The expedition discovered some of the continent's most ancient copper mines, which shed much light on the economic and cultural history of the 4th-3rd millennia B. C. Moreover, it investigated the multilayer Ezero settlement, which yields information on the life of its population over a period of several millennia and provides an extremely important archaeological standard not only for this relic but also for other archaeological objects in Bulgaria, the USSR and some other countries. The data obtained by excavations were used for a number of joint monographs (*Ezero*, *Ai Bunar* and *Ancient Metallurgy in Bulgaria*); these monographs are to be brought out in the near future.

Important long-term contacts have also been established between Soviet and Cuban archaeologists. In 1973, Soviet archaeologists went to Cuba, where with their Cuban colleagues

they studied archaeological relics. Moreover, they shared their know-how with them. It is planned to continue field work in Cuba, and some relics have been selected for study during the next few years.

The works written by Soviet scholars on the archaeology of socialist countries are an exceedingly interesting form of cooperation. The series of such works was started with Yu. Kukharenski's *Archaeology of Poland* (Moscow, 1969). A study entitled *Archaeology of Rumania* by G. Fyodorov and L. Polevoi was published in Moscow in 1973. A team of Soviet and Hungarian scholars is currently working on a two-volume *Archaeology of Hungary*. These works generalise the main achievements of archaeologists of socialist countries, acquainting Soviet readers with the problems of archaeology in

socialist countries and giving science many archaeological facts.

Soviet archaeology enjoys high prestige in socialist countries. Many papers by Soviet archaeologists are printed in specialised publications in the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

Archaeologists and post-graduate students from socialist countries are taking courses at the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Of late, postgraduate students from Bulgaria, Hungary and Vietnam successfully maintained their candidate's theses in the Institute's Academic Council.

A. Kashkin,
Scientific Secretary,
Commission for International Relations,
Institute of Archaeology,
USSR Academy of Sciences

INDICATORS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

An international seminar, "Social Aspects of Economic and Cultural Development and Working Out of Social and Cultural Indicators", was held in Moscow in June 1976 by the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was organised within the framework of the general project "World Models: Images of Society and of Man", which is being sponsored by UNESCO's International Social Science Council (ISSC). ISSC brings together international associations concerned with the social sciences (economics, sociology, political science, law, anthropology, psychology, demography, and so on), and the national councils and academies of social sciences in these fields.

The Seminar was attended by over 70 scientists from Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, FRG, GDR, Hungary, India, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland, USA, USSR, Yugoslavia.

The Seminar was opened by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Vice President of the ISSC. The work of the Seminar was very interesting and the discussions creative and principled. Altogether 48 reports and communications were made.

The purpose of the Seminar was to discuss and define the methodological principles and methods for working out the indicators of social and cultural development as applied to different social systems and regions of the world; to compare the available indexes, blocs, and systems of social and cultural indicators presented at the Seminar. These will enable scientists to make more solidly grounded projections of the prospects of social and cultural growth and to use the indicators for modelling social development on a regional, sectoral and global level.

The work of the Seminar was carried out in five sessions each of which dealt with a definite subject.

At the first session ("Main Theories of Social Development: Their Using in Working Out World Models") papers were presented by the Scientific Director of the ISSC Project K. W. Deutsch (USA), H. D. Scolnic (Argentina), E. Masini (Italy), N. R. Alker (USA) and N. Lapin, V. Gelovani and A. Zdravomyslov (USSR).

The projections and models for regional, sectoral and global development are based on various philosophico-sociological conceptions. Soviet scientists emphasised that they believed the Marxist-

Leninist theory of social development to be a truly scientific basis for successfully prognosticating social progress. They opposed both abstract schematism and the absolutisation of mathematical methods in trying to determine mankind's future development. The scientific conception of the future has to be derived from real objective processes in social development, which need to be understood in all their complexity and dialectical interplay.

Speakers analysed the basic structural changes in society under the different socio-political systems; the relation between sectoral, national, regional and global modelling; cognitive, normative, purposeful and governing models; models of a distorting and adequate, reactionary and progressive character, and so on.

The central session at the Seminar was the second one to deal with the "Main Changes and Main Trends in Social Development and Problems of Social Indicators", and heard reports and papers by S. M. Miller (USA), B. Fritsch (Switzerland), Y. Singh (India), R. Andorka (Hungary), E. K. Scheuch (FRG), and by V. Semyonov, N. Mansurov, Yu. Volkov, V. Yadov, O. Shkaratan and B. Grushin (USSR), and others.

Soviet scientists analysed the regularities governing the formation of tendencies in social development and the impact on them of objective and subjective, internal and external factors. A special examination was made of the changes in the social structure, labour collectives, way of life and public opinion. They proposed and substantiated concrete indexes and systems of social indicators, identifying the main, definitive, and secondary, additional, indicators, which aroused much interest among foreign scientists.

Speakers analysed the social tendencies in the development of the capitalist countries and indicators for measuring social inequality (S. M. Miller); changes in the social structure of the developing countries and the correlation of the positive and counter-indicators (Y. Singh); emphasis was laid on the importance of indicators measuring social equality and inequality (R. Andorka); and those determining the basic indicators of the state and development of society (Z. Fainburg, USSR); systems of indicators for level and quality of life were analysed (E. Alldardt—Finland); the danger was pointed out of excessive indicators and dissolution of the basic indicators in a vast mass of the most diverse and secondary indicators of social development (B. Grushin), and other matters.

At the third session ("Indicators of Education, Culture and Patterns of Life") there was a discussion of an extensive range of problems connected with the definition of systems of indicators for education and educational characteristics of the population (V. Shubkin, USSR; Z. Gostkowski, Poland); with the study of the development of culture and construction of a system of indicators of cultural development (C. Mendes, Brazil, Yu. Arutyunyan, USSR, and K. Zhigulski, Poland); with studies of patterns of life, the impact on them of the processes under the scientific and technological revolution, and identification of the indicators of patterns of life (I. Filipetz, Czechoslovakia, I. Bes-tuzhev-Lada, USSR), and other important questions.

During the discussion of the "Technical Problems of Large-Scale Modelling" (fourth session) attention was centred on the compilation of schemes for taking account of the

requirements of people which determine the orientation of their decisions (H. Bossel, FRG); construction of synthetic indicators in socio-economic modelling (Yu. Gavrilets, USSR); and on elaboration of a system of expert procedures in structuring global models of development and other important problems in the technical back-up of modelling at various levels.

The final, fifth session, drew up the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar. A Final Report was adopted on the papers presented by V. Semyonov, B. Fritsch, K. W. Deutsch and N. Lapin, emphasising the great importance of pooling the efforts of scientists with different orientations so as to make the social sciences even more efficient in solving the problems facing mankind. The Final Report formulated the recommendations concerning subsequent research into the working out of systems of social and cultural indicators and global modelling. It listed the

most important lines of subsequent research into these problems. It said that of especial importance was the structuring of models for the world's peaceful development; a study of all the possibilities for ending the arms race; a study of the inter-national and inter-cultural contacts which help to strengthen mutual trust between representatives of different socio-political systems; and a summing-up of the experience being gained in the peaceful settlement of conflict situations in the modern world.

The participants in the Seminar noted the good organisation of its work, the constructive, creative and principled nature of the discussions, and its atmosphere of scientific quest and urge to advance in this important field of developing modern social science which is oriented towards achieving practical results.

V. Semyonov,
D. Sc. (Philos.)

THE ECONOMICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

The Second Soviet-American Economic Symposium on "The Economics of Technological Progress" was held in the Soviet Union in June 1976. The first symposium, which dealt with the efficiency of capital investments, was held in the USA in the spring of 1975.

Among the first group of questions discussed at the Symposium was determining the role of the new technology, science and knowledge in economic development. Academician T. Khachaturov, head of the Soviet delegation, gave a detailed analysis of the various methods used to determine the efficiency of re-

search, noting that, even given a precise knowledge of inputs, it was difficult to determine the effect of scientific research. His report contained evaluations of the annual effect of research in the USSR. The reports given by other Soviet scientists considered the role of planning of the new technology and the establishment of prices for the new products designed to reduce output of obsolete models and to stimulate technological progress. They provided a scheme for the elaboration of a plan for new technology and showed its connection with the production and investments plan. Soviet

economists also discussed the role of education in scientific and technological progress. US scientists presented estimates of the contribution made by knowledge to economic growth, which they obtained by excluding from national-income growth the contribution made by all the other sources of growth. According to these calculations, the contribution made by knowledge in the USA and West European countries from 1948 to 1969 came to between 0.7 per cent and 1.5 per cent a year. Other US reports contained an analysis of methods for comparing economic efficiency and factor productivity in various countries and at various periods.

The next group of reports presented at the Symposium dealt with the interconnection between technological progress and the investment process. Soviet economists showed how investment programmes are coordinated within the framework of long-term plans, and characterised the principles used to draw up complex multi-sectoral investment programmes and the methods to determine their economic efficiency. Considerable attention was paid to the pursuit of a coherent government technological policy, to automation, mechanisation, and the development of engineering in the light of the requirements of scientific and technological progress. The US reports considered various aspects of innovation at company level. On the strength of statistical data for a number of big US enterprises, they showed the concrete interconnection between input into research and development, investments and input into manpower, bringing out the dependence between the scale of innovation, on the one hand, and the rate of scientific and technological progress, the level of demand and

possible profits from the introduction of new technology, on the other. There was a lively discussion of the attempts by the US participants in the Symposium to particular areas such as research, education, occupational training, public health and activities in the creation of spiritual values in terms of quantitative value indicators.

Much attention was paid to the socio-economic consequences of scientific and technological progress. Soviet economists presented factual data on the rising living standards and growing consumption in the USSR as a result of scientific and technological progress. At the same time, they showed the difficulties in attempts to establish the quantitative interconnections between economic growth and rising welfare, and made proposals for improving the system of indicators characterising the socio-economic efficiency of the national economy.

During the discussion on technological progress in agriculture Professor L. G. Raynolds, head of the US delegation, drew a distinction between the mechanical and biochemical types of innovation, whose priority development depends on economic and climatic conditions in the individual countries. Soviet scientists showed the importance of the technical re-equipment of agriculture in the USSR, the build-up of its energy capacities and the growing use of chemicals. They emphasised that the introduction of new hardware and technology in agriculture should take account of the requirements of environmental protection.

The last of the questions discussed was international scientific and technological cooperation. Soviet economists showed the impact of this factor on the growing efficiency of social production, emphasising

the great importance of the transition to long-term scientific and technological cooperation and its new forms, such as joint research, research and development, and so on. The American scientists considered the specific features of international trade in technology (licences) and characterised the factors determining its development and the specific strategy pursued by US corporations in the export and import of technology.

After the Symposium in Moscow, the US delegation visited Kiev and Leningrad, where its members continued to acquaint themselves with

Soviet scientific economic establishments.

A joint communique was adopted on the results of the Symposium, with both parties highly appraising the role of the Symposium in extending contacts between Soviet and US scientists and exchanges of achievements in economic science, which is of great importance in the atmosphere of international détente and the improvement of relations between the two countries.

V. Kudryavtsev,
Scientific Secretary,
Association of Soviet Economic
Scientific Institutions

INTERNATIONAL FORUM OF GEOGRAPHERS

This most representative forum of the world's geographers, the first-ever international geographical forum held in the Soviet Union (July 15-August 3, 1976), was attended by more than 3,500 scientists from 58 countries, including 1,560 from the USSR and 390 from other socialist countries.

With geography in the context of scientific and technological progress as its subject, this Congress, the 23rd, considered a wide range of themes with the accent on pressing comprehensive problems requiring the further consolidation of the system of geographical sciences and of the inter-discipline approach.

The commissions and working groups of the International Geographical Union sponsored 28 pre-congress symposiums in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Tashkent, Dushanbe, Ashkhabad and other cities in the Soviet Union at which more than 750 papers were presented. The programme of the Congress itself called for five general symposiums and ten section meetings (including general

economic geography, demographic geography, regional geography, history of geography and paleogeography) which discussed some 700 papers. One of the symposiums was devoted to international cooperation among geographers.

The diversity of the topics discussed at the Congress came under three inter-related headings, to which the general (plenary) symposiums were devoted: "Scientific Forecasts of the Transformation and Protection of the Environment", "Scientific Principles of the Development of Regions and the Rational Location of Production", and "Studies of the Geographical Aspects of Urbanisation and Urban Development Planning".

Academician I. Gerasimov, Director of the Institute of Geography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that the problem of optimising the environment is today becoming the focus of many orientations of geographical investigation; this problem is closely linked with the geographical elaboration of the theory of

geo-ecosystems, with the problem of utilising natural resources, the development of regions and the siting of various industries, and so on. By stimulating an unprecedented growth of the scale of production and consumption, and enhancing their concentration in large industrial and urbanised regions, the scientific and technological revolution is fundamentally complicating the interaction between society and the natural environment; this is due, in particular, to the intensified use of natural resources, the accumulation of production waste on a growing scale, the increasing influence of the expanding power engineering industry on the natural heat balance of large cities and industrial regions, and so forth.

The Congress discussed the results of the study of human influence on the environment and the ways and means of protecting the environment at different levels. It was recognised that scientific forecasts of the effects of anthropogenic influences on the environment and the development of the method of determining the environment's response to man's various influences were a key orientation of further international research.

At the Congress Soviet geographers suggested the establishment of a world monitoring organisation, a service that would systematically observe and control the state of the environment.

A particularly notable contribution was made by geographers of the USSR and other socialist countries to the discussion of the rational location of production and the development of regions. It will be recalled that as far back as the 1920s, Soviet economic geography advanced the concept of territorial-industrial complexes. The decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU

envisage the further development of existing and the creation of new territorial-industrial complexes and the fulfilment of far-reaching economic development plans on their basis.

The Congress showed great interest in the reports by Soviet scientists on the purposeful approach to regional analysis and planning (on the example of Siberia), the study of the role of natural resources in the rational territorial organisation of the Soviet economy, and the relationship between economic regionalisation and regional planning.

Considerable attention was also given to the discussion of theoretical problems of the territorial structure of the economy and the specifics of its formation in socialist countries under the impact of socialist integration, and the question of economic regionalisation. Most of the reports on these subjects were presented by the delegations of the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The problems of economic-ecological simulation of the administration of multiregional systems, the location and "migration" of industries and the spatial organisation of production were raised by geographers from the USA, Great Britain, Nigeria and some other countries.

Many of the papers were devoted to the questions of urbanisation and urban development planning, which are closely bound up with two other pivotal problems discussed at the Congress, namely, the rational location of production and the environmental protection.

A conceptual analysis of present-day urbanisation made by Soviet scholars shows that it is increasingly determining the settlement orientation in general, and the evolution of

its forms and spatial structures in particular. These orientations are manifesting themselves in the formation of large systems of towns and large conurbations, and also in more intricate forms of settlement—urbanised regions and zones.

As a global process urbanisation has certain common features and regularities, but the many ways in which they manifest themselves and the demands made of towns are different in countries with different social systems and economic development levels. This was illustrated by many speakers, who characterised the specifics of the present phase of urbanisation and urban development in socialist, industrialised capitalist and developing countries.

In the Soviet Union settlement and town planning and development are improved in keeping with the General Settlement Programme. The Congress was acquainted with the scientific principles and ways of implementing this programme by G. Fomin, Chairman of the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture under the State Planning Committee of the USSR. The possibilities for controlling urbanisation, settlement and urban development were shown in the papers presented by specialists from the USSR and also from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

The qualitative character of the changes in the problems and methods of research employed in modern geography was shown at the Congress. This science now covers a wide range of problems. Its main tasks are today linked with the elaboration of the multifaceted problems of the interaction of society and the environment in the interests of reshaping the planet for the welfare

of man. For that reason geographers are increasingly turning to the social aspects of the phenomena and processes studied by them, and there is broadening cooperation between geographers and representatives of both the social and the natural sciences.

The Congress materials eloquently showed the advances made by modern geography as a fundamental science, the growth of its theoretical basis and, at the same time, the constructive, applied research, the improvement and enrichment of the methods and technical arsenal through the broad utilisation of modelling natural and production-territorial systems, the use of information satellites and of aerocosmic and other modern methods of investigation.

One of the major results of the Congress was the growth of the international prestige of the geographical sciences in the socialist countries. They are developing successfully in line with Marxist-Leninist methodology and making an increasing contribution to the building of socialism and communism.

The 14th General Assembly of the International Geographical Union was held in Moscow. It elected Professor Michael Wise of Great Britain as Chairman of the International Geographical Union with F. Davitaya, Director of the Institute of Geography of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, as one of the Vice-Chairmen.

It is planned to hold the 24th International Geographical Congress in Japan in the autumn of 1980.

Yu. Medvedkov,
D. Sc. (Geogr.)
Yu. Pivovarov,
Cand. Sc. (Geogr.)

An all-Union conference on the results of ethnographic and archaeological field research in 1974 and 1975 and current problems in Soviet ethnography was held in Dushanbe in May 1976. It was organized by the Department of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ahmad Donish Institute of History of the Tajik Academy of Sciences. It was attended by 200 ethnographers and anthropologists from all the Union and from many autonomous republics of the USSR.

The Conference opened with a report by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Bromley, "On the Tasks of Soviet Ethnographical Science in the Light of the Materials of the 25th Congress of the CPSU". The study of contemporary processes, he emphasized, continues to be the main line in Soviet ethnographical science, and in this context Soviet scientists are faced with the important task of further improving the methods and instruments used, in particular, in studying the Soviet way of life. The speaker also pointed to the need for further elaborating the theoretical questions in ethnography and the ethnodemographic problems of the population, and also of studying the historically rooted traditional cultures of the peoples of the world, notably, the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Some of the propositions outlined in Bromley's report were further elaborated in the report by T. Zhdanko, "On the Results and Prospects of Ethnographic Research in Central Asia and Kazakhstan". The speaker reviewed the main achievements in Central Asian ethnography over the

past few years and devoted special attention to the collective effort in preparing a Central Asian historico-ethnographic atlas, which is being done jointly by ethnographers from Moscow, Leningrad and the Central Asian republics.

In her report entitled "The Results and Tasks of Ethnographic Research in Tajikistan", A. Pisarchik raised the question about the need for a comparative ethnographic study of the peoples inhabiting both the USSR and other countries, so as to bring out the specific socio-cultural transformations which have taken place in this country in the Soviet period. Important ethnographic aspects were also considered in the report made by Yu. Averkieva, "On the 50th Anniversary of the Journal *Sovietskaya etnografiya*".

The report given by Academician B. Gafurov and B. Litvinsky, "Key Problems in the Ethnogenesis and Ethnic History of the Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" was an attempt at a theoretical comprehension of the facts obtained by science over the past few years. The authors gave concrete examples to show that in the light of the present state of knowledge the century-long cultural and ethnic interaction of the peoples of Central Asia appears to be more intensive than was assumed some 10 or 20 years ago.

The report delivered by M. Itina dealt with the work of the archaeological-ethnographic Khorezm expedition, whose results shed a new light on some aspects of Central Asia's history. The comprehensive study of the lands irrigated in the ancient period in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya has also enabled specialists to give

recommendations on the practical use of these lands in our day.

In his report, "Some Features of Feudalism Among the Caucasian Mountain-Dwellers", A. Robakidze analysed the specific features of feudal relations among many peoples in the Caucasus which sprang from the development of early feudal relations during the disintegration of the primitive way of life and by-passing the slave-owning system.

B. Andrianov and N. Cheboksarov presented a report, "Basic Problems in the Contemporary Ethno-Cultural Zoning of the World", showing the substantial changes in the major ethnocultural areas determined by economic and political factors.

Besides plenary sessions, work was carried on in these sections: "Contemporary Ethnic, Cultural and Everyday Processes Among the Peoples of the USSR", "Studies of the Family and Family Life", "Ethnic History and Ethnogenesis", "Histo-

rico-Ethnographic Atlases (Ethnographic Typologies, Cultural Ties)", "Religious Beliefs in the Past and Efforts to Overcome Them Today", and "Folklore, Folk Music and Art".

The papers read at the plenary sessions and in the working groups showed that over the past few years Soviet ethnographers have been concentrating on a study of the important problems of our day, notably, the regularities governing the present-day ethnic, cultural and everyday processes, making broader use of mass polls. Speakers stressed, in particular, the need to study present ethno-cultural processes among all the peoples of every republic, as otherwise it was impossible adequately to reflect the regularities of ethnic, cultural and everyday transformations which had an important role to play in shaping a new historical entity, the Soviet people.

V. Basilov,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

CHRONICLE

* *The Sixth Congress of the International Ergonomic Association*, held at the University of Maryland, College Park (USA), dealt with problems relating to the rational organization of the implements and conditions of work with due regard for the psycho-physiological potentialities and limitations of man. Of great interest were the reports: "Ergonomics in a World of Changed Values" by A. Chapanis (USA), "Human Factors, Agriculture, Costs and Returns" by R. Wilson (USA), "Ergonomics and Standards" by B. Metz (France), and "Ergonomics: Where

Have We Been; Where Are We Going?" by A. Welford (Australia).

An interesting report was also made by the Soviet scholar V. Venda, D. Sc. (Psychol.), who dwelt on the ergonomic problems involved in the individual adaptation of operators' faculties. He showed that consideration of the individual psycho-physiological peculiarities of a person who has to make important managerial decisions or who works in a complex stress situation can significantly raise the efficiency of his work and reduce tensions. V. Venda thinks that in the near future individual adaptation as a method of humanising the implements and conditions of work will be useful for many of the more common trades.

This review covers events that took place in May-August 1976. They were all held in Moscow, unless otherwise stated.

* *The Eighth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, held in Budapest, attracted some 500 scholars from more than 40 countries. Three topics were presented for discussion: 1. Three Epoch-Making Changes in the History of Literatures in European Languages (Historical, Ideological, Aesthetic and Other Characteristics of Change in the Literary Process): a) Renaissance, b) Enlightenment, c) Early Twentieth Century; 2. Twentieth Century Relations Between Literatures Originating in Different Cultures; Emergence of New National Literatures and Their Role in the Evolution of World Literature; 3. Comparative Literature and Theory of Literature: a) Historical, b) Sociological, c) Structural, d) Semiotic, e) Stylistic Approaches to Comparative Literature.

The Soviet delegation, headed by Yu. Barabash, D. Sc. (Philol.), Director of the Gorky Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences presented 23 reports, including: "Topical Problems Relating to the Study of Renaissance Literature as a Complex Phenomenon" (N. Balashov), "Characteristics of the 20th Century Realism" (D. Zatonksy), "The Role of Referential Relations in Artistic Studies" (T. Balashova), "On the Relationship Between the Comparative-Historical and the Structural-Semiotic Approaches" (E. Meletinsky), "The Artistic Discoveries of the New Novel of Latin America and Their Worldwide Significance" (V. Kuteishchikova), "From Regional Literary Communities to Interrelated Literatures of Modern Times" (N. Nikulin), "New Trends in the Cultural Orientation of Russia in the Time of Peter the Great" (A. Panchenko), "The Emergence of Revolutionary Poetry in Central and Southeast Europe"

(S. Sherlaimova), and others.

Great interest was evoked by the reports: "Change and Growth in Renaissance Prose and Drama"—R. Weimann (GDR); "Tradition and Innovation, Rules and Genius. Literature of the Enlightenment"—R. Mortier (Belgium); "Controversy and Concord in Comparative Literature"—H. Remak (USA); "Contribution of Latin American Literature to 20th Century World Literature"—R. F. Retamar (Cuba).

R. Mortier (Belgium) was elected President of the International Comparative Literature Association.

The next, Ninth Congress will be held in 1979 in Innsbruck (Austria).

* *An agreement on setting up an International Information System for the Social Sciences* has been signed by representatives of the Academies of Sciences of the socialist countries. The information system aims at promoting greater efficiency in the exchange of the relevant information and the allround development of international scientific cooperation in that field.

* *The Conference of Sociologists of Socialist Countries*, held in Sofia and attended by sociologists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union, discussed problems pertaining to the social structure of socialist society, to social planning and forecasting. At the Conference a protocol was signed providing for the publication of joint sociological studies, for the exchange of literature and information, and for the organisation of international meetings of scholars.

* *The 14th International Conference of Antiquarians of the Socialist Co-*

untries (Eirene) was held in Yerevan. The Eirene Society was formed in 1956 on the initiative of the Czech scholar Academician A. Salač, and, from 1957 on, has held regular conferences. The Yerevan Conference was attended by more than 70 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and about 200 from the Soviet Union.

At the plenary sessions the following reports were heard: "Features of Hellenism in the Material and Spiritual Culture of Ancient Armenia" by B. Arakelyan and G. Sarkisyan (USSR), "The Self-Awareness of the Dependent, the Poor and the Subjugated in Ancient Greece" by E. Welskopf (GDR), "Crisis of the Slave-Owning Mode of Production" by E. Shtaerman (USSR), "The Deciphering of the Text on the Disc from Fest" by V. Georgiev (Bulgaria), "The Deciphering of the Linear B and the Greek Language" by M. Petruševski (Yugoslavia), "Recent Archaeological Findings in Syria and Egypt" by K. Michalowski (Poland), and "Recent Soviet Archaeological Studies in Ancient Culture" by I. Kruglikova and D. Shelov (USSR).

On the proposal of the Conference's Organisation Committee, presided over by Academician B. Piotrovsky (USSR), the section meetings were devoted to these topics: the ancient world and the East; the crisis of the slave-owning mode of production; the portrayal of man in ancient literature and art; new methods and discoveries in classical linguistics; and recent archaeological findings. Two hundred and thirty reports on these topics were heard and discussed.

After the Conference the Armenian scholars acquainted its participants with archaeological excavati-

ons of the temple in Garni and with Armenia's ancient capital—Erebuni.

* *The 30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa*, attended by more than 2,000 scholars from 80 countries, was held in Mexico. (Before 1973 these congresses were called congresses of orientologists. The name was changed in 1973 at the 29th Congress.) Its work proceeded mostly in these regional sections: West Asia and North Africa, Central and North Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, China, Japan and Korea. Some problems were discussed in the interregional section.

The problems discussed within the sections related to economics, history, politics, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, literature, language, art, religion, etc. Seminars were parallelly conducted on various themes, among them: Asia and colonial Latin America; the peasantry and national integration; the consequences of and alternatives to the new energy situation; the military as an agent of social change; the developing nations and the Great Powers; the role of the intelligentsia in contemporary Asian societies.

The Soviet delegation, headed by Academician B. Gafurov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented these papers: "Specific Features of Afghanistan's Socio-Political Development in the 1960s-1970s" (R. Akhramovich), "Materialism and Ancient Indian Science" (G. Bongard-Levin), "The Greco-Roman World and the East" (B. Gafurov), "The Typology of Eastern Literatures Based on Literary Material of the Pushtu Language" (G. Girs), "Peculiarities of the Evolution of Social Structures in Developing Countries" (G. Kim), "The Stu-

dy of Central Asian Cultures in Russia in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" (L. Miroshnikov), and "Problems of Economic Development in Southeast Asian Countries" (G. Shirokov).

It was decided to hold the next congress in 1980 in Teheran.

* Some 600 scholars from 56 countries attended the *Ninth Congress of the International Society of Social Defence*, held in Caracas, which dealt with the topic "Social Marginalisation and Justice". The participants in the Congress heard and discussed reports on the sociological, biocriminological and legal aspects of the topic, and also reports on ways of eliminating marginalisation processes.

Soviet scholars presented these papers: "The Role of the Public in Preventing Crime" (S. Borodin), "Marginality and the Problem of Early Prevention of Anti-Social Behaviour" (V. Klochkov), "General Prevention as a Function of Justice" (V. Savitsky), and "Socio-Cultural Determinants and Marginal Behaviour" (V. Shupilov). Three Soviet scholars were elected to the leading bodies of the International Society of Social Defence, among them Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Kudryavtsev, Director of the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who became Vice President of the Society.

* *An International Conference on Problems of the History of the Second World War* was held in Oslo attended by scholars from 13 countries. The head of the Soviet delegation, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. Zhilin, Director of the Military History

Institute of the USSR's Ministry of Defence, delivered a report on "The Struggle of the USSR for a Collective Security System in Europe Before the Second World War".

* *An International Seminar on Problems of the Developing Countries* was held in Sofia under the auspices of the Asia and Africa Research Centre of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The topic discussed was "The State Sector in the Economy of the Developing Countries". The Seminar was addressed by leading Africanists from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and the Soviet Union. Among those who attended were young scientific workers and specialists in economics from 23 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

* *An International Symposium on the theme "Zionism as a Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination"* was held in Tripoli (Libya). Among the participants in the Symposium, organised by the Association of Jurists of the Libyan Arab Republic, were prominent scholars and jurists from more than 30 countries of the world and representatives of international organisations.

The delegation of the Soviet scientific community was headed by Professor I. Blishchenko, Vice-Chairman of the UN Committee for the Abolition of Racial Discrimination, Secretary of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

The participants in the Symposium discussed measures for exposing international Zionism, the aggressive home and foreign policies of Israel, and the racial discrimination practised by the Israeli Government on occupied Arab territories.

* Kaluga (USSR) was the venue of the *Fifth Symposium of the International Cooperation in History of Technology Committee (ICOHTEC) on the topic "Technology and Society"*. It was attended by 60 scholars from Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union and the USA. The Symposium was opened by Professor S. Shukhardin (USSR), Chairman of the Organisation Committee, Vice President of ICOHTEC. The opening address was delivered by the President of ICOHTEC, Professor L. Bulferetti (Italy).

The discussion at the Symposium centred on three themes. On the first theme, "The Interrelationship and Reciprocal Influence of Technology and Society", the following reports, among others, were made: "The Technological Necessities of Society" by Academician B. Kedrov (USSR), "Technology—Labour—Man" by Professor E. Olszewski (Poland), "Technology and Human Labour" by Professor M. Kranzberg (USA), "The Interrelation Between Man and Technology in the Immediate Process of Production" by Professor E. Wächtler (GDR), "The Forms and Methods of Organisation of Production and the Changing Role of Man in Production" by Professor A. Kuzin (USSR), "Technological Systems and Economic Systems" by Professor L. Bulferetti (Italy), "Technology as a Social Phenomenon" by E. Duda (Czechoslovakia).

The reports made on the second theme, "Science and Technology: Their Interrelationship and Reciprocal Influence", included: "The Interrelationship Between Industry, State and Science" by G. Buchheim (GDR), "Relations Between Science and Production in Different Histori-

cal Epochs" by L. Uvarova (USSR), "Scientific and Technological Innovation as a Dynamic Form of the Interrelationship Between Science and Technology" by N. Monczew (Bulgaria), and "Economic Analysis of Science" by K. Müller (Czechoslovakia).

The third theme, "Cosmic Science and Society", was dedicated to the founder of cosmonautics, the eminent Russian scientist K. Tsiolkovsky, who lived and worked in Kaluga. Among the reports made on this theme were: "Space Exploration and the Scientific and Technological Revolution" by Professor A. Ursul (USSR), "K. Tsiolkovsky and European Cosmic Science" by N. Gavryushin (USSR), and "The Importance of Space Research for the Future Development of Science, Technology and Human Civilisation" by Professor O. Wolczek (Poland).

These reports evoked extensive discussion during which various viewpoints were expressed on the interrelationship and reciprocal influence of technology and society.

* *An International Meeting on East-West Economic Cooperation* was organised in Tbilisi by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation jointly with the Vienna Institute for International Comparative Economic Studies. It was attended by prominent scholars, public figures and business representatives from eleven European countries, and also from the USA and Canada, and from a number of international organisations.

Papers were read by: M. Maximova (USSR)—"Industrial Cooperation Between Socialist and Capitalist Countries: Forms, Trends, Problems", C. McMillan (Canada)—"Forms and Dimensions of East-West Inter-Firm Cooperation",

E. Tabaczyński (Poland)—“The Evolution of East-West Inter-Firm Cooperation and Its Impact on International Payment Flows”, K. Bolz (FRG)—“Tripartite Cooperation—A Western View”, H. Faulwetter and G. Scharschmidt (GDR)—“Some Aspects of Tripartite Cooperation”, M. Davydov (UNCTAD)—“UNCTAD and Tripartite Industrial Cooperation”.

In addition, there were reports and communications on research in the field of cooperation in certain branches of industry and agriculture.

* *The 16th International Conference of Agricultural Economists* held in Nairobi attracted some 800 participants from over 70 countries. The main theme of the Conference was “Decision-Making and Agriculture”, which was expounded in two reports: “Contribution of Economists to a Rational Decision-Making Process in the Field of Agricultural Policy” by G. Johnson (USA) and “The Role of Models in the Decision Process in Agriculture” by M. Petit (France). Many of the reports dealt with the problems of the regional integration of agriculture and with rural development projects. Due attention was also paid to the important problem of food. The Conference heard two reports delivered by Soviet specialists: “Integration of CMEA Countries in the Field of Agriculture” (V. Nazarenko) and “Creation of Agro-Food Complexes in Extreme Natural Conditions of Siberia” (V. Boyev).

* *The colloquium on “Issues and Priorities in International Cooperation in the Field of Criminology”*, held in Santa Margherita (Italy), was attended by prominent jurists from several European countries, and from the USA and Canada. They

discussed the following questions: assessment of the crime problem; crime prevention, control and treatment; the operation, effect and control of discretion in the criminal justice system; professional ethics and the protection of human rights and privacy; the organisation and implementation of international comparative research in criminology.

Besides these themes planned beforehand, the participants in the Colloquium discussed the problem of combating crimes committed through carelessness as a topic for international cooperation, proposed by the Soviet jurists V. Klochkov, V. Savitsky and V. Shupilov.

* Problems relating to the economy of the infrastructure were the subject-matter of the *Soviet-Hungarian Symposium of Economists*. The 13 reports presented dealt with general methodological problems of the economy of the infrastructure as a whole, as well as with problems of development of separate branches of the infrastructure. In particular, they analysed such problems as the development of the infrastructure in developed socialist society; the general trends of development of the infrastructure in various countries in the period from 1960 to 1970; the improvement of financing of the infrastructure in the USSR as exemplified in the electric power industry, transport, communications and housing; the prospects of development of an international infrastructure for the CMEA countries; and the rational location of populated areas.

* *The Meeting of the Commission of Philosophers of the USSR and Poland* was devoted to the topic “The Tasks and Prospects of Development of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in the USSR and the Polish People’s

Republic in the Light of the Decisions Passed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party”. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician F. Konstantinov, President of the Philosophical Society of the USSR, Chairman of the Soviet section of the Commission, the Polish delegation—by T. Jaroszewski, Director of the Philosophy and Sociology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

* *A Soviet-French scientific colloquium on “The Crisis of World Capitalism”* was organised by the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The French side was represented by the National Secretaries and members of the Executive Bureau of the Socialist Party—R. Pontillon, M. Rocard, P. Bérégovoy, and the economic experts J. Attali and Ch. Goux. The Soviet side—by Academician N. Inozemtsev, Director of the Institute, Deputy Director I. Guriev, chiefs of departments A. Anikin, O. Bykov and V. Lyubimova, and other research workers of the Institute.

The Colloquium, which proceeded in a constructive and friendly atmosphere, discussed a wide range of issues connected with the aggravation of the economic, social and political contradictions of capitalism.

* *The first meeting of Soviet and American psychologists was held by delegations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the US National Academy of Sciences*. The Soviet delegation was headed by B. Lomov, Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; the American delegation—Professor

D. Luce, Member of the US National Academy of Sciences.

At the meeting a protocol was signed on cooperation for 1977-1980. It provides for the holding of symposiums and seminars on psychological problems of interest to both sides.

* More than three thousand scholars from 80 countries took part in the *21st International Psychological Congress* in Paris. The Soviet delegation of 43 members was headed by Professor B. Lomov, Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The 39 symposiums and 38 thematic sessions discussed questions related to general, experimental, social, engineering, age and child psychology, the psychology of teaching, pathopsychology, the history of psychology, etc. A distinctive feature of the Congress was the interest displayed in the methodological problems of psychological science.

The 22nd International Psychological Congress will be held in 1980 in Leipzig.

* *A Finnish-Soviet seminar on “Problems of the Origin of the Karelians”* was held in Joensuu (Finland). The reports made at the Seminar considered this problem from the point of view of history, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography.

The following questions were of particular interest to the participants in the Seminar: Did the Karelians emerge from one single tribe that had long since inhabited the Lake Ladoga area, or did they come into being as a result of the fusion of several ethnic groups? From what parent language or linguistic elements is the Karelian language derived and for how long has it existed? What contribution did other tribes, primarily the

Vepses, the Finns and others make to the formation of the Karelian tribe?

The Soviet side at the Seminar was represented by scholars of the Language, Literature and History Institute of the Karelian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk.

* *A scientific conference, "The 25th Congress of the CPSU on the Tasks of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples"*, was held by the Diplomatic Academy and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The main reports were: "On the Tasks of Training Diplomatic Personnel in the Light of the Decisions Passed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU" by Professor I. Zemskov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR; "The Impact of World Socialism on the Development of the Present International Situation" by O. Rakhmanin, D. Sc. (Hist.); "The 25th CPSU Congress on the Enhanced Role of the Newly Liberated Countries in World Development" by E. Primakov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; "Soviet Diplomacy's Disarmament Effort in the Light of the Decisions Passed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU" by V. Issraelyan, D.Sc. (Hist.); and "Soviet Diplomacy in the Struggle to Resha-

pe International Economic Relations" by E. Obminsky, D. Sc. (Econ.)

After these reports, the Conference continued its work in three sections: "The Socialist Countries' Struggle for a Solution to the Urgent Problems of International Relations", "The CPSU's Course Towards Developing and Deepening Foreign Economic Ties", and "Current Problems of International Law in the Light of the Documents Adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU". Twenty-eight reports were heard and discussed in these sections.

* *The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences passed a resolution on awarding Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi the degree of Doctor Honoris of the USSR Academy of Sciences* for her works on problems relating to the economic, social and political development of the newly free countries, and to the problems of international relations.

During her official visit to the Soviet Union Mrs. Gandhi met representatives of the Soviet public. At a meeting under the chairmanship of the Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V. Kotelnikov, she was presented with the diploma of Doctor Honoris.

* *By decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour has been conferred on the journal "Voprosy istorii" (Problems of History) for its contribution to historical science.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Социалистическое общество. Социально-философские проблемы современного советского общества. М., Политиздат, 1975, 343 стр.

Socialist Society. Socio-Philosophical Problems of Present-Day Soviet Society, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 343 pp.

Written by staff members of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, this book deals with the theoretical problems of developed socialism, with the laws of its growth into communism and with the mechanism of their operation and application. Presenting socialism in a broad historical aspect, the authors interpret it as a new type of social progress and a stage of the conscious historical activity by people who master the laws of social development.

This approach has predetermined the book's composition. Socialism is regarded as the embodiment of scientific theory in practice, as an integral social system, as a reality created by the people, as a society with a new way of life. Socialism's humanistic essence is the keynote of the book. In the chapter devoted to the socialist way of life the authors show the growth of the people's requirements and how these requirements are met; they examine the qualitatively new, creative features in the work of Soviet people and in the socio-political sphere.

They note that socialism's present-day maturity is consonant with the

social maturity manifesting itself in the work of the masses. Underlying this conclusion is a profound analysis of the development level achieved by the productive forces, the relations of production, the social structure, politics, the administration system and ideology. One of the merits of this book is that in all the processes it deals with it singles out their qualitative aspects, the main trends of social development and the new phenomena and features in the life of the people.

There are, in our view, some debatable points. One concerns the material prerequisites of socialism that take shape under capitalism. They should hardly be assessed as a means of resolving the social problems confronting the capitalist society. It is well known that the conversion of agricultural labour into a form of industrial labour, the electrification of production and everyday services, the technical training of large numbers of people and so forth take place only to the extent that meets the interests not of the working people but of capitalist production.

This book is virtually the first study of present-day socialism attempted on such a broad and comprehensive scale. It traces the achievements of world socialism, its essential features and the problems of its continued growth, and gives a well-argued rebuff to "Left" and Right attacks on socialism.

V. Strogov,
D. Sc. (Philos.)

П. Н. ФЕДОСЕЕВ *Диалектика современной эпохи*. М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 576 стр.

P. N. FEDOSEYEV, *The Dialectics of the Contemporary Epoch*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 576 pp.

The book under review is a fruitful attempt at a philosophical generalisation of new phenomena and tendencies in social reality and of the achievements of modern science, which are of the greatest importance for the development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Its main purpose is to analyse the universal operation of the laws of materialist dialectics, which were substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to bring out the specific features of their expression in our day.

The author considers a broad range of questions in a consistent, logical and coherent analysis, which goes to confirm the authenticity and historical correctness of the Marxist-Leninist dialectics and its effectiveness in revolutionary practice. While considering the various aspects of dialectics and drawing a distinction between them whenever this is required for the purposes of his analysis, the author considers these in their interaction and unity.

Indeed, it is the comprehensive dialectical approach to the philosophical analysis of the concrete problems raised by modern science and practice that enables the author to formulate strictly scientific and well-grounded propositions.

He produces a deep-going and comprehensive analysis of the biological and the social, of social being and consciousness, of the nature of social relations, and the conjunction of social and individual interests under socialism. His examination of

the Leninist stage in the development of Marxist philosophy goes hand in hand with a consideration of the problems of humanism, internationalism, and patriotism, the criteria of social progress and of the role of the working class and the Communist parties.

The reader is attracted by the clear-cut orientation of the study upon the practical requirements of Soviet society and the state. Let me note, in this context, the consideration of the questions concerning the organisation of production and the management of the national economy, and the dependence of the success in economic management on the cognition and application of the objective laws governing the development of the socialist economy. Here we find a clear expression of one of the most valuable qualities of the work under review, namely, the consideration of theoretical and practical tasks as a unity, and the coherent philosophical and concrete scientific approach to the phenomena being analysed.

The author believes that one of the main conditions for the successful development of present-day social sciences is their interaction and mutual enrichment and the use in the analysis of social problems of the whole complex of modern scientific achievements, including the advances in the natural sciences, but warns about the danger of a break between the various levels of knowledge within the framework of each science.

Practical importance attaches to his conclusion that communism not only goes to create the conditions for developing human capabilities but also vastly multiplies society's demand for capabilities and talents. One of the essential premises for fulfilling the tasks set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and one of

the main advantages of socialism in its historical competition with capitalism is its capacity to bring out and develop human capabilities, providing everyone with opportunities for the fullest self-expression in the service of the common cause.

The author highlights the advisability of making some changes in the system of scientific-personnel training. He points to the need further to rationalise higher and secondary school curricula in order to produce an optimal conjunction of professionalisation, general intellectual and cultural development and the upbringing of the individual; the need to foster among pupils and students the ability to enlarge their knowledge independently, and to find their bearings in the rapid flux of scientific and political information.

Almost all the issues considered in the book are now the subject of active ideological struggle. It is natural, therefore, that in considering the

problems of dialectics on the strength of the latest data provided by science and social life, the author subjects the views of our ideological adversaries to profound and well-reasoned criticism.

Of course, it was impossible in a monograph dealing with such a broad range of problems to consider each as circumstantially as the next, especially because such fundamental philosophical works are designed not only to integrate and generalise what has been done in science, but also to orient scientists upon outstanding problems. P. Fedoseyev's work fulfils both these functions, which makes it possible to see it as a summing-up of a definite stage in the development of our philosophical thought, and also as a claim to fresh studies in this sphere.

A. Kharchev,
D. Sc. (Philos.)

С. Н. ЗАХАРОВ. *Расчеты эффективности внешнеэкономических связей (Вопросы методологии и методики расчетов)*. М., изд-во «Экономика», 1975, 223 стр.

S. N. ZAKHAROV, *Calculations of the Efficacy of External Economic Ties (Questions of Calculation Methodology and Methods)*, Moscow, Ekonomika Publishers, 1975, 223 pp.

The switch to broad international cooperation on a long-term basis, the diversification of external economic ties and the development of their comprehensive forms require the formulation of scientific methods to raise the level of economic substantiations and calculations. The book

under review is one of those in which this task is being tackled.

The author concentrates on the methods of measuring the efficacy of external economic ties. The author shares the view of those specialists who believe that such efficacy has as its criterion either the national income increment or the reduction in the socially necessary labour inputs determined by the results of foreign trade. The unquestionable advantage of this conception is that it provides for the unity of efficacy criteria both of social production as a whole and of the external economic ties in particular. It is well known, however, that external economic decisions are based not only on the consideration of economic, but also of political and social factors, and that in some instances the latter, in

effect, determine the priority of the lines and forms of economic cooperation.

The author is guided by the methodology formulated by the theory of economic efficacy of social production and capital investments. He says that the basic principle underlying the methods for determining the efficacy of foreign trade is to compare the macro-economic inputs into the manufacture of export products with economies from imports obtained as a result of the country not having to make any inputs into the manufacture of import goods at home. This principle of comparing costs and benefits is consistently applied by the author, and this makes for the methodological unity of his approach to tackling various economic tasks.

S. Zakharov is a convinced advocate of consideration of the time factor in determining the economic efficacy of foreign trade and other forms of cooperation. He urges the need to use discounting to reduce to a single time element the macro-economic inputs and benefits in trade on credit, in establishing enterprises in the country with foreign credit, in the use of the credit forms of participation in construction abroad. The author's approach to this matter appears to be fully justified, because consideration of the time lag between inputs and benefits in determining efficacy is required for a correct reflection, in the calculations, of the dynamic processes going on in the national economy and the world economy, which it would be virtually impossible to simulate without discounting. This is especially true of long-term calculations.

The monograph contains methods for determining the efficacy of exports both through the additional

manufacture of export goods and under unmet domestic demands for such goods. The author considers in great detail various aspects of the efficacy of imports and commodity exchange operations, citing examples of efficacy calculations for exports of manufactures in exchange for exports of raw materials, imports of finished products and raw material for their production, and the formation of the structure of exports with the maintenance of the same capital intensiveness.

The author considers the question of the efficacy of the credit forms of external economic cooperation. He has worked out and applied in his calculations various methods for assessing the efficacy of trade on credit, providing extensive reference material which facilitates calculations. The monograph contains tables of a system of multipliers reflecting the credit terms, notably the period of credit maturity, and the terms of servicing the principal and interest. On the basis of these multipliers he then goes on to calculate the relative and absolute indicators of the efficacy of foreign trade operations on credit.

Zakharov also considers the efficacy of setting up enterprises in a country with foreign credit under product-pay-back schemes, and also participation in construction of enterprises abroad through the extension of credits. In both instances, the chief method of calculation is a comparison of the sum-total of revenue and foreign exchange receipts with the sum-total of inputs and foreign exchange expenditures reduced to a single time element.

While the author has worked out the methods for measuring the efficacy of foreign trade, I think that he has overrated the possibility of ap-

plying them to evaluating other forms of cooperation.

In my view, the determination of the efficacy of scientific and technical cooperation, specialisation and cooperation of production, and

foreign exchange and credit relations is a scientific problem in its own right, which requires special consideration both in theoretical and methodological terms.

V. Karavayev

И. С. АНДРЕЕВА. *Проблема мира в западноевропейской философии*. М., изд-во «Мысль», 1975, 223 стр.

I. S. ANDREYEVA, *The Problem of Peace in West European Philosophy*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 223 pp.

This book attracts attention chiefly by its subject, whose topicality is obvious in our epoch. The philosophical nature of the problem of peace is not very apparent at first glance. But the author convincingly shows that the history of this problem (the steady growth of its significance and, correspondingly, of the attention accorded to it in the history of philosophy) and its theoretical study (its increasingly deeper elaboration as a result of the changes in society's life and in connection with the evolution of philosophical views on social development) leave no doubt that peace is one of the cardinal questions of philosophy. Based on long years of study by the author who collected and examined a vast array of material, this book is the first in Soviet literature to present a Marxist approach to the views of eminent philosophers who made a more or less large contribution to the elaboration of the problem of peace. This broad panorama of views, put forward in different epochs from antiquity to our days, shows the profound changes that have taken place in understanding the problem of peace as such and of the ways of

resolving it; every effort to find a solution based on new historical experience sheds light on new elements of social reality and their link with the state of war or peace in society.

The author draws upon a wealth of new material, introduces little-known facts and information into scientific circulation and, where necessary, accentuates new aspects. In literature, for instance, one rarely finds mention of S. Frank and his *Kriegbüchlein des Friedens* (1539) in which, along with interesting ideas, the principle under which war crimes cannot be justified on the grounds that orders must be obeyed is substantiated for the first time. A lucid exposition of Frank's ideas will undoubtedly help to draw attention to this eminent personality in German humanism. Take another example: the author makes a profound and fruitful comparison between the theory of a social treaty and the problem of world peace. In connection with the idea of a treaty of perpetual peace put forward in the 17th century, the author examines the views of Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Penn and Komensky, and finds that a new element in the concept of peace of those days was the appeal to the theory of a social treaty, to the reason and rights of nations. Here the author writes of a book whose actual importance has not yet been appreciated. This is E. Crucé's *Le nouveau Cynée* (1623). Andreyeva convincingly argues that Crucé was the forerunner (and, pos-

sibly, the inspirer) of Grotius in substantiating the theory of natural right. In addition, Crucé initiated the idea of setting up an international agency for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. An interesting interpretation is offered of the problem of peace in the philosophy of Enlightenment. Much attention is devoted to Saint-Pierre's *Projet de traité pour rendre la paix perpétuelle* (1713-1715) which strongly influenced philosophers studying this question. True, here the author is somewhat carried away in writing of the views of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot and Helvétius as being chiefly a response to the ideas of Saint-Pierre. Attention is drawn by the thoughtful analysis of the attitude of British (Hume, Bellers, Priestley, Bentham) and German (Leibniz, Lilienfeld, Iselin, Lessing, Wedekind) enlighteners on this question.

The author deals at length with the views of Kant, showing that Kant's idea of the expediency of mankind's development coalesces with his teaching on the pure intelligence, and that his philosophy of history dovetails with his ethics. Andreyeva accentuates the significance of Kant's idea about objective laws leading to peace independently of the will of people, and also the fact that the contradictions inherent in society

are a factor moving mankind towards peace.

The theories of peace propounded by the Utopians of different epochs, including the forerunners of Marxism, are considered in a separate chapter. This separation of the Utopians from other philosophers is convenient, of course, but can hardly be justified. Considerable interest is attracted by the critical analysis of the solutions to the problem of peace suggested in modern bourgeois religious (Schmidt, Johnson) and atheistic (Russel, Jaspers, Toynbee and others) philosophy.

The concluding section of the book enunciates the solution of the problem of peace from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory which Leonid Brezhnev called the philosophy of peace.

This book reveals the socio-historical, class roots of the concepts of peace propounded in different epochs and also the untenability of present-day non-materialistic interpretations of these concepts.

By and large, this book fills a substantial gap in our philosophical studies and is unquestionably of great scientific interest.

V. Boguslavsky,
D. Sc. (Philos.),
N. Khorev,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.)

Методологические аспекты исследования биосферы. М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 455 стр.

Methodological Aspects of the Study of the Biosphere, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 455 pp.

The study of the interaction between society and nature has today reached a stage where the problems and viewpoints that have emerged

have to be systematised and generalised. A work in which this task is set is this collection of articles prepared by the Academic Council for Philosophical Problems of Modern Natural Science at the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The opening article written by Corresponding Member of the USSR

Academy of Sciences V. Afanasyev deals with problems of controlling nature in the age of the scientific and technological revolution. The author emphasises that the present scale of man's influence on nature creates the danger that the dynamic equilibrium in the biosphere may be upset and requires an approach to the interaction between society and nature from the angle of a rationally organised exchange between matter and energy. Socialism creates the possibility for rationally organising the interaction between society and nature.

Academician E. Fyodorov examines the socio-political aspects of the interaction between society and the natural environment. The present ecological situation is characterised by a discrepancy between society's requirements and the planet's limited resources. In the bourgeois social consciousness, the author notes, the recognition of this discrepancy has led to the emergence of eschatological, finalistic concepts of "ecological pessimism". However, the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution allow surmounting this sort of discrepancy. These achievements and the prospects for further scientific and technological progress hold out the hope that the ecological problem will be solved. The rational use of these achievements in the sphere of the interaction between society and nature is hindered by social factors, notably by spontaneous social development which is intrinsically linked with the capitalist mode of production. The surmounting of this trend in the process of the world's revolutionary transformation allows making effective use of scientific and technological progress to eliminate the ecological threat.

Academician P. Kapitsa devotes

his article to an analysis of global scientific problems of the future, particularly the ecological problem, in which the author singles out three basic aspects: the technico-economic aspect linked with the exhaustion of the planet's natural resources; the ecological aspect proper linked with the violation of the dynamic equilibrium in nature; and the socio-political aspect. The author believes that fundamentally it is possible to resolve these issues, although considerable effort is required to promote science and technology and to organise the interaction between society and nature rationally. For instance, he writes that the problem of the exhaustion of natural resources and the pollution of the environment may be solved by improving the technology of using raw materials and introducing closed technological cycles. He notes the great difficulty in solving the social aspect of the ecological problem, namely, the creation of social conditions ensuring such development of science and technology that would not upset the equilibrium between civilisation and nature and threaten mankind with catastrophe.

G. Hilmy characterises the present situation as one of transition from the primary biosphere which did not in its development experience considerable anthropogenic influences, to the biotechnosphere, in whose development anthropogenic factors play a substantial part. This requires the elaboration of scientific models of the biosphere that would adequately show its specifics and the essence of the processes taking place in it. Hilmy notes that an exhaustive concept of the biosphere cannot be expressed in the language of any single system and for that reason it is possible to evolve only a system of individual concepts of the biosphere.

He analyses some of these individual concepts: biogeochemical, whose principles were formulated by Vernadsky, biocenological, cybernetic, thermodynamic and geophysical.

Academician S. Shvarts writes of the ecological principles of protecting the biosphere. In his opinion, the protection of the biosphere is a broader concept than the protection of its components defined by the term "natural resources". It is vital to protect also those elements of the biosphere that are not utilised directly by man but whose existence maintains the biosphere's equilibrium and facilitates the optimal course of its cycles. The solution of this problem requires serious study of the main blocks of the biosphere—biogeocenoses—in all their diversity of type.

An article by Academician A. Berg, B. Biryukov and E. Markova examines the role of the methodology of intricate systems in the solution of problems of the biosphere. The authors note the significance of the cybernetic approach to the solution of the problems arising from the interaction between society and nature that allows interpreting both the biosphere and the social organism as intricate systems.

Optimisation of the biosphere is the subject of an article by I. Novik who believes that the present ecological situation is evidence that the production of material wealth developing on the basis of the maximum remaking of nature and satisfaction of man's needs can play an anti-biogenic role, upsetting the natural optimal conditions in nature, conditions in which man exists and outside which he cannot exist. For that reason the task of production must be the optimisation of the biosphere, in other words, its remaking in such a way as would not upset but only add

to the range of factors favourable to man's existence. In this context the problem arises of neutralising the chaotic effects of human practice, this being an important factor optimising the biosphere.

A. Yablokov's article is devoted to the methodological aspects of the relations between man and the animal kingdom. Since the evolution of man took place among a great diversity of living species, this diversity must be preserved as far as possible. The author believes that to achieve this it is necessary to modify the principles underlying the economic exploitation of the animal kingdom—to abandon hunting as an obsolete form of using the natural wealth of the animal kingdom and go over to the utmost cultivation of this wealth.

Cosmological aspects of the interaction between man and nature are treated in the articles by A. Tursunov and L. Fesenkova. In particular, Tursunov notes that at the present level of knowledge a geocentric study of the biosphere as a closed system isolated from cosmic processes, is no longer adequate. Fesenkova, on the contrary, analyses the importance of the geocentric approach to the study of the relation of life and reason to the cosmos. The problem of cosmic life and cosmic intelligence is not exhausted by the question of whether there is life and intelligence in the near and far cosmos; it also includes the question of Earthman's cognitive and practical attitude to these phenomena.

This collection is unquestionably a major contribution to the solution of the pressing problem of the interaction between society and the natural environment.

V. Vyunitsky,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.)

О. Д. УЛЬРИХ. «Третий мир»: проблемы развития государственного сектора. М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 247 стр.

O. D. ULRIKH, *The Third World: Problems of Development of the State Sector*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 247 pp.

The growth of the state sector is a natural tendency in the socioeconomic development of the newly liberated countries. The studies made in the 1960s and early 1970s by Soviet scholars on this subject have shown that the nature of the state sector depends directly on the class character of the state and on the alignment of political forces in it. Moreover, an increasing influence on the evolution of the multisectoral economy of the countries with differing social orientations and on the trend of development of their state sectors is being exerted by the processes taking place in the world.

Ulrikh's book deals precisely with the politico-economic and technoeconomic aspects of the state sector's activity, which the author takes to mean the funds, resources, assets and other components constituting the material basis of the state's participation in social reproduction.

Based on works by both foreign and Soviet economists, O. Ulrikh's monograph is a comprehensive study which attempts to sum up the results of previous researches into this problem and present its own conclusions and generalisations.

The book examines in detail the place of the state sector in the national economy of the developing countries, its main social and economic functions, and its formation. The author brings out the significant differences in the directions and methods of development in countries

of the capitalist and those of the socialist orientation. She has made a particularly detailed analysis of the problems of nationalisation and state capital investments.

The question regarding the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the development of the state sector is extremely important. As is known, within the state sector the productive forces are created which to some extent reflect their world level. In this connection of particular interest are the contradictions due to the fact that the developing countries, without having completed the phase of industrial revolution, have found themselves drawn into the current of the scientific and technological revolution, mostly brought from without. The domestic factors stimulating the utilisation of scientific and technological achievements in industrial development are as yet weak; their influence is restricted by the backwardness of the multisectoral economies. That is why the influence of the scientific and technological revolution is confined to the most dynamic sectors, primarily the state sector and, to a certain extent, the private capitalist sector. The author correctly emphasises the growing role of the state in the formation of a modern structure of the productive forces, for without its decisive participation a backward multisectoral society cannot adapt itself to modern equipment and new technology.

Ulrikh has paid due attention to the interaction of the state and the private capitalist sectors. She cites material to confirm the conclusion that in countries of the capitalist orientation, the stepping up of private capitalist entrepreneurship is due to various forms of state support. She carefully considers in this connection the importance of the so-called

development corporations, the credit mechanism and mixed companies.

On the other hand, proceeding from the content which the author puts into the category "state sector", a special analysis should have been made, in our opinion, of the influence of foreign capital, and of the "foreign resources" that are placed at the disposal of the state and to which political strings are often attached.

Dealing with the problem of the economic efficiency of the state sector, Ulrikh emphasises that it constitutes an important part of the theory of social reproduction and is of paramount significance to the practical activity of the state.

The book substantiates the principle of rational combination of national economic and micro-economic criteria in determining the efficiency of the state sector. This approach is quite logical and accords with the

urgent tasks of the struggle waged by the newly free countries for economic independence and social progress.

The author's theses on the heightened role of profitability and the rational distribution and utilisation of the incomes of state enterprises deserve attention. It is important to sum up the experience of the economic activities of these enterprises in countries of the socialist orientation. Without evading the difficulties and contradictions involved in economic growth, the author shows the successes achieved in the context of non-capitalist development.

Based on a wealth of factual material and on an assessment of the mechanism of economic management, Ulrikh's study contains many well-founded conclusions.

S. Tyulpanov,
D. Sc. (Econ.)

H. H. БОЛХОВИТИНОВ. *Русско-американские отношения 1815—1832 гг.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 623 стр.

N. N. BOLKHOVITINOV, *Russian-American Relations, 1815-1832*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 623 pp.

In this new book, which is a continuation of *The Formation of Russian-American Relations, 1775-1815* (1966), the prominent Soviet historian N. Bolkhovitinov recreates a detailed picture of the development of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between Russia and the USA, voices some interesting opinions on the issues considered, and introduces some little known facts and archive documents.

The period from 1815 to 1832 was one of those periods which might have doomed Russia and the United States to extreme estrangement. On the one hand, there was the newly emerged republican, capitalist United States with its class and historical antipathy towards the monarchic Old World; on the other, the anti-republican, landlord tsarist Russia, a dominant force in Europe. The USA, which had already begun to show expansionist leanings, was watching the global activity of both Russia and the Holy Alliance with growing suspicion. As the author points out, the conservative protective principles of legitimism and the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance, which in the early 1820s embarked on direct suppression of the revolutionary movement in Europe, and the proclama-

tion of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States on December 2, 1823, seemed to rule out the possibility of agreement and cooperation altogether.

But these factors by no means predetermined the behaviour of the two states. Mutual diplomatic efforts enabled them to avoid many seemingly inevitable conflicts.

The problems caused by the appearance of Russian settlements in North-West America which threatened to become at first an issue were later settled by two conventions signed in 1824 and 1825 by the two countries. The two sides also managed to find a common language in the Spanish-American issue, which at first sight could have given rise to nothing but sharp discord. Indeed, recognition of the independence of the rebellious Spanish colonies in South America contradicted the principle of legitimism, but the tsarist government took a realistic approach to the situation and acknowledged the existence of the new states.

The author gives an account of the trade ties between Russia and the USA, of the trade agreement concluded in 1832, noting that commercial contacts helped to strengthen their relations in general.

To be sure, the relations between the two countries were by no means idyllic. The author describes the concrete circumstances that determined the reciprocal as well as the limited nature of their interests. Cautioning against simplified notions, he writes that both sides had never fought against each other, and that on the whole their relations developed in a favourable direction. This does not mean, however, that between Russia and America there had never been differences and con-

traditions, made all the more complicated by the difference in their socio-political systems. To ignore class contradictions, to exaggerate the "sincere" and "forgotten" friendship between the tsars and the presidents, as some contemporary writers do, is as far from the truth as saying that there had been an "eternal hostility" between Russia and the USA.

N. Bolkhovitinov draws attention to the divergencies, disputes, mutual suspicions, and to the differences in approach and in the very political thinking of the two very dissimilar partners, shows the considerable ideological differences and the mutual bias of Russian and American politicians.

Relations between two countries consist not only in official contacts, but also in more direct contact between the two societies through the press, the arts, science, personal meetings of their citizens, etc. The author shows that despite the great difficulties of communication in the period under review, such intercourse did exist, and that it produced a definite positive effect. A section of the American public came to have a better understanding of the Russian people. Progressive circles in Russia for their part acquainted themselves with information about the distant bourgeois republic, and even relied to a certain extent on its social experience when drawing up projects of democratic reforms for their own country.

This historical account of the social contacts between Russia and the USA is very timely because it gives the lie to the reactionary fabrications of the opponents of détente that the Russian and the American peoples have throughout their history been strangers to each other and are

therefore incapable of mutual understanding.

The attentive reader, after having read the book will be right in concluding that the experience of the past is not on the side of those who count on disrupting the multiplying and diversified contacts between the

USSR and the USA. This experience, which has been analysed by N. Bolkhovitinov from scientific positions, testifies that the ties between the two countries tend to grow rather than dwindle.

Yu. Oleshchuk

Г. М. БОНГАРД-ЛЕВИН, А. В. ГЕРАСИМОВ. *Мудрецы и философы древней Индии. (Некоторые проблемы культурного наследия)*. М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 340 стр.

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN, A. V. GERASIMOV, *The Sages and Philosophers of Ancient India (Some Problems of the Cultural Heritage)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 340 pp.

Visitors to ancient India from other parts of the world were amazed at the profoundly original scientific and philosophical conceptions developed by its people. For a long time, biased views expressed by bourgeois scientists in the West made it hard to produce an objective evaluation of the Indian philosophers' contribution to world culture, and many achievements of India's civilisation were regarded as having been imported, while now and again the very use of the term "civilisation" with respect to ancient India was questioned. It is also very important to consider the problems of that great country's cultural heritage because many achievements of

ancient India's civilisation have become an integral part of life in present-day India and continue to be an inalienable part of its national culture today.

It is one of the basic tasks of Soviet oriental studies to show, on the strength of concrete facts, the true place of India's culture in mankind's progress, and to evaluate on merit its remarkable achievements in various spheres of material and spiritual culture. That is the aim of the authors, well-known Soviet Indologists, who have produced a profound analysis of India's cultural development processes, showing the vast achievements of its science, art, philosophy, philology and medicine. An important aspect of their work is an analysis of the materialist tendencies in the development of India's philosophy, and its struggle against the idealist schools.

There was good reason for ancient India to be known as the "Country of Sages". This has once again been very well brought out by this meaningful work by the two Soviet scientists.

Academician
M. Korostovtsev

А. Ф. ЛОСЕВ. *История античной эстетики. Аристотель и поздняя классика*. М., изд-во «Искусство», 1975, 775 стр.

A. F. LOSEV, *A History of Ancient Aesthetics. Aristotle and the Latter-Day Classics*, Moscow, Iskusstvo Publishers, 1975, 775 pp.

This is the fourth volume in a series (Volume One—1963; Volume Two—1969, and Volume Three—1974) dealing with an age which is thousands of years away but which in essence is profoundly modern, both in attitude, methodology and methods of analysis and conclusions. The modern spirit of the book springs from the fact that it is intrinsically oriented against formalism and any kind of closed abstract, logistical constructions, whether in theory or in aesthetic practice.

The book is permeated with social analysis and the historical approach, which is expressed in the fact that the author has sought to understand ancient aesthetics as a specific and unique stage in mankind's aesthetic consciousness.

The author concentrates on Plato who is dealt with in every volume beginning from the second, and this is not surprising because his constructions, scattered without any system throughout his numerous writings, embody the inexhaustible and contradictory world of the heyday of the classics of Ancient Greece. These have been used to structure virtually all the speculative ideological systems of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and Modernity. The author reaches the conclusion that the whole of the lofty body of Platonic ideas springs from the most profound discord and disruption of socio-historical relations and the great specimens of aesthetic

development, that Plato's aesthetics is profoundly tragic, and that his doctrine of ideas contains not only beauty and loftiness but also all the terrestrial monstrosities. But the author also shows the abiding value of Plato's doctrine of beauty.

Aristotle's aesthetics is fully presented in this book as a system together with its details, categories and terms. One essentially novel element is that the author writes about the two main principles of Aristotle's aesthetics which no one has yet clearly formulated, namely, the principle of expression and the principle of probability.

The first of these deals with the external, material expression of the internal content of an aesthetic object, which exerts an influence on us and transforms our being. The second principle, which is the most specific for Aristotle's aesthetics, treats of the aesthetic subject which is ideal and material at one and the same time, but is simultaneously not only ideal and not only material.

The work under review is not only historico-philosophical but also philological. And that is so not only because the author examines various questions of the history and theory of literature, of literary criticism, or analyses in great detail the aesthetic features of Homer's poems, and the poetry and drama of Ancient Greece. That is so because the author is concerned with questions of style, poetic language, the lexical specifics of the various works, and also questions of textology and even of the theory and practice of translation. In this multiplicity of problems he finds his bearings with remarkable ease, seeking in his own way to show the dialectical nature of the thought of the Ancient Greek philosophers.

I. Nakhov,
D. Sc. (Philol.)

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NEW BOOKS: AN ANNOTATED SELECTION

(All books mentioned in this section have been published in Russian)

Philosophy

V. P. Kuzmin, *The Principle of the Systems Approach in Marx's Theory and Methodology*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 247 pp.

The book deals with Marx's contribution to the elaboration of the principles of the systems approach and systems conceptions of the functioning of society. In this context, the author considers three groups of problems: Marx's emphasis on systems knowledge as a stage in theoretical cognition; his discovery of systems properties as a fundamentally new class of qualitative certainties; his concept of society as a system.

S. I. Kuzmin, *Lenin's Invaluable Legacy. Quests and Discoveries*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 191 pp.

Every newly discovered document is important for an all-round and profound study of Lenin's legacy. Who and how collected Lenin's documentary legacy in the USSR and abroad, what documents are still to be found and what is known about them, in what directions search is being continued—these are the questions covered in the book.

The Scientific and Technological Revolution. General Theoretical Problems, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 207 pp.

The collection deals with the theoretical and methodological problems of research into the scientific and technological revolution whose substance is brought out in accordance with the conception of the revolutionary change in society's productive forces.

Contemporary Capitalism and the Working Class: a Critique of Anti-Marxist Conceptions, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 260 pp.

In this book the emphasis is on a critical analysis of the interpretations put by some bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians on various processes and phenomena for the purpose of "refuting" the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the proletariat's place and role in capitalist society.

V. I. Kasyanenko, *Developed Socialism: Historiography and Methodology of the Problem*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 170 pp.

The author sums up the latest Soviet writings on developed socialism and considers the methodologi-

cal problems and prospects for the further study of this subject.

The Socialist Way of Life and the Contemporary Ideological Struggle, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 350 pp.

The book has been prepared by the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It gives a scientific summing-up of the present state of research into various aspects of the socialist way of life. It has been written by a large group of philosophers, sociologists, economists, ethnographers and specialists in other social sciences to bring out the problems in the way of life in the light of the contemporary ideological struggle. They criticise the bourgeois conceptions of the "quality of life", "style of life" and "mass culture", concentrating on a presentation of the main features and advantages of the socialist way of life.

B. N. Pyatnitsyn, *Philosophical Problems in Probabilistic and Statistical Methods*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 335 pp.

The monograph considers the process of cognition from the standpoint of the need to eliminate the uncertainties which are inherent in the object of cognition for various reasons. The author shows the growing importance of the use of subjective probability in modern science, and deals with a broad range of philosophical and historical questions.

Essays on the History of Russian Ethical Thought, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 400 pp.

The book sheds light on the main lines of Russian ethical thought from

the 10th to the 19th century, and contains a critical analysis of the idealistic doctrines of morality, showing the futile efforts by present-day bourgeois writers to borrow theoretical propositions from Solovyov, Berdyayev and Bulgakov whom they claim to have been representatives of the "true" Russian spirit. The authors show the importance of the forward-looking traditions of Russian ethical thought in shaping the Marxist doctrine of morality.

History

A. D. Goncharov, P. I. Lunyakov, *Lenin and the Peasantry*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 190 pp.

On the basis of Lenin's works, reminiscences, and archive and other sources, the authors show how Lenin, relying on the experience of the masses, determined the most important lines of the Communist Party's policy in the countryside. The book sheds light on Lenin's activity in working out and implementing the Party's agrarian programme, and in consolidating the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

I. I. Rostunov, *The Russian Front in the First World War*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 387 pp.

This is an analysis of the activity of the agencies of the strategic command in preparing and conducting the war, with emphasis on the problems arising from the coalition strategy and the role of the Russian front in the war. The author makes use of a wide range of sources, including archive material, published documents and memoirs.

T. Bartenyev, Yu. Komissarov, *Thirty Years of Good-Neighbourhood (On the History of*

Soviet-Finnish Relations), Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1976, 256 pp.

The book is devoted to the development of Soviet-Finnish relations in the postwar period, with special accent on an analysis of the operation of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of April 6, 1948, and contemporary problems in the relations between the USSR and Finland.

A. I. Vdovin, V. Z. Drobizhev, *The Growth of the Working Class of the USSR. 1917-1940*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 264 pp.

The authors show the growth of the working class and the qualitative changes in its social structure. They draw attention to the socio-psychological aspect of the development of the Soviet working class. They make use of reminiscences, workers' letters, sketches about workers and other sources which enabled them to show the growth of socialist consciousness among the workers.

A. V. Likholat, *The Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR in Building Socialism*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 368 pp.

This is one of the first monographic works dealing with the subject on the scale of the whole Union and showing the establishment of friendship among all the big and small nations in the country at the main stages in the development of the Soviet state, from the Great October Revolution to the adoption of the 1936 Constitution.

Realisation of the Principles of Internationalism in the CPSU's Nationalities Policy, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 342 pp.

The authors show the class approach to the solution of the

national question and its subordination to the main goal of the working people, the endeavour to build communism. The authors also show the deepening of internationalisation in the social sphere of Soviet society.

Economics

Yu. M. Krasnov, *From Confrontation to Cooperation. Problems in the Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the Capitalist and the Socialist Countries of Europe*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1976, 199 pp.

The author shows the switch by the capitalist countries, as a result of the international détente, from discrimination against the socialist countries to an expansion of trade with them and the arrangement of new forms of cooperation, like cooperation in production and scientific and technical exchanges. He analyses the premises for such exchanges, which arise from the advance of the scientific and technological revolution and the growing economic strength of the socialist community countries.

The Environmental Problem in the World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 359 pp.

An analysis of the environmental problem from the standpoint of its place in international affairs, the sources and consequences of the ecological crisis which is characteristic of the capitalist countries, and an analysis of the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation of the use of natural resources. The authors emphasise subregional and worldwide programmes of cooperation in environmental protection.

Competition of Two Systems, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 435 pp.

Another issue of the collection appearing under the subtitle *The Economy of Socialism and the World Economy*. A large part of the analysis deals with the deepening general crisis of capitalism and a critique of present-day bourgeois politico-economic conceptions.

Socialist Integration: Process of Development and Improvement, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 334 pp.

A description of the further deepening and improvement of cooperation among the CMEA countries in the key sectors of the economy, especially in planning, and a characteristic of their multilateral integration measures, together with an analysis of the problems in the specialisation and cooperation of production among the socialist countries.

M. V. Barabanov, *Changing Structure of the Final Social Product in the Leading Capitalist Countries*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 268 pp.

The author takes the USA, Japan, France and Great Britain as his examples in analysing the most important structural changes in the final social product in connection with the intensification of the capitalist economy, with special attention to the accumulation of the material fixed capital and non-material wealth (science, education, public health) as factors helping to save labour.

M. S. Lantsev, *Social Security in the USSR. Economic Aspect*, Moscow, Ekonomika Publishers, 1976, 143 pp.

The author shows the substance of social security as an economic category and analyses its role and place within the system of distributive relations under socialism. He also considers the interconnection between the payments coming from the social security funds and remuneration according to labour, and the economic efficiency of inducing pensioners to go on working.

N. S. Sachko, *The Time Factor in the Soviet Economy*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 206 pp.

The author considers the socio-economic aspects of time under the scientific and technological revolution, with special attention to the impact of economic laws on the time factor, and in this context, on the efficiency of social production.

Political Sciences. International Relations

Ernst Henry, *New Notes on Recent History*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 435 pp.

The book contains articles and pamphlets on acute problems in contemporary international political affairs, exposing the enemies of peace and setting out well-reasoned criticism of the overt and covert advocates of reaction. The collection also contains many portrait sketches, among them of Engels, of the leading group of the Narodnaya Volya organisation, of Georgi Dimitrov, Rosa Luxemburg, Dzerzhinsky and Chicherin.

European Security and Cooperation: Premises, Problems, Prospects, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 302 pp.

The authors consider a large range of problems in the present-day development of Europe, emphasising the idea that the foundation for the

changes in its fortunes has been provided by the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

A. E. Yefremov, *Nuclear Disarmament*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1976, 302 pp.

The author shows the history of the peace forces' struggle to ban nuclear weapons from the early post-war years to the present day and sheds light on the most important agreements achieved on the way to ending the nuclear arms race. The author gives much attention to the Soviet-American negotiations on limiting strategic nuclear armaments.

I. G. Usachov, *The Soviet Union and the Disarmament Problem*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1976, 191 pp.

A monograph on the Soviet Union's struggle for disarmament in the context of the concrete international situation and in close connection with the multi-faceted activity of Soviet diplomacy.

Present-day Bourgeois Theories of International Relations, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 486 pp.

The book contains an analysis of the main theoretical propositions put forward by major bourgeois schools in the USA, Great Britain, France, the FRG and Italy, and a consideration of some particular methods used in research into international relations with the aid of logico-mathematical methods.

R. A. Ulyanovsky, *Essays on the National Liberation Struggle*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 478 pp.

The author concentrates on the developing countries which have taken the socialist orientation, among them Algeria, Guinea, the

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Burma, Congo, Iraq, Somalia and Tanzania.

Sociology. Law

V. G. Afanasyev, *Social Information and the Governance of Society*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 408 pp.

The author considers the substance and specific features of social information, gives a classification of information and its sources, and shows the role of information in government, and above all in the formulation and adoption of decisions. He gives a detailed analysis of information systems, and also describes the experience gained in setting up such systems in the USSR and the prospects for their development. He shows the decisive role which man has to play in information and control systems.

A. N. Leontyev, *Activity, Consciousness, the Individual*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 302 pp.

This is a methodological work, and the author's main aim is to comprehend the categories which are most important for structuring a consistent system of psychology as the science of the origination, functioning and structure of the psychic reflection of reality and the processes of the individual's activity.

Psychological Problems in the Social Regulation of Behaviour, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 368 pp.

A collection containing an analysis of various factors governing human behaviour, such as legal and moral standards, value systems, requirements, social orientations, etc. A consideration of general methodological questions in the social determination of individual be-

haviour in various groups and collectives, of the psychological mechanisms in the operation of social rules and the interaction among men in different social groups.

A. I. Titarenko, *Anti-Ideas. An Essay in Socio-Ethical Analysis*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 399 pp.

The author gives a critique of some reactionary ideas in present-day bourgeois sociology and counters their "anti-ideas" with the Marxist approach to moral quests and conflicts: problems in overcoming solitude, the notion of happiness, the value and aim of life, love, and so on.

V. N. Menzhinsky, *The Non-Use of Force in International Relations and the Disarmament Problem*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 293 pp.

The author examines how the principle of non-resort to force exerts an influence on the progressive development of contemporary international law, showing the struggle being carried on by the USSR and other peaceloving states against imperialist aggression, and for scrupulous and undeviating observance of this principle.

V. D. Sorokin, *The Method of Legal Regulation. Theoretical Problems*, Moscow, Yuridicheskaya literatura Publishers, 1976, 142 pp.

The author substantiates the conception of the single method of legal regulation which is determined by the single subject-matter of legal regulation, with much attention to the structure of the method, its systems elements and the procedural forms in which the legal method is realised.

A. A. Mishin, *The Constitutional Law of the USA*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 207 pp.

A monograph analysing US Constitutional Law as a system of legal rules regulating the exercise of state power on the federal and state level. The author gives special attention to a critique of bourgeois apologetic conceptions of the US constitutional mechanism.

Philology

New Phenomena in the Literature of the European Socialist Countries. Fiction Writing in the Early 1970s, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 239 pp.

A collection of articles on the literature of Hungary, Bulgaria, GDR, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, giving a picture of the state of the novel, the leading literary genre, and showing the topics and problems in modern prose and its specific aesthetic features.

Ya. S. Lurye, *All-Russia Chronicles of the 14-15th Centuries*, Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 283 pp.

A monograph on the chronicles dating from the period of the unification of North-Eastern Rus and the formation of the centralised Russian state, suggesting that the chronicles of the 14-15th centuries were a flourishing genre of Russian secular writing.

Yu. V. Mann, *The Poetics of Russian Romanticism*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 375 pp.

The author brings together verse, prose and plays to consider the poetics of Russian Romanticism throughout the first three decades of the 19th century, analysing the romantic writings of Pushkin,

Baratynsky, Lermontov, I. Kozlov, Ryleyev, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, N. Polevoy, M. Pogodin, Veltman and others. The problem of conflict is the pivot round which the author groups and through which he shows the other specific features of the poetics of romanticism.

V. Skvoznikov, *Realism of Lyrical Poetry. The Formation of Realism in Russian Lyrical Poetry*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 368 pp.

An attempt to find the specific marks of lyrical poetry as a creative method and to show the historical origins of the realistic mode of using imagery to bring out the lyrical thought in Russian poetry.

G. Ya. Dzhugashvili, *The Algerian French-Language Novel*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 141 pp.

A detailed analysis of the Algerian French-language novel and an examination of the fusion of European and national literary traditions in such novels, and also of the formation and specific features of Algerian prose written in French.

V. V. Ivanov, *Essays on the History of Semiotics in the USSR*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 303 pp.

The author analyses various problems in the use of computing techniques, mathematical methods, cybernetics and structural linguistic methods in studying various types of sign systems, and gives an analysis of the theory of the screen idiom.

The Development of National-Russian Bilingualism, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 368 pp.

A characteristic of the main spheres in which the national and Russian languages are used in Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Estonia and Buryatia, the present state of knowledge of the Russian language among

the local population, and the role of Russian in the life of these republics.

G. V. Stepanov, *A Typology of Linguistic States and Situations in Romance Countries*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 224 pp.

The author makes an attempt to formulate a conceptual apparatus which would make it possible to describe the external system of language and to define the types of linguistic situations in Romance countries. He considers the external system of language with respect to its internal structure and to social reality.

Ethnography. Archaeology

V. A. Alexandrov, *The Rural Commune in Russia (17th-early 19th Century)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 323 pp.

This is the first Soviet historiography of the rural commune in late feudal Russia, containing much archive material from the former central gubernias of the European part of the country as a basis for analysing the condition of the communes within the landed estates, their relations with the feudal lords and the role of the commune in the life of the Russian serfs.

E. G. Alexandrenkov, *The Indians of the Antilles Before the European Colonisation*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 231 pp.

The first Soviet work on the history of the native population of these Caribbean islands in the pre-Spanish period. The author has systematised the available historical, ethnographic and archaeological sources to present an overall picture of the culture and social relations of the aborigines in the West Indies before the arrival of the European conquerors.

N. A. Alexeyev, *Traditional Religious Beliefs Among the Yakuts in the 19th-early 20th Century*, Novosibirsk, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 199 pp.

A classification of Yakut religious beliefs and an analysis of the surviving early religious forms, together with a detailed characteristic of their hunting and other cults, the cults of the spirits patronising the family, and of the divinities patronising cattle-breeding and child-bearing, the cult of blacksmiths, and also shamanism.

Ethnic Processes in the Countries of South Asia, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 296 pp.

A monograph on the intricate and contradictory processes in the ethnic history and national consolidation of the peoples of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal. An extensive range of historico-ethnographic data is brought together to show the growing national self-awareness among the peoples of South Asia in the course of their anti-colonial struggle.

A. P. Okladnikov, *Neolithic Monuments of the Lower Angara. From Serovo to Bratsk*, Novosibirsk, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 328 pp.

The monograph is the final part of a fundamental work containing a description of the Neolithic monuments of the Angara in the area of the construction sites of the Irkutsk and Bratsk hydroelectric power plants, adding substantially to the overall picture of the life and culture of the ancient inhabitants in this part of the Baikal area.

Monuments of the Ancient History of Eurasia. Collection of Articles, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 272 pp.

The collection marks the 70th birthday of the well-known Soviet

archaeologist O. Bader, and the articles it contains deal with the various problems in the formation of human society (the Palaeolithic age) and the development of the forms of producing activity (the Neolithic age), the period of the formation of large-scale ethno-historical bodies on the territory of Eurasia (the Bronze and the Early Iron Age).

K. F. Smirnov, *The Sarmatians on the Ilek*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 176 pp.

A history of the early nomads on the left bank of the Ilek River, a southern tributary of the Ural River in VI-II centuries B.C. The book contains a complete publication of the materials obtained as a result of excavations in 1957, 1960 and 1961, and determines their place within the system of the Sarmat-Sarmatian nomad world in the southern area of the Urals.

A. M. Khazanov, *Scythian Gold*, Moscow, Sovietykh khudozhnik Publishers, 1975, 144 pp.

The author describes the art of the Scythians and also of the tribes of the Kuban and the forest-steppe area in the south of the European part of the USSR.

Regional Studies

V. V. Lyubimova, *France: State Regulation of Employment, Unemployment and Wages*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 248 pp.

The author analyses the forms in which the bourgeois state intervenes in relations between the employers and the wage labour, the main factors influencing the evolution of state measures in regulating the labour market in the 1960s and early 1970s, and examines the French version of the "incomes policy".

S. P. Peregudov, *The Labour Party in Great Britain's Socio-Political System*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 412 pp.

The monograph is a comprehensive and multi-faceted study of Great Britain's Labour Party, its mass basis, leadership, organisational structure, ideological and political conceptions, and of the main relationships taking shape within the party and between the Party and the "external" forces in the exercise of its main functions.

Present-Day Pakistan. Economy, History, Culture. Collection of Articles, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 231 pp.

The volume deals with the "linguistic revolt" in the province of Sind in 1972, the socio-economic transformations in the country, the reform of the educational system, the changes in the home and foreign policies of the state, and other questions. Most of the articles treat of the period following the 1971 crisis and the advent to power of Z. A. Bhutto's government.

M. V. Vorobyov, G. A. Sokolova, *Essays on the History of Science, Technology and the Handicrafts in Japan*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 231 pp.

A popular science essay on the development of mathematics, astronomy, medicine and the natural sciences, the basic branches of production, architecture and construction in Japan from ancient times to the mid-19th century, that is, until the Japanese came into contact with European science and technology and the start of scientific and technical changes. The development of science and technology is shown in the context of the overall social, political and historical conditions in Japan.

A. M. Khazanov, *Portugal's Expansion in Africa and the Struggle of the African Peoples for Independence. 16th-18th Centuries*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 320 pp.

The author traces the history of the formation of the Portuguese colonial empire, shows the predatory policy of the Portuguese colonialists and the disastrous consequences of this policy for the peoples of Africa. Much space is devoted to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, the State of Monomotapa and other African anti-colonial movements.

R. G. Landa, *The Algerian People's Struggle Against European Colonisation (1830-1918)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 307 pp.

An examination of Algeria's social diversity, the substance of the colonialist policy of assimilation, the "colonial dual power" of the metropolitan country and of the Europeans in Algeria, the relationship and objective role of the traditionalists and the Young Algerians, and the impact of the First World War on Algeria. The author also analyses the influence exerted on Algeria by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I. A. Yegorov, *Algeria's Socio-Economic Structure*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 152 pp.

The author considers the historical conditions of transition by the Algerian Democratic People's Republic to the construction of an independent national economy, with special emphasis on the origination of new forms of social production which determine the non-capitalist orientation of development.

M. F. Vidyasova, *The Working Class in the Social Structure of Tunisia*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 232 pp.

The author analyses the economic policy of the state and its impact on the shaping of social and economic relations, the main changes in the social structure of the population in the period of independence and the specific features of the formation of the country's industrial proletariat.

L. A. Avdyunina, *Present-Day Upper Volta. Reference Book*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 197 pp.

Here the reader will find the necessary information about the geographical position, natural conditions, ethnic and social composition of the population and the main stages in the historical development of that African country. Other fields covered by the author are the structure and development of agriculture, industry, transport, power engineering, foreign trade, education, science and culture.

A. I. Shtrakhov, *Argentina's War of Independence*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 431 pp.

This work shows that the May Revolution of 1810 and the War of Independence were a natural result of the social and economic development of the La Plata society.

B. P. Koval, *Brazil Yesterday and Today*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 175 pp.

The author familiarises the reader with a brief political history of Brazil, beginning with the movement for separation from Portugal at the turn of the 19th century and up to our day.

I. R. Grigulevich, *Francisco de Miranda and the Struggle for Independence of Spanish America*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 276 pp.

The author describes the life of a fighter for the liberation of the

Spanish colonies to mark the 160th anniversary of his death in torture chambers of the Spanish fortress of La Carraca.

Culture of Peru. Collection of Articles, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 379 pp.

This collection is the first comprehensive work giving an in-depth picture of the rich and many-faceted culture of Peru from ancient times up to the present.

V. I. Lan, *USA: From the Spanish-American to the First World War*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 368 pp.

This is the first part of a complex study—*USA in the Imperialist Period*—the purpose of which is to throw light on the historical basis of the US present-day home and foreign policy.

V. V. Zhurkin, *The USA and International Political Crises*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 326 pp.

This is an attempt to produce a comprehensive analysis of the main regularities and characteristic features of US policy in international crisis situations and to consider the evolution of its basic foreign-policy doctrines, and the mechanism of "crisis regulation".

Canada. 1918-1945. A Historical Essay, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 504 pp.

The book contains a generalisation of the main events in Canada's socio-political life from the end of the First to the end of the Second World War. The study is centred on the history of the Canadian people, and its working-class, trade-union and farmers' organisations. The author also gives much attention to the activity of the bourgeois parties—the Liberals and the Conservatives—and Canada's participation in the war against fascism.

REVIEWS OF FOREIGN BOOKS IN SOVIET SERIALS

Philosophy

Бунге М. *Философия физики*. Пер. с англ. Москва, 1975, 347 с.
Рец.: Бух Л. *Вопросы философии*. № 8, стр. 183-184.

Въпроси на историческия материализъм. Т. 1-2. София. Т. 1. Предмет, структура, категории и метод на историческия материализъм. Под общ. ред. П. Гиндева. 1969, 326 с. Т. 2. Социалното познание. Под общ. ред. С. Попова. 1975, 200 с.
Рец.: Анищенко А. *Научные доклады... Философские науки*. № 5, стр. 124-126.

Гиргинов Г. *Наука и творчество*. София, 1975, 342 с.
Рец.: Спиркин А. *Вопросы философии*. № 7, стр. 139-140.

Димов Д. *Идеологическият процес. Обусловеност и ефективност*. София, 1975, 297 с.
Рец.: Лейбин В. *Новые книги...* № 6, стр. 28-34.

Котарбинский Т. *Трактат о хорошей работе*. Пер. с польского. Москва, 1975, 269 с.
Рец.: 1. Васильков В. *Научные доклады...* *Философские науки*. № 4, стр. 114-117; 2. Чабан А. *Экономика Советской Украины*. Киев, № 5, стр. 90-91.

Структурализм: «за» и «против». Сборник статей. Пер. с англ., франц., нем., чеш., польск.

и болг. яз. Под ред. Е. Я. Басина, М. Я. Полякова. Москва, 1975, 468 с.

Рец.: Борев В. *Вопросы философии*. № 6, стр. 182-183.

Finocchiaro M. *History of Science as Explanation*. Detroit, 1973, 286 pp.

Рец.: Панченко Т., Шубаков А. *Вопросы философии*. № 8, стр. 139-141.

Foster D. *The Intelligent Universe*. London, 1975, 191 pp.

Рец.: Бирюков Б., Добраев В. *Новые книги...* № 7, стр. 41-46.

Griechische Atomisten. Texte und Kommentare zum materialistischen Denken der Antike. Übers. und hrsg. von F. Jürss, R. Müller, E. G. Schmidt. Leipzig, 1973, 704 S.

Рец.: Вернер Ю. *Вестник древней истории*. № 3, стр. 168-169.

Hinz H. *Filozofia Hugona Kołłątaja*. Warszawa, 1973, 346 s.

Рец.: Сарна Я., Маецки З., Казин П. *Научные доклады... Философские науки*. № 4, стр. 118-120.

Hrzal L., Netopilik J. *Ideologický boj ve vývoji české filosofie*. Praha, 1975, 376 s.

Рец.: Карпов Г. *Новые книги...* № 6, стр. 40-44.

Metodologia del conocimiento científico. Redacción general: P. N. Fedoseev, M. R. Solveira,

G. Ruzavin. La Habana, 1975, 445 p.
Рец.: Горский Д. *Коммунист*. № 12, стр. 127-128.

Novak L. *Zasady marksistowskiej filozofii nauki*. Warszawa, 1974, 293 s.

Рец.: Берков В., Матусевич Е. *Научные доклады... Философские науки*. № 5, стр. 120-123.

Schacht R. *Hegel and After. Studies in Continental Philosophy Between Kant and Sartre*. Pittsburgh, 1975, XVIII, 297 pp.

Рец.: Зуев К. *Новые книги...* № 7, стр. 50-55.

Smart J., Williams B. *Utilitarianism: for and against*. Cambridge, 1975, 155 pp.

Рец.: Мельвилль Ю. *Новые книги...* № 6, стр. 45-48.

Vadée M. *Gaston Bachelard ou le nouvel idéalisme épistémologique*. Paris, 1975, 304 p.

Рец.: Сахарова Т. *Вопросы философии*. № 9, стр. 151-154.

Wojnar-Sujecka J. *Myśl, działanie, rzeczywistość. Studium o światopoglądzie socjalistycznym Jean Jaurès'a*. Warszawa, 1976, 286 s.

Рец.: Ранко С., Казин П. *Новые книги...* № 8, стр. 30-35.

History.

Auxiliary Historical Disciplines

Дюкло Ж. *Бакунин и Маркс. Тень и свет*. Пер. с франц. Москва, 1975, 462 с.

Рец.: Ударцев С. *Новая и новейшая история*. № 4, стр. 175-177.

Кравчук П. *Українці в історії Вінніпега*. Торонто, 1974, 168 с.

Рец.: Фурсова Л. *США...* № 8, стр. 98-100.

Летопис за живота и дейност-

та на Димитър Благоев. Т. II. 1904-1924. София, 1975, VIII, 775 с.
Рец.: Чернявский Г. *Новые книги...* № 8, стр. 68-73.

Лиддел Гарт Б. *Вторая мировая война*. Пер. с англ. Москва, 1976, 679 с.

Рец.: *Вестник противовоздушной обороны*. № 7, стр. 95.

Aght' Amar. Milano, 1974, 113 p. (Documenti di architettura armena, N 8).

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OUR GLOSSARY

SOCIAL SCIENCES—one of the main departments of scientific knowledge; the aggregation of the sciences about man and society.

The social sciences are a system of all the areas of knowledge reflecting the interconnection between the elements of the internal structure of society; of its economic basis and its political and ideological superstructures; the laws governing the origination and development of society and various aspects of social life. The social sciences include the sciences of man, his formation, development, and activities, of human communities (classes, nations, and so on) and relations among them, and of material and spiritual culture.

The social sciences embrace philosophy, sociology, history, economics (political economy), economic geography, political sciences, law, philology (literary criticism and linguistics), art criticism, psychology, ethnography, archaeology, pedagogics, and some other sciences.

HISTORISM (historicism)—a key aspect of the dialectico-materialist world outlook, an approach to objective reality in the process of its scientific analysis and practical transformation as it changes and develops in time (with development regarded as a universal property of matter).

The substance of Marxist historicism is that all things and phenomena, whatever sphere of the existence of the objective world they belong to—nature, society, thought—are regarded as being the product of a definite historical development (that is, from the standpoint of their origination and evolution to their present state, in interaction with other things and phenomena, in a concrete historical situation. Lenin wrote: "The whole spirit of Marxism, its whole system, demands that each proposition should be considered (α) only historically, (β) only in connection with others, (γ) only in connection with the concrete experience of history" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 250).

The principle of historicism is the methodological basis for studying problems connected with the use of social experience, the lessons of the past and contemporary social practice, and also with a definition of man's expected perspective, a principle which is inseparable from the recognition of the objective character of the laws of historical development and of the irreversible and continuous nature of the changes taking place in nature, society and thought.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)—an expression in market prices of the aggregate value of the goods and services consumed by the population, of government purchases, capital investments, and the balance of payments remainder. The GNP is usually calculated on the basis of consumption and not of production or distribution, which is why it covers indirect taxes and the sum-total of the non-production services, but fails to take account of government subsidies and material inputs (raw and other materials, fuel, and so on).

In size and structure, the GNP differs substantially from the Gross Social Product (GSP), one of the key indicators adopted in the socialist countries' statistics, which represents the value of the material goods produced by society within a given period, and which is calculated as the sum-total of the gross product of the branches of material production: industry, construction, agriculture, forestry, freight transport, communications (that part of them which caters for material production), material and technical supplies, procurement of farm produce, trade and public catering and certain other types of productive activity.

Because of the distinctions between the GNP and the GSP, comparisons of the dynamics and structure of the economy of the socialist and the capitalist countries are made on the basis of the national income (at comparable prices) following appropriate recalculations. In accordance with the method adopted in the USSR, this is done by 1) subtracting the depreciation of fixed assets and indirect taxes from the GNP, and 2) non-production services (that is, the double count of incomes in this sphere) are subtracted from the national income obtained from the first operation, which usually reduces the national income by 25-30 per cent.

CULTURAL LEGACY—the cultural values (material and spiritual) of earlier generations and socio-economic formations.

The cultural legacy is an aspect of *continuity*, that is, of the objective and necessary connection between phenomena in the process of development, between the new and the old, when the new, "obliterating" the old, retains some of its elements (an expression of one of the essential features of dialectics: *the law of negation of the negation*).

Every socio-economic formation has its own type of culture as a historical entity, with each new formation inheriting the cultural accomplishments of its predecessor and incorporating them within the new system of social relations.

Lenin noted the existence of two cultures within each people's culture. When considering the period of modern history, he emphasised, in particular, that apart from the *dominant* culture (in this case, bourgeois culture), "the *elements* of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in *every* national culture, since in *every* nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 24).

Analysing the question of proletarian culture, Lenin noted that it could be built only on the basis of a knowledge of the culture produced by mankind's whole development, only on the basis of a reworking of that culture (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, p. 462, in Russian).

Under socialism, in the course of the socialist cultural revolution, exchanges of accumulated material and spiritual values between socialist nations become especially intensive; simultaneously, the cultural treasure-house of each nation is also enriched with the cultural accomplishments of other nations.

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