

MAR
1972

Form 2.50

DATE

DISCARDED

SOCIAL SCIENCES

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1973
LIBRARY

- Fifty Years of the Soviet Union—a Single Multinational State
- Location of the Productive Forces in the USSR
- Economic Problems of Developed Socialism
- Scientific Management of Soviet Society
- The Main Lines of Research in the Social Sciences
- Dialectics: the Soul of Marxism
- Ideology and Some Aspects of Culture
- Nationalism and the Class Struggle in China's Modern History
- On Language Universals
- "Awakening of the East" as a Historical Process

3 | 1972

USSR ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

3(9)

1972

USSR ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES,
DEPARTMENT OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

*Published Quarterly in English,
French and Spanish*

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Philosophy • History

Economics

Politics • Law • Sociology

Philology • Psychology

Ethnography • Archaeology

CONTENTS

To the Reader 5

50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

N. Podgorny	Fifty Years of the Soviet Union—a Single Multinational State	7
	Documents on the Formation of the USSR	23
N. Nekrasov	Economic Policy and Location of the Pro- ductive Forces in the USSR	41
I. Dudinsky V. Afanasyev	Economic Problems of Developed Socialism Further Improvement of the Management of Soviet Society	55 69

Philosophy. History. Linguistics

P. Fedoseyev	The Main Lines of Research in the Social Sciences	82
B. Kedrov	Dialectics: the Soul of Marxism	105
Y. Vasilchuk	The Productive Forces Dialectics	117
V. Shcherbina S. Tikhvinsky	Ideology and Some Aspects of Culture	135
	Nationalism and the Class Struggle in China's Modern History	150
B. Serebrennikov	On Language Universals	170

Problems of the Developing Countries

N. Simonia	"Awakening of the East" as a Historical Process	177
Y. Osipov	Third World: Debts and Interest	192
K. Tarasov	Monopoly Capital in Latin America and Specific Features of its Development	209

BOOK REVIEWS

N. Mor	<i>Uladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle, Vol. 2</i>	220
P. Kolonitsky	<i>Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy</i>	221
A. Petrovsky	M. Yaroshevsky, <i>Psychology in the 20th Century. Theoretical Problems of the Development of the Science of Psychology</i>	223
V. Korolyuk	<i>Races and Peoples. Ethnic and Racial Problems Today. Yearbook, Vol. I</i>	225
Y. Polyakov, A. Chubaryan	<i>History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR</i>	226
V. Androssov	<i>Contemporary History of the Working-Class Movement in the USA</i>	229
A. Chekhutov	L. Zevin, <i>New Tendencies in the Economic Cooperation Between the Socialist and Developing Countries</i>	231
A. Dridzo	R. V. Kinzhalov, <i>The Culture of the Ancient Mayas</i>	232
N. Vorobyova	<i>A History of Soviet Multinational Literature</i>	233
M. Koreneva	<i>Literary Criticism in the USA Today. Discussion of American Literature Problems of 20th Century American Literature</i>	235

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

Congresses. Conferences. Symposiums

B. Pugachyov	Current Problems of Socialist Economic Integration	237
K. Gorfan	Optimal Planning of the National Economy and its Management	239
A. Gorshenev	Forum of Soviet Social Scientists	240
Y. Ikonitsky	The National-Liberation Movement and the Struggle Against Anti-Communism	241
Y. Alexandrov	International Agrarian Seminar	242
R. Mirovitskaya	Current Problems of Soviet Sinology	243
G. Sevostyanov	All-Union Symposium on American History	245
I. Ledyakh	The Historic Significance of the Nuremberg Trial	246
V. Tumanov	World Congress on Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy	247
M. Piskotin	The International Congress of Administrative Sciences	249
V. Sadovsky	The International Congress for Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science	251
A. Bokshchanin	The International Congress of Chinese Studies	253
K. Osipova	The International Congress of Byzantine Studies	255
Y. Guzevaty	The Congress of the Pacific Science Association	256

* * *

I. Nazarov	Philosophical Society of the USSR	257
B. Lomov	New Scientific Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences	258
I. Serebryakov	Soviet Committee of Finno-Ugric Scholars	260
	The Series "Soviet Indology" Published in India	260

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reviews of Foreign Publications in Social Sciences in Soviet Scientific Journals (November 1971-January 1972)	262
New Books in Social Sciences Put Out by Progress Publishers	269
* * *	
Our Authors	270

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

GRIGULEVICH I. R., D. Sc. (History), Editor-in-Chief, Chairman of the Editorial Council; *ABOLTIN V. Y.*, D. Sc. (Economics); *CHKHIKVADZE V. M.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *GAFUROV B. G.*, Academician; *GVISHIANI D. M.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *KHACHATUROV T. S.*, Academician; *KHRAPCHENKO M. B.*, Academician; *KOMKOV G. D.*, D. Sc. (History); *KUMANEV V. A.*, D. Sc. (History); *LARIN V. Y.*, Member of the Novosti Press Agency Board; *OKULOV A. F.*, D. Sc. (Philosophy); *RYZHOVA R. I.*, Cand. Sc. (History), Executive Secretary of the Editorial Board; *SOBOLEV A. I.*, D. Sc. (Philosophy); *SOLODOVNIKOV V. G.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *TIKHVINSKY S. L.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *TIMOFEYEV T. T.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *VAKHRUSHEV V. V.*, D. Sc. (History); *VINOGRADOV V. A.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *VOLOBUYEV P. V.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *VOLSKY V. V.*, D. Sc. (Economics); *ZHILIN P. A.*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences; *ZHUKOV E. M.*, Academician.

Reprints authorised with due acknowledgement

For subscription apply to bookshops dealing with
v/o "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga", G-200, Moscow, USSR

"Social Sciences" Editorial Office, 33/12 Arbat, Moscow, USSR

To the Reader

The year of 1972 is crowned by a momentous event—the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The appearance of the USSR on the political map of our planet was the logical result of the socialist revolution in Russia. October 1917 marked the beginning of radical socio-economic transformations, the translation into life of Lenin's programme on the national question. On the territory of the former tsarist empire where peoples had struggled for centuries against social and national oppression there arose a voluntary community of free socialist republics.

Lenin played an outstanding role in the creation of the USSR. Creatively developing the ideas of the founders of Marxism—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—Lenin elaborated a coherent theory on the national question. The Leninist principles of the voluntary state union of equal nations were embodied in the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR adopted by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets on December 30, 1922 and later in the first Constitution of the USSR approved by the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets on January 31, 1924.

The community of interests of the working people of different nationalities who embarked on the path of building a new society, their desire for fraternal cooperation, their desire to unite their efforts in developing the economy, science and culture, in raising the people's well-being, defending their revolutionary gains from outside encroachments—all this was embodied in the creation of a united multinational socialist state.

In a short historical period the Soviet Union overcame the tremendous technological and economic backwardness—the legacy of tsarist Russia. Our country withstood the most trying historical ordeals, emerging from them even more united and powerful. Today the USSR is in the van of world progress, is the reliable stronghold of peace and international security, a tried and tested friend and support of the peoples fighting for national independence and social progress.

During the years of socialist construction a new historical community of people emerged—the Soviet people. It took shape on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, the unity of

50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*Nikolai PODGORNYY, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU,
President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet*

Fifty Years of the Soviet Union—A Single Multinational State

Half a century ago, on December 30, 1922, an epoch-making event took place in the life of our country: the First All-Union Congress of Soviets proclaimed the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet Republics voluntarily united in a federal state, formed a single family in order jointly to build a new, socialist society.

The state union of free peoples, unprecedented in the history of mankind, was made possible by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and of the public ownership of the means of production. The victory of the October Revolution initiated far-reaching socio-economic transformations and the practical implementation of the Communist Party's Leninist nationalities policy.

The Resolution of the CC CPSU "On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" clearly reveals the profound content and enormous significance of that epoch-making landmark in our country's history. The formation of the Soviet Union, the Resolution notes, became one of the decisive factors in establishing favourable conditions for the reconstruction of society along socialist lines, the advance of the economy and culture in all the Soviet Republics, the strengthening of the defensive might and international position of this multinational state of the working people.

In this momentous year marking the 50th anniversary of the USSR, every Soviet citizen is justly proud of the remarkable results of the creative efforts of the fraternal peoples and of the Communist Party, under whose leadership these successes were achieved. The building in our country of a developed socialist society is the result of the heroic efforts of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and working people of all nations and nationalities, who are closely rallied around the CPSU. "The multinational Soviet people," Leonid Brezhnev said, "demonstrate this monolithic unity by their labour and by their unanimous approval of the Communist Party's policy."¹

The 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is being celebrated by the Soviet people in an atmosphere of creative activity connected with the fulfilment of the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. The Congress provided

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 92.

their economic, socio-political and cultural life, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the basis of the friendship, fraternity and mutual assistance of the nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR. The experience of building a multinational state has fully confirmed the Marxist conclusion that the national question can be solved consistently only in the conditions of the socialist reconstruction of society.

Time has shown that the formation and development of the USSR is of tremendous international significance, is a significant landmark in the social progress of mankind. The building of a developed socialist society by the joint efforts of the Soviet people, the solution of the most complicated problems of the relations and cooperation of many nations and nationalities living in a single state—all this has now been recognised on a worldwide scale.

The series of materials on this jubilee date begins with an article by Nikolai Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, "Fifty Years of the Soviet Union—a Single Multinational State". After that, following a collection of documents on the period of the formation of the USSR, you will find articles analysing the rational distribution of the country's productive forces and their comprehensive development, problems of the economy of a developed socialist society and its scientific management. These subjects are discussed by Academician N. Nekrasov, I. Dudinsky, D. Sc. (Econ.), and V. Afanasyev, D. Sc. (Philos.). Our next issues will carry material on the results of national construction and social changes in the different classes of Soviet society in the 50 years under review.

Among the articles in this issue worth noting is the article by Academician Pyotr Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on the main trends in Soviet social sciences.

In the article entitled "Dialectics: the Soul of Marxism" Academician Bonifati Kedrov reveals the essence of Lenin's philosophical legacy. Other articles by Soviet scientists treat of the productive forces dialectics, of ideology and culture in capitalist society, of nationalism and the class struggle in China's modern history and of language universals. The issue closes with the usual sections: "Book Reviews", "Scientific Life", "Bibliography".

THE EDITORS

the Party and people with a clear and precise programme for domestic and foreign policy at the present stage. It defines concrete tasks concerned with the country's further development, with the building of the material and technical basis of communism, the further improvement of social relations, a considerable advance of the people's living and cultural standards, and the creation of conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual. The decisions of the Congress are in complete conformity with the aspirations of the Soviet people and progressives throughout the world. With the fulfilment of these decisions, the successful implementation of the tasks of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, a new great stride will have been made towards strengthening the multinational Soviet state, in its steady advance towards communism.

* * *

The formation of the USSR was the result of the strenuous, persistent work on the part of the Party and the Soviet Government, their diversified activity being directed at the implementation of Lenin's programme for the solution of the nationalities question, and the establishment and strengthening of fraternal cooperation between all nations and nationalities, the pooling of their efforts in the struggle to carry out socialist transformations. Five years after the October Revolution there resounded throughout the world the proud words of the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR: "Solemnly declaring the unshakeability of the foundations of Soviet power, as expressed in the Constitutions of the Socialist Soviet Republics, which have authorised us, we, the delegates of those Republics, on the basis of the authority vested in us, resolve to sign the treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."²

The path taken by the Soviet Republics towards a single union was not easy. However, the striving of the revolutionary working class, of the working masses of different nationalities towards an international fraternal union was stronger than the resistance of the class enemy, who had over a long period sown enmity between nations and nationalities, great-power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. Creating a union state, the peoples of the Soviet Republics understood that it offered a guarantee of freedom and independence, and defended them against encroachments by the imperialist powers.

Immediately after their emergence the young Soviet Republics established extensive links with one another. The tasks of the struggle against the domestic counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists, the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy, the need to pursue a joint foreign policy made it necessary to constantly strengthen these links, and for the fraternal peoples to help one another in every way. The need for a union of the Soviet Republics was emphasised with special force by the 10th Congress of the RCP(B) in 1921. The Congress's Resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Nationalities Question" considered the state union of Soviet

² *Congresses of the Soviets of the USSR, Union and Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. Collection of Documents in 3 volumes. 1917-1936, Vol. III, Moscow, 1960 p. 17 (in Russian).*

Republics as "the only means of salvation from the imperialist yoke and national oppression".³

The foundation by the republics of the USSR was the direct result of objective conditions. The main factors prompting the formation of a single state, the unification of the peoples into a single socialist family was a result of the identical class nature of the republics, the community of their aims, the very international character of the Soviets—the organs of power, which rallied around the working class the many-million-strong mass of the working peasants, all the working people of different nations and nationalities. The need to form this union of the republics was also due, Lenin noted, to the fact that the tendency towards the creation of a single socialist economy, one regulated by a common plan, became pronounced under socialism. All the republics became increasingly aware that, without a close union, it would have been impossible for them to successfully develop their economy and culture on a qualitatively new, socialist basis, and to improve the welfare of the working people.

The Russian Federation became the nucleus around which the Soviet peoples consolidated. The biggest industrial and cultural centres were concentrated here. The powerful Russian proletariat, steed in revolutionary battles, blazed the trail to the new society for all the nations and nationalities who had freed themselves of social and national oppression. Soviet Russia, by laying the foundation for fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Soviet Russia, was, as it were, the prototype of the Soviet Union.

The formation of the USSR is the result of enormous theoretical and practical work carried out by the Party. By creatively developing the ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Lenin worked out a clear, fundamental and consistent internationalist programme for the solution of the nationalities question even before the October Revolution. One of the main points in that programme was that of the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, including that of the cessation and the formation of independent states. Proceeding from the objective requirements for the progressive development of all nations, from the proletarian view on self-determination, the Party and Lenin always insisted that the solution of this question should in every concrete case take into account notably the interests of the working class's struggle. As early as 1915 Lenin noted that Communists do not seek economic fragmentation or idealise small states, but that they, on the contrary, wish to establish a large state and to draw nations closer together, and even to bring about a merger of nations on a genuinely democratic, genuinely internationalist basis, which is unthinkable without the freedom to secede.⁴

Taking into account the concrete historical conditions that shaped in Russia after the triumph of the October Revolution, Lenin elaborated the theoretical basis of socialist federalism, of a union built on principles of the equa-

³ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings, 8th Edition, Vol. 2, p. 250 (in Russian).*

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 413.

lity of nations and their voluntary union. "We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent."⁵ Lenin's work "To the Question of Nationalities or on 'Autonomisation'" was particularly important in solving the problem of the principles and the nature of the Soviet multinational federal state. In this work Lenin sharply criticised the "autonomisation" plan, the incorporation of the Soviet republics into the Russian Federation with the status of autonomous republics. Summing up the practical experience in the development of links between the independent Soviet republics, Lenin decisively insisted that their union in the USSR on principles of equality and voluntariness was the only possible way.

Lenin's idea of creating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which reflected the aspirations of the Soviet peoples, was enthusiastically supported by the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals; it gripped the minds and hearts of millions. The mass of the working people firmly and decisively came out in support of the union of equal Soviet republics. Relevant decisions were adopted by the Congresses of Soviets of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation (incorporating Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia).

The approval by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets of the Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the USSR crowned the Communist Party's and Lenin's truly colossal efforts directed at unifying the Soviet republics. In the message of greeting addressed by the delegates of the Congress to Lenin, the representatives of the fraternal peoples said: "Beginning its work, the First Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics sends its hearty greetings to Comrade Lenin, the honorary Chairman of the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR and the leader of the world proletariat." These warm, sincere words expressed the genuine admiration of the entire people and their unlimited trust in their leader, who stood at the cradle of this sole socialist federal state.

The Declaration and Treaty found their embodiment in the 1924 Constitution of the USSR, which legally confirmed the Leninist principles of a voluntary state union of equal peoples. This fraternal union later grew and became consolidated. The political, economic and cultural development of the nations and nationalities in our country forged ahead, new union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas were formed. The Turkmenian, Uzbek and Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics were established and incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With the adoption of the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia became Union republics and were directly incorporated into the USSR. Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, which had formerly comprised the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Republic, entered the USSR as independent members. In 1940, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, having re-established Soviet power, reunited with the family of Soviet nations in the Soviet Union. In the same year, fol-

⁵ V. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

lowing the reunion of the Moldavian people, the Moldavian Union Republic was formed and became part of the USSR.

"The formation of a multinational socialist state," the resolution of the CC CPSU emphasised, "is an outstanding result of the revolutionary creativeness of all the Soviet peoples, headed by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party."⁶ The working class, relying on the firm union with all the exploited sections of the population, took power into its own hands and headed the revolutionary transformation of former tsarist Russia, where class and national oppression had reigned, into a fraternal community of free peoples. The proletariat, headed by the Bolshevik Party, imbued the masses with a spirit of class, international solidarity, and was the main champion of unification. At all stages in the development of our state, the working class was always an extremely active, progressive detachment of the working people, the leading force in the socialist transformation of society. The close and steadily deepening alliance between the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the working intelligentsia forms the basis for the consolidation of the social, ideological and political unity of Soviet society, the flourishing and gradual drawing closer of the nations and nationalities in the country.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created on the basis of the free and extensive expression of the will of peoples who united voluntarily into a single fraternal family of equal sovereign Soviet republics. The USSR is a single multinational federal state, structured in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism. The time-tested principles of Soviet socialist federalism combine in the best possible way the interests of all the peoples of the USSR with the national interests of every one of them, ensure the steady advance of their economy and culture and the overall strengthening of their friendship. The stability of the Soviet multinational state, the strength of the socialist system and the friendship of the peoples have convincingly manifested themselves in their peaceful labour and during the grim years of the Great Patriotic War, when the USSR's might was put to an acid test. During the fifty years that have passed since the formation of the USSR the fraternal union of republics created by Lenin's Party has consistently developed and been consolidated; the economy and culture of the republics has flourished and Soviet national statehood has attained a standard of greater perfection. The inter-national links between the peoples of the USSR, their brotherhood, friendship and mutual assistance in a single multinational family have become the real basis of the Union Republics' sovereignty.

Every republic incorporated in the USSR on principles of sovereign equality actively participates in drafting the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy; every Union Republic has its organs of state power, its own Constitution and legislation, adopts the national economic plan and budget of the republic, and participates actively in the formation and activity of the supreme state bodies of the USSR.

⁶ *Pravda*, February 22, 1972.

The supreme representative organ of state power in the country—the Supreme Soviet—is made up of two chambers enjoying equal rights—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The two-chamber structure of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR makes it possible to reflect in the laws, national economic plans and the USSR state budget the common interests of all the peoples in the country, as well as the specific national interests of every one of them, to take into consideration the needs and aspirations of the Soviet peoples, and in every way promote a strengthening of their friendship and fraternal cooperation. All Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas are equally represented in the Soviet of Nationalities. The Constitution of the USSR provides for the representation of the Union Republics in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Government and the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Thus, the system and structure of the supreme state bodies of the USSR, the very state structure, make it possible to consider the interests of the Soviet Union as a whole and those of every republic in particular, organically to combine centralised management with the greatest possible consideration of local features and interests, to ensure the broadest development of the initiative of the Union republics and local Soviets. The population figure, territory, and natural resources differ in the various Union republics. Every one of them, however, contributes to the development of the country's productive forces. All republics fully enjoy the advantages provided by the union in a powerful socialist state, and equality in the political and legal respects. Figuratively speaking, all the republics are members of a single socialist family.

The 50th anniversary of the USSR makes it possible to sum the historical successes of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the implementation of the nationalities policy, and in the building of socialism and communism. Radical changes in all fields of life have been achieved in the republics as a result of far-reaching social transformations, industrialisation, the collectivisation of agriculture, and the genuine cultural revolution. Thanks to the concerted efforts of all the Soviet peoples, their joint labour, every republic now has a powerful industry, a well-developed agriculture, a high level of public education, science and culture. A powerful working class and collective farm peasantry have formed in these republics, and highly-skilled managerial personnel, scientists, engineers and artists have grown up there.

The fact that industry now accounts for more than 50 per cent of the gross social product in virtually all the Union Republics, and for more than two-thirds in some, testifies to their enormous economic advance. Particularly striking changes have taken place in the republics in the former feudal and semi-feudal borderlands of tsarist Russia. Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia have in the lifespan of a single generation turned into republics with a highly developed industry, a large-scale mechanised agriculture, and advanced science and technology. The economy and culture are also developing rapidly in the other Soviet republics, all the autonomous republics and regions, and the national areas.

The Programme of the CPSU, and the decisions of the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses attach major importance to further improving national relations, strengthening friendship and cooperation between the peoples of

our country, the overall comprehensive development of the economy in the Soviet republics, the correct combination of all-Union and republican interests, the strengthening of the might of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The economy of the USSR, uniting the economies of all Soviet socialist republics, is an interlinked, national, economic complex, developing according to a single plan as a result of the concerted efforts of all the peoples of the USSR. Now that the economic backwardness of some of the republics and parts of the country has been fully abolished and the former inequality of the peoples has been done away with, questions of further economic development are being resolved on a new basis. The main thing now is to bring about the economic advance of the country as a whole and of each individual republic through an all-out increase in the effectiveness of social production, the further development and improvement of economic relations and the system of management, while the material and technical basis of communism is being created. Experience has shown that economic progress in the USSR as a whole creates favourable conditions for the comprehensive economic development of every republic, for the most rational division of labour and strengthening of inter-republican economic links.

The USSR as a whole and all the individual republics are interested in the scientifically based distribution of the productive forces, the development in the republics of national economic sectors for which a corresponding raw material and production basis and labour resources are available. Specialisation and cooperation, which have, in view of the modern development of the socialist economy, become an objective necessity, help to raise labour productivity and the effectiveness of social production at a higher rate, and promote the further development and drawing together of the socialist nations and nationalities.

The CPSU and the Soviet state carefully consider the requirements of the individual republics and economic regions, and accordingly direct a large share of the investment resources, in keeping with national economic interests, to where they are most needed. This is promoted, in particular, by the redistribution of general state funds. A Union republic that has insufficient resources of its own to finance measures envisaged by the national economic plan, receives part of the all-Union revenues. Thus, the Law on the State Budget of the USSR for 1972 provides for a transfer to the state budgets of the Uzbek, Lithuanian, Tajik, Armenian and Turkmenian Union Republics of almost the entire amount of the all-Union turnover tax collected on their territories, while the Kazakh SSR is to receive 100 per cent of these funds and, in addition, a large donation (over 456 million roubles) from the Union budget.

The line adopted by the Party on the development of the economic initiative by the republics, along with the measures to strengthen the centralised planned management of the national economy, helps to develop the creative forces of all nations and nationalities, to strengthen their cooperation in advancing science and technology, and in creating the material and technical basis of communism.

The USSR is a wonderful example of the fraternal cohesion and close

mutual assistance that can exist between nations. The giant successes in the development of social production are largely due to the comprehensive exchange of material and spiritual wealth between nations, their mutual assistance and, notably, the selfless, generous assistance given by the great Russian people to the other peoples of the USSR. The peoples in the Union Republics share the fruits of their labour with their brothers. The building of big power-stations, factories, large-scale irrigation projects, the laying of oil and gas pipelines, is always a result of the concerted efforts of the working people of all the nations and nationalities in the country. Turksib and the Dnieper power-station, the iron and steel combine at Magnitogorsk and the Kuznetsk coalfields, the Karakum canal and the Bratsk hydropower station, the Volga and Kama motor works and other big national economic projects have become genuine schools of friendship among peoples. The achievements of the Soviet Union in developing the national economy and culture are the result of the efforts of all the Soviet republics, the heroic labour of workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, the working people of all nations and nationalities.

In the course of the socialist transformations, the Soviet peoples have made enormous strides in the cultural field. Now every republic has specialists for the various branches of the economy, scientists, writers and artists, who are contributing to the development of their national and world science and culture. Under the Soviet government more than forty nationalities have acquired a written language of their own. Every Union republic has an Academy of Sciences and a network of higher and specialised secondary educational establishments as well as scientific-research institutions. Enormous changes have taken place in public health: the republics have far-flung networks of out-patients' clinics, hospitals, and the number of physicians and other medical staff has greatly increased.

The building of a new society has introduced radical changes into the relations between nations and nationalities. Their joint labour, community of interests and aims under socialism has welded them together. The logical result of the development of the socialist system, its economic and socio-political basis, was the emergence of a new historical community of people—the Soviet people. The unity of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the interests of communist construction, the fact that the entire people regard the policy of the CPSU as their own and vital concern have become key factors in this process. Harmonious relations between classes, social groups, nations and nationalities, and socio-political and ideological unity are features typical of the multinational Soviet people. This is one of the prime advantages of the socialist system, an important source of the development of this society, a powerful motive force of social progress.

The cohesion of the Soviet people is based on the unity of the economic, political and ideological interests, the system of socialist democracy, the socialist way of life, that has asserted itself firmly in town and country, among all nations and nationalities. The spiritual unity of all the strata of our socialist society is cemented by Marxist-Leninist ideology. Devotion to the cause of communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, collectivism and socialist humanism, the high level of labour and socio-political activity,

conscious organisation and discipline, the refusal to put up with bourgeois ideology, and willingness and skill to continue to commensurate its activity with social interests—such are the wonderful traits of the Soviet people, the builders of communism. The further improvement of socialist social relations is closely linked with the implementation of the policy directed at the achievement of social homogeneity among the nations, the strengthening of their ideological unity, the development of common traits in their culture, morality and way of life. The Russian language, which has become the medium of communication between the various peoples of the USSR, plays a major role in drawing the Soviet peoples closer together, greatly promotes their cohesion and their mutual relations, and gives them access to the cultural achievements of the peoples of the USSR and world culture.

The Communist Party is constantly giving guidance to the processes which consolidate the social, political and ideological unity of society. Since the Party adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism, it embodies the unity and fraternal friendship of the equal peoples of the USSR, is the vanguard of the working class and of the multinational Soviet people as a whole.

Guided by the ideas of Lenin, the Communist Party is pursuing a course aimed at the further flourishing of the socialist nations and drawing them closer together. This logical process which is consistently progressing is the main line underlying the development of national relations in the USSR. As this is an objective process, the Party opposes all attempts to hasten or slow it down artificially, carefully takes into account the specific national features and international tasks of the fraternal union of the peoples of the USSR, and refuses to allow the specific national features to be ignored or given too much prominence. All questions concerned with national relations are resolved by the CPSU from positions of proletarian socialist internationalism. This policy corresponds wholly and completely to the objective requirements of communist construction.

The socialist state and the Soviets, a form of government created by the masses themselves and providing working people with the opportunity to participate in state management on the principle of extensive and consistent democracy and complete national equality, play an extraordinarily important role in strengthening the unity and cohesion of all the nations and nationalities in the USSR, in helping the peoples of the country to achieve their truly remarkable successes. The activity of the Soviets, the content of which is truly internationalist, is aimed at ensuring the all-out development of the economy and culture of all nations and nationalities, their fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. Uniting in its composition working people of different nationalities, the Soviets have at all the stages in the country's development been a school fostering ideas of brotherhood in the peoples.

The Party has always regarded the strengthening and development of the Soviet state in close connection with the task of increasingly drawing the masses into the administration of the country, and of steadily raising the creative activity and initiative of the working people. This is why the Communist Party, in implementing its line on the further development of socialist democracy, carries out extensive and diversified work to further improve the political orga-

nisation of our society as a whole, gives enormous attention to the activity of the Soviets of working people's deputies, the Soviet trade unions, the Komso-mol and other voluntary organisations.

Guided by Leninist principles, the Party takes insistent and consistent steps to intensify the work and further heighten the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from the efficiency of which the population often draws conclusions about the policy of the Soviet state and its democratic character. The rights of the local Soviets have been considerably extended, in keeping with the decisions of the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses. The authority of rural, village, district and city Soviets of working people's deputies have been fixed by legislation, and their material and financial basis is being strengthened. Measures have been taken to make the Soviet state apparatus more efficient, to draw ever more skilled people into it. The local Soviets exert considerable influence on the fulfilment of the decisions of the 24th Party Congress; they envisage the correct combination of the branch and territorial principles in planning, the proper distribution over the territory under their administration of industrial and agricultural enterprises, the maximum utilisation of local resources for the development of social production, and an increase in its effectiveness. The local Soviets play an ever greater role in coordinating and controlling the work of enterprises and organisations subordinated to different authorities, and this makes it possible to more efficiently dovetail their efforts aimed at the improvement of the living and working conditions of the population.

The wide range of activities carried on by the local Soviets enables them to exert a practical influence on all aspects of economic and cultural development and on improvement in the people's welfare. In the course of the socialist emulation for a befitting celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, many Soviets launched various patriotic initiatives directed at the successful fulfilment of the tasks set by the Ninth Five-Year Plan, at the quicker commissioning and better utilisation of productive capacities for the production of consumer goods, the preservation, the thrifty and correct use of the country's land resources, the provision of amenities to people in towns, villages and other settlements.

Developing socialist democracy, the Communist Party and the Soviet state seek to augment the role of the working collectives in every way. A working collective is the basic cell in our society. It not only creates material wealth, but also moulds new social relations and actively promotes communist education of the working people. The working collectives, notably workers' collectives, have always been the main champions of the international community between all working people, the brotherhood of the peoples of the multinational socialist country.

The correct combination of the principle of one-man management with the extensive participation of the working people in production management is an essential condition for strengthening the productive and socio-political activity of the working collectives. The Soviet manager is the authorised representative of the socialist state, of the Communist Party. He not only directs the productive activity of the collective, but also educates its members, is fully responsible for the creation in the collective of an atmosphere of comradely understanding

and of the desire to act in keeping with Party principles. A true manager must be demanding not only with respect to his subordinates, but also with respect to himself. He must be able to foresee not only the production and technical consequences, but also the moral and political outcome of the decisions he adopts.

The development of socialist democracy is indivisible from the strengthening of law and order and the socialist legal system. The Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws safeguard the national equality of citizens, fully exclude any limitation of their rights or the establishment of advantages on racial or national grounds.

The active, creative role of law as an effective means of managing the life of society, of implementing the policy of the Party and the state, reveals itself most fully in socialist society. The development and extension of socialist democracy, the management of the economy at a time when the scientific and technological revolution is forging ahead, the creation of the conditions for the unfolding in every way the individual abilities and potentialities, all this is in many ways connected with the further development of our legislation, and the strengthening of socialist legality.

While perfecting legislation, care is being taken to thoroughly preserve the time-tested legal principles worked out in the first years of Soviet power, which reflect the socialist character of our state. At the same time the laws adopted in recent years reflect the sweeping economic and social changes in socialist society, the new forms of socialist democracy typical of developed socialism. The democratic principles underlying the elaboration of legislative acts are being improved and the Standing Commissions of the Supreme Soviets have stepped up their activity. The practice of submitting draft laws to the working people for discussion is extending. Public opinion, the proposals of citizens, working collectives and scientific institutions are taken into account when bills are drafted.

The intensification of the legislative activity of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics has led to a substantial improvement of the legal control of relations in the national economic sphere, in the utilisation of the land and other natural resources, in the sphere of labour relations and state development. Purposeful systematic work is being carried on in the country to renew the obtaining legislation in order to make it correspond to the tasks of communist construction. Draft principles to underly laws on forest resources and on the mineral wealth as well as other draft laws are being drawn up.

Soviet legislation is giving special attention to the questions concerned with the status of the individual in socialist society, with the extension of the guarantees of the rights of the Soviet people. This is vividly reflected in the principles underlying the all-Union legislation and the republican codes, regulating civil, family, labour relations, the laws on health protection, the provision of pensions, the procedures used to consider proposals, statements and complaints made by citizens. Thus, the principles underlying the laws of the USSR and the Union Republics on labour and the republican codes have extended the guarantees of a citizen's right to labour, especially that of women. Women are guaranteed the right to work part-time and have been granted a number of

privileges such as extended additional guarantees to pregnant women and nursing mothers. A number of new propositions have been introduced in the principles of legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on marriage and the family, expressing the greater concern shown by the Soviet state for mothers, the education of the younger generation, and the strengthening of the family.

The development of statehood and the flourishing of the economy and culture in the Soviet socialist republics, convincingly demonstrates the correctness of Lenin's theories and of the Party's policy on the nationalities question and testifies to the triumph of Soviet socialist democracy. Socialism has secured a rich, full-fledged, free and happy life for all the nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union. At all stages in communist construction the Party has consistently done everything to strengthen the USSR in every way, to ensure the maximum possible use of all the existing forms of national statehood, to consolidate the unity of the peoples in the Soviet socialist state of the entire people. The Resolution of the 24th Party Congress on the Report of the CC CPSU points out that the Party will continue to unswervingly implement the Leninist line on strengthening the USSR, proceeding from the common interests of the Soviet state, and at the same time take into account the conditions of the development of each of its constituent republics, constantly working to promote the further flourishing of all the socialist nations and their gradual drawing together.

The Soviet Union is a single organism welded together by the community of its economic, cultural and spiritual life. Each of the Soviet republics can flourish and grow stronger only in the big family of fraternal socialist nations. That is why, in resolving questions concerned with improving the forms of national statehood, and also in other questions, arising in the course of the building of communist society, the Party has always sought to combine the interests of the republics and of the Union, the interests of every nation and nationality, with those of the Soviet people as a whole. This is one of the great advantages of socialism, one of the vivid proofs of the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism. In its activity the Party relies on Lenin's instruction that in all cases a fight should be waged "against small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest".⁷

Party and state bodies, and also scientific institutions should further study and thoroughly analyse problems concerned with national state development, the improvement of social relations and the development of socialist democracy. Soviet economists, philosophers, sociologists, lawyers and historians should make a larger contribution to the elaboration of the topical problems facing developed socialist society—its economy, social structure, political and legal superstructure, and spiritual life. Particularly important is a study of the multifarious processes connected with the drawing together of nations, with the Soviet people as a new historical community, with the problem of combining international and national interests, internationalist education and the struggle against hostile ideology.

In this connection it is very important for scientific research into questions

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 347.

of the construction of national statehood to avoid a one-sided approach, which is sometimes evolved by a narrow, limited view of national interests, an interpretation of national specifics in the narrow sense of the word. It is essential to realise that science must not confine itself to a description of phenomena, that it should intervene in life with greater daring, and deeply analyse the new phenomena arising in the present-day stage of communist construction.

The CPSU considers it necessary, in keeping with Leninist traditions, to fight against all manifestations of national isolation and narrow-mindedness, against customs and attitudes which interfere with communist construction. As the Resolution of the CC CPSU "On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" stresses, it is necessary to continue the insistent efforts to educate the working people in a spirit of deep respect for all nations and nationalities, and of the irreconcilability to all vestiges of nationalism and chauvinism, expressions of parochialism, consistently to adopt a strictly scientific class approach to the evaluation of the history of individual peoples.

The mutual enrichment of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR is of great importance to communist construction. The international basis of the culture of all the peoples of the USSR is developing ever more intensively, the revolutionary traditions of the builders of communism are growing richer. The most valuable artistic works, created in the Union republics, are becoming part of the culture of all the peoples of the USSR. The Party is adopting measures to improve, develop and intensify this process in every way.

Internationalist education is one of the central tasks of all Party, government, economic, cultural and voluntary organisations. By educating the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, the Party seeks to make people of all nations and nationalities understand ever more clearly that they belong to a single multinational Soviet people, that they should be proud of being citizens of the USSR, a great socialist power. Proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism help the Soviet people to organically combine their national feelings with feelings of fraternity for other peoples.

The Soviet Union's great achievements in the building of communism make ridiculous the attempts of the apologists of imperialism to weaken the tremendous force of the example set by the USSR and to belittle the importance of Soviet successes. By spreading all sorts of lies, imperialist propaganda seeks to sow doubt about the advantages of the socialist system, and the effectiveness of the solution of the nationalities question under socialism. Bourgeois ideologists spread ridiculous inventions, saying that the Soviet peoples are suffering from "discrimination" and "inequality", seek to blacken the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples in our country, to picture in a false light the nature of Soviet federation, and are not above distorting the facts and resorting to downright slander. Our class enemies are also not squeamish about organising direct subversive actions, ideological subversions against the USSR, seek to use some unstable elements for their anti-Soviet aims, endeavour to shake the monolithic unity and invincible friendship of the Soviet peoples. Particular zeal is displayed by Zionist organisations who conduct malicious campaigns against the Soviet Union and world socialism, organise provoca-

tions directed against Soviet representatives and citizens abroad, and poison the international atmosphere.

The national question is one of the main sectors in the political and ideological struggle in the modern world. Fighting against the progressive forces in the world, the imperialists seek to divide them, to use nationalism to weaken the positions of world socialism, and of the anti-imperialist front in general. The ideologists of anti-communism seek to revive nationalist vestiges in the USSR and other socialist countries, in order to undermine their social system, the fraternal cooperation of peoples, to split the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, and to split the forces of the national-liberation movement. This is why it is essential to be politically vigilant, to give a relevant evaluation and decisive rebuff to all hostile attempts to revive nationalist feelings and views. This is one of the key requirements based on the long experience of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

The fifty-year-long experience of the Soviet Union graphically demonstrates that socialist internationalism is viable and invincible. Originally emerging as an appeal for the proletarians of all countries to unite in the struggle to overthrow bourgeois rule, as a key principle in the ideology and policy of the working class, proletarian internationalism has, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, been laid down by the state as a law in the acts of the young Soviet Republic, which proclaimed the abolition of social and national oppression, the brotherhood and equality of all peoples, big and small. From the very beginning in the Soviet state proletarian internationalism was one of the main principles of its domestic and foreign policy. With the formation of the world socialist system this principle became the firm unshakeable basis of international relations of a new type set up between the socialist states. Close cooperation, equality, friendship and mutual assistance characterise the relations between the USSR and the fraternal countries. The joint efforts of the socialist countries will continue to increase the power and strengthen the cohesion of the socialist community, the prototype of the future world community of free peoples.

The extensive, comprehensive interaction of the fraternal countries in all fields, including that of material production, in the development of science and culture, multiplies the strength of socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties in the countries of the socialist community are consistently taking steps to strengthen the political and economic unity, and the cohesion of the socialist countries. The Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member Countries adopted by the 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, is permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism. Its implementation will play a major role in securing new victories for socialism and communism, in further raising the living standard of the working people, in strengthening the economic and defensive might of the world socialist system, in consolidating the international positions of socialism.

The Leninist domestic and foreign policy consistently pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet state is building up the authority of the USSR, strengthening the positions of socialism and of all progressive forces and is a serious factor in changing the international situation in favour of peace and

the security of peoples. The working class, the broad mass of the working people in different countries follow our successes, our experience with enormous attention. "They all look towards one star," Lenin said, "the star of the Soviet Republic, because they know that it made tremendous sacrifices in order to fight the imperialists, and that it has withstood the most severe trials."⁸

In the international field our country actively pursues a policy of peace and friendship between peoples, supports their struggle against national oppression, and for freedom and the implementation of their just rights and aspirations. Complete compliance with the radical interests of the Soviet people, of the working people of all countries makes for the great authority of Leninist foreign policy. In its Resolution of May 1972 on the Report by Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, on the international situation the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU noted that "the fundamental, consistent foreign policy of the USSR falls in with the vital interests of the Soviet Union, world socialism, the national-liberation movement, actively helps to establish principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and to rebuff the aggressive policy of imperialism".⁹

A distinctive feature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is its consistency, the indissoluble connection between the principles proclaimed and the measures taken for their implementation. This applies in equal measure to the first years of Soviet power, when the ideas proclaimed in Lenin's Decree on Peace were immediately reflected in the concrete deeds of the young Soviet Republic, and to our days, when the programme of the struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, put forth by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, is embodied in the actions of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The struggle for peace and the prevention of a new world war is in the interests of all peoples. The Soviet Union and its friends and allies have and always will decisively oppose the aggressive policy of imperialism, no matter where it manifests itself—in Indochina, the Middle East, in Europe, Africa, Latin America or other parts of the world.

In firmly rebuffing aggressive imperialist encroachments, the Soviet state proceeds from the assumption that every people, big or small, has the inalienable right to decide its own fate without intervention and pressure from outside. That is why the Soviet Union actively supports the struggle of peoples for freedom and social progress, for the final abolition of colonialism, for national independence, and for the removal of all forms of national inequality and oppression.

Fulfilling its internationalist duty, the USSR will continue to give the developing states comprehensive assistance, enabling them to overcome the grim consequences of their colonialist past, and helping them to build a new life. The peoples of many developing states are implementing important socio-economic transformations with the active cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, while some of them have adopted socialist orientation. The USSR helps the newly-free national states to strengthen their economic

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 390.

⁹ *Pravda*, May 20, 1972.

and political independence from imperialism and to create conditions for their progressive development.

In its relations with capitalist states the Soviet Union undeviatingly adheres to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Our country has always worked for the more extensive practical application of this principle, seeing that it is objectively necessary for the maintenance of business ties between socialist and capitalist states, and the only possible alternative to a world thermonuclear war. At first the imperialists did not even wish to hear about this principle and sought to strangle the Soviet Republic by force, but the logic of subsequent development, the growing might of world socialism is increasingly compelling them to reckon with this principle.

The Soviet Union is persistently fighting to make humane principles and norms prevail in international life, in the relations between states and peoples. We, Communists, seek to realise the ideal expressed in Karl Marx's well-known statement, to the effect that "the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals", should become "the rules paramount in the intercourse of nations".¹⁰

* * *

The 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is being marked by the multinational Soviet people, rallying firmly around its Communist Party, in an atmosphere of great political and labour enthusiasm. Workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, and all the working people in our country are resolved to translate the great plans outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU into reality. The peoples of the Soviet land see the wonderful results of their merger in the USSR, and are aware of the great possibilities the unshakeable union of the peoples holds out in future. The great anniversary of the Soviet multinational state is another vivid demonstration of the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and of the policy of the Communist Party. The monolithic unity and the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet peoples are a guarantee of our future victories in communist construction.

¹⁰ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 16, p. 11 (in Russian).

Documents on the Formation of the USSR

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end for ever to the oppression and inequality of all the nationalities in Russia. The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, adopted by the Council of People's Commissars—the Soviet Government—on November 15, 1917 (New Style), proclaimed the principles of the Soviet nationalities policy: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to free self-determination up to and including secession and the establishment of independent states, the abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, and so on. National state building was embarked upon and a number of Soviet Republics were formed still in the years of the socialist revolution and the Civil War. Their voluntary military and political union, without which they would not have succeeded in upholding their freedom and independence (see Documents Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5), was welded in bitter battles with the forces of internal and external counter-revolution. This union was given legal confirmation in a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the supreme organ of power, and in a number of acts adopted by congresses of the Soviets and by the governments of the Soviet Republics. They united even more closely with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic established on the federation basis (see Document No 1), which was the "prototype of the USSR"¹. After the end of the Civil War the movement of the Soviet peoples for unification entered a new phase: their military and political union was supplemented with economic union. This was formalised in the agreements concluded in 1920-1921 between the RSFSR and other Soviet Republics. At the Genoa Conference (April 1922) the Soviet Republics presented a united diplomatic front. Defence of the gains of the socialist revolution against internal and external enemies, rehabilitation of the economy which was completely dislocated, and the building of socialism, imperatively dictated state unification of the Soviet Republics. "In recognising that federation is a transitional form to complete unity, it is necessary to strive for ever closer federal unity,"² Lenin wrote.

The agreements concluded at the time regulated the relations between the

¹ *On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Resolution of the CC CPSU of February 21, 1972, Moscow, 1972, p. 8 (in Russian).*

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 147.

Soviet Republics only in a general way. But the demands of life gradually introduced their amendments. On June 8, 1922 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR with the agreement of the Contracting Republics instructed the State Planning Committee of the RSFSR to draw up an economic development plan for all the Soviet Republics. A single federative financial policy was pursued. Guided by the decisions of the 10th Congress of the RCP(B) held in 1921 that common interests "imperatively dictate the state union of the individual Soviet Republics",³ and by their vital needs, the working class and the working peasantry of the whole country unanimously supported the movement for unification. In the spring of 1922 the Political Bureau of the CC CP(B) of the Ukraine decided to give concrete expression to the relations between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR, to define more exactly their rights and duties. The Political Bureau of the CC RCP(B) thereupon set up a commission on May 11, 1922 which arrived at the conclusion that discussion of this question should not be confined to the two Republics, and proposed that all the Union Republics discuss the nature of their relations. In the summer of the same year this question was examined by the Party bodies of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasia.

On August 10, 1922 the Organisational Bureau of the CC RCP(B) set up a commission composed of representatives of the Soviet Republics to draft material for the next plenary meeting of the CC RCP(B) on the relations between the Republics. Lenin criticised the commission's first draft which contained the idea of "autonomisation" and proposed a different solution: the voluntary unification of the Soviet Republics, including the RSFSR, in a new state formation, that of a Union of Republics on the basis of their full equality. The commission's new resolution, based on Lenin's proposals, was adopted by the plenary meeting on October 6, 1922.

Meanwhile the movement for unification was gaining momentum throughout the country. In October 1922 at the third session of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee an inquiry was made on behalf of the delegates of the Kiev, Kharkov and Donetsk gubernias about the relations of the Ukrainian SSR with the other Soviet Republics. The existing treaties, stated the inquiry, did not cover the whole complex of relations between the Republics; on a number of questions they acted, to a certain extent, according to established custom and not according to firmly established constitutional norms. The All-Ukraine CEC unanimously declared for unification of the Soviet Republics in a single Union (Document No. 7). The November Plenary Meeting of the CC RCP(B) (1922) formed a commission to study the procedure of unification of the Soviet Republics. As a result of its work a draft of the Fundamental Points of the Constitution of the USSR was drawn up, which was adopted at its meeting of November 28. On November 30, 1922 the Political Bureau of the CC RCP(B) approved the draft and sent it to the central Party bodies of the Transcaucasia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The decisions of the Central Committee Commission on preparations for the 1st Congress of Soviets of the USSR were discussed, together with the Fundamental Points of the Constitution, by the Central

³ *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the CC*, 8th Ed., Vol. 2, p. 250 (in Russian).

Committees of the Communist parties of the Soviet Republics and their Constitutional Commissions and served as the basis for the proceedings of the Republican congresses of Soviets.

The attention of the 7th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets (December 10-14, 1922) was centred on the unification of the Soviet Republics. The Congress adopted the corresponding decision (Document No. 9) and proposed to the Republican Congresses of Soviets "to convene the All-Union Congress after the All-Rus[sia] Congress of Soviets has concluded its work".⁴

In numerous resolutions and mandates of the local congresses of Soviets, meetings of city Soviets and their executive committees the working people of Byelorussia supported Lenin's idea of state unification of the Soviet Republics. The mandate of the Minsk Soviet stated that the formation of the USSR "would create still stronger ties between the Soviet Republics, preserving at the same time the influence of each Soviet Republic on the affairs of the entire Union".⁵ The 4th All-Byelorussia Congress of Soviets (December 14-18, 1922) declared for the formation of the USSR (Document No. 11).

The movement for state unification spread also in the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics. The 2nd Congress of Soviets of Armenia (November 29-December 3, 1922) passed a resolution supporting the formation of a Union of Republics. Similar resolutions were passed by the congresses of Soviets of Abkhazia and Adjara. The 1st Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets (December 10-13, 1922) emphasised the economic and political expediency and the vital necessity of unification of the Soviet Republics into one federal state. The Congress carried a resolution on the formation of the USSR (Document No. 10).

The political campaign for the formation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, initiated by the Communist Party in the second half of 1922, was drawing to its completion. A few days before the opening of the 10th All-Russia Congress of Soviets the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee received the resolutions of the congresses of Soviets of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia declaring for state unification. The 10th All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted a decision on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Document No. 12) and elected a delegation of the RSFSR to the conference of official delegations of the Republics that were to unite. The conference of official delegations elected by the congresses of Soviets of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, the Transcaucasian SFSR and the Byelorussian SSR took place on December 29 in the Kremlin. Following an exchange of views it approved the drafts of the Declaration and the Treaty on the formation of the USSR, submitted to the All-Union Congress which opened on December 30, 1922. After thorough discussion the Congress unanimously adopted the Declaration and the Treaty (Documents Nos. 13, 14).

The formation of the USSR was a triumph for the ideas of Leninism, for the nationalities policy of the Communist Party. It showed to all progressive mankind the way to solve the national question, to abolish the inequality of nations and peoples, the way to unite the peoples into a single fraternal family for the building of socialism and communism.

⁴ *Bulletin of the 7th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets*, Kharkov, 1922, No. 4, p. 10 (in Russian).

⁵ *Zvezda*, December 18, 1922.

The selection devoted to the formation of the USSR includes only some of the documents on the movement for unification in the Soviet Republics in 1917-1922 when "rich experience in developing new, socialist relations and cooperation among nations and nationalities had been accumulated".⁶ They are documents of Soviet Republican agencies, directives of Party bodies, materials of the 1st Congress of Soviets of the USSR. They were published at different times, fully or in part, in different collections.

I. Vladimirtsev,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

No. 1.
RESOLUTION OF THE 3rd ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
ON THE FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC

January 28 (15) 1918

- 1) The Russian Soviet Socialist Republic shall be established on the basis of a voluntary union of the peoples of Russia as a federation of the Soviet republics of these peoples.
- 2) The All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, convened once every three months, shall be the highest organ of state power within the Federation.
- 3) The All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies shall elect the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. In the periods between Congresses the supreme organ shall be the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.
- 4) The Government of the Federation, the Council of People's Commissars, shall be elected and displaced, as a whole or in part, by the All-Russia Congress of Soviets or by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.
- 5) The manner of participation of Soviet Republics of separate regions, regions which are distinguished by a special way of life and national composition, in the Federal Government, as also the delimitation of spheres of activity between the federal and regional institutions of the Russian Republic shall be defined immediately, on the formation of regional Soviet Republics by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committees of these Republics.
- 6) All local matters shall be decided exclusively by the local Soviets. The supreme Soviets shall have the right to regulate relations between the local Soviets and to settle differences arising among them. It is the responsibility of the Central Soviet authorities to see to it that the principles of federation are observed; it shall represent the Russian Federation of Soviets in its entirety. The Central authorities shall also be entrusted carrying out measures feasible on a state scale alone; the rights of separate regions that have joined the Federation shall not, however, be violated.
- 7) The Central Executive Committee of Soviets shall be instructed to work out these fundamental principles of the Constitution of the Russian Federative Republic and to submit them for consideration by the next Congress of Soviets.

Congresses of Soviets of the USSR, Union and Autonomous Republics. Collection of Documents in 3 volumes, 1917-1936, (Further: Congresses of Soviets...), Vol. 1, 1917-1922, Moscow, 1959, pp. 30-31 (in Russian).

⁶ On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Resolution of the CC CPSU of February 21, 1972, Moscow, 1972, p. 8 (in Russian).

No. 2.
DECISION OF THE ALL-UKRAINE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ON UNIFICATION OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

May 18, 1919

The enemies' common front demands of all Soviet Republics a common front of struggle and unity of leadership in this struggle. The need to carefully consider the material resources of the Republic calls for a balanced distribution [of them]. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of the Ukraine, together with the Kiev Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the Kiev uyezd congress of peasants' deputies and representatives of the Kiev trade unions and factory committees therefore resolved that:

- 1) The entire armed struggle against the enemies of the Soviet Republics must be united in all the existing Soviet Republics.
- 2) All the material means necessary for waging this struggle must be concentrated around a common centre for all the Republics.

Proceeding from this the CEC instructs its Presidium to propose to the CECs of all the Soviet Republics to work out concrete [forms] of organising a united front of revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party—the Inspirer and Organiser of the Unification Movement of the Ukrainian People for the Formation of the USSR. Collection of Documents and Materials, Kiev, 1962, pp. 129-130 (in Russian).

No. 3.
RESOLUTION OF THE 4th ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
ON STATE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC AND THE RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATIVE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

May 20, 1920.

The 4th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Armymen's Deputies, once again solemnly proclaiming to the whole world the full equality of all peoples and states and following from this the right of nations to self-determination, considers it its duty to fight for the consolidation of the Soviet power which alone can, with the elimination of classes and the liberation of workers and peasants from the exploitation and oppression of the landowners and capitalists, ensure them real freedom and independence.

The 4th All-Ukraine Congress declares that the Ukrainian SSR, preserving its independent state constitution, shall be a member of the All-Russia Soviet Socialist Federative Republic, united by the community of the political and social system, by the common struggle in the past against the tsar, landowners and capitalists and the common struggle at present for its existence; states that only thanks to the mutual aid which the fraternal Soviet Republics have been rendering each other in the course of two and a half years have they been able to hold out in the severe, merciless, bloody struggle against the countless bourgeois enemies.

Occupied by German imperialists, French and Greek invaders, Russian whiteguards, the Ukraine regained her freedom only with the help of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

And now when, for the fourth time, the rich grain-growing Ukraine is partially occupied by the troops of the rapacious Polish gentry the workers and peasants of the Ukraine once again look to the peoples and republics that form the RSFSR.

The 4th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets, endorsing the agreement between the Central Executive Committees of the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR on the amalgamation of the Commissariats of war, finance, railways, national economy, post and telegraph, and

labour, instructs the future Central Executive Committee to pursue the same policy of close alliance.

In view of the fact that the Ukraine could not participate, through its delegates, in the 7th All-Russia Congress of Soviets, being occupied at the time by Denikin, the 4th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets, pending conclusion of the work of the federal constitution commission, appointed by the All-Russia Central Committee, and the final decision of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, instructs the future Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine to enter into talks with the All-Russia Central Committee of Soviets on the question of the Soviet Ukraine's representation in the latter. For its part, the Congress proposes that 30 representatives of the Soviet Ukraine, elected at the 4th Congress of Soviets, be included in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR. Any attempt to break or weaken ties with Soviet Great Russia and with other peoples and Republics that form the RSFSR, any nationalist and chauvinist persecution with the object of dividing the workers and peasant masses are, in effect, counter-revolutionary and are directed against the freedom and independence of the workers and peasants of the Ukraine.

The 4th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets warns the workers and peasants against the treacherous slogan of a "Ukrainian People's Republic", which is only a cover for the subordination of the Ukraine to international capital and the Ukrainian chauvinist bourgeoisie.

Under the first Ukrainian People's Republic the Austro-German imperialists and the Russian general, Skoropadsky, ruled over the Ukraine, the second turned the Ukraine into a colony of French capital, the third Ukrainian People's Republic, which Petlura now promises, is simply a cover for consolidating in the Ukraine the hateful alien power of the Polish gentry.

The 4th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets confidently looks forward to the time when new allies will join the Federation of Soviet Republics of Russia and the Ukraine and will form the great international republic of Soviets.

The Communist Party—the Inspirer and Organiser of the Unification Movement of the Ukrainian People for the Formation of the USSR, pp. 189-190.

No. 4.

FROM THE DECLARATION ON THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AFTER THE LIBERATION OF BYELORUSSIA FROM THE POLISH WHITES

July 31, 1920

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia, whose relations with Soviet Russia are those of an equal with an equal, places for the entire duration of revolutionary wars all its armed forces at the disposal of the single command of the armed forces of all the Soviet Republics, and declares also that all diplomatic actions of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia will be coordinated with those of the RSFSR and will bear in mind the common interests of all the Soviet Republics, built on the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Byelorussia, which for a long time has been closely connected with Russia, should immediately set about working out a single economic plan with the RSFSR and with the other Soviet Republics that have already been formed or may be formed....

Struggle for Soviet Power in Byelorussia in 1918-1920, Vol. II, Minsk, 1971, p. 417 (in Russian).

No. 5.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED PLENARY MEETING OF THE CAUCASIAN BUREAU OF THE CC RCP(B)

July 3, 1921

On Relations Between the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics and the RSFSR

1) To confirm the necessity of putting into practice the independence of the Transcaucasian Republics (Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia).

2) In view of the absolute need for mutual military and economic support of the said Soviet Republics, which are holding the common front against imperialism, to recognise the necessity of concluding a military, trade, economic and financial convention between the Transcaucasian Republics and the RSFSR on a voluntary basis.

Struggle for the Consolidation of the Soviet Power in Georgia (1921-1925), Tbilisi, 1959, p. 59.

No. 6.

STATEMENT BY A. F. MYASNIKOV AT THE 9th ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 27, 1921

Kalinin. * I declare the session of the Congress open. Comrade Myasnikov, representative of the Armenian Republic, has the floor for a statement.

Myasnikov. Comrades, I have a statement to make here on behalf of the three Transcaucasian independent Republics: Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. These Soviet Republics arose in the Transcaucasia at different times, but by and large it can be considered a year already that Soviet power in these three Transcaucasian Republics has been in existence, is developing and consolidating itself. And from the moment that the Soviet regime was established in the Transcaucasian Republics we can boldly say that there began the really independent existence of the peoples of the Transcaucasia, for the Soviet revolution put an end to the dependence of these peoples on the Entente and they became absolutely sovereign and are independently deciding their future. The national discord and slaughter which distinguished the bourgeois governments of the old republics of the Transcaucasia, this slaughter has become a thing of the past under the Soviet system and contingency on wars between nationalities has also disappeared; and now in the life of the Transcaucasian Republics we observe another, new phenomenon, namely, that the working strata of the Transcaucasia who are uniting among themselves want to unite also with the Russian workers and peasants, and in the interests of this close fraternal unity the Transcaucasian working people would like to establish still closer ties with the RSFSR.

These three Republics have, therefore, authorised me to solicit this high meeting that, at the discretion of the 9th Congress of Soviets itself, a certain number of places be given Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in order that: 1) the solidarity of the Transcaucasian Republics with the Russian Federation be thus manifested and 2) that the Transcaucasian Republics could draw ever new lessons for themselves from the rich experience of Russia's Soviet state building. Such, comrades, is my proposal to the 9th Congress. (Applause.)

9th All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Armymen's and Cossack Deputies. (Verbatim Report), Moscow, 1922, p. 186 (in Russian).

* Mikhail Kalinin (1875-1946)—prominent Soviet statesman and Party leader. Since 1919, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. After the formation of the USSR, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR; from 1938 to 1946, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.—Ed.

No. 7.

DECISION OF THE 3rd SESSION OF THE ALL-UKRAINE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 6th CONVOCATION, ON THE CREATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

October 16, 1922

Recognising the nationalities policy pursued by the Government to be a correct one, the (3rd) Session of the All-Ukraine CEC (6th Convocation) considers it necessary to draw attention to a number of points that call for a more exact and clearer definition of the relations between the fraternal Soviet Republics.

Internationally, the Soviet Republics continue to be in capitalist encirclement, but, on the other hand, they are entering into businesslike relations with the capitalist world which has not abandoned its ambition to establish its economic dictatorship over these Republics and to destroy the gains of the October Revolution.

Simultaneously with this, the New Economic Policy, by strengthening the petty-bourgeois groups and their influence, creates a new danger, that of both separatist-chauvinist and Russian dominant-nation tendencies manifesting themselves, and the ensuing danger to the unity of the proletarian-peasant front of the Soviet Republics.

At the same time, the five years' experience of state administration and the practice of the relations between the Soviet Republics demand a further step in federal construction. Therefore, the session of the All-Ukraine CEC, underscoring the full equality of all the contracting Soviet Republics and the complete voluntary nature of their close worker-peasant alliance, considers it necessary to instruct the Government to enter into talks with the Governments of the Soviet Republics on creating All-Union legislative and executive organs (the Union CEC and the Council of People's Commissars) and, in particular, the organs responsible for foreign policy and foreign trade policy.

To introduce the corresponding amendments in the Treaties of Union at the next, 7th Congress of Soviets.

The Communist Party—the Inspirer and Organizer of the Unification Movement of the Ukrainian People for the Formation of the USSR, Kiev, 1962, pp. 269-270.

No. 8.

TO THE ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 10, 1922

I welcome the opening of the All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets.

One of the most important problems which the Congress has to solve is that of uniting the republics. The proper solution of this problem will determine the future organisation of our machinery of state, the glaring defects of which were so vividly and strikingly revealed by the recent census of Soviet employees in Moscow, Petrograd and Kharkov.

The second problem to which the Congress must devote special attention is that of our heavy industry. To raise the output of the Donbas and of the oil and iron and steel industries to prewar level is the fundamental problem of our entire economy; and we must concentrate all our efforts on solving this problem.

I am firmly convinced that the Congress will find the correct solutions for these problems, and with all my heart I wish you success in your work.

Lenin

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147.

No. 9.

DECLARATION OF THE 7th ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

December 13, 1922

The profound community of class interests of the proletarians of all countries imperatively dictates the need to strengthen in every possible way their organisational ties and unity in the face of world capital.

The class solidarity of the workers and peasants of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Republics already from the very beginning of the Great October Revolution laid a solid foundation for the closest ties and real unity in their joint struggle against the kingdom of capitalists and landowners. It is only thanks to this fraternal alliance, born and welded in the tempest of Civil War, that the working masses of the Soviet Republics were able to win and uphold their rights to state power, the land, factories and plants against the furious attacks of the united camp of the capitalist plunderers of the whole world.

The state of relative tranquility, achieved by us through the greatest sacrifices and efforts, continues to be under the threat of a repeated use of armed force by the capitalist powers to destroy the fruits of our victories. Clear evidence of the definitely hostile position of the capitalist countries, which have not reconciled themselves to the existence of the Soviet Republics, is our continuing international isolation. This hatred is evident, in particular, in the unceasing attempts by the West European bourgeoisie to undermine our strength by exploiting and fanning the national-chauvinist passions among a part of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of some of the Soviet Republics (the Petluraites in the Ukraine, the Mensheviks in Georgia, the Mussavatists in Azerbaijan, the Dashnaks in Armenia, the National League in Russia).

The implementation of the New Economic Policy and the consequent relatively rapid growth of petty-bourgeois elements increase the danger of an intensification of nationalist sentiments, hostile to the proletariat, in the form of a revival of Russian dominant-nation tendencies, on the one hand, and separatist-chauvinist, on the other. At the same time the necessity, arising from the fact of our international isolation, to rely in internal construction wholly on our own forces and the resources of the Soviet Republics demands the further reinforcement and deepening of their economic unity, which opens new possibili-

ties for raising and accomplishing economic tasks that cannot be tackled by them individually.

Under these circumstances, the only correct policy from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the peasantry is that of rallying and uniting all the forces of the Soviet Republics to the maximum degree and welding a united worker-peasant front.

Basing itself on the foregoing, the 7th All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Red Armymen's Deputies fully endorses the Government's position in this question, expressed in the decision of the Session of the All-Ukraine CEC of October 16 of this year.

The 7th Congress of Soviets, in full accord with the wishes and will of the working people of the Ukraine, addresses the workers and peasants of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, with the fraternal proposal to begin at once to formalise in law the Union of Soviet Republics which factually already exists and in this way form a united socialist worker-peasant front against the front of the world bourgeoisie.

The Congress is firmly convinced that such a single Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, ensuring their close economic and political association on principles of mutual equality and at the same time the independence of national and cultural construction and the necessary guarantees of economic initiative by each one of the Union members, will be the best form of solving the national question in the spirit of international proletarian solidarity, the first step towards establishing the future World Soviet Republic of Labour, and a powerful bulwark of the interests of the workers and peasants not only of the allied countries but also of the whole world.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. II, Moscow, 1960, pp. 151-152.

No. 10.

RESOLUTION OF THE 1st TRANSCAUCASIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

December 13, 1922

The Union of Socialist Republics shall be formed of the following Republics: the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation which includes Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The Republics of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation shall unite in one [federal] state under the name of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each of them being reserved the right of freely seceding from the Union. The Congress of Soviets of the Union, and in the intervals between congresses, the Central Executive Committee, shall be the supreme power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of the contracting Republics, shall be represented in proportion to the population, with the rights of the minority guaranteed.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. II, pp. 481-482.

No. 11.

DECISION OF THE 4th ALL-BYELORUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

December 18, 1922

Soviet Byelorussia, only recently liberated from the yoke of international capital by the united efforts of the workers and peasants of Byelorussia and the most active support of the working people of all the other fraternal Soviet Republics, in its daily work, political and economic construction, never forgets about the unity of tasks and forms of struggle which have linked the working people of all the fraternal Republics.

The workers and peasants of Byelorussia, together with the workers and peasants of the other Soviet Republics, always and unremittingly aspired towards the achievement of one goal—the establishment and definitive consolidation of the power of the Soviets for the struggle for communism.

In this struggle the working people of all the fraternal Republics encountered the united front of the world bourgeoisie. World capital quite obviously took into account the community of the political and economic organisation of the individual Soviet Republics and, therefore, made no distinction between them, seeking to overthrow the Soviet power, irrespective of the national flag under which this system was established. It is only by uniting their efforts that the working people of all the fraternal Soviet Republics succeeded in defending and consolidating the Soviet power, the power of workers and peasants. This union is sealed with the blood of tons of thousands of workers and peasants of Byelorussia, the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Republics, on the Western, Eastern and Southern fronts.

World capital has realised the impossibility of overthrowing the power of the working people by armed force. This does not spell the end of the struggle against the Soviet power. It will continue with still greater persistence and stubbornness than up to now. But as distinct from the preceding period world capital now seeks to overthrow the power of the Soviets in a roundabout way, by entangling us in all kinds of treaties and gaining possession of our large-scale industry.

In its struggle against the power of the Soviets the world bourgeoisie is not loath to utilise the national factors and the independent existence of individual Republics. The world bourgeoisie seeks by means of a series of diplomatic subterfuges to divide the forces of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republics, to smash the Republics piecemeal, exploiting the national chauvinism of the petty-bourgeois sections of their populations to this end.

The need to organise the maximum resistance to the attempts of world capital to enslave us economically advances as a primary task the establishment of closer political and economic ties, the coordination of the political and economic work of the Soviet Republics, the creation of a united worker-peasant front of all Soviet Republics against the united front of world capital.

The 4th All-Byelorussia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Armymen's Deputies considers that the proposal of the All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets to begin at once to formalise in law the Union of Soviet Republics

which already exists factually—uniting the forces of the workers and peasants of all the Soviet Republics on principles of mutual equality, close political and economic association against the united front of world capital, and ensuring at the same time independent national and cultural construction and the necessary guarantees of economic initiative by each one of the members—that this proposal meets the vital interests of Soviet Byelorussia and should, therefore, receive speedy realisation at the forthcoming congress of all the Soviet Republics.

The 4th Congress of Soviets of Byelorussia is firmly confident that the Congress of the RSFSR, together with the representatives of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Republics, will create a single, strongly consolidated union of the working people of all the fraternal Republics and instructs its delegation, elected to participate in the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, to give its solemn promise at the Congress to perform the formal acts consolidating the fraternal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. II, pp. 304-305.

No. 12.

**DECISION OF THE 10th ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

December 27, 1922

1. To recognise as timely the unification of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. Unification to be based on the voluntary principle and equality of the Republics, each of them being reserved the right of freely seceding from the Union of Republics.

3. To instruct the delegation to draw up, jointly with the delegations of the Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Republic and Byelorussia, a draft declaration on the formation of the Union of Republics, stating the circumstances dictating unification of the Republics into one federal state.

4. To instruct the delegation to draw up the terms of the RSFSR's entry into the Union of Republics and that it uphold the following provisions when discussing the Treaty of Union:

- a) formation of the respective Union legislative and executive bodies;
- b) amalgamation of the People's Commissariats: Navy, Railways, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Post and Telegraph;
- c) subordination of the People's Commissariats of Finance, Food Supplies, National Economy, Labour, and of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the contracting Republics to the directives of the respective Commissariats of the Union of Republics;
- d) absolute guarantee of the interests of national development of the contracting Republics.

5. Before presenting the draft treaty to the 1st Congress of the Union of

Republics to submit it for approval to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee as represented by its Presidium.

6. To empower the delegation, on the basis of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee's approval of the terms of unification, to conclude the treaty of the RSFSR on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the Soviet Socialist Republics of the Ukraine, the Transcaucasia and Byelorussia.

7. To submit the treaty for approval to the 1st Congress of the Union of Republics.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, pp. 216-217.

No. 13.

**DECLARATION ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

December 30, 1922

Since the formation of the Soviet Republics the states of the world have split into two camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

There, in the camp of capitalism, you have national enmity and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialist atrocities and wars. Here, in the camp of socialism, you have mutual trust and peace, national freedom and equality, the peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of peoples.

The attempts of the capitalist world over the years to solve the national question by combining the free development of peoples with the system of human exploitation have proved futile. On the contrary, the tangle of national contradictions is becoming more snarled, threatening the very existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie has proved to be powerless to establish cooperation between peoples.

Only in the camp of the Soviets, only in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has united around itself the majority of the population, has it been possible to extirpate national oppression, to create a situation of mutual trust and lay the foundation of the fraternal cooperation of peoples.

It is only thanks to these circumstances that the Soviet Republics managed to repel the onslaught of the imperialists of the whole world, internal and external; it is only thanks to these circumstances that they were able to win the Civil War, ensure their existence and embark on peaceful economic construction.

But the war years have left their traces. The devastated fields, the factories and mills at a standstill, the wrecked productive forces, and exhausted economic resources—the legacy of the war—render the individual economic efforts of individual republics inadequate. The rehabilitation of their economies has proved to be impossible in conditions of the separate existence of the Republics.

On the other hand, the instability of the international situation and the danger of fresh attacks make inevitable the establishment of a united front of the Soviet Republics in the face of capitalist encirclement.

Lastly, the very structure of the Soviet power, internationalist in its class nature, actuates the working masses of the Soviet Republics to take the path of uniting into one socialist family.

All these circumstances imperatively demand unification of the Soviet Republics into one federal state capable of ensuring external security and internal economic prosperity, and freedom of the national development of peoples.

The will of the peoples of the Soviet Republics, who gathered recently at congresses of their Soviets and unanimously decided on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, serves as a reliable guarantee that this Union will be a voluntary unification of equal peoples; that each Republic will be reserved the right of freely seceding from the Union; that access to the Union will be open to all the Soviet Socialist Republics which already exist or may arise in the future; that the new federal state will worthily crown the foundations, laid down still in October 1917, of the peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of peoples; that it will serve as a reliable bulwark against world capitalism and mark a new decisive step toward uniting the working people of all countries into a World Soviet Socialist Republic.

Announcing this to the whole world and solemnly proclaiming the stability of the foundations of the Soviet power, which have found expression in the Constitutions of the Soviet Socialist Republics, we, the delegates of these Republics, hereby resolve, on the strength of the powers given us, to sign the Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. III, Moscow, 1960, pp. 16-17.

No. 14.

TREATY ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

December 30, 1922

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukr. SSR), the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (TSFSR—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia) conclude the present Treaty of Union on amalgamation into one federal state—the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*—on the following principles:

1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme bodies, shall have jurisdiction over the following matters:

- a) representation of the Union in international relations;
- b) changes in the Union's external borders;
- c) conclusion of treaties on the acceptance of new republics into the Union;
- d) declaration of war and conclusion of peace;
- e) contracting of foreign state loans;
- f) ratification of international treaties;
- g) establishment of foreign and home trade systems;

h) establishment of the principles and general plan of the national economy of the Union, and the conclusion of concession treaties;

i) management of transport, and post and telegraph matters;

j) establishment of the principles of organisation of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

k) approval of a single state budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, establishment of a monetary, currency and credit system as well as a system of all-Union, Republican and local taxes;

l) establishment of the general principles of organisation of land exploitation and of land tenure and of the use of the mineral resources, forests and waters on the entire territory of the Union;

m) general Union legislation on migration;

n) establishment of the principles of the judicial system and legal procedure, and civil and criminal Union legislation;

o) establishment of the basic labour laws;

p) establishment of general principles of public education;

q) establishment of general measures in the sphere of health protection;

r) establishment of the system of weights and measures;

s) organisation of all-Union statistics;

t) basic legislation in the sphere of Union citizenship as regards the rights of aliens;

u) the right of general amnesty;

v) annulment of decisions of Congresses of Soviets, Central Executive Committees and Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics that infringe on the Treaty of Union.

2. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the supreme organ of power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in the periods between congresses—the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be formed of representatives of town Soviets, on the basis of one deputy for every 25,000 electors, and of representatives of the gubernia congresses of Soviets, on the basis of one deputy for every 125,000 inhabitants.

4. Delegates to the Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be elected at gubernia congresses of the Soviets.

5. Regular congresses of the Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be convened by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR once a year; extraordinary congresses shall be convened by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by its own decision or at the request of not less than two Union Republics.

6. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall elect a Central Executive Committee from among representatives of the Union Republics in proportion to the population of each of the Republics; in all, 371 Committee members.

7. Regular sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be convened three times a year. Extraordinary sessions shall be convened by decision of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union or at the request of the Council of People's Com-

missars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and also of the Central Executive Committee of one of the Union Republics.

8. Congresses of Soviets and sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be convened in the capitals of the Union Republics in the order established by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

9. The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall elect the Presidium, which shall be the supreme organ of power of the Union in the periods between sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Union.

10. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be made up of 19 elected members from among whom the Central Executive Committee of the Union shall elect four Chairmen of the Central Executive Committee of the Union according to the number of the Union Republics.

11. The executive organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Union shall be the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, elected by the Central Executive Committee of the Union for the term of office of the latter in the following composition:

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union

Deputy-Chairmen

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs

People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs

People's Commissar of Foreign Trade

People's Commissar of Railways

People's Commissar of Post and Telegraph

People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council

People's Commissar of Labour

People's Commissar of Food Supplies

People's Commissar of Finance.

12. With a view to affirming revolutionary law on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and uniting the efforts of the Union Republics in the fight against counter-revolution to set up, under the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a Supreme Court with functions of supreme judicial control, and under the Council of People's Commissars of the Union—a joint body of the State Political Administration, the chairman of which shall be a member of the Council of People's Commissars with a deliberative vote.

13. The decrees and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be binding on all the Union Republics and shall be carried into effect throughout the territory of the Union.

14. The decrees and decisions of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union shall be printed in the languages in general usage in the Union Republics (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Turkic).

15. The Central Executive Committees of the Union Republics shall protest decrees and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union with

the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, without suspending their execution.

16. Decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be annulled only by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its Presidium; but orders of individual People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be annulled by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its Presidium and the Council of People's Commissars of the Union.

17. Orders of the People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be suspended by the Central Executive Committees or Presidiums of the Central Executive Committees of the Union Republics only in exceptional cases such as when the said order is manifestly at variance with the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars or of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the respective People's Commissar of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be informed immediately of the suspension of orders by the Central Executive Committee or Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of a Union Republic.

18. The Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics shall consist of:

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

Deputy-Chairmen

Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council

People's Commissar of Agriculture

People's Commissar of Food Supplies

People's Commissar of Finance

People's Commissar of Labour

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

People's Commissar of Justice

People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

People's Commissar of Public Education

People's Commissar of Public Health

People's Commissar of Social Maintenance

People's Commissar of Nationalities Affairs and also authorised representatives of People's Commissariats of the Union, with deliberative functions: of foreign affairs, military and naval affairs, foreign trade, railways, and post and telegraph.

19. The Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariats of Food Supplies, Finance, Labour and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the Union Republics, all directly subordinate to the Central Executive Committees and Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics, shall be guided in their activity by the orders of the respective People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

20. The Republics forming the Union shall have their own budgets as the constituent parts of the all-Union budget confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Union. Revenues and expenditures of the Republican budgets shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee of the Union. The re-

venues and allocations that go to constitute the budgets of the Union Republics shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee of the Union.

21. A single Union citizenship shall be established for citizens of the Union Republics.

22. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have its flag, emblem and State seal.

23. The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the city of Moscow.

24. The Union Republics shall amend their constitutions in accordance with the present Treaty.

25. Approval, amendment or addition to the Union Treaty shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

26. Each one of the Union Republics shall reserve the right of freely seceding from the Union.

Congresses of Soviets..., Vol. III, pp. 18-22.

Academician
Nikolai NEKRASOV

Economic Policy and Location of the Productive Forces in the USSR

The balanced location of socialist material production over the vast territory of the Soviet Union is a complex and intricate economic, social and political task. No bourgeois state is capable, in virtue of the antagonistic contradictions inherent in capitalist production, even to approximate to any extent the solution of the problem of rationally locating the productive forces on the scale of the whole country. The solution of this problem, which became possible only with the establishment of public property in the means of production, is one of the greatest achievements of the socialist economic system.

Location of the productive forces policy is a component part of the economic policy of the CPSU, and it proceeds from the Party Programme proposition that full-scale construction of the material and technical basis of communism requires increasingly rational location of production and balanced working of natural resources. This task is tackled in such a way as to ensure economies of social labour, complex development of regions and specialisation of their economy, and to help in overcoming the essential distinctions between town and country. The further balanced upswing in the economy of all the regions of the country helps to improve the socialist division of labour between the Soviet republics, to pool and coordinate their labour efforts, and correctly to combine the interests of each republic with those of the whole state.

The efficiency of social production largely depends on the location of the productive forces according to the economic regions of the country. The steady and highly intensive growth of the Soviet Union's economic potential is organically connected with a reconstruction of the existing industrial bases and the creation of new ones, with the industrial development of new territories having a high concentration of natural resources, and with a proportional development of all the economic regions and all the Soviet republics.

Every year 300-400 new large state industrial enterprises are started in the Soviet Union. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan period alone (1966-1970) 1,870 were built and put into operation. The starting of each such enterprise results not only in an increase of capacities in this or that branch of production. The hundreds of new industrial enterprises have an effect on the manpower balance and the extent of employment, the working people's culture

and everyday life, shaping the economy in the individual regions and production ties between them, and simultaneously on the economy of the country as a whole.

UNION OF EQUAL REPUBLICS

The Communist Party and the Soviet State, carrying out the rational location of the productive forces across the territory of the country through the construction of new and the technical reconstruction of existing enterprises, have brought about the rapid industrialisation of all the Union Republics, thereby consistently implementing Lenin's national policy.

In 1972, it will be 50 years since the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In this half-century a mighty multinational state has been built, and it has shown the world an example of selfless friendship and fraternal cooperation between its constituent nations and nationalities. Equality and mutual respect of all the peoples of the Soviet Union are a characteristic feature of their constantly strengthening relations, providing incontrovertible evidence of the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy, which the CPSU has been consistently implementing. The economic development of the Union Republics under a common general plan has helped to strengthen the foundations of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and has also meant that the national economy has been harmoniously spread across the whole vast territory of the Soviet Union.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism by the developed socialist society implies a further alignment of the economic levels of the republics. In view of this, and also because of the requirements of the national economy as a whole, the highest growth rates have been provided for the Armenian and the Turkmen Republics—64 per cent; Moldavia—62 per cent; Kazakhstan—59 per cent; Byelorussia—58 per cent; and similarly high rates for several other Union Republics, while the overall increase of the Union's industrial production in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period (1971-1975) has been targeted at 47 per cent.

Today, the potentialities of developed socialism enable the Soviet State to set in its national-economic plans and to tackle in concrete terms ever more complex economic problems, variously ranging over the territory of all the republics. Thus, the Ninth Five-Year Plan provides for the implementation of new large-scale measures aimed at further increasing the power available per worker in the national economy. Together with the commissioning of powerful thermal stations in the Union Republics and the construction of giant hydroelectric power stations (the Sayan and the Ust-Ilim stations in Siberia, the Zeya station in the Far East, the Toktogul station in Kirghizia, the Nurek station in Tajikistan, the Ingur station in Georgia, etc.) much attention is being given in the current five-year period to the construction of atomic-power stations. Facilities are to be started at the Leningrad, Kola, Kursk and Novovoronezh atomic-power stations in the Russian Federation, while construction is to be started of an atomic-power station in Smolensk. In the Ukrainian Republic construction is to be started on two other atomic-power stations, in addi-

tion to the one at Chernobylsk. An atomic-power station is also going up in Armenia.

In the ninth five-year period, work is to continue in establishing a single power grid for the whole country by linking up the single power grid in the European part of the country, which has a total capacity of over 100 million kw, with the power grids of Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. For that purpose, extrapowerful long-distance electric-transmission lines are to be erected. The single power grid of the USSR will help to raise the electric power supplies for all the Union Republics to an ever higher level.

Another similar and most important problem which has a bearing on the whole of the Soviet Union is also being successfully tackled in the same way. In the current five-year period work is to continue on the establishment of a single oil and gas supply system for the whole country. At least 30,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines alone is to be laid. Pipelines are also being laid for powerful flows of oil and gas from the new areas of extraction in Western Siberia, Mangyshlak, Vuktyl and Orenburg. In this way, the Union Republics and the economic regions of the European part of the USSR are to be provided with highly efficient fuel resources.

Today, acceleration of scientific and technological progress and implementation of a single state technical policy are becoming the main means of attaining high growth rates in social production and enhancement of its efficiency. This equally applies to the country as a whole and to each individual Union Republic. The changes in the structure of industrial production in the republics, envisaged by the five-year plan, are highly indicative in this respect. Thus, the substantial increase in the volume of industrial output in the RSFSR is to go hand in hand with an acceleration in the growth of the engineering, gas, oil and chemical industries. In the Ukraine, there is to be a considerable increase in the volume of capital investments in the technical-growth industries, and this will, in turn, help to raise the general level and accelerate the growth of production in the Republic. New plants are to be built in the precision instruments and the electronic industries in Azerbaijan. The main line in further boosting social production in Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is also to be accelerated development of the technical-growth industries, including the power, chemical, precision instruments, electrical and machine-tool industries. New large-scale national-economic complexes are being created in the Union Republics on a new technical basis, like the Mangyshlak, Southern Tajik and Navoi complexes in Kazakhstan and the Soviet Republics of Central Asia.

Realisation of the policy of bringing about a considerable rise in the people's living standards, which was adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and which has been concretely embodied in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, depends directly on the further development of agriculture, the growth of consumer goods output, and housing and cultural construction. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan period, an extensive programme for boosting industries which determine the further growth of living standards is to be carried out in each Union Republic.

The development of the productive forces in the Union Republics is closely bound up with the activity of their ramified system of scientific organisations.

Today, each Union Republic has its own Academy of Sciences, which not only formulates regional national-economic problems, but also carries on fundamental research in the natural and social sciences. Thus, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine is tackling important problems in the development of atomic power, while scientists in Kazakhstan are engaged in interesting research in geophysics and geology.

The great expanses of the RSFSR and the need to tackle major problems in the further development of the productive forces of the economic regions and the Autonomous Republics has led to the establishment there of numerous regional scientific centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its Siberian branch has been successfully operating for more than 10 years. In the last few years, three new major scientific centers have been set up in the Far East, in the Urals and the Northern Caucasus. A North-Western scientific center is being set up at Leningrad. A study is being made of the possibility of setting up a new scientific center of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Volga area. Fruitful work is being done by the Bashkir, Buryat, Dagestan, Karelian, Kola, Komi and Yakut branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Many complex problems bearing on the deep-going transformation of the territories on a modern scientific and technical basis have been successfully tackled on a large scale in the Soviet Union. Giant hydroelectric power stations, which have helped to establish new and ramified industrial complexes, have been built on the Volga, the Dnieper, the Angara and the Yenisei. New waterways have been built in the deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, making it possible considerably to enlarge the area of fertile farmland in the country. In the Far North, major industrial centres have arisen at Hibiny, Norilsk, Mirny and others, and these have made a contribution to the further development of the socialist economy. Virtually the whole country has for a long time constituted a vast construction site stretching from the coast of the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans to the Caspian Sea, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The grand scope of capital construction determines the high rate of planned economic and cultural development in each Union Republic and each economic region. The extensive and rational use by developed socialism of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is helping to make the sectoral and territorial structure of the Soviet national economy ever more harmonious.

GENERAL SCHEME FOR LOCATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN THE USSR

The totally new scale of the national economy of the USSR, one of the most important specific features of the present stage of its development, and the much larger capacities of individual enterprises have called for a new approach in tackling the problems of rational location of the productive forces over the country's vast territory. One of the major economic and social problems today is the correct and scientifically grounded organisation of the economy over the country's territory, with its highly diverse natural conditions and differing densities of population.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan has set major tasks in improving the location of

the productive forces and territorial production ties. The scale of construction is to be considerably increased: capital investments are to total 501 billion rubles, or almost 42 per cent more than in the eighth five-year period.

The Communist Party's economic policy under developed socialism requires, as never before, scientific grounding in locating enterprises in all the major branches of production and all the economic regions, and anticipation of the consequences of the location variant adopted for the fulfilment of the country's economic and social tasks. In these conditions it is no longer possible to rely on local research, which at best helps to tackle fairly narrow problems arising from the location of production in a branch or region. There is need for a coherent system of research and development making it possible to formulate an overall strategy for the long-term location of the country's productive forces. In this context, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, held in 1966, went on record as believing it to be appropriate that scientifically grounded schemes for the development and location of national-economic branches and schemes for the development of economic regions should be made the basis of planning; there was also need, it said, to intensify the formulation of scientific problems in territorial planning and determination of the economic efficiency of location of the productive forces; to eliminate any expressions of departmentalism and parochialism in tackling these questions.

The level of the basic indicators of development in the branches of industry and the national economy as a whole and extensive use of the complex of scientific and technical achievements have a great influence on the location of industrial production. The use in industrial projects of the latest technological processes, progressive technico-economic indicators and norms for the input of raw materials and semi-finished products, electric power, water and other resources, and progressive labour standards helps materially to enhance the overall economic efficiency in locating the productive forces.

Scientific, design and planning bodies have produced a General Scheme of Location of the Productive Forces of the USSR for 1971-1980 (basic lines), which includes the formulation of general (synthetic) problems, location schemes for the branches of the national economy, schemes for the development of the productive forces for the Union Republics and the economic regions, and also schemes for the formation of large-scale national-economic complexes.

The General Scheme is the result of great effort on various levels by a large group of scientists, design specialists and workers of planning and economic agencies. In accordance with the state coordination plan for research almost 560 research and design organisations took part in working out the scheme at the first stage. The Council for the Study of the Productive Forces under the USSR State Planning Committee, together with the Scientific Council for the Location of the Productive Forces of the USSR Academy of Sciences drew up a single programme and a single set of scientific methods, and this helped to concert the activities of all the organisations and the extent to which each participated in this great collective endeavour. Scientific concepts were formulated for the location of the productive forces for the country as a whole, for the branches of the national economy, for the Union Republics and for the economic regions. The initial assumption behind the General

Scheme and the basic problems in the territorial lay-out of the economy were repeatedly considered by the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The scientific conceptions underlying the development of branches and economic regions were discussed by the collegiums of the Ministries and the State Planning Committees of the Union Republics, and also at general scientific and technical conferences and meetings with the participation of active Party members and executives in the republics and regions.

At the second stage of the work, in accordance with the overall scientific concept underlying the location of the USSR's productive forces over the next 10 years and the conceptions for the development of branches and regions, schemes were produced for the location of material production by the branches of the national economy, the Union republics and economic regions. This work was carried out by the Ministries and the State Planning Committees of the Union republics under the direct guidance of the USSR State Planning Committee. Special commissions (working groups) were set up by the USSR State Planning Committee to consider these schemes. On the strength of the scientific conceptions, schemes and practical proposals submitted by these working groups, the Council for the Study of the Productive Forces worked out the General Scheme for the location of the productive forces of the USSR for the period ending in 1980.

Special emphasis should be laid on the practical planning orientation of the General Scheme. Beginning with 1971, decisions on the design and construction of enterprises and installations are being taken on the strength of the development and location schemes for the corresponding branches of the national economy and industry, and schemes for the development and location of the productive forces for the economic regions and the Union Republics. Consequently, the General Scheme for the location of the productive forces, and the schemes for the location of enterprises in the key branches of the economy and the development of the economic regions now constitute a part of the overall system of socialist planning.

Through the creative efforts of large groups of workers in scientific and design organisations and planning bodies, it has become possible to determine new ways and develop new approaches to the tackling of major tasks in locating the productive forces at the present stage of communist construction. Let me add that scientifically grounded schemes of such scope have been produced for the first time, and quite naturally much still remains to be done to improve them.

Special importance for the construction of a long-term scientific model for locating the productive forces of the Soviet Union and of its individual regions attaches to the general concept which synthesises the main lines and goals in the further improvement of the territorial lay-out of the national economy as a whole. Consequently, the long-term development for the whole country and its various parts are determined with an eye to the coordination of the regions. Schemes for the economic, social and cultural development of industrial centers, major cities, national-economic complexes, territories, economic regions and Union Republics are component, inter-connected parts of the overall scientific conception.

The Scheme is designed to provide a scientific substantiation for the long-

term location of the productive forces across the country as a whole and the location of material production in the individual regions, in the light of the territorial distribution of natural and manpower resources, natural conditions, the levels attained in the development of the production and social infrastructure, transport communications in particular, thereby ensuring in practice purposeful and planned formation of the economy and the socio-cultural development of these regions and their further specialisation of production.

The Scheme covers a wide range of the most important economic, sociological, scientific and technological problems in the long-term location of material production and the planned formation of economic regions, and outlines ways of solving these problems. Today, the science and practice of socialist planning are much more advanced in studying and establishing the laws behind territorial economic proportions between all the economic regions and, especially, between the Western and Eastern zones of the country (macroregions) and also in determining the role of these macroregions in the inter-regional division of labour. The Scheme gives a scientific substantiation of the changes in the location of manpower resources in connection with the tackling of major problems arising from the long-term formation of individual economic regions. The economic policy of the state can now rely on the Scheme's analysis and assessment of the territorial distribution of real and potential natural resources, which determine the prospects for economic growth in economic regions that have already taken shape and that are developing, and to take account of all the socio-economic, scientific and technical factors characterising the present lines in locating groups of industries (raw material, power, and manufacturing) and in the regional development of agriculture and transport.

Scientifically-grounded variants of production specialisation and formation of economic complexes in the Union Republics and economic regions are of equal importance for practical planning. The Scheme also makes it possible to select the most rational forms and methods in creating and developing large-scale national-economic complexes on the territories which have a high concentration of valuable natural resources and which are newly being developed in economic terms. Great practical importance attaches to the new methods and indicators set out in the scheme for determining the economic efficiency in locating the productive forces over the short- and long-term prospects.

None of these problems can, essentially, be tackled in isolation from the others, and the scientific concept for the long-term location of the productive forces starts precisely from the prerequisite that the diverse economic, social, scientific and technical factors exert an inter-related influence on the location of material production.

TERRITORIAL NATIONAL-ECONOMIC PROPORTIONS

The establishment of long-term territorial economic proportions is of fundamental importance for the harmonious development of the socialist economy, considering the vast expanses of the USSR, and the exceptionally di-

verse natural and economic factors operating at the present time. These proportions characterise the extent of rational combination between centers of production and areas of consumption of industrial products and agricultural produce, and the economic benefits to be derived from production ties between the individual regions. The territorial proportions of the economy are highly dynamic and reflect the efficiency of the spatial structure of the socialist economy at every new stage of its planned development. At present, exceptional importance attaches to the rationalisation of economic proportions in the development of the European part of the USSR (including the Urals) and the East of the USSR.

The European part has 25 per cent of the territory and 76 per cent of the population. It turns out over 80 per cent of industrial products and almost 80 per cent of the agricultural produce. In the west of the European part, there is already evidence of some limitation in valuable land resources. The intensive growth of industry, the cities and transport has resulted in the alienation of some of the farmland. The rapid economic growth of the European economic areas of the USSR has now placed on the order of the day the need to solve complex scientific, technological and economic problems in power and water supplies.

The Eastern areas of the USSR (without the Urals) have 75 per cent of the country's territory. At the beginning of 1971 they had a population of 59.1 million, or 24 per cent of the total. The economic potential of the eastern macroregion has continued steadily to grow. This applies above all to population, gross industrial output and capital investments. Already now the eastern areas of the country produce over 40 per cent of the coal, over 25 per cent of the natural gas, about 33 per cent of the timber, over 25 per cent of the electric power, 18 per cent of the cardboard, almost 25 per cent of the cement, over 25 per cent of the grain and over 90 per cent of the raw cotton. Raw material and power resources which are unique in scale have been discovered in the area. Siberia and the Far East have the best supply of water resources.

The Scheme for the long-term location of the productive forces of the USSR lays down the main lines for a gradual change of territorial proportions in the economic development of the Western and the Eastern macroregions and the production inter-relation between them, and sets out the forms and methods to be used in tackling the new major economic problems.

The most fundamental question in the rational location of material production today is the overall shift of industry eastwards. Over the decade ahead there is to be a switch to extensive and complex development of new territories with difficult natural conditions, ranging from the Arctic areas of the North to the semidesert areas of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The characteristic feature of the territorial development of the USSR's economy in this period is to be accelerated economic development of the vast northern territories of the Eastern macroregion. For some time now work has been in progress in establishing centers of industrialisation in the North. Their development is mainly connected with the extraction of highly valuable metals and minerals (non-ferrous metals in Norilsk, diamonds in Yakutia, gold and tin in the North-East, and so on.). Mass-production industries (timbering com-

plexes, enterprises processing Hibiny apatites) were developed only in the North of the European part of the country. Accelerated economic development of areas east of the Urals entails the establishment of new territorial proportions in the national economy of the USSR, and a re-orientation of its raw material and power bases. The special variant calculation of the levels of national-economic inputs in locating new industrial production only in the European part of the country (variant 1) and in the Eastern areas in accordance with the General Scheme (variant 2) shows that the overall economic effect tends to favour the Eastern areas.

First of all, as the calculations show, in the decade ahead the share of the Eastern macroregion is to go up considerably in the overall extraction of all types of fuel. The discovery of oil and gas deposits which are unique in scale on the territory of the West Siberian plain and the Yakut Autonomous Republic makes it possible to set up in the East new and large-scale fuel and power bases of all-Union importance and to carry out progressive structural changes in the country's fuel and power balance by increasing the share of natural gas and oil, by means of a powerful network of main pipelines supplying gas and oil to the rapidly developing economy of the European areas of the country and to locate the largest petrochemical complexes in Southern Siberia. The progressive changes in the fuel and power balance will yield considerable economies for the state budget running to billions of rubles.

New fuel and power bases are being very rapidly set up in the Eastern areas. For instance, oil extraction on the territory of the West Siberian plain (mainly in Tyumen region) was 953,000 tons in 1965 and 31.4 million tons in 1970. By 1975, the figure is to go up to at least 120-125 million tons, and by 1980 to 230-260 million tons. Consequently, it is now safe to say that a new major base of the oil industry is emerging in Western Siberia.

West Siberian oil and gas have made it possible to begin the construction of powerful petrochemical complexes in the Tobolsk and Tomsk areas already in the present five-year period. Very soon these complexes will become all-Union suppliers of synthetic rubber, plastics and synthetic fibres, whose production requires large inputs of power and water. This will help to solve the major task of locating all-Union power-intensive chemical lines of production in Siberia, where power resources are cheap.

The General Scheme has advanced the development of the tendency of locating large-scale power-intensive lines of production in areas with a high concentration of cheap power resources. Technico-economic calculations by scientific and design agencies provide convincing evidence of the great advantages of setting up power-intensive lines of production in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, where cheap power resources are plentiful. The prevailing location in these areas of new power-intensive lines of industrial production will help to reduce the growing deficit of fuel and power resources in the country's European areas and to improve the industrial structure of the Eastern areas.

In the present five-year period, construction of the Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk and Yakutsk aluminium works is to be completed. Also in the Eastern areas there is to be enlargement and reconstruction of the plants at Norilsk, Dzhelkazgan, Almalyk and Gai. As a result, by the end of 1975, the Eastern areas

will be producing, according to preliminary estimates, 70-73 per cent of all the aluminium, roughly one-third of the pulp and great quantities of other power-intensive products.

The East will continue to be the area where major national-economic tasks are being tackled in providing the country with non-ferrous metals, diamonds and gold. Thus, there is to be a marked increase in the output of copper and nickel at the Norilsk mining and metallurgical plant. The discovery of new large-scale deposits of non-ferrous metals opens up highly promising prospects before this plant. At the same time, timbering operations and the chemical processing and mechanical working of timber is to be considerably extended in the Northern areas. As the natural resources of this vast region are further studied, its economic role is bound steadily to grow.

The extensive economic development of natural resources in the East of the country produces a great many complex problems arising from the harsh climate in the area, the vastness of its territory, the low density of population and the lack of roads. The forms and methods used in developing and locating the productive forces in the area are highly specific. To make the development of the very rich natural resources of Siberia and the Far East sufficiently effective, there is need to ensure high labour productivity through the widest use of machinery, mechanisms and equipment, specially adapted to the northern climate, the use of fundamentally new technologies and new materials, to organise construction on totally new lines than those in the old settled areas, and to create comfortable living conditions.

The Scheme provides for the establishment of large-scale economic complexes, with areas of concentrated construction, as the main form of accelerated development of the productive forces in the Eastern macroregion. Let us stress that in Siberia and the Far East it is as important to build specialised enterprises and ancillary industries as to carry out the timely and complex development of the production and social infrastructure, which in those parts frequently has to be built from scratch on a far-flung and frequently difficult terrain. The construction of power enterprises, transport networks, new cities and workers' housing estates determines the time it takes successfully to tackle the main task in the economic development of the new territory.

On the vast expanses of the Angara and Yenisei areas a system of economic complexes is already emerging to form the Angara-Yenisei industrial belt. In the present five-year period, the formation of the Sayany economic complex in Krasnoyarsk territory is to be started. It will consist of the Sayany hydroelectric power station, an aluminium and a railway car works, a major steel-casting plant, enterprises for the working of non-ferrous metals, enterprises in the electrotechnical industry and also in the light and food industries, operating on the well-developed farming in the area. Construction of a group of inter-related large enterprises in the Krasnoyarsk area is nearing completion. It includes the Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station, a nepheline mine, the Achinsk alumina plant, and the Krasnoyarsk aluminium works. The Ziminsk electrochemical plant is being built to the east of Krasnoyarsk, where the large-scale Irkutsk-Cheremkhov complex lies. Development is being continued of the Bratsk-Ilim complex where an aluminium works and a timbering complex are nearing completion, and the Ust-Ilim hydropower plant and a tim-

bering plant are under construction. Fresh prospects for building powerful, highly economical hydroelectric power stations and a large group of power-intensive enterprises operating on Siberian raw materials are being opened up in the middle reaches of the Yenisei and in the Angara area.

It will take much time and large investment outlays to create the system of the Angara and Yenisei complexes, but it will help to solve the most important problems in further improving the territorial layout of the economy and the location of power-intensive lines of production. The development of industrial complexes in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics runs in the same direction. Thus, for instance, the establishment of the South Tajik complex likewise provides for the construction of new power-intensive lines of production (an aluminium works, an electro-chemical combine, and so on).

Improvement of the territorial layout of the economy is closely bound up with the tackling of major social problems. The location of material production is to some extent a regulator of employment in the various parts of the country and the movement of the population. The country's continued rapid industrial development results in a steady increase in the share of the urban population, with all the economic and social consequences that this entails. In 1971, the urban population of the USSR as a whole came to 57 per cent of the total (in 1913, 18 per cent, and in 1940, 33 per cent).

At the same time, there are marked territorial shifts in the distribution of the population. According to the all-Union Census, January 1970 showed a marked increase in the population of the country's southern areas (the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Transcaucasus and the Northern Caucasus) as compared with 1959: it had grown by 11.4 million. In the central and western areas population growth was very moderate. Between 1959 and 1970 it increased by 5.4 million. Characteristically, all the economic areas of the Centre and the West had a population growth below the all-Union average.

In the foreseeable future, the territorial distribution of the population that has taken shape will exert a direct influence on the formation of the economic structure in the individual regions and the location of the productive forces. Extensive modernisation and reconstruction of the existing enterprises through the introduction of new technical means and technologies, without any substantial increase in the number of working people, should be the prevailing form of production development in the Central, Western and Urals-Volga areas. Labour-intensive industries can be more appropriately developed on a large scale in the Southern and Central Asian regions, which have considerable manpower resources. A key task facing the state is to attract manpower resources to the areas of new economic development, notably Siberia and the Far East. The economic development of the highly valuable resources of the North will require increased labour inputs. The influx of newcomers and their settlement in the development areas will be promoted by material incentives and the faster construction of housing, as provided for by the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The current intensive growth of the urban population is putting a strain on the big cities. In addition to the capitals of many Union Republics, Kharkov, Gorky, Novosibirsk, Kuibyshev and Sverdlovsk now have a population of one million and over. At least another 10 cities (Odessa, Donetsk, Chelia-

binsk, Kazan, Dnepropetrovsk, Omsk and Volgograd among them) are edging up to the one-million mark. There is also a growing network of medium and small towns and workers' estates, while a process of concentration is in progress in the rural populated localities.

All this, taken together, has insistently demanded the establishment of a planning system for the long-term distribution of the population for each economic region and each Union Republic. Accordingly, the General Scheme contains a complex of measures for the shaping of population centers in the country. In particular, concrete proposals have been made to prohibit and limit new industrial construction in some cities, to locate it in medium and small towns, and so on.

Existing and future material production is the starting basis for the rational development of an urban system. The large and medium-size cities are the country's chief industrial centers. With a few exceptions, clusters of industrial enterprises, especially small and deeply specialised enterprises, and also branches of factories and plants operating in the major big and medium-size cities can be set up and developed in the small towns and the workers' estates. This process is already under way and will be considerably extended over the immediate period ahead. Simultaneously, there is a growing number of agrarian-industrial amalgamations in agriculture allowing for the most efficient organization of industrial processing of farm produce. The rational layout of the system of cities and rural populated localities is closely connected with the development of the whole network of communications, transport construction, in particular. At the same time, the solution of these problems makes it possible to organize a system of material-supply basis taking account of the great diversity of the areas of production and consumption.

IMPROVEMENT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING

At the present stage, the improvement of the territorial layout of the national economy is organically connected with economic-mathematical modeling. The solution of complex, multivariant tasks in the rational location of the productive forces requires complex sectoral, regional, inter-sectoral and inter-regional economic-mathematical models.

At the first stage in which economic-mathematical methods were used the sectoral approach to the construction of models for the location of enterprises was mainly used. But experience showed that such models were limited scientifically and in practice. Sectoral analysis does not make it possible to examine the whole group of factors to find the rational location of modern highly concentrated material production. This can be done only through complex economic-mathematical analysis of the long-term planned formation of the economy on the territory of a Union Republic or a major economic region through the rational location of material production. Complex regional economic-mathematical models make it possible, first, to consider this or that region not in isolation but as a component part of the system of all the regions in the country. Second, they make it possible to correct the sectoral models for the location of production on the basis of broader national-economic informa-

tion (balance of manpower resources, available natural resources, magnitude of transport costs, etc.). Finally, regional models allow planning organs to select the most effective variants for shaping the economy, to take the overall interest of the state as the starting point, thereby establishing the most rational territorial economic proportions. Of course, regional models are more complicated and require more effort to produce than sectoral models. Research is running in this direction, experiments are being staged and the relevant methods are being formulated.

The improvement of territorial planning implies the tackling of a number of important methodological problems. Much practical importance attaches to the formulation of methods and the system of indicators for the complex economic development for the Union republics and economic regions. A general set of methods is also being prepared for determining the economic efficiency in the location of industry.

The establishment of a system of economic incentives for the rational location of industry is an important condition for improving territorial planning. In formulating this, the Council for the Study of the Productive Forces under the USSR State Planning Committee starts from the propositions formulated by the 24th Congress of the CPSU on developing and improving economic methods in economic management and enhancing the role of economic-accounting indicators in management and planning. With this end in view, it has been studying, together with other scientific establishments, possible methods in the economic assessment of natural resources and their consideration in the design of enterprises and their operation. An aggregation of economic, social and everyday factors is being brought out which may help to enhance efficiency in the balanced redistribution of manpower resources in accordance with the planned changes in the location of production. A study is being made of the possibilities of making more efficient use of prices, transport rates, finances, credits, profits and other economic-accounting categories in substantiating and laying out schemes for the location of material production.

The improvement of the territorial structure of the national economy of the USSR is closely connected with the solution of problems arising from the development of the productive forces by the fraternal socialist countries. Present-day economic development, and the extension and deepening of the territorial division of social labour under the scientific and technological revolution have naturally aroused interest in the theory and practice of tackling major problems in the location of material production.

The socialist countries have gained much experience in formulating the various aspects of regional economic policy and have achieved considerable results in complex research, which have been reflected in the practice of territorial planning. These results have gained worldwide recognition.

The Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries, which was adopted by CMEA's 25th session, is of great importance for the further development of research into the problems of locating the productive forces and improving territorial planning in all the socialist countries. They now face the task of working out a common methodology and set of methods for regional economic research and their practical ap-

plication in the territorial planning of the national economy. Accordingly, the first conference of scientists working in this field in the socialist countries was held in Moscow in November 1971. It went on record that its participants were agreed on the basic methodological principles underlying the territorial laying-out of the economy.

Since the territorial structure of the national economy is such a complex subject it requires comprehensive research, involving many branches of knowledge and thorough consideration of the social factors. The method of modelling, including economico-mathematical modelling, which makes it possible to take a multivariant approach in tackling the problems of territorial planning, becomes the basic, leading method of regional research in all the socialist countries. The purpose of this research under socialism very naturally comes to mean the finding of a state-wide national-economic optimum for the balanced economic development of the individual regions.

Rational location of the productive forces and complex economic development in the individual regions make it possible to increase the pace of economic construction and to enhance the efficiency of social production. Fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan will mark a great step forward in the development of industry and agriculture in all the Union Republics. This will further extend the sphere of fraternal cooperation between all the peoples of the USSR in building up the economic might of the multinational Soviet state and in working for the construction of the material and technical basis of communism.

Ilya DUDINSKY,
D. Sc. (Econ.)

Economic Problems of Developed Socialism

Countries of the socialist community are now working to accomplish lofty and inspiring tasks. They present to the world a vivid picture of rapidly developing, dynamic socialist society. The unity of socialist countries is growing stronger, it serves as a great accelerator of socio-economic and political progress, and stands as an insurmountable barrier in the way of the forces which are trying to encroach on the socialist gains of the working people.

The development of the socialist community has demonstrated that only socialism is capable of solving the cardinal problems facing mankind. In less than two decades the socialist countries, relying on the socialised means of production, were able to effect their industrialisation, to reconstruct their agriculture along socialist lines and elaborate the basic principles of guiding their national economies. This has ensured the victory of socialist production relations in decisive spheres of economic activity. The majority of socialist countries have already built up the material and technical basis of socialism. In difficult international conditions, in the course of fierce struggle and competition with the world capitalist system, the peoples of socialist countries have created a powerful socialist industry which is the reliable foundation for strengthening their defensive capacity and for the allround development of personal and social consumption. As it matures, the socialist system is revealing ever more fully the advantages of its economic and socio-political organisation.

In the USSR socialism proved victorious already in the second half of the 1930s. More than three decades of heroic labour and struggle of the Soviet people have passed since then. In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev, characterising the present stage of the new social system in the USSR pointed out that "the developed socialist society to which Lenin referred in 1918 as to the future of our country has been built by the selfless labour of the Soviet people. This has enabled us to tackle in practice the great task set by the Party programme, by its latest congresses—that of building the material and technical basis of Communism".¹

The socio-economic progress of the socialist community and the achievements of the fraternal countries in all spheres of social life have opened up the real possibility for utilising the advantages of socialism much more fully

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, Moscow, 1971, pp. 47-48.

and widely both on a national and international scale. The 1960s were of especial significance in the history of world socialism; during this period a number of countries in the socialist community completed the building of the foundations of socialism and entered a phase which the Communist parties of these countries characterised as the building of developed, mature or complete socialism.

Every country is elaborating its own methods and finding its own ways of solving general and specific tasks in its concrete conditions. One of the big advantages of the world socialist system is that in the course of development of the fraternal countries the respective Communist parties attentively study and draw on each other's experience. The proper application of this experience greatly helps every socialist country to eliminate in good time contradictions and to follow confidently the road charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

On the order of the day is the task of theoretically analysing the characteristic features of developed socialism as a definite stage in the emergence of the new social system on a national and international scale. This task is linked with the formulation and specification of the general scientific concept of the rise and shaping of the communist formation, taking into account the practical experience of all socialist countries, and the progress of the world socialist system during the first quarter of a century. Theoretical study of the problems of building developed socialism is also insistently dictated by the gigantic sweep of the scientific and technological revolution.

Elaboration of the problems of building developed socialism has commanded the closest attention of Marxist scientists. Fraternal countries are at one in their approach to the most characteristic features and urgent problems of developed socialist society.

The experience of the USSR for more than 50 years and of the European socialist countries and of the entire socialist system for a quarter of a century has introduced certain amplifications in the theoretical concepts concerning the time required to build socialism, the interconnection between the lower and higher phases of the communist formation and the ways of development of socialism into communism. The common opinion of Marxist scientists of fraternal countries, first, consists in that not only communism as a socio-economic formation, but also its first, lower phase—socialism—undergo a number of stages in their development both on a national and international scale. Socialism is not a brief stage but a relatively long phase of socio-economic and political development which has considerable distinctions from communism. These distinctions relate to the level of the productive forces, the degree of maturity of production relations, the development of democracy and forms of social administration and the level of political consciousness and culture of the working people. This concept is in line with Lenin's assumption, voiced prior to the October Revolution, that "politically, the distinction between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of communism will in time, probably, be tremendous".²

The principle of socialism is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and the principle of communism, "from each accor-

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 25, p. 470.

ding to his ability, to each according to his needs". The transition from the socialist to the communist principle demands not only abundance of material goods but also profound changes in the social psychology of people when labour becomes one of the prime requirements of man's life. The fundamental changes in the material conditions of production and in all spheres of social life needed for the practical application of the basic principle of communism, will demand of the peoples of the socialist states intensive and long-time work, creative endeavour aimed at disclosing all the potentialities of socialist society.

At the same time contemporary Marxist social science and the collective experience of fraternal countries do not offer any adequate grounds for considering socialism an independent social formation. The factors of the duration of the stage of socialist construction and the existence of a number of its intrinsic specific laws cannot serve as sufficient arguments for such an assertion. Capitalism, it will be recalled, was crystallised in the course of centuries and passed in its development a number of stages, each having its specific laws, alongside the general ones. But this did not prevent it from being a single formation. Organic unity in the main thing unites both stages of communism—socialism and communism proper—in one formation. This main, determining thing is the single economic basis of production and all social life, namely, social ownership in the means of production. Its consequence is the objective tendency of production to satisfy as fully as possible the needs of the working people, which is regarded as the main aim of developing and improving the productive forces throughout the entire communist formation.

Both socialism and communism proper are a society of associated producers who develop production in a planned way in conformity with cognised laws and scientifically-based aims. Socialism gradually, in an evolutionary way turns into communism as the material and spiritual prerequisites mature. Each big landmark in socialist construction, if viewed under the broad historical angle, is a step towards communism. Such in main outline is the dialectics of the relationship of socialism and communism, which makes it possible to assert that these are not two independent formations but different stages of one and the same formation.

As for socialism as the lower stage of the communist formation, the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries demonstrates the inevitability of the following stages of socialist construction:

The transition period from capitalism to socialism, which begins with the victory of the socialist revolution and is completed with the laying of the economic foundations of socialism. As a result of accomplishing the tasks of the transition period the state of the working class eliminates in the main the multistructural nature of the economy, ensures the dominance of social ownership (public and cooperative) of the means and instruments of production, builds up an industrial basis adequate for the technical reconstruction of all the sectors of the national economy and undertakes, leaning on key positions in the economy, the balanced organisation of economic life in the interest of further consolidating the positions of socialism.

Period of the victory of socialism. It begins with the construction of the economic foundation of socialism and is completed by solving a range of

problems, which makes it possible to go over to building developed socialist society. The main task accomplished in this period is to consolidate socialism in all spheres of social life, to ensure the undivided dominance of socialist production relations, and the complete elimination, on this basis, of the multistructural nature of the economy (disappearance of all structures, except the socialist one), further to consolidate the material basis of socialism as represented by large-scale industry and substantially to improve the material well-being of the working people.

Developed socialism. The advantages of the given social system in economics, politics, science, ideology, culture, and in the work and life of the people are displayed at this period more fully than at earlier stages, and the conditions are created for the successful building of communism. The stage of developed socialist society begins after the victory of socialism is ensured, that is, from the time when socialist society as an integral social system—economic and political—has already been shaped but still continues to develop and improve. That is why one of the most essential distinctions of this period is that the new society further develops on its own basis, on the basis of socialist social relations and a developed industry.

Documents of the 24th CPSU Congress and also materials of recent congresses of Communist and Workers' parties of fraternal countries are of fundamental significance for ascertaining the characteristic features of developed socialism. It is pointed out in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress that the economy today, just as more than 30 years ago, when socialism became victorious in the Soviet Union, is based on the same production relations, on the selfsame economic laws, the laws of socialism. At the same time many new important features distinguish the Soviet economy today from what it was at the end of the 1930s. An immeasurably higher level has been reached by the national economy. By their selfless labour the people have built up a tremendous economic potential whose basis is a diversified industry, large-scale socialist agriculture, advanced science, skilled workers, specialists and executive personnel. The USSR now produces in one day a social product ten times greater than at the end of the 1930s.³ An incomparably higher level of socialist social relations has been attained. Considerable progress has been made in drawing closer together the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia and in eliminating basic distinctions between town and country and between mental and manual labour. This is one of the principal sectors of building classless communist society.

During the years of socialist construction, a new historical community of men and women, the Soviet people, has emerged in the USSR, new harmonious relations between classes and social groups, nations and nationalities—relations of friendship and cooperation—have struck root. The multinational Soviet people demonstrate their monolithic unity by their labour, their whole-hearted approval of the policy of the Communist Party. The drawing together of all the classes and social groups, the fostering of the moral and political traits of the Soviet people, the consolidation of their social unity are proceeding on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which expresses the socialist interests

³ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, Moscow, 1971, p. 48

and the communist ideals of the working class, the leading force in the system of socialist social relations.

The record of the Soviet Union shows that the deep-going socio-economic changes, characteristic of developed socialist society, determine the development of the state of the dictatorship of the working class into a state of the whole people. In recent years important results have been registered in further strengthening the socialist state and improving the entire political organisation of Soviet society. Further development of socialist democracy, the ensuring of conditions for the ever wider and energetic participation of the masses in administering society has been the main trend in the activity of the CPSU in this sphere. In 1971 the Soviets of Working People's Deputies—these genuine bodies of people's rule in the centre and in the localities—had more than 2 million deputies and 25 million activists.⁴ The steady deepening of democracy—direct and representative—makes it possible to utilise at all levels the initiative and experience of the masses, the high skill of specialists, to verify the correctness of the adopted measures and to take into account the corrections introduced by the working people.

The culture and social consciousness of the masses has risen to a new, higher level. In its immense educational work the CPSU is guided by the principle that without a high level of culture, education and social consciousness communism is impossible, just as it is impossible without a corresponding material and technical basis. Hence the development among the masses of a communist world outlook and the fostering of a communist attitude to labour are the main link in the Party's educational work. The new make-up of the Soviet citizen and his world outlook are moulded in constant uncompromising struggle against the survivals of the past. During the years of socialist construction the USSR has become a country of universal literacy. This is a signal achievement for a country in which the overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate half a century ago. Prior to the revolution there were 136,000 people with a higher education; in 1939, more than 1 million; in 1959 this figure was close on 4 million and in 1970 it exceeded 8 million. Soviet higher educational institutions graduate annually more than 500,000 specialists. The number of people with a specialised secondary education rose from 54,000 in 1913 to 7.9 million in 1970. At present two-thirds of the working people have an education of not less than 7 or 8 forms. Of great importance for the further advance of the educational level is the fact that about 80 per cent of the pupils who finish the eight-year school later on receive a complete secondary education.⁵

Developed socialist society is a society which looks into the future and has started to build communism. The people of the USSR are now working on a magnificent task—they are laying the material and technical basis of communism. This will require more than one five-year period of enthusiastic constructive labour. The degree of economic maturity attained in the USSR, the entirely new scale of production and research and the progressive changes in

⁴ Ibid., p. 93.

⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

all spheres of social life have greatly extended the potentialities for the further growth of the economy and the advance of the people's standard of living. The country is now facing tasks of which the people could only dream at earlier stages. The possibilities of economic growth for the fraternal socialist countries, which are now building developed socialist society, have substantially widened.

At the same time developed socialism is marked by the swift rise in the demands society makes on the economy. An entire complex of objective and subjective factors appears, owing to which it is no longer possible to concentrate resources and efforts on a comparatively narrow range of priority tasks, as was the case in the period of the socialist reconstruction of the Soviet economy and its postwar rehabilitation. Now that the internal and international position of socialist states has radically changed, they are able to tackle simultaneously a wider range of socio-economic and political tasks. The vital internal and international interests of developed socialist states do not allow for their long-time lag at individual sections, even at the price of achieving big progress at other, also very important sections. In other words, alongside the further reequipping of production, development of science and reinforcement of the country's defensive capacity, ever greater forces and resources are concentrated on the achievement of tasks directly related to improving the people's well-being.

National economic ties are exceedingly complicated in developed socialist society and the interconnection and interdependence of economic, social and political factors increases. This considerably increases demands on planning and management and on the methods of economic and political work, specifically the role of forecasting and long-term planning is enhanced. Society as an integral, socio-economic and political organism is becoming the object of management and planning under developed socialism. The latter presupposes that all the aspects of social life—economic, socio-political and spiritual—are characterised by the socialist maturity needed in the first phase of communism, and are in conformity with each other. For example, without the building of a highly developed material and technical basis of socialism, socialist production relations cannot be sufficiently mature and the living standard of the people sufficiently high. Without broad socialist democracy there can be no creative activity of the masses which comprises the living soul of socialism.

Lenin criticised subjective sociologists who regarded society as a simple mechanical aggregate of some or other institutions, as a simple chain of some or other phenomena. Such is the methodology of the revisionists today as well: they warp the ideal of socialism, supplementing it with some or other attributes of capitalism. Thus, they try, with the help of the "market socialism" model, to combine social property with the elements of the capitalist economy. The same can also be said about the so called model of "democratic socialism". Its exponents deny the need for the leading role of the Communist Party and try to prove the necessity for the existence of opposition parties. The revisionists want to combine some elements of the socialist economy with a political superstructure based on the pattern of bourgeois democracy. But such a combination is unnatural. Vigorously combatting revisionism, Marxists are consistently upholding the concept of socialism as an integral social system,

based on the unity of the economic, political and cultural organisation of society.

An important feature of developed socialist society is that it is shaped and advances in conditions of the world socialist system and is inseparably linked with the deepening and improvement of the allround cooperation of countries with the new, socialist type of international relations. Developed socialism presupposes the utmost display of the advantages of the new order as a world economic and political system; it is crystallised as a synthesis of the efforts of every country to develop its national economy and its participation in the socialist international division of labour. Developed socialism presupposes a high degree of internationalisation of the economic and political life of sovereign socialist states which are approximately at the same level of development and in principle are solving a similar complex of problems of social development. That is why, alongside the internal criteria, it is also necessary to bear in mind a number of important features in the international life of socialist countries, without which it is impossible to imagine developed socialist society.

Developed socialism presupposes advanced forms of socialist internationalism not only in economics, but also in politics. Socialist countries are engaged in a sharp class struggle with imperialism. Hence the awareness of the need for jointly defending the socialist gains, and strengthening, alongside economic cooperation, their cooperation in the political, ideological and cultural spheres; hence the need for allround coordination of activity along state and Party lines. Experience shows that for the successful advance of socialism the socialist countries should pursue a concerted foreign policy, and take coordinated actions in the international arena in conformity with their national and international interests.

Steep enhancement of the role of such a sphere of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism as economic, scientific and technological competition of the two world systems, is an important international aspect of developed socialist society. The developed socialist states are confronted by developed capitalist states which are trying to utilise state-monopoly capitalism, integration processes in the world capitalist economy and the contemporary scientific and technological revolution to reinforce their positions in the global confrontation of the two world systems. In these conditions the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries are concentrating the efforts of the working people to show to the fullest possible extent all the advantages of socialism, both on the national and the international scale.

Developed socialism thus demands thoroughly to take into account not only the internal, but also the international factors in their totality. It presupposes the utmost development of socialist integration, reinforcement of the unity of the socialist states, consolidation of their positions in their confrontation with capitalism and the exertion of greater influence on the world revolutionary process.

Guidance of developed socialist society is linked with the further enhancement of the role of the Communist and Workers' parties as the vanguard and leader in all the spheres of social life. This presupposes deeper cognition of the laws of social development, taking into account the historical perspective

and the ability to utilise them in practical activity. The greater role of the vanguard of the working class as the major feature of developed socialism is expressed in the formation of a profoundly scientific concept of social development which covers the entire complex of current and long-range tasks, in elaborating and formulating and consistently applying the home and foreign policy, in improving guidance of the activity of the socialist state, and in exerting greater influence by the Party on the work of economic and mass organisations.

The decisive significance of consolidating Party leadership for the historical destinies of socialism is well realised by its ideological enemies. If we analyse the "models of socialism" offered by Fischer, Goldstücker, Kolakowski, Garaudy and other revisionists, it becomes clear that all of them boil down to the thesis that the party of the working class must be separated from state power, removed from guiding the economy, since, they say, it is only the "intellectual", "spiritual" vanguard.

The party of the working class, as the most advanced part of society, expresses the supreme interests of the whole people. Through its policy it ensures the satisfaction of the vital requirements of the whole people and at the same time does not allow for any neglect of the specific needs of various social groups. Here there are certain differences of interest and conditions, and the role of the Party is displayed in that it brings them to light in good time and outlines ways for resolving them, thereby securing the consolidation of the unity of socialist society. Let us take, for example, the problem of combining the long-term and current interests. In the economy it is manifested in the concrete relationship between accumulation and consumption. Experience shows that neither a one-sided consumer approach which does not consider the long-term interests nor neglect of the current interests of the people can promote the success of socialist construction.

As the organiser of the people's efforts in building socialism and communism, the Party guides the activity of the numerous state and mass organisations, but does not take their place. Democracy without the leading role of the Party is barren. As the most advanced conscious part of the people, the Party brings out the great significance of the ideals of socialism to all the working people. Here its role as the ideological leader and the vehicle of Marxist-Leninist consciousness stands out in bold relief.

Such are the most characteristic features of developed socialist society as revealed by generalising the theory and practice of building the new social system.

At this point it is necessary to stress the organic interconnection and considerable coincidence of many tasks in building developed socialist society with the tasks now being accomplished by the Soviet Union which has already built such a society and has started to lay the material and technical basis of communism. This interconnection is above all determined by the decisive role of the general laws inherent in all countries which are building socialism and communism and are close to each other in their levels of economic and political development.

The Communist and Workers' parties of fraternal countries profoundly study Soviet experience in building socialism and communism. In many res-

pects it serves them as a guidepost in determining current and long-term tasks of building developed socialism, facilitates the solution of many internal and international problems. The fraternal parties, just as the CPSU, proceed from the deep interconnection and sequence of the tasks of building developed socialism and of communist construction.

The most essential economic law of developed socialism, which results from the deepest processes in the advance of the new social system and ultimately determines its characteristic features, is the new interconnection between production and consumption in the single process of extended socialist reproduction, as compared with the law that was characteristic of the reproduction process in the period of building the material and technical basis of socialism.

At the preceding stage of development the internal conditions in individual socialist countries and the international situation objectively put to the foreground the task of building, in a historically brief period, productive forces adequate to the socialist mode of production and capable of creating reliable means for defending the socialist community against imperialist aggression. That is why the production process was first of all subordinated to the accelerated building up of a powerful heavy industry—this material foundation of socialist society. In the course of industrialisation and cooperation of agriculture a complex of conditions was created for the subsequent transition to the accelerated development of the personal consumption sphere.

In conditions of developed socialism the process of extended socialist reproduction is increasingly subordinated to the aim of directly satisfying the growing needs of the members of socialist society. That is why the policy aimed at essentially advancing the well-being of the people, as it follows from the documents of Communist and Workers' parties of fraternal countries, will determine their activity and general guidance of economic development over a long period. Maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people is the supreme goal of social production under socialism. At the same time fraternal countries proceed from the principle that a rise in the welfare of the working people is becoming an ever pressing requirement of the process of economic growth itself, one of the important economic and social prerequisites for the swift expansion of production.

Thus, the aims of socialism, the increased material possibilities of the fraternal countries, the needs of the development of their national economies and the course of the competition between the two social systems make it possible and necessary to orientate the economy more and more radically towards the accomplishment of diverse tasks of advancing the living standard of the people.

A rise in the well-being of the people is the hub of the sum total of measures for national economic development in the current five-year period in the Soviet Union and the cardinal task of the new five-year plans of the fraternal countries.

With the emphasis in economic development-being shifted from extensive to intensive factors, the fraternal countries have considered higher economic efficiency in production to be the main link in the entire chain of interconnected problems at the present stage. The policy of steeply raising the efficiency

of production meets the urgent needs of the internal development of the fraternal countries and the international conditions of building socialism and communism. This policy objectively stems from the need of building developed socialist society: it rests on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and the demands of socialism's economic laws and above all its basic economic law. Economic efficiency is looked upon as a means for the ever fuller and allround satisfaction of the growing needs of society and development of the individual. In this sense economic efficiency is simultaneously the social efficiency of socialist society.

Higher efficiency of social production involves problems of the ever fuller use of reserves for the accelerated development of industries which are given priority, for the implementation of the sweeping socio-economic programmes outlined in the five-year plans of the fraternal countries. These countries clearly see the main directions of work in enhancing the efficiency of social production. Among them are the attainment of the most expedient proportions between sectors of the national economy by improving its macrostructure and also the pattern of heavy industry, the industries which produce consumer goods, of agriculture, the service sphere, and so on. Since the development of the national economy in the fraternal countries causes a swift growth of the needs in different raw materials, a reduction in the use of materials and economising in raw and other materials and also better work of the extractive industries—more thorough processing of raw material, improvement of its quality and reduction in waste—are matters of great state importance.

An important trend in raising the efficiency of social production is considerably to improve the quality of goods and respectively expand the industries which help to solve this problem. To raise the efficiency of industrial production and improve its pattern the fraternal countries are building up entire complexes of interconnected sectors developing in accordance with a definite programme. Among the major trends in enhancing the efficiency of production are the most rational use of labour resources, a reduction of labour inputs, primarily by cutting manual and arduous work and improving the organisation of labour. This requires the utmost development of industries which ensure accelerated rates of renewal and replacement of obsolete equipment and also the expansion of sectors providing technical services for industry.

In this context particular importance attaches to technological progress which opens up fundamentally new possibilities for utilising natural forces in the interests of socialism, makes it possible to raise the productive forces of contemporary society to an immeasurably higher level. By putting forward high rates of scientific and technological progress as a key political and socio-economic problem in building developed socialist society and as a decisive factor of victory in the economic competition with capitalism, the Communist and Workers' parties do not simplify the tasks linked with the use of the latest scientific and technological achievements. A new serious success in the development of science and technology is an intricate matter which requires great effort, huge investments, extensive organisational work and a further advance in the culture and vocational skill of millions of people.

The experience of socialist countries graphically shows that the ability to guide the national economy, the art of management are of fundamental signi-

ficance for solving basic problems of building developed socialist society. All the major tasks of developed socialism are focused in the problem of devising an efficient system of planning and management. While a rise in the efficiency of production is the cardinal economic task of the present stage, and technological progress is the way leading to its accomplishment, the management system, metaphorically speaking, could be called the helm which ensures the steady advance to the set goal.

It became clear already in the early 1960s that the forms and methods of organising and managing the national economy which had arisen at the previous stage of building socialism, were insufficiently efficacious for solving the entire complex of economic and social problems put on the agenda by the new stage of development. The highroad to eliminating the contradictions between the new requirements of economic development and the existing management methods, which came to the surface in a number of socialist countries, has been defined as the road of profound changes in the sphere of planning and management.

Directly affecting the economic sphere, better management methods at the same time greatly influence the other sides of social life in the fraternal countries. The countries which began this work earlier have already devised more or less stable economic management systems, while in others the elaboration of new systems is in the stage of experimentation. In working out new forms and methods of management, fraternal countries seek to pay the greatest possible attention to the needs of their national economies and to utilise the positive experience accumulated by their friends.

In present-day conditions, new approaches to the solution of basic economic problems represent a creative development of the Leninist principles of management which have justified themselves on an international scale. This above all applies to the principle of democratic centralism which Lenin, proceeding from the social nature of socialism, regarded as both the principle for guiding social life as a whole and the one for guiding its separate aspects. Lenin saw the greatest advantage of democratic centralism in the real possibility of combining centralised planned guidance with every encouragement of local initiative and the initiative of the masses, of merging the general state, local and personal interests into a single stream of socialist construction.

In March 1918 Lenin in the first version of the article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", wrote: "Our task now is to carry out democratic centralism in the economic sphere, to ensure absolute harmony and unity in the functioning of such economic undertakings as the railways, the postal and telegraph services, other means of transport, and so forth. At the same time, centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in history, of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal."⁶

The work of improving economic management, which has been launched on a wide scale in CMEA countries in recent years and represents extensive

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

search for methods of managing the economy that conform to the needs of the new stage in the development of socialism, proceeds simultaneously along three interconnected lines. First, the forms and methods of national economic planning are improved with the object of finding optimal solutions to the problem of raising the efficiency of social production. In so doing, practical work is continuously enriched with theoretical planning; mathematico-economic modelling, systems analysis and other methods are widely introduced. Second, the organisational structure of industry and other sectors of the economy is being changed so as to stimulate the activity of all links and cells of society's economic structure and better coordinate their actions in attaining the set goals. Third, new methods and forms of management and stimulation at all national economic levels are explored and tested with a view to achieving the set aims with minimal inputs.

The most intricate and acute problem brought out in the process of devising an efficient mechanism of planning and management to meet the requirements of the present stage is to find an optimal relationship between centralism and the independence of the individual economic links. The experience of socialist countries shows that this task cannot be solved in one simple way. A great deal depends on the economic level of a country, the features of its national economic pattern, the degree of participation in the international division of labour, and other factors. Along with the desire to take into account in the management mechanism the national specificity of a country's economy, the economic reforms being implemented in the fraternal countries have reflected certain differences in views about the ways of solving urgent problems.

But scientific planning, which is inherent in the nature of socialism and most fully discloses the new system's intrinsic possibilities of economic growth, is regarded as the keystone of state guidance of the national economy. A centralised state plan which sets the current and long-term goals of development and outlines the ways and means of achieving them, is the pivot of economic guidance. Theory and practice show that regearing the economy to "market" lines and renunciation of the leading role of the centralised state plan seriously violate the fundamental principles of socialism. General bureaucratisation and militarisation of the economy, rejection of material incentives, refusal to utilise commodity-money categories as important instruments for the balanced development of the national economy bring about gross distortions of socialism.

For all the diversity of methods of restructuring the economic mechanism in CMEA countries, determined by the specific features of their economies, and other spheres of social life, the most essential features of this restructuring are the same. This is the policy line aimed at improving the pattern of the national economy, utilising much more fully scientific and technological achievements both in production and in management; enhancing the scientific substantiation and role of long-term planning; extending the operational independence and material responsibility of enterprises, associations and their collectives for the results of their activity; raising the role of economic management methods and cost accounting; striving for the fuller use of commodity-money relations which develop within the bounds of a single national

economic plan. Their common aim is to ensure the fuller conformity of the individual and group interests of the working people with the interests of society as a whole.

The changes being effected—a result of the constructive activity of the Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA countries—have by far not been completed. But what has been accomplished has yielded considerable positive results. A number of important problems of economic growth have been solved and proper ways of settling other questions have been found. The peoples of the fraternal countries have entered the new five-year period equipped with valuable experience in transforming all the aspects of social life in accordance with the demands of the new stage. The entire range of problems linked with the fuller disclosure of socialism's advantages has prompted the fraternal countries to look for new, more perfect and effective forms of economic, scientific and technological cooperation and the joint charting of the course of economic integration by their Communist and Workers' parties.

The fraternal countries see their major internationalist duty in the further political consolidation and economic approximation of the countries of the world socialist system. The Leninist line of reinforcing the unity and might of the socialist community meets the vital interests of every socialist country and the world socialist community as a whole. In present-day conditions wider economic cooperation between the fraternal countries through their economic integration acquires increasing importance for solving fundamental problems of developed socialism. One of the chief stimuli to integration is the ever keener contradiction between what is demanded by the contemporary productive forces for their progressive development and what is available for the purpose within the bounds of national economies.

Economic integration is called upon essentially to raise the efficiency of the economic ties of fraternal socialist countries, to make it easier for them to solve a number of basic problems of socialist construction, specifically substantially to accelerate the pace of scientific and technological progress in the entire national economy, contribute to a radical solution of the fuel, power, and raw-material problem and to consolidate the material and technical basis of agriculture.

Integration fully meets the historical prospect of world socialism and simultaneously acts as a powerful accelerator of progress on a national and international scale. CMEA countries are guided by the principle that the promotion of their economic, scientific and technological cooperation and the development of their socialist economic integration represent a process regulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties and the governments of the fraternal countries consciously and in a planned way, a process of international socialist division of labour. This is a process of approximation of their economies and shaping of a modern highly efficient pattern of national economies, gradual approximation and evening out of their economic development levels, shaping of deep and stable ties in the main sectors of the economy, science and technology, expansion and strengthening, on this basis, of the international market of these countries and improvement of their commodity-money relations.

The decisions of the 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Bucharest in July 1971, represent a real embodiment of the

general policy of socialist integration of the fraternal countries. The session unanimously adopted a comprehensive programme for the promotion of cooperation between and the development of the socialist economic integration of CMEA member countries. This programme, designated for a stage-by-stage implementation over 15-20 years, was drawn up by the collective effort of CMEA countries, proceeding from the tasks set by the Communist and Workers' parties for the economic and socio-political advance of their countries in the near future and also the decisions of the 23rd (special) CMEA Session which formulated the main problems of and outlined the basic trends in furthering cooperation between the fraternal countries at the present stage of socialist and communist construction. The Comprehensive Programme specifies the concrete ways and time-limits for carrying out the measures to promote economic, scientific and technical cooperation between CMEA countries, international socialist division of labour and to raise their effectiveness. Practical implementation of the Comprehensive Programme, it is pointed out in the Communiqué of the 25th CMEA Session, will help to strengthen the national economies of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and their close interaction; to provide the necessary types of equipment and raw and other materials; to attain the highest technical level of development; to increase labour productivity; steadily to improve the people's well-being; to raise the defensive capacity of the countries of the socialist community. A number of provisions of the Comprehensive Programme have already been reflected in the coordination of the national economic plans of CMEA countries for 1971-1975.

In solving the intricate problems of furthering their mutual economic cooperation, the Communist and Workers' parties of the fraternal countries take into account the political aspect of socialist economic integration. This integration serves as a good basis for the promotion of their political cooperation, and, conversely, its normal development is possible only given the steady strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the ever closer coordination of the activities of socialist states in the field of international relations.

The new stage in the development of socialism, marked by a substantial consolidation of the economic and technical potential of the fraternal countries and greater unity of their ranks, also signifies a new offensive of the socialist forces on the international positions of imperialism. The fraternal socialist countries are rendering greater help to the liberation struggle of the peoples, are strengthening their economic and political ties with young national states, are cutting short the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and are effectively upholding peace and international security. The building up of developed socialist society is a mighty accelerator of social progress, an important contribution by the working peoples of the fraternal countries to the cause of ultimate triumph of peace and socialism.

Victor AFANASYEV,
D. Sc. (Philos.)

Further Improvement of the Management of Soviet Society

Human development over the past half-century has given ample proof of the remarkable potentialities of the socialist system. This naturally applies in full measure also to the Soviet Union where a developed socialist society has been built and the even more sweeping tasks of communist construction are being implemented. The Soviet Union has vast natural resources, a modern industry able to fulfil the most diverse tasks on a high scientific and technical level, a large-scale mechanised agriculture having ample possibilities. Wonderful people have grown up in the Soviet Union—workers, peasants, specialists, scientists of a high professional standard, willing to do everything in their power to promote the flourishing of their country.

For these advantages to be utilised to the utmost all the links of management must always operate smoothly and in an organised way, people must be willing and able to disclose and use the labour, material and financial resources in the most efficient way. In other words, managerial skill is one of the main things at the modern stage in the development of Soviet society.

It will be no exaggeration to say that never before in the history of the Soviet Union have questions of management, notably of production management, been approached so profoundly and comprehensively as they have at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The materials and documents of the Congress do not confine themselves to stating that it is necessary to improve management, but show why this is necessary and how this should be done, show the ways for the further improvement of the scientific management of society.

I.

The need for the improvement of the system of management has been evolved first and foremost by the *all-out transition of the national economy to intensive development*. The comprehensive intensification of social production and the raising of its effectiveness are to be the main line in the Soviet Union's development both in the immediate and in the more distant future, the most important condition for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Clearly, the extensive development of any phenomenon or process has its limits. Socio-economic processes graphically show it. Production cannot deve-

lop eternally as a result only of the growth of capital investments and the increase in the number of people employed. There cannot be an unending growth of the number of research workers and expenditure on science, for in that case the entire national income would in twenty-thirty years be spent on science and the entire population would turn into scientists. The extensive development of the service industry would in several decades place the entire population behind the counter.

Where is the way out? How can the objective contradiction between the continuous growth of production (and its different spheres) and the limited nature of the quantitative, extensive factors of that growth, which is facing socialist society on an ever renewing basis, be transcended? There is only one way out—the intensification of social production.

The essence of intensification lies in *economisation in time*. "For the individual, as well as for society," Marx wrote, "the comprehensiveness of their development, consumption and activity depends on cutting time losses. In the final analysis, all economy is reduced to reduction in time losses."¹ Lenin too attached exclusive importance to the time factor. He called for making the utmost of one's time in big and small matters, in labour and in everyday life, and believed that without economising in time it would be impossible to abolish Russia's backwardness, to overtake and outstrip the developed capitalist countries, to win the battle against capitalism in the economic and cultural fields. "Gaining time," Lenin wrote, "means gaining everything."²

The time factor is thus an important indicator of social progress, of its comprehensiveness. The material and spiritual potential of society is determined by the level of its productive forces, and that level is, in turn, measured by the quantity and quality of the material and spiritual wealth produced by society per unit of time. Time means rates, rhythm, speed. The higher the rates, the faster the rhythm, the higher the speed, the more voluminous and condensed is time, the weightier is its every unit, for in that case man and society will be able to produce and accomplish more. Working time is not only the decisive factor in the production of material values, but also the measure of labour. It is the measure both of the past, embodied labour and of the present, live labour of workers in the productive and unproductive spheres.

The more "condensed" the unit of time and the more material and spiritual values are produced during it, the higher is the level of development of production, of society, and along with society—of every individual. This is a general formula reflecting the connection between social progress and economisation in time. As every other formula, it, too, simplifies, schematises the real connection between time and progress. In life this connection is mediated by a complex system of social, above all economic, relations. A high level of production and the most efficient use of time are necessary, but they are far from sufficient to ensure the comprehensive development of society and the individual. It is important that the produced material and spiritual values should become the property of the whole of society, of all its members without exception.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Archives*, Vol. 4, p. 119 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 32, p. 492.

It is therefore only logical that in saying that reduction in time losses is a criterion of social progress Marx had in mind collective production inherent in socialism and communism. Moreover, Marx described the economy of time as the prime economic law of new production, of the new society. "The most efficient use of time, as also the balanced distribution of working time among the various branches of production remains the prime economic law springing from collective production."³

From the very essence of Marx's arguments it follows that economisation in time is not only the prime economic, but also the prime sociological law governing the functioning and development of socialism and communism. The comprehensive development of society and of the individual, the indicator of which, Marx noted, is cutting time losses, cannot be reduced to the development of the economy and the material welfare of the individual alone. The comprehensive development of society includes not only a high level of production, but also of the whole system of social relations, and of spiritual culture. By the same token the comprehensive development of man includes the entire aggregate of his qualities as a producer, as a social functionary, as a learning and thinking being, as the vehicle and creator of spiritual values.

Naturally, communist society, which the Soviet people are building, and which presupposes the comprehensive development of society and of the individual, cannot fail to concern itself consistently with economisation in time, and, hence, with the intensification of its development.

The growth of labour productivity, of the effectiveness of social production is attained in modern conditions not only and not so much through a quantitative growth of production capacities and an increase in the number of people employed, but notably *through the extensive utilisation of the latest scientific and technological achievements, the improvement of management, and better education and qualifications of working people*. To bring about an economic growth not through numbers, but through organisation and skill—such is the motto of intensification. Intensification for higher labour productivity will during the Ninth Five-year Plan period account for 80-85 per cent of the increment of the national income, 87-90 per cent of the increment of the industrial output, 95 per cent of the increment of construction and assembly work, the entire increment of agricultural output and the volume of shipment by rail.

Among the factors promoting intensification ("science-technology-management-education") science has the leading role to play. Science transforms, revolutionises technology, and with it the entire technical and technological basis of production. Science directly and indirectly (through machinery and technologies) imparts knowledge to production workers. Science arms the subjects of management with a knowledge of scientific principles and methods, modern scientific and technical means of management. Management is the binding, cementing link in this system of intensification factors. Management is called upon rationally to organise production, to ensure the effective functioning and development of production, science, technology and education, and to build bridges between them so that the latest scientific achievements

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Archives*, Vol. 4, p. 119 (in Russian).

are timely introduced into techniques and technologies, and that the latter are just as timely employed in production. Management is called upon to transform scientific and technological achievements into the knowledge, experience and skills of working people, rationally to unite production workers with one another and also with the latest techniques so as to attain the greatest economic and social effect. That is why Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech to his electors on June 12, 1970, emphasised that: "At the fronts of communist economic construction. . . the science of victory is essentially the science of management! To study the science of management and, if necessary, to learn it anew, therefore, becomes the foremost duty of our cadres."⁴

The need to improve the system of management is dictated by the *growth of the scale and the qualitative shifts in the economy*.

In the Soviet Union there are about 50,000 factories and other industrial enterprises, 34,000 collective farms and 15,000 state farms, and thousands of other national economic units. Enormous capital construction is now under way: 500,000 million rubles will be spent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period (1971-1975) on national economic development, as compared with 7,300 million in the first (1928/1929-1932/1933) and 211,800 million in the seventh. As regards qualitative shifts, these are expressed in the creation of new industries, the need for which is dictated by social requirements and those of the scientific and technological revolution; in the comprehensive development of the entire economy as also of its separate branches; in the ever greater orientation of the economy on the accelerated development of agriculture and other branches producing consumer goods, along with the steady development of heavy industry as the basis of all this. All this makes new, higher demands on management, and prevents one from resting content with the existing forms and methods, even those that had served well in the past.

At the same time the possibilities of management *have greatly increased*—this applies both to the people in management and to its technical aspect. The level of knowledge and professional standards of managerial staffs and experts, and of the broad mass of the working people has risen steeply. The science and technical means of management have advanced, notably computational techniques. Modern technology makes it possible to use machinery for many labour-consuming, non-creative management operations, leaving to people the function of decision-making, the organisation of the fulfilment of adopted decisions, control and supervision over managerial processes. It has now become possible to create automated management systems for the most diverse national economic units.

Finally, the question of management is assuming *ever greater political significance*. Socialism is a class society, and where there are classes, interests and the requirements of millions there is also politics. That is why Lenin repeatedly emphasised the need for a political approach to the solution of economic problems, and regarded the principle of the unity of political and economic management as one of the main principles underlying the activity of the Communist Party. "The political aspect of this question is also very important," the report of the CC CPSU at the 24th Party Congress says. "The

⁴ *Pravda*, June 13, 1970.

uninterrupted operation of the economic mechanism helps to create a good and businesslike atmosphere in the country, promotes labour enthusiasm among the broad masses, and leads to growth of initiative among the working people, because then the people see that their labour efforts produce the expected results, that they benefit the people and the whole of society. And, conversely, nothing so tends to cool people's ardour as illconsidered decisions and bungling or bureaucratic practices on the part of individuals, which result in the wasteful use of labour, social resources and created values."⁵

In recent years much has been done in the USSR to improve management. The new economic reform has restored the branch principle of economic management, and as a result it has become much more efficient. Considerable positive shifts have also taken place in planning; plans have become more balanced, the development of some branches has been optimised, the economic and social aspects of plans are better dovetailed. The reform is an important step forward in the development of socialist democracy—it has extended the competence and rights of the Union Republics, has granted greater operational independence to enterprises, and the working people have been more extensively drawn into production management.

We must not, however, be content with what has been achieved. Time does not stand still and it places ever new questions on the agenda which can be resolved only with the help of new organisational forms, new methods and means of management. Improvement of the system of management is not a one-time measure, but a *dynamic process of resolving ever new problems advanced by life*.

II.

Having emphasised the need for improved management, the 24th Party Congress has also outlined the main ways of achieving that improvement.

First and foremost, it is necessary to *improve the theory and practice of planning*, which under socialism is the central link, the core of national economic management. It is a question of raising the scientific level of planning and improving planning methods, and of taking a comprehensive approach to planning, since the nature of problems to be solved and their solution require the concerted efforts of many branches and economic regions. This means that planning should give greater consideration to societal requirements (economic, social and spiritual), to the available economic potentialities and local conditions, that the territorial distribution of production should be improved, that a comprehensive analysis and appraisal should be made of various solution variants, that long-term plans of economic and socio-political development should be made on the basis of forecasts for the population growth, the requirements of the national economy, and scientific and technological progress. Moreover, long-term plans and forecasts should be closely connected with five-year and annual plans.

Special attention is to be given to the *planning of scientific and technological progress*, the fullest use of the latest achievements of science and technology, the need to work out comprehensive programmes for their further development, and, on this basis, to draw up all the sections of the plan.

⁵ *24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents*, Moscow, 1971, p. 79.

This approach has been reflected in the Directives of the 24th Party Congress on the Ninth Five-Year Plan, which point out not only the main trends in the development of science, engineering and technologies, but also determine the relevant targets for each economic sector with due regard for achieved as well as planned technical and technological objectives. Plans are to be based on thoroughly elaborated scientific and technical forecasts.

Important steps to improve the planning of scientific and technological progress are also envisaged in the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Some Measures to Improve the Planning and Economic Stimulation of Industrial Production" (July 1971) according to which the plans of enterprises and associations are as of 1972 specially to stipulate the volume of sales of new output which in its technical and economic indicators corresponds to the best achievements of world engineering. Plans are to provide for an increase in the share of this output in the total volume of production; this output is to be included in the plans for the production of major items in its physical volumes, and these stipulations are to be taken into account when incentive funds are formed.

No less important is the *improvement of the organisational structure of management*. This means first and foremost that the work of the State Planning Committee and other managing bodies, ministries and boards is to be improved and assigned a greater role. Strict delimitation of their functions enables these bodies to concentrate on the basic problems of national economic development. Of great importance for the improvement of management is the consistent implementation of Lenin's principle of individual responsibility for the job assigned, the exact definition of the scope and correlation of rights and duties, the responsibility of officials, the abolition of redundant links in management and parallelism in work, the consistent struggle against all manifestations of narrow departmentalisation and parochialism.

With the scientific and technological revolution in progress, special attention is to be devoted to the further concentration of production. Its modern form in the USSR are big production and research-and-production associations, firms for the introduction of scientific and technical ideas, comprehensive institutes, "institute-factory" complexes, and so on. Their major specific feature is that they are not a conglomerate, a mere sum of the enterprises and organisations comprising them, but an integral system, a single complex whose elements are interconnected and interact on the basis of a common objective, the specialisation, cooperation and division of labour. Production associations, experience has demonstrated, are one of the most expedient forms of organising management because they combine the branch structure of management, which is most efficient in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, with the independence of enterprises, granted to them under the economic reform.

The 24th Congress set the task the "*organically fusing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production."⁶ Associations are one of the most expedient forms for an organic fusion of science and production, making it

⁶ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, Moscow, 1971, p. 69.

possible greatly to accelerate the introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements into production.

Associations also help to create favourable conditions for the most rational utilisation of material, financial and labour resources, for the concentration, specialisation and coordination of production, which is an essential prerequisite for scientific and technological progress; to abolish unnecessary links in the management of enterprises, which obstruct the operative decision of production questions; to reduce managerial staffs; extensively to apply computers in management; to organise extensive training and retraining of workers and specialists, to raise their cultural and technical level, and to ensure their most rational utilisation.

By August 1970 there were over 600 such associations in the USSR. The effectiveness of their activity can be seen from the fact that the volume of the output of Soviet industry as a whole grew 7 per cent in 1969 as compared with 1968, while that of the associations grew 8.5 per cent, and the figures for the rise in labour productivity were correspondingly 5 and 7.1 per cent.

Production associations also help to resolve important social tasks. By raising the effectiveness of production they create conditions for improving the working people's welfare. By ensuring rapid advance of scientific and technological progress and raising the education and qualification of working people, they help to make society homogeneous, to do away with the essential distinctions between workers by brain and workers by hand. Organising branches in medium and small towns, and in rural areas, they help to draw idle labour resources into production, introduce modern production standards, science, technology, spiritual culture and modern amenities in the most remote corners of the country. Associations are the vehicles, as it were, of scientific, technological, social and cultural progress.

A major socio-political role is played also by agrarian-industrial associations, which are an effective form of industrialising agriculture, transforming agricultural labour into a variant of industrial labour. They thus help to abolish the essential distinctions between town and country, the working class and the peasantry.

That is why associations should be formed at an accelerated rate. "The concentration of production," the Resolution of the 24th Congress on the Report of the CC CPSU says, "should be continued by creating production and science-production amalgamations and combines, which should in the long term become the main profit-and-loss units in social production."⁷

The greater role of economic stimuli, combined with the improvement of moral stimuli is another important trend in the improvement of management. The economic reform expresses the policy of the CPSU aimed at a correct combination of directive, centralised targets with the utilisation of economic levers linked with commodity-money relations—economic accounting, prices, profit, credits, material incentives, etc. Since the incentive funds are formed not out of budget allocations, but as a result of the fulfilment by enterprises of targets for the production of additional output, and out of over-plan profits, the reform promotes the disclosure and tapping of latent reserves.

⁷ Ibid., p. 225.

A further improvement of the system of stimuli is needed to create economic conditions that would prompt enterprises to adopt higher plan targets and to use investment and labour resources more rationally; that would stimulate scientific and technological progress and the growth of labour productivity to a maximum; that would help in every way to raise the quality of output. The 24th Congress also noted that it was important consistently to introduce economic accounting at lower levels (enterprises, collective farms, state farms, etc.), as well as at higher levels, and also to improve the remuneration of labour.

Important measures to improve material stimulation are outlined in the above mentioned decision of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Some Measures to Improve the Planning and Economic Stimulation of Industrial Production". In particular, it establishes stable quotas for deductions from profits to economic incentive funds so as to obviate in the current five-year period unjustified and often considerable differences in the size of material incentives granted at enterprises in different branches. Economic incentive funds are to be of a size corresponding to scientifically based proportions in the growth of wages, labour productivity, profits and other plan indicators.

Changes are to be introduced in the existing quotas for the formation of funds for mastering new equipment with a view to fuller compensation for expenditure on its mastering, including higher expenditure in the first year, and in some cases (with the permission of the relevant ministry) in the second year of the serial production of the new equipment. The decision provides for better conditions for encouraging enterprises successfully mastering new machinery and technologies.

Ministries and boards are allowed to earmark part of the stimulation funds for granting additional incentives to collectives manufacturing new products and introducing new equipment so as to compensate enterprises for losses in their incentive funds resulting from lower production development rates and other indicators due to mastering the production of new and better articles.

Extensive credits are to be granted for the introduction of new equipment and the improvement of production, the term of credits depending on the time needed for the credited measures to recoup.

Material incentives are important but they are not the only labour stimulus. As the country progresses towards communism, moral incentives to work acquire greater importance. These are: social recognition of labour; respects of one's colleagues and of society; sense of duty and responsibility to the people; satisfaction with the results of one's work; the pride one takes in one's work; clear conscience; the joy of creation; the quest and enthusiasm; aesthetic delight in one's labour and its results. Under socialism the working people are the masters of their country, the builders of the new society. They attach importance not only to the material aspect of labour, its remuneration, but also to moral encouragement, moral satisfaction.

A correct combination of material and moral stimuli, their organic unity constantly promotes labour activity, raises labour productivity and increases social wealth and, on the other hand, improves the people's welfare, makes for the comprehensive development of the worker and the formation of his high spiritual make-up. This is the main social task of communist construc-

tion. With the growth of the welfare and the level of the special and general training of workers and specialists, the effect of material incentives becomes ever more complex and less direct. In the system of incentives to work, greater importance is acquired by the desire to create and to become an active and full-fledged member of the collective, to participate in its affairs and to see that one's work, one's contribution to the common cause, is appreciated. And this is quite understandable, for stimulation of people's labour activity is not only, and not so much, an economic as a social problem.

In modern conditions the tasks of management have grown more complicated, and this is, among other things, due to the fact that the volume of information has enormously increased. In this connection it is extremely important for the improvement of management to use organisational and computer techniques, automated systems and scientific methods of management and planning. Computers allow for mechanising and automatising many operations connected with the processing and analysis of information. Freed of labour-consuming monotonous and tiring operations, management workers are able to engage in creative labour, to resolve basic management tasks.

The production of computers and the network of computing centres are expanding in the Soviet Union. In 1970 there were over 250 such centres at enterprises, research institutes and design offices alone.

Production is being automated. Over the last decade (1961-1970) the number of automated lines has trebled, the number of automated sections has increased fourfold, and that of automated workshops fivefold. In 1970 there were over 400 automated production management systems in the USSR.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan period extensive work is to be done to create and introduce automated systems for the planning and management of branches, territorial organisations, associations and enterprises. It is planned to set up a countrywide automated system for the collection and processing of information so that in future national economic accounting, planning and management will rely on a state network of computing centres and a single countrywide automated communication network. Over the current five-year period it is planned to set up 1,600 automated management systems, of which 150 will be of all-Union, Republican and branch significance, and 3,000 computer centres and systems for the automated control of technological processes. In future these systems are to be united into a single country-wide automated management system. The 160 per cent increase in the output of computers envisaged in the Ninth Five-Year plan will provide a modern technical basis for the creation of automated information and management systems at different levels. The production of modern programme-compatible integrated computers is being launched in the USSR and some other socialist countries. They will form a single series of six computers capable of carrying out 10,000 to 2,000,000 counting operations per second.

There are two extreme viewpoints on the role of modern scientific and technical management means, and both are equally wrong. The advocates of one of them reject modern scientific methods, new management techniques. As before, they consider that management problems can be resolved by means of volitional efforts, orders and directives. In saying that techniques threaten to

oust man from the sphere of management, that the "cybernetic boom", the "technocratic approach" means a complete rejection of traditional methods and means of management, these people, who can only be called conservatives, essentially hide their unwillingness to keep in step with the times, to master modern management methods.

No less erroneous is the other extreme—an overestimation and even absolutisation of techniques. The proponents of this viewpoint forget that techniques has always been and will always be a means helping man to resolve problems facing him. It is not a question of reducing all management to techniques (this is impossible), but of using techniques, computers above all, as effectively as possible for the solution of management problems. An overestimation of technical facilities is harmful not only in theory but also in practice, because it seeks to outstrip normal development. Automatic production management with the application of cybernetic means is making just the first steps and is still far from universal automation. That is why to reduce management problems simply to a matter of the introduction of computers is to ignore the experience of management gained in the socialist countries, the principles, forms and methods of management corresponding to the modern level of production, science and technology.

III.

Management is a problem requiring a *systems, comprehensive approach* and as comprehensive a solution. Questions of economic management are linked with questions of managing the development of social relations, of Soviet society's spiritual life, and the two sets of questions should be examined and resolved in close interconnection.

The comprehensive approach to problems of management finds expression in the Directives on the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan for the national economic development of the USSR, which, along with economic tasks and on their basis, outline important social tasks: growth of the people's welfare, improvement of working conditions and the way of life of the Soviet people; improvement of working people's education and qualifications and their cultural and technical levels, approximation of the conditions and living standards of the urban and rural populations; further advance and approximation of nations.

Solution of these problems will contribute to the achievement of the principal aim of management in socialist society—abolition of social distinctions, attainment of a social homogeneity. The *social policy* of the CPSU is aimed at solving these problems; this policy is the basic element of Party leadership, which we regard as the most general, important and responsible level of the scientific management of society. "The Party's policy", the CC Report to the 24th Party Congress says, "is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and country and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society."⁸

⁸ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, Moscow, 1971, p. 87.

The movement of Soviet society from class differentiation to social homogeneity is proceeding in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution which changes production and all spheres of social life and substantially affects relations between people in collectives, relations between the collectives, intra-class and inter-class, intra-national and inter-national relations, the system of social relations as a whole. It complicates and diversifies the forms of communication between people and the exchange of the results of their activity, brings about a movement of large human masses both professionally and territorially, introduces changes into their professional composition, affects the character of labour, the way of life and thinking, people's requirements and interests and helps to satisfy them more and more fully. It gives rise to new forms of labour, social and spiritual activity. Ever more people dedicate their abilities to scientific, technical, technological and artistic creation, social activity, etc.

All this greatly diversifies the tasks of social management, raises new difficult problems before the management bodies. The most important thing in social and political management is ably to consider and, in keeping with the interests of the whole of society, to combine the interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, nations and nationalities, all generations, various social groups and collectives, to work out such forms for the organisation of people and forms of stimulation, as would prompt them to even more active labour and social activity with a view to achieving the tasks facing society.

The role of the subject in the system of social management, notably that of the Communist Party, is increasing. The Party policy permeates all spheres of the life and development of socialist society. No field of social life, no sphere of human activity can be managed under socialism without a political approach, without determining the political content, the political consequences of this or that measure. Determining, for example, its policy in the field of scientific and technological progress, the CPSU at the same time endeavours to take into account its socio-political and ideological consequences.

In socialist society there is not, nor can there be any other political organisation which would be able to integrate modern science, technology, the system of management and education into a single whole, to ensure a purposeful coordinated functioning and development of all the component parts of the social organism, to take into account and ably to combine the interests and specific features of different classes, social groups and collectives, all nations and nationalities, all generations. The Communist Party does not pursue any narrow (local, professional, national, departmental) interests; it expresses the common, basic interests of the entire people and, hence of every collective, every member of society. Only the Communist Party is able to fuse into a single powerful stream the small and smallest streamlets of people's initiative, to generalise the rich experience of the masses, to direct their efforts towards a single goal.

The profound meaning of the measures in the economic and social fields, worked out by the 24th Party Congress, is *organically to combine the utilisation of the achievements of the modern scientific and technological revolution with effective forms of socialist management, to direct them for the purposes*

of the best utilisation of the reserves and potentialities of socialism, thereby securing the success of communist construction.

The main subject and object of social management are people, social collectives. They have to play the decisive role in the conscious, purposeful influence being exerted on production and society. People adopt decisions, take measures for and finally control their implementation. The success of management and the effectiveness of production depends on how well prepared people are, on how they are placed in the various links of the economic organism, on what attitudes they take to their work, on how disciplined and responsible they are. That is why it is highly important to improve the education and qualifications of working people, to systematise the training and retraining of managerial personnel. In socialist society production science and technology are not carried on for the sake of production, but for the sake of people, for the satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements, for the most purposeful utilisation and improvement of their abilities. "The final result of the social process," Marx said of communism, "will be society itself, i. e., man himself in the interlacement of his social ties. Everything that has a stable form, the product, etc., for example, acts in this movement only as a moment. . . Even the direct production process acts here only as a moment."⁹

The main thing in the management of production and society is the management of people united in various social collectives, the organisation of people's labour, of their social and spiritual activity, the satisfaction of their diverse ever-increasing requirements.

What does the management of people mean? It means a correct *definition* of the social role of every person, his place in production, in the collective, of his functions, rights and duties; the *understanding* by every person of his own social role, which is attained through training and education; the *execution* by every person of his social role, which is achieved through a system of legal and moral standards, the stimulation of labour and social activity. The management of people, however, is not limited to the definition, understanding and execution by every person of his role in production, society, the collective. Man does not exist in isolation from other people. He is part of a definite collective, social group, class, which have specific traits, requirements and interests. Hence, the management of people becomes also the management of collectives, social groups, classes, the relations within them and between them. Hence, management is the organisation of the masses, the study, consideration and combination of their interests, the activation of their creative potentialities, and uniting them for the solution of the tasks facing society.

Man is tied to other people with thousands of threads and maintains economic, socio-political and other relations with them. "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations," Marx wrote.¹⁰ The management of people is therefore the management of the whole aggregate of socialist social relations, the process of their gradual transformation into communist relations.

⁹ From K. Marx's unpublished manuscripts, *Bolshevik*, No. 11-12, 1939, p. 65.

¹⁰ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 14.

People set themselves definite aims, are guided in their actions by definite ideas and views. Society makes definite demands on people also in the spiritual field, educates them in keeping with the dominant ideas and principles. This means that management includes also the *guidance of spiritual life*, of spiritual production. That is why the 24th Party Congress devoted much attention to the improvement of the work of all links of the ideological front, to the communist education of working people, the formation of the new man, which is one of the main tasks of the Party in communist construction.

The all-out intensification of the creative activity of the working people and the further development of Soviet socialist democracy have always been and will always be a matter of the Communist Party's special concern. These questions were also discussed in great detail at the 24th Party Congress. The Congress elaborated sweeping creative plans for the next few years and for the more remote future and emphasised that the fulfilment of these plans depends on the work of every Soviet citizen, on the people's organisation, perseverance, skill to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them. To mobilise the masses for the fulfilment of urgent tasks, to rally the entire people still closer around the Leninist platform of communist construction—such is the main task of the Party, of all its organisations.

Questions of raising the creative activity of the working masses are indissolubly linked with the further development of Soviet democracy. Since production and all social life have become extremely complicated and social systems at any level (from a single enterprise to the national economy as a whole, from a small workers' collective to society as a whole) have to be competent in many fields and to deal with many factors, it is difficult to expect that correct decisions can always be taken by a single centre, however big and competent. This is because no single centre is able to digest the vast and quickly growing volume of information required for the adoption of correct decisions. That is why there must be a certain decentralisation of management, a redistribution of managerial functions from top to bottom, from the centre to the localities, to an ever wider range of bodies and organisations, to an ever greater number of people, to ever new masses of working people.

This, naturally, does not mean that there is to be a weakening of centralised planning and management let alone their rejection. The principle of democratic centralism has been and continues to be the main organisational principle of socialism. This means that ever new masses of working people have to be drawn into the management of production and all social affairs. This process finds expression in the growing role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, public organisations and workers' collectives in the life and development of society, in the improvement of socialist legislation, in the expansion and improvement of socialist emulation, invention and rationalising. Millions of working people have participated in the drawing up of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. They have submitted a vast number of proposals to promote the development of the economy and culture, to speed up scientific and technological progress, to improve the management of production and all aspects of social life. The CPSU will continue to improve and develop all forms of socialist democracy.

Academician Pyotr FEDOSEYEV,
Vice-President of the USSR
Academy of Sciences

The Main Lines of Research in the Social Sciences

The whole activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an embodiment of the solid unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Together with the fraternal parties it has been steadily enriching Marxism-Leninism on the basis of profound analysis and generalisation of the processes in social development. A truly invaluable contribution to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism was made by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Central Committee's Report and the whole work of the Congress are of outstanding policy-making and political importance and simultaneously of great theoretical importance. The importance of the Congress is determined above all by the fact that it has given a full-scale analysis both of the new stage in the development of the Soviet Union and of the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The main lines in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of all the social sciences stand out clearly in the light of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. First, there is the definition given by the Congress of developed socialism, based on a profound scientific generalisation of the experience in building the new society in the Soviet Union and the experience of other socialist countries. *Formulation of the problems of developed socialist society* is a fundamental general task of Soviet scientists working in all the social sciences.

The 24th Congress stressed the need for complex research into present-day processes in the development of society for the needs of scientific guidance of the socialist economy and fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction. The need for a comprehensive, complex approach by all the social sciences to the solution of pressing theoretical problems springs from the substance of the dialectical method and is resolutely dictated by the times.

THE BASIC LINES OF COMPLEX RESEARCH

Formulation of the philosophical principles underlying communist construction and communist education is the most general, complex line on which the research efforts of those who work in all the social sciences meet and blend.

We are materialists and we hold material production to be the basis of the development of socialist society and of historical progress as a whole. We

also hold it to be axiomatic that history is made by men, and that the depth and breadth of social change depends on the numbers of men involved in making history, and on their consciousness, activity and convictions. Under socialism—the first system in history developing on the basis of conscious guidance of social processes and involving vast masses of working people in building the new society—men's spiritual qualities and creative efforts naturally become a factor on which largely depend the nature and pace of social progress. The Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU stresses that "Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis".¹

One should be clear on the fact that the growth of production, the development of science and technology, and the rise of living standards can help to shape the new spiritual and moral make-up of men and to establish the communist way of life only if they go hand in hand with communist education and the improvement of social relations.

It follows, therefore, that the moulding and establishment of a coherent world outlook by the builders of communism is of fundamental importance, and should give expression to man's attitude to the world, to other men, to social life in all its diversity, to creative work and to spiritual values. This means the comprehensive formulation, you might say, of the philosophy of the builder of communism embodying his communist convictions, his high intellectual standards and other moral principles. This kind of outlook can result only from collective efforts by all the social sciences—philosophy and political economy, scientific communism and sociology, history and law, aesthetics and ethics. This outlook should naturally include the scientific view of the modern epoch, and a deep-seated conviction that communism is inevitably bound to triumph over capitalism. Essentially, the social philosophy of the builder of communism cannot be reconciled with the bourgeois or revisionist concepts of the present day or to any of the inventions of the ideological advocates of capitalism. It requires a principled, class, party approach to all social phenomena.

The philosophy of the builders of communism is a concentrated expression of the spiritual atmosphere which is inherent in the developed socialist society and whose basis is determined by the communist political line and ideology, which fully prevails under socialism. The profound content of social consciousness under developed socialism may be defined, with much more reason, as the philosophy of the builders of communism because the Soviet people's education and cultural standards have been steadily rising, because its spiritual interests and requirements have been steadily growing, and because there is ever greater depth to the philosophical problems whose comprehension characterises the basic tendencies in the development of spiritual life in socialist society.

The inculcation of a communist attitude to work is central to the whole effort of moulding and establishing the communist world outlook. Marx and Engels showed the decisive role of labour in the making and development of

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, Moscow, 1971, p. 100.

man and society. The attitude to work and the incentive to it are a key indicator of the degree of social maturity attained by society and the individual, with labour providing the main source for their improvement. On the strength of the general Marxist doctrine on the role of labour we are fully justified in saying that free, conscious collective work is the main means for establishing communist relations and the communist outlook. In defining the programme for the communist education of the young, Lenin stressed: "Only by working side by side with workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist".² That is why the formulation of problems in fostering the communist attitude to work and to social duty is the main task for the social sciences in moulding and establishing the communist world outlook and the spiritual make-up of the builder of communism.

The communist world outlook is the basis for correct orientation in the increasingly complex processes of historical development. It helps to gain a profound understanding of the course and prospects of world development, to find one's bearings in domestic and foreign affairs and consciously to build life the communist way.

There is an insistent need to give a scientific formulation of the set of philosophical problems which could be defined as the socio-philosophical and socio-historical conceptions of the present epoch. The basic features of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the present day, above all its main political content, have been clearly defined in the documents of the CPSU and the world communist movement. One of the main tasks facing the Soviet social sciences today is to obtain a profound and creative comprehension of present-day socio-philosophical problems.

The world outlook of Soviet people is profoundly internationalist. Their great historical achievements provide evidence of their solidarity with all the liberation movements of the 20th century. At the same time, their world outlook is permeated with profound affection for their socialist country, which is Soviet patriotism. The education of the builder of communism is the education of an internationalist and a patriot prepared to support the liberation movement in other countries and to stand up in defence of his socialist country with all the means at his disposal, and to make any sacrifices for its freedom and independence. The young generation must learn not only to build communism, but also to defend the new society against any ill-wishers, to defend it ideologically and politically and, whenever necessary, with arms in hand.

Consequently, the communist world outlook, in the broad sense of the word, is not only a set of views on nature and society as a whole, not only a mere aggregation of knowledge. It is a coherent system of socio-economic and political ideas and convictions, aesthetic views and ethical rules by which the builder of communism is guided and which have a tremendous effect on every aspect of his cognitive and practical activity. The moulding of the communist world outlook, of the communist spiritual tenor is the focal point at which theory and practice are united into one, at which scientific principles and laws become convictions, views and rules, investing all the activity of men with a profound social meaning, and at which philosophical, economic, socio-

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 298.

logical and other research blends directly with the life and work of the masses building the communist society.

The fundamental features of the communist world outlook are given in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in the CPSU's programme documents and in the moral code of the builder of communism, and are set out in concrete terms in the materials of the 24th Congress of the CPSU in application to the conditions of developed socialist society. It is the task of researchers to throw a full light on the content and role of the communist world outlook, to show its coherent character, and to give greater depth to the understanding of the forms and methods of developing communist consciousness and the political and labour activity of men.

That is the context in which we stress the fundamental philosophical importance of the Communist Party's socio-economic policy as set out in the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the new five-year period. The CPSU has set as the main task of the five-year period a considerable rise in the people's material and cultural level on the basis of high rates of development in socialist production, its greater efficiency, scientific and technical progress and faster growth of labour productivity, and does not regard this task as a temporary one but as the general orientation of the country's economic development over the long term. The theoretical comprehension of this task calls for research and philosophical generalisation of all the processes associated with it, in the first place the problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution.

Consequently, one of the main lines of complex research is the *study of the socio-economic and ideological problems of the scientific and technological revolution*. The Soviet scientists' view of the main tasks of complex research into the scientific and technological revolution is the need to give a comprehensive explanation of the role of the scientific and technological revolution in the world-wide historical process, its part in creating the material and technical basis of communism, and its effect on the social, political, ideological and cultural spheres and the development of the individual under socialism and under capitalism.

The whole experience gained by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries shows that under the socialist system social, scientific and technical progress operates in one direction, with the role of scientific and technical progress in the allround development of socialist society steadily increasing. On the strength of this regularity, the 24th Congress determined that the acceleration of scientific and technological progress was being brought to the fore both in the light of the current tasks and the long-term prospects. Starting from the fact that the Soviet Union has attained a high level in the development of the productive forces and a high degree of maturity of social relations, the CPSU put forward as a most important task the organic fusion of the achievements in the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. This, for its part, requires comprehensive study of the ways and forms of the most efficient use of scientific and technological progress in every sphere of the developed socialist society for the purpose of successful communist construction.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine regards the scientific and technological re-

volution as a process which proceeds within the framework of definite social relations and interacts with them.

There is need for an in-depth study of the problem of putting the scientific and technological revolution to use in developing and improving socialist relations of production. Among the problems that arise here are those connected with the development of socialist property, with changes in the sphere of production, exchange, distribution and consumption, with the obliteration of distinctions between classes and within classes, and with growing social homogeneity and social equality.

The prognostication of scientific and technical progress is one of the central problems, whose solution on a scientific basis implies a study of the laws governing the development of science and technology and calls for joint efforts by natural, technical and social scientists. There is an acute need for a scientifically grounded methodology and set of methods for determining the main lines of scientific and technological progress. One thing that should be borne in mind is that labour productivity is the main criterion of its economic effectiveness. It is not separate specimens of new hardware and technology, however outstanding, but the rate of labour productivity growth throughout the national economy that is the truest indicator of success in the economic, scientific and technical competition with capitalism.

The scientific and technological revolution has a bearing on every aspect of life in Soviet society without exception. This dictates the need to extend in-depth study of its sociological, legal, socio-psychological and educational aspects.

The scientific and technological revolution exerts an influence on the social sciences and on the means and methods they use in research. The penetration of mathematical methods and cybernetics into economic and sociological research has already brought about a marked transformation in these fields of knowledge. Other social sciences have also been adopting new scientific and technical instruments. The scientific and technological revolution has posed new epistemological questions before philosophy. We should be lagging behind if we did not take account of the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the social sciences in our research and the training of personnel.

The study of the changing balance of forces in the struggle between the two opposite world systems is an urgent line in research which is closely connected with various problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU made a comprehensive examination of the specifics of the present phase in the contest between world socialism and world capitalism, and brought out the main lines and forms of its influence on the course of history. These conclusions drawn by the Congress are of fundamental theoretical importance, providing the methodological basis for the study of present-day international problems and indicating the main lines along which research should run in this area.

The Congress stressed the comprehensive global nature of the contest between socialism and capitalism, which covers every sphere of social life and every region. The present stage of the struggle between socialism and capi-

talism is characterised by a substantial growth in the influence exerted by the world socialist system on the general course of development, including the development in the non-socialist world. This marked change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism is determined by its entry into a phase in which the new social system confidently picks up speed, and in which its dynamically developing economic and political system ever more fully and comprehensively reveals its advantages. Of course, the development of world socialism is not entirely free from contradictions and difficulties, but it is now quite clear that the determining element of the present phase of its development is a steep rise in the economy of the socialist states, improvement of their socio-political system, a flourishing of their science and culture and a growth of their cohesion and cooperation.

The opposite tendencies characterise the capitalist world. The late 1960s and the early 1970s turned out essentially to be the start of a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism. The policy of bourgeois reformism and social manoeuvring has failed. The barometer of the world revolutionary process has been steadily moving to a point indicating the start of decisive class battles in the citadels of imperialism.

Events in the recent period have once again shown that for all the efforts of state-monopoly capitalism to adapt itself to the scientific and technological revolution and to use it to preserve the obsolete social system, it is incompatible with private property in the means of production. The latest aggravation of the monetary and financial crisis, the growing unemployment in many capitalist countries, the economic difficulties and the consequent political differences—all these go to confirm the conclusion drawn by Marxist-Leninist theory, which has been written into the documents of the international communist movement and elaborated by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, that under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution tends to aggravate its old contradictions and breed new ones. Scientific and technical progress makes its way in the capitalist countries but it also produces economic and political conflicts, worsens the conditions of ever broader sections of the working people, and breeds problems bearing on the interests of the whole population, like militarisation of the economy, more intense exploitation of labour power and growing unemployment, pollution of the environment and a runaway urban sprawl.

Soviet scientists are faced with the task of making an in-depth study of all these phenomena, generalising them, and bringing out the new trends, processes, contradictions and conflicts produced by the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism. Such studies are also important for a critique of bourgeois apologetic, reformist and revisionist conceptions of the scientific and technological revolution and its social consequences.

The apologists of the capitalist system keep trying to prove that the scientific and technological revolution helps to perpetuate capitalism, thereby refuting the Marxist-Leninist theory and making the socialist revolution superfluous. These purposes are served by the numerous technocratic theories which have appeared in the West over the past 10-15 years. Their authors, among them Herman Kahn, Zbigniew Brzezinski, John K. Galbraith, Daniel Bell, and Raymond Aron, while admitting that capitalism is now facing some highly

acute problems, still hold that these can be solved on the basis of the scientific and technological revolution, through an improvement of bourgeois society.

On the other hand, there is a spread of bourgeois and "Left" radical pessimistic theories which declare scientific and technical progress to be a demonic, destructive force carrying within itself the threat of destruction of civilisation and of spiritual corruption for the individual. The advocates of these theories do not recognise the fundamental distinction between capitalism and socialism in the use of science and technology and spread mistrust about the possibility of their rational use. One of them, the American sociologist Lewis Mumford, says that scientific and technological progress is inhuman, and urges men to turn to nature, to their own human nature and to the nature around them.

Such reactionary utopian theories are as harmful as bourgeois apologetics. They deny the truth that in contrast to capitalism socialism is capable, under the scientific and technological revolution, to safeguard the environment and ensure the most favourable conditions for social progress. Socialist society teaches men to respect technology as well as nature, and to display concern for both. But the Communists regard human life as the supreme value, which explains the Communist Party's motto: "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man".

Soviet scientists have given close attention to the problems which bear on the human aspects of the scientific and technological revolution and its impact on the development of the individual. Of course, even under socialism there are various problems and difficulties in this area, but there is already no doubt at all that the general course of historical development and of the scientific and technological revolution coincide with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the individual and lead towards a realisation of communist ideals and values. As in the tackling of economic problems, socialism has incontestable superiority over capitalism in tackling social, "human" problems.

Socialism wins the battle against capitalism by advancing not in one particular area of life, like production, but by simultaneously and harmoniously improving every aspect of social life for the benefit of every working person. That is something capitalism is quite incapable of doing because it is fundamentally disharmonious and antihumanistic and is antagonistic to the interests of the working people.

The crisis of the global strategy of imperialism provides clear evidence of the weakening of imperialist positions and the growth of the forces of socialism and peace in the international arena. Faced with the collapse of their military-political plans and gambles, the US imperialists have been forced to start a painful re-appraisal of their foreign-policy doctrines. The Nixon Administration has announced an "era of negotiation" and has tried very hard to cover up the imperialist US policy with a screen of peace-making, something that does not make it any the less dangerous. There is every indication that US politicians, continuing their acts of aggression, increasingly hope for a split and disintegration of the ranks of the liberation movement, by playing up class, national, political and ideological contradictions. This has to be reckoned with especially in view of the fact that the Peking chauvinists have

been acting hand-in-glove with the imperialists in seeking to fan and aggravate conflict situations and to use them for their own selfish ends.

In this context, special importance attaches to the scientific elaboration and spread of the ideas written into the Peace Programme, which was put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and which has met with recognition and support by all progressive mankind. The foreign policy and foreign-policy activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are a prominent item in the research, teaching and educational work of Soviet social scientists. We counter the imperialist strategy of aggression and oppression with the strategy of peace and social progress.

Under the economic, scientific and technological competition between the two systems increasing importance attaches to an improvement of management in the national economy, together with *research into the problems of planning and management*. The balance between political and technico-organisational aspects in management is of fundamental importance. Marx warned that management activity has a clearly expressed social tenor, which is why its purposes and to some extent its methods as well are determined by the nature of the social system. On the strength of the achievements in what is known as "management science", efforts are now being made in the West, on the one hand, to prove that this science helps to moderate, and in due time will help entirely to resolve the social conflicts and contradictions of capitalism, and on the other, to obscure the opposite nature of the two systems on the strength that their management is organised on "common lines". It is the task of Soviet scientists to give a full picture of the qualitatively new features of the system of guidance in socialist society as a whole, to bring out the advantages latent in this system, and to show that bourgeois and socialist relations of production are diametrical opposites.

The requirements of development in Soviet society call for in-depth formulations of a wide range of general theoretical, economic, sociological and other problems connected with the use in the sphere of administration of new mathematical, cybernetic and systems methods and new computing techniques, and with the establishment of sectoral and even bigger automated control systems. Much importance attaches to the study of the legal problems arising from state administration and the regulation of the national economy.

Marxism gives the builders of communism a scientific concept of the future. The acceleration of the pace and the growth of the scale of social production in developed socialist society requires ever greater precision of prognostication and improvement in the forms and methods of social prognostication and planning.

Among the tasks related to this area, tasks which Soviet social scientists have been tackling as a complex, the following stand out: first, analysis of the progress in fulfilling the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the corresponding conclusions and proposals; second, participation in producing a scientific model of the plan for the economic development of the USSR in the next five-year period; third, scientific substantiation of a long-term plan for the national economy, or a general prospect and long-term forecast for the country's socio-economic and cultural development, of the main lines in the location of the productive forces and projection of population growth and availability of

manpower resources. In view of this Soviet scientists seek to produce a deeper formulation of the methodology of complex national-economic, sectoral and regional planning with the use of modern economico-mathematical methods and computers, and to work out complex methods for long-term planning and prognostication.

The laws governing the development of the world socialist system are among the central problems facing the social sciences. Analysis of their mechanism now constitutes an independent line of research designed to help the ruling parties of the socialist countries to take a scientific approach to practical questions in the development of the world socialist system and to bring out its latent potentialities. The 24th Congress of the CPSU put forward a number of fundamental propositions concerning the laws and prospects in the development of socialism. It re-emphasised the primary theoretical and political importance of the general laws of socialist construction which determine the features of socialism as the new social system.

Soviet scientists see it as their important task to scientifically substantiate the objective need for the allround integration of the socialist states to show the specific nature of the stages in this integration and the forms in which it takes place, and also the qualitative distinction of the integration processes going forward in the world socialist system from those which are taking place in the world capitalist system. Thus, it is well known, for instance, that socialist integration is carried out consciously, voluntarily and in a balanced manner, that it does not entail the exploitation of one country by another, or the imposition of the economic policies to the detriment of anyone's national interests, and that it ensures the most efficient use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. One pressing task is the theoretical elaboration of the problems of socialist economic integration as outlined in the CMEA's Comprehensive Programme, a deepening and extension of the socialist countries' political and ideological cooperation, and a description of the ways and forms for the integration of the socialist nations and states. One should constantly bear in mind what Lenin said about this process being a long and objective one, in which there can be no running ahead or leaping over stages.

The world socialist system is the prototype of the future "world cooperative", as Lenin put it, and the most important factor of our day. No wonder it is being closely studied not only by those who see socialism as the future of their own nations and wish to borrow from the experience of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries. The world socialist system is also being closely watched by its enemies, who seek to make use of any difficulties in its development in an effort to undermine the positions of socialism, and to reduce its prestige and power of influence. Now and again, Right and "Left" revisionists, who distort the processes going on within the world socialist system, and throw a false light on its nature and world-historic role, find themselves side by side with the bourgeois ideologists.

The Maoists have put their stake on "barrack-room socialism" and a military-bureaucratic dictatorship as a form of militarising social life and as an instrument of great-power, chauvinistic policy. Others lay emphasis on "humane" and "democratic" socialism, and spread the theory of various models

of socialism. The edge of this theory is known to be directed against the scientific concept that the substance of the socialist system is common to all the socialist states. Its ideological basis is the concept of "open" or "pluralistic" Marxism, which denies the universal character of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Present-day bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists pretend that there is no coherent Marxist doctrine, and that each country has its own version of Marxism. The main aim of this "pluralistic" falsification of Marxism is to discredit and overthrow Leninism as the highest stage in the development of Marxism.

As a rule, revisionism is closely bound up with a distortion of the essence of proletarian internationalism, the problems of the general and specific in the development of socialism, of the national and the international, and so on. Nationalism is one of the most heavily poisoned arrows in the arsenal of the enemies of socialism, which they use in their efforts to spoil relations between the socialist countries and the Communist parties.

Let us stress that the struggle of the world communist movement against Right and "Left" opportunism now has some specific features. In the past, in definite historical conditions, the Right and "Left" opportunists were fairly sharply polarised, attacking Marxism-Leninism from directly opposite positions. Today, this has changed. Now that the struggle of the CPSU and the world communist movement has dealt crushing blows at these anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet trends, they have started to close their ranks and to interweave, so that the distinction between them, especially theoretical ones, are being obliterated. We discover that most present-day revisionist theorists mix their "Left" and Right anti-Soviet theses. We constantly find "ultra-Leftist" anti-party and anti-Soviet attacks in the writings of avowed Right opportunists and renegades like Roger Garaudy and Ernst Fischer. On the other hand, the Peking adventurists willingly use the arguments of the Right revisionists and the anti-communists.

That is why all the social scientists have been invigorating their efforts in the struggle against the hostile ideologies, especially against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which are now being fanned all over the world by Right and "Left" revisionists, and renegades and nationalists of every stripe. Criticism of the Maoist ideology, which is increasingly anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet, continues to be a most important task.

In tackling the tasks of complex research into the important and pressing problems and criticising modern anti-communism and revisionist conceptions, Soviet scientists *make a profound study of modern Marxist thinking abroad, theoretical work in particular, and the experience of the ideological struggle in the fraternal socialist countries.* They are aware that it is their internationalist duty to develop the social sciences. Soviet scientists have been doing their utmost to strengthen scientific ties with scholars in the socialist countries, enlarging their mutual information, consultations and closer cooperation in tackling the pressing problems in the social sciences, in taking a common stand against their ideological enemies and making concerted efforts in enlisting all the healthy and forward-looking forces in the capitalist countries on the side of progress and socialism. The strengthening of such cooperation with Marxist-Leninists in other countries extends our potentialities both in

the positive formulation of pressing theoretical problems and in combating hostile ideologies.

QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE

The tasks of comprehensive research into the socialist economy and socialist forms of economic operations have become central to Soviet economic science. The most important lines of this research are determined by the content of the Communist Party's economic policy.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism is the fundamental economic task which the Party regards as the central one in its Programme. This task is being tackled through the improvement and allround advance of the economically developed socialist society. In accordance with this *the elaboration of the economic problems of developed socialist society and the creation of the material and technical basis of communism* has become the general line of economic research. The first thing that needs to be done is a concrete study of the basic long-term lines of complex economic construction in developed socialist society. We start from the fact that the further development and improvement of socialist production and of the modern and most advanced production assets is simultaneously construction of the material and technical basis of communism, which can be created on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. The main line in creating the material and technical basis of communism is to bring about an organic blend of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of the socialist economic system. Work is going on in formulating the basic quantitative and qualitative criteria of the material and technical basis of communism on which the communist principles of production and distribution can be realised.

In this context, there is more intense theoretical elaboration of the problem of human requirements in developed socialist society: rational standards and structures of consumption of material and spiritual goods, the effect of the law of growing requirements on their dynamics and structure, and determination of the conditions necessary for the comprehensive development of the working people's capacities and creative activity. In the past, economic writings mainly centered on backing up the proposition that under socialism the people's living standards were determined by the development of social production. Today it is also necessary to give a better and fuller picture of the feed-back connection between the development of production and rising living standards. It is wrong to regard rising living standards as nothing but a problem of boosting the people's consumption of material goods. This is a many-faceted task in content and meaning, and its solution has a direct bearing on the development of Soviet man, the main productive force of Soviet society.

Scientists have directed their attention to the study of the impact of steadily rising living standards on the growing socio-economic homogeneity of Soviet society, a process which is most pronounced in the new five-year period, as a further marked alignment of living standards in town and country,

of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, and of the inhabitants of different parts of the country.

Economists have been strengthening their ties with the enterprises and associations of different branches of social production *in an effort to help them find and make the fullest use of all the reserves for boosting the productivity of labour and enhancing the efficiency of social production*, making the most rational use of manpower, basic production assets, and raw and other materials, and improving the quality of their products.

Perhaps the crucial problem is to find ways and means of *accelerating the through-put of capital investments*. Marx drew attention to the need for correctly combining investments in branches yielding the most rapid effect, and those where recoupment takes a long time. The true importance of the task of accelerating the effective through-put of capital investments will be seen in the light of the facts that in the new five-year period they come to over 500 milliard rubles.

At present, Soviet scientists are extending the scale of *their research into the scientific principles of the further improvement of the mechanism of socialist economic operations*: planning methods, more efficient use of economic instruments, introduction of economic accounting, improvement of price-formation, the use of credits and the problems of material and moral incentives. They have given special attention to bringing out the sources and all the factors of *intensive development* of the socialist economy.

Economists have to work out, in accordance with modern requirements, and for the purposes of practical use, a system of economic criteria and standards for correctly assessing and selecting different variants for enhancing the efficiency of production, accelerating scientific and technological progress, optimal planning of rate and proportions of growth in the national economy and its branches, the balance between accumulation and national consumption, for the fullest satisfaction of society's requirements in the light of long-term development and of the immediate tasks ahead.

The application of a system of economic criteria and standards, with extensive use of mathematical methods, will help harmoniously to blend the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of economic analysis, to increase the accuracy of economic research, and to make more effective use of its results in the practice of administration, planning and economic management.

All these general tasks have a direct bearing on the *economics of agriculture*. Economists will have to work out a number of specific problems in the economic development of the countryside, methods of intensifying every branch of agriculture and making the most efficient use of the vast resources the state and the collective farms have been investing in its development.

Because the problems of economic theory and practice are many-faceted and increasingly complex, there is need for the utmost use of the systems approach to economic research in order to tackle the problems arising in the industries, regions and individual spheres of reproduction from the standpoint of the national-economic optimum. The problems of the USSR's economy are studied in the light of the development of the world socialist system, of socialist integration and also of the state of the capitalist economy and of the developing countries.

All these and many other questions have a direct bearing on the *fundamental problems of the political economy of socialism*. Their successful solution largely depends on the elaboration of such key methodological problems as the system of economic laws and categories of socialism in general and of developed socialist society in particular, the principles of socialist extended reproduction, and improvement of methods in the use of commodity-money relations under socialism.

We have to admit that the political economy of socialism has yet to make a decisive contribution to the elaboration of these problems. In particular, the discussion on the role of commodity-money relations under socialism has been going on for much too long. The point is that this question of using commodity-money relations in socialist society is not regarded by the Party and the Government as being a debatable one. The CPSU Programme and the Documents of the 23rd and 24th Congresses clearly define the role and the specific features of commodity-money relations in the socialist economy.

There is need for creative elaboration, and consequently also of discussion of the problems arising from the improvement of commodity-money relations and of the whole complex of economic-accounting instruments in the planned direction of the national economy. The thing to bear in mind here is that a one-sided approach to these matters may have highly negative consequences. Thus, an underestimation of commodity-money relations may undermine the economic accounting system and the material incentives. On the other hand, an exaggeration of the role of these relations and their treatment as absolutes result in an underestimation of the new socialist forms and incentives to boosting production like the planning principles, free creative collective labour, the combination of material and moral incentives, the mobilising role of labour collectives, socialist emulation, organisation of production on social lines, etc. The practice of some socialist countries shows that departures from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of these matters in this or that direction does much harm to the cause of economic construction.

The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows that commodity-money relations are a most important instrument in the national economy. That is not to say, however, that they have the same role to play under socialism as under capitalism, where they embody the essence of the socio-economic formation, catering for relations based on the exploitation of labour by capital. Under socialism this is a form giving expression to relations of production based on social property and free from man's exploitation of man, relations which are qualitatively new as compared with capitalist relations of production. Under socialism, money cannot be converted into capital, because the means of production cannot be sold to private persons, while labour power cannot be bought, that is, cannot be a commodity. This constitutes the specific feature of commodity-money relations under socialism. We oppose the underestimation or neglect of commodity-money instruments in economic accounting, and the exchange of activity and economic ties in socialist society in general. But we are also resolutely opposed to any attempt to use recognition of the need for commodity-money relations to contrast socialist production, as allegedly being a special mode of production, with the communist mode of production, or for the advocacy of "market socialism".

I believe there are now favourable possibilities for a marked change of the state of affairs in this area. In putting forward the task of bringing about an organic fusion of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of socialism, the 24th Congress of the CPSU once again stressed the qualitative distinction of socialism as a social system in comparison with capitalism. Among the primary tasks of the political economy of socialism in the sphere of theoretical fundamental research is to show this specific feature, to study the main laws underlying socialist relations of production, and to bring out the fundamental distinctions of the economic principles of socialism on the strength of the vast amount of data provided by the practice of socialist construction in the USSR and other socialist countries.

We also start from the fact that the political economy of socialism, a most important line of research, can be creatively developed only through the elaboration of pressing problems facing the socialist economy. At the same time, it is not right to relax our attention to the study of political economy in the broad sense of the word. We must not lose sight of the non-socialist part of the world, which is still inhabited by a sizable mass of the population. The economy in various parts of the world today is at different levels of development and may be said to represent the whole of political economy in the broad sense of the word. Over one-third of the world economy is subject to the operation of the laws of the political economy of socialism. The laws in operation in the rest of the world are those of monopoly and pre-monopoly capitalism, and also the laws of pre-capitalist formations, including communal and patriarchal relations. Thus, the development of political economy in the broad sense of the word is not only an academic or historico-theoretical exercise, but also a pressing practical task. Of course, political economy cannot engage in characterising the economy of every country, but the important thing is to trace the specific features acquired in modern conditions by pre-capitalist and capitalist relations, the specific features of the economy on the non-capitalist way of development, and the impact exerted by the world socialist economy on the world economy.

QUESTIONS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

A key aspect of the theoretical analysis of the present epoch is the relationship between the chief motive forces behind the world revolutionary process: the world socialist system, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. In their efforts to divide these revolutionary-liberation forces, the opponents of Marxism seek to contrast them with each other. There has, therefore, naturally arisen the pressing need to *throw a scientific light on the role of the working class in the overall interaction of the social and political factors of social progress*. What this means is the concrete embodiment of its epoch-making mission in the present conditions.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU stressed the growing role of the working class in all the main events and movements of our epoch.

First, there has been a growth of the creative activity and leading role of the working class in the socialist countries, where socialist and communist construction is being carried on under its guidance and with its direct participation. In all the socialist countries, the working class is the leading force and the class basis of the new system. Even where the anti-socialist forces have managed to deform various elements of the superstructure, the socialist economic basis has withstood the attacks of these elements thanks to the working class as the main vehicle of socialist relations of production.

Second, there has been a marked intensification of the class struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries, including the citadels of imperialism. Despite the conciliation of the reformist parties, the working class has markedly risen as an independent force in the fight against capitalism. Recent events have fully borne out the importance of the working class as the chief and strongest opponent of monopoly rule, and as the center of attraction for all the anti-imperialist forces.

Third, there has been a growth in the numerical strength and share of the working class in the population, and its influence in the Third World countries. Life shows that the national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggle carried on by the peoples can be effective only if it is allied with the international working class.

The Right and "Left" revisionists, Maoists and petty-bourgeois radicals seek to set in opposition to the working class the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the army circles, the youth movement, the students and even the declassed elements. Revisionists have fiercely attacked the communist parties, the militant vanguard of the working class, in their efforts to discredit and weaken the communist movement. They have rejected the idea of the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution and have denied the leading role of the communist parties as the highest form of its class organisation.

There are increasingly strident efforts on the part of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists to prove that under the scientific and technological revolution the trade unions are bound to play a smaller role, and to prove that the trade unions, like the working class itself, are allegedly being "integrated" with the state-monopoly capitalist system. They seek to find "theoretical" evidence that trade unions in the socialist and the capitalist countries have no common interests, and to make it impossible for the working class in countries with different social systems, to cooperate. They have continued to attack the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The youth movement has become a most important objective in the battle of ideas now being fought between capitalism and socialism. In recent years, a number of capitalist countries in Europe and America were swept by a tide of powerful revolutionary student action, which has been designated as "student revolution." This revolutionary student movement springs from the acute social contradictions of bourgeois society. Present-day monopoly capitalism is hostile to the young. It is incapable of solving any of their problems. The monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to paralyse the revolutionary student movement and to divert it off the right path. In these efforts, it is getting very much help from the Leftist conceptions propounded by petty-bourgeois radicals, anarchists, Trotskyites and Maoists.

In these conditions, Soviet scientists have intensified their analysis of problems of the working class, trade union, youth and other democratic movements. They realise that their task is to inflict a final defeat on all the revisionist attempts to obscure the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the liberation movement.

Renegades, like Garaudy and Fischer, insist that since the scientific and technological revolution tends to increase the numbers and role of the intelligentsia, it is the one that has the leading role to play in social development. They do not dare openly to deny the role of the working class in world history, as otherwise they would be seen defecting from Marxism, and so include most intellectuals, engineers and technicians in the working class as "one of its most promising sections".

What is the flaw in this approach? First, it obscures the leading role of the working class itself. Second, it artificially "eliminates" the real problem of ensuring an alliance between the working class and the scientific and technical intelligentsia, and its enlistment by the proletariat for the fight against the monopolies, for it is said already to have "fused" with the working class as a component part of it. Third, the social and political differentiation within the scientific and technical intelligentsia and administrative personnel is ignored, like their specific interests and demands, which are not always identical with those of the proletariat and which must be considered by the Communists in their work with the intelligentsia. Fourth, it is held that the fusion of the intelligentsia and the working class is possible under capitalism, which means the possibility of eliminating the contradictions and existing distinctions between mental and manual labour without any socialist revolution, without building a communist society, merely under the impact of scientific and technological change.

Those who falsify Marxism seek to back up their theoretical speculations concerning the changing boundaries of the working class by referring to Marx, specifically his concept of the "collective labourer" or "collective working man", which allegedly justifies the bringing together of workers, intellectuals, and employees within the working class. But is this so?

When using the term "collective labourer", Marx *never identified it with the working class*, but on the contrary pointed to the internal *social heterogeneity* of the production personnel of an enterprise brought under this head. Specifically, he stressed that the structure of "the collective labourer" existing under capitalism includes the *contradiction between mental and manual labour*, which "part company and even become deadly foes".³

Marx is known constantly to have pointed to the contradiction between mental and manual labour which is inherent in capitalism. He wrote: "The labourer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power".⁴

Of course, in the course of the class struggle the relationship between workers by brain and workers by hand does not remain unchanged. In their own lifetime, Marx and Engels observed the tendency of large sections of

³ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, p. 508.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

the intelligentsia to move closer to the working class. The subsequent development of this tendency of the intelligentsia drawing closer to the proletariat in the capitalist countries was profoundly analysed by Lenin in his works. In a letter to Charles P. Steinmetz in April 1922 he wrote: "In all the countries of the world there is growing—more slowly than one would like, but irresistibly and unswervingly—the number of representatives of science, technology, art, who are becoming convinced of the necessity of replacing capitalism by a different socio-economic system".⁵

Today, we find new important changes taking place in the status and role of the intelligentsia in the capitalist countries and its further progressive movement closer to the working class. That is the social basis which made it possible for the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 to put forward the strategic slogan of an alliance between workers by brain and workers by hand in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. Marxist-Leninist party documents say that considerable sections of the intelligentsia are also *moving closer together, but are not fusing* with the working class in the capitalist countries. Marxism-Leninism teaches, and historical practice confirms, that social distinctions between workers by brain and by hand can be overcome only in the process of the communist transformation of society.

Distinctions between the working class and the intelligentsia exist even under socialism. Life fully confirms the correctness of Lenin's social prognostication that the intelligentsia remains "a separate social stratum, which will persist until we have reached the highest stage of development of communist society".⁶

The scientific view of the intelligentsia as a relatively independent section of socialist society does not imply either its enshrinement as a special and privileged elite, or any "Left" sectarian minimisation of its truly great social importance. The growing role of the intelligentsia which goes hand in hand with successes in socialist and communist construction is objectively determined by the rapid progress of the productive forces, the extensive use of scientific and technological achievements, the extension of the sphere of the services and administration and management, the steady growth of the cultural and technical levels of all members of society, and the development of education and public health.

However, the dialectics underlying the formation of social homogeneity is such that it is neither the intelligentsia that is integrated with the working class, nor the working class that is integrated with the intelligentsia, but that the social distinctions between them are increasingly obliterated, as mental and manual labour are organically combined in men's productive activity.

All these processes pose important problems before the social scientists: to show how classes, social sections and groups develop in the transition to communism, with the working class playing the leading role; to study the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on these processes; to analyse the changes within definite social groups (the working class, the pea-

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 552.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 194.

santry, the intelligentsia, the office workers), the ways of overcoming inter-class and intra-class distinctions, etc. There is need to study the laws governing the development of the Soviet people as a new social entity and the strengthening of society's socio-political and ideological unity. There is a need to study the social problems of young people and other groups of the population.

Other important and pressing problems spring from the relations between nations in the Soviet Union and prospects of their development. Let us bear in mind that in many countries national problems are highly acute and are the source of social tensions and conflicts. It was said with pride at the 24th Congress of the CPSU that the Leninist national policy has led to the alignment of the levels of economic development in the Union republics, ensuring genuine equality of all nations and nationalities, and the flourishing of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR which are national in form and socialist in content. The Congress oriented the social sciences on the main problems of national policy: clarification of the place and role of nations and national relations at the present stage of the development of Soviet society; improvement of the relations of friendship and cooperation between nations, and the interlacing of national and international processes in the life of the peoples of the USSR.

Various aspects of the political structure of socialism, the character of the socialist state, the nature of socialist democracy and its qualitative distinction from bourgeois democracy continue to be an important area of research. The 24th Congress of the CPSU stressed once again that real possibilities within the reach of the vast majority of the population and of all working people to participate in formulating and implementing political decisions constitute the highest criterion of democracy. Soviet social science seeks to give a comprehensive picture of the intrinsic unity of the processes leading to the strengthening of the Soviet state and the development of socialist democracy.

The theoretical foundation for the political direction of social development is provided by the Leninist doctrine of the Communist Party, of its place within the system of state and mass organisations, and the principles of Party building. The *growth of the Party's leading role* is a key law of socialist and communist construction and is, consequently, an important subject of scientific analysis. Today, this is a most vibrant question because of the growing demands being made upon the levels, forms and methods of Party leadership by the present stage of communist construction and by the fact that it has become the central issue of struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and diverse revisionists. This poses before scientific workers in the social sciences the task of showing in greater depth the objective grounds for the Party's leading role, of studying the general principles and concrete forms and methods of Party leadership in various areas of social life, the specific features of the Party's leading role in the developed socialist society, and of giving well-reasoned criticism of bourgeois and revisionist conceptions on these problems.

The revisionists seek to limit the Party's functions in socialist society, suggesting that the Party should be regarded as just another mass organisation and one of the "equal partners" of the other organisations, like the trade unions, youth leagues, societies, etc. In this context, the revisionists advocate

“political pluralism”, and “pluralism of power” under socialism, taking this to mean a system which deprives the working class and its revolutionary vanguard of their leading role. History shows that the attempts to put these principles into practice have had the most damaging consequences for the cause of socialism. On the contrary, when the Party is creatively guided by Leninist principles and develops them in accordance with new conditions and requirements, it invariably scores successes in socialist and communist construction.

MAIN LINES OF DEVELOPMENT IN PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the general theoretical and methodological basis for tackling the tasks of communist construction, analysing the processes in world development, the basis for communist education, and the struggle against hostile ideologies. This determines the place of Soviet philosophical science in implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress, its main lines of development, and range of problems, which are of fundamental social importance.

Among the central tasks is the formulation of *dialectics as a theory and methodology in the cognition of social processes and analysis of the dialectics of social development*. These questions spring from the advance of the scientific and technological revolution, the struggle between the two opposite systems, the changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the world, the formation of developed socialist society as a coherent social organism, which functions in accordance with its own specific laws, and the growth of socialist social relations into communist social relations. Without an understanding of the dialectics of social reality it is impossible to understand or produce a coherent scientific picture of the present epoch, or to comprehend in scientific terms the tendencies and laws of social development.

What must be taken into account is that bourgeois philosophers, “Marxologists” and revisionists, speculate precisely on the specific questions of the dialectics of human activity, the dialectics of social phenomena. A positive elaboration of these problems provides the basis for profound criticism of bourgeois conceptions and falsifications of Marxism.

Indeed, the problems of dialectics face us in our efforts to comprehend the growth of socialism into communism, a process which is of world historic importance. Let us add, that up to now there has been inadequate elaboration of the problems of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, with some oversimplification allowed on various questions. Thus, some philosophers held that the specific features of the dialectics of social development in the new formation lay in the fact that contradictory nature of development gave way to a kind of universal harmony. Actually, however, harmonious, proportional development is achieved even in the developed socialist society through the resolution of contradictions. In tackling these problems, the fundamental starting point for Marxist scientists is provided by Lenin’s idea that under socialism antagonisms disappear but contradictions remain. This is quite natural because the doctrine of contradiction as the source of development is the fundamental proposition

of materialist dialectics. Neither in nature nor in society can there be complete identity, absolute harmony of all the sides, of all the component parts and elements, for this would mean the end of any change and development.

The nature of contradictions in the development of socialist society and the fundamentally new basis of these contradictions and modes of their resolution is quite another matter. The developed socialist society still retains the division into classes and social groups in its structure, but these are friendly classes and groups, the community of whose basic interests is steadily increased and consolidated, as society on the whole becomes ever more homogeneous. But in the course of development there come to the surface the contradictions between objective and subjective factors, between production and consumption, between wishes and real potentialities, between balanced development and spontaneous elements, between new social and individual requirements which now and again emerge quite suddenly and rapidly increase, and the efforts to satisfy these.

There are also the non-antagonistic contradictions which may emerge between the necessary centralisation in the management of the national economy, on the one hand, and the growing role and independence of its various units, branches of the economic and socio-political organism, and regional sections of socialist society, on the other. Every new and major stage in the development of socialist society quite clearly produces something new in the balance between democracy and centralism, in the concrete expression of democratic centralism—the basic principle underlying the government of social processes—a principle reflecting the essential features of the new socio-economic formation.

In the sphere of historical materialism, a study of the dialectics of social being and social consciousness continues to be the central task. It is highly important to study the theoretical problems arising from the moulding of consciousness under developed socialist society, its structure and specific features among various social groups, and also the problems in overcoming the relicts of the past in the minds and behaviour of men. What is especially important here is to bring out the analysis of theoretical aspects of the working people’s education in a spirit of atheism, the struggle against negative phenomena like individualism, hard drinking, crime, etc.

Much scientific interest attaches to the study of the complex of general theoretical and methodological problems bearing on man, which arise in the study of humanism, the full development of the individual under socialism and communism, formulation of the theory of values, ethical and aesthetical systems, the theory of culture, and the philosophical comprehension of new processes and phenomena in the spiritual life of men under the developed socialist society.

In the light of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU growing importance attaches to the *study of philosophical questions in the natural and technical sciences*. Soviet philosophers working in this sphere have scored some successes. The alliance of Marxist philosophers and natural scientists, which Lenin bequeathed in his work “On the Significance of Militant Materialism”, whose 50th anniversary fell in March 1972, has been consolidated.

However, the rapid progress in the natural sciences and the growing importance of their social role have impelled philosophers to proceed with in-depth

research to probe the philosophical and methodological functions of materialist dialectics, which go to shape the natural-science foundations of the communist world outlook. Special attention is being given to the philosophical aspect of the problems arising in the sciences which are in the forefront of modern science: the physics of elementary particles, astrophysics, molecular biology, and others, and also philosophical problems arising at the junction of biological and social sciences, which are, in particular, connected with the study of man and his environment.

Increasing importance attaches to the methodological problems in the application of mathematical and cybernetic methods for studying and directing socio-economic processes.

In developing dialectics it is now no longer possible to confine oneself to an examination of its individual problems, laws and categories. On the strength of the research they have already carried out, Soviet philosophers are tackling a complex and difficult task which science and practice insistently present, namely, the *development of the theory of materialist dialectics and the formulation of a coherent system of its laws and categories*. This is, essentially, putting into effect Lenin's idea about producing a fundamental work summing up the development of philosophical thought, the history of dialectics in particular, generalising the achievements in the natural sciences, technology, the social sciences, social development, the practice of the revolutionary struggle and socialist and communist construction.

Sociological research has gained extensive scope in the last few years. Let us recall that it has brought out various mistakes and shortcomings of a methodological nature: the copying of schemes and models which sprang from bourgeois sociology, underestimation of the general theoretical role of historical materialism, the narrowness of the statistical and empirical basis, overemphasis on purely local data, etc. However, it is wrong to underestimate the importance of sociology and the need for serious, deep and concrete sociological research based on Marxist-Leninist theory; the mistakes and shortcomings that have occurred should not lead to any relaxation of attention or a return to the nihilistic attitude to concrete sociological research.

Under the developed socialist society much importance attaches to the study of various aspects of social planning and prognostication, the socio-psychological aspects of scientific and technological progress, demographic factors, occupation orientation, concrete analysis of the processes helping to overcome the socio-economic distinctions between town and country, between mental and manual labour, and between and within classes.

Social psychology is being more extensively developed. Research in this area will help to solve many questions relating to the boosting of labour productivity, factors which influence the change of demand, consumer preferences, and public opinion.

DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE

The CPSU has always attached much importance to developing the science of history, which it regards as an important instrument of scientific cognition

of social laws, generalisation of experience in the revolutionary and transforming activity of the masses, and an instrument of the ideological education of the working people. Brought out to the fore in this context is comprehensive study of the history of the CPSU, the theoretical *generalisation of the Party's experience in winning power, building socialism, consolidating the world's first socialist state, and tackling the most pressing tasks of communist construction*. The history of the CPSU is a living and most convincing demonstration of the Party's growing role at every stage of the working-class struggle in fulfilling its epoch-making mission. The following key problems stand out within the framework of this area.

First, it is the task of scientists—both historians of the Party and specialists in the history of the USSR and world history—to *study and shed light on the history of the three Russian revolutions*. This will result in fundamental works showing the great international significance of the CPSU's revolutionary experience and the international importance of Leninism. The international importance of Leninism and the revolutionary experience of the CPSU is a problem that has now become central to the ideological struggle. Both official "Sovietologists"—anti-communists as well as revisionists of every stripe—are agreed in denying this international importance and keep saying that the October Revolution was a "freak" and that its lessons carry no more than a national message. To throw a scientific light on the three Russian revolutions is to provide the best evidence of the objective laws and the epoch-making importance of the revolutionary achievement of the working class and its allies.

Second, there is the *study of the historical experience of the USSR in building socialism and communism*. This helps to give a comprehensive, concrete historical picture showing the making of the new social formation, and the Soviet people's contribution to the social progress of our epoch, which is characterised by transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Here again, the CPSU's experience is of universal importance and continues to be meaningful in the present conditions. It belongs to the whole international communist movement.

At important line in the study of the history of the CPSU is the Party's activity in establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the formulation and implementation of its national policy. In the present conditions, this aspect of the Party's activity acquires great international importance. The socialist countries and many developing countries, especially those who have taken the socialist orientation, have displayed much interest in the system of relations between nations which have taken shape in the Soviet Union. The 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, which falls on this year, is an event of international importance.

Third, there is the *CPSU's ideological activity in the period of socialist and communist construction, and its experience in combating Right and "Left" deviations*. The CPSU was the first to tackle the most complex problems in remoulding the consciousness and mentality of the masses, to foster them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to direct the development of culture and ideology. The Party also had to combat various deviations from its general line. The Party defeated the Right and "Left"

opportunists and nationalists of every stripe. This experience is not only of historical importance. Opportunist ideas and traditions occur in the world liberation movement, and in some conditions there is a tendency for their revival. An example is provided by the modern Trotskyites, who become very active in some countries, especially among the young. From their predecessors, the Trotskyites inherited their anti-Sovietism, lack of principle and inclination for adventurism. They have been attacking the world socialist system and the international communist movement and seek to undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. The Trotskyites pay lip-service to proletarian internationalism but in fact operate as cosmopolites, attacking the line of the communist parties in the capitalist countries for preparing and staging socialist revolutions in accordance with the national and historical conditions in each country on the plea that every effort should be directed towards a "world revolution". However, their concept of so called permanent revolution is in fact a concept of counter-revolution. As camouflage, they keep talking about proletarian and anti-colonial revolutions winning simultaneously across the world, but the prime purpose of their "permanent revolution" is to overthrow the power existing in the USSR and other socialist countries. For a number of Communist Parties the fight against neo-Trotskyism is a very urgent matter. There again the CPSU's experience will stand them in good stead.

Soviet scientists have much to do in *analysing the main features of the present stage of the international communist movement*, and the various aspects of the strategy and tactics of the fraternal parties in the various countries and regions. It is highly important to show how the struggle is being carried on today for the unity of the communist movement, and the ways and means used in attaining it. Problems of proletarian internationalism, the dialectics of the general and the particular, the inter-relationship of peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle for power have never been more pressing than they are today. In present-day conditions, increasing importance attaches to the study of the history of the international communist movement, the history of the Comintern, in particular.

Research in modern and contemporary history continues to be important, especially further research in the history of the Second World War. Soviet historians have been devoting more and more attention to the changes taking place in the world under the influence of the world socialist system and the scientific and technological revolution, as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system and the advance of the national-liberation struggle. Soviet scientists seek to analyse in good time processes and phenomena which occur in various spheres of life both in the imperialist and in the developing countries, and in relationships between states and opposite social systems, and to throw light on the historical experience of the countries in the socialist community.

Academician
Bonitati KEDROV

Dialectics: the Soul of Marxism

Lenin's work "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" (1922), the 50th anniversary of which was marked this year, is rightly regarded as his philosophical testament. The question of *dialectics* holds a central place in it. This article represents a direct continuation of Lenin's works on Marxist philosophy, beginning with the book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1909) and ending with his writings after the October Revolution. It is closely linked, in particular, with the *Philosophical Notebooks* (1914-1915) which, in turn, sound in unison with a whole series of Lenin's works (1913-1914)—"The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", "The Marx-Engels Correspondence" (printed in 1920) and "Karl Marx".

We shall examine the article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" first of all under the angle of its connection with the earlier works in which questions of materialist dialectics were taken up. Then we shall ascertain in greater detail what provided the direct impulse for writing it and the plan of work in the field of philosophy Lenin drew up at that time. Lastly, we shall try to outline some concrete present-day tasks in elaborating materialist dialectics which follow from this article.

WHAT WAS IN THE CENTRE OF LENIN'S PHILOSOPHICAL INTERESTS? DIALECTICS

Let us recall that when the First World War broke out Lenin, who was in Berne, Switzerland, at that time, undertook to study and critically rework Hegelian dialectics from the positions of materialism. Lenin's resultant tremendous work is incorporated in his *Philosophical Notebooks*. The purpose of this work is clear: on the eve of the forthcoming proletarian revolution, which Lenin's penetrating view already discerned at that time, it was necessary to arm the revolutionary proletariat and its party with a true ideological and theoretical weapon, materialist dialectics, which is the "soul" of the entire Marxist doctrine. But the turbulent flood of events prevented Lenin from consummating his work and imperatively directed his attention to the keenest theoretical and politically important questions, namely, an analysis of the substance and historical prospects of imperialism, from which stemmed the

question of the possibility of socialism's victory first in one, singly taken country; further elaboration and defence of the Marxist doctrine of the state and revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat; the national question, which became especially acute during the First World War and the related problem of proletarian internationalism in conditions in which the parties of the Second International betrayed this great principle and succumbed to chauvinism.

Although the work on materialist dialectics as such remained uncompleted, the ideas elaborated by Lenin in the *Philosophical Notebooks* were practically and widely applied in examining the enumerated problems which arose prior to 1917 and later on, in the course of the revolution in Russia and the years of struggle for Soviet power and the beginning of the building of socialist society. Dialectics invariably was the "soul" of Lenin's entire theoretical and practical work in guiding the Soviet state, although actually he no longer succeeded in elaborating it philosophically; there was too much current work, too little time remained for purely theoretical activity in general to allow him fully to immerse himself in the sphere of philosophy even for a brief period.

Later on, Lenin widely utilised and further developed the materialist dialectics elaborated in the *Philosophical Notebooks* as a method of scientific study and as a guide to practical revolutionary action. This was done in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) where he continued the analysis of the laws of capitalist society's development made by Marx in *Capital*, and then in *The State and Revolution* (1917) dealing with a very keen and intricate question of socio-political life at that time, in the works of the first years after the October Revolution, especially "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", where dialectics is embodied and developed in an analysis of the concrete problems which faced the Soviet Government and the Bolshevik Party. In this respect special mention should be made of "*Left Wing*" *Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (1920), which was of exceptionally great importance for solving problems of the international communist movement.

On the centenary of the birth of Frederick Engels Lenin published an article "The Marx-Engels Correspondence", where he forcefully emphasised that *dialectics* was the focus of the entire correspondence, the central point in which the ideas they voiced and discussed, converged. The application of materialist dialectics to the reworking of the entire political economy, history, natural science, philosophy, politics and tactics of the working class—this, as Lenin pointed out, was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, and it is here that they made their most important contribution, their brilliant step forward in the history of revolutionary thought.

During the years of the New Economic Policy, Lenin wrote a number of important works, especially "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin" (1921), in which Lenin particularly characterised the essence of Marxist dialectics, Marxist dialectical logic, in their antithesis to the metaphysics of Trotsky and eclecticism and formal logic of Bukharin.

Lenin's constant recourse to Marxist dialectics greatly influenced the ideological and theoretical schooling of the Party members and the entire working class and also representatives of other social groups which were allied with

it in our country. But, let us recall again, Lenin, engrossed in the titanic work of guiding the Soviet state and the Party, could not pay much attention to special theoretical activity, including the propaganda of Marxist dialectics. After the victory of the October Revolution and especially after the end of the Civil War this task had to be undertaken by special groups of propagandists of Marxism and special theoretical journals.

In the first months after the Revolution no Marxist theoretical journals were published in our country. Publication of the *Plamya* (Flame) journal was started in Petrograd on May 1, 1918, with A. Lunacharsky as the editor. It laid claim to the role of a journal of wide ideological range which also had to cover questions of Marxist philosophy. But the staff and contributors could not provide articles on philosophical subjects at a sufficiently high Marxist level. The journal existed up to the end of 1920, having played a definite positive part above all in the sense that it revealed an interest in philosophical subjects among a wide readership, especially young people.

During the first three years after the October Revolution the Communist Party and the entire working class of the country were too preoccupied with the defence of the revolution from military intervention and internal counter-revolution to devote sufficient forces and resources for developing work in the philosophical sphere. But even in these exceptionally difficult conditions a Socialist Academy was opened on the initiative of Lenin in 1918, and in 1919 the Communist University named after Sverdlov was set up to train Party cadres who received the necessary knowledge in theory and practical activity (in 1920 almost the entire graduating contingent of the six-month courses of the Sverdlov University went directly to the front, to defeat Wrangel).

With the transition to peaceful construction the need in personnel, trained not only practically but also theoretically, sharply rose. Without the profound knowledge of Marxism it was difficult for Party members engaged in practical work to orientate themselves in the involved and highly contradictory historical conditions in the first years of the New Economic Policy. Discussions flared up constantly in the Party, ideological and political vacillations were displayed by definite groups within the Party which had joined it earlier, but adhered to positions that were far from Marxist. All this imperatively demanded that the Party pay due attention to theoretical questions, their discussion and elaboration as applied to the new historical conditions.

Hence it was not accidental that a year after stopping the publication of *Plamya*, which had been unable to cope with the functions of a Marxist theoretical periodical, a new journal was launched *Pod znamenem marksizma* (Under the Banner of Marxism). That was an answer to the present-day demand of life itself.

It seemed natural that the journal which urged its readers and authors to rally under the banner of Marxism should place in the centre of its future activity the elaboration of the "soul" of the entire Marxist doctrine, i. e., materialist dialectics, and the entire range of problems both in the general theoretical aspect and in the aspect of applying it as a scientific method to analysing concrete questions of contemporary revolutionary activity and all historical reality.

But neither the editors of the new journal nor the men who laid claim

to indicating the road to the journal and drawing up its programme and contributed to it uttered a single word about materialist dialectics. As though by agreement they steered clear of this cardinal and decisive question. They wrote and talked about everything but dialectics, the "soul" of Marxism.

Lenin who splendidly understood the tasks of the new journal and the need for its publication could not fail to notice so important a gap in the very first, programme, issue of the journal. That is why he contributed to the next number (the third, the first was a double issue) an article which became a programme document for all subsequent activity of Marxists in the realm of philosophy. The question of dialectics is central in Lenin's article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism". From the very outset Lenin sought to rectify the flagrant theoretical omission on the part of the editors of the new journal. But before examining how Lenin rectified the line charted by the journal and brought it into conformity with the major propositions of Marxism it is necessary, at least briefly, to ascertain what that omission or distortion was.

HOW THE QUESTION OF DIALECTICS WAS EVADED IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL AND WHY THIS WAS A FLAGRANT OMISSION

Two articles first of all drew Lenin's attention in No. 1-2 of *Pod znamenem marksizma*: the leading article "From the Editors" and a review of Albert Einstein's book on the theory of relativity written by Prof. A. Timiryazev.¹

The leading article "From the Editors" was amazingly banal, although at first glance it seemed to raise big and important problems. It set out with a declaration that "we are marching under the banner of orthodox Marxism" and that "not all who united round our journal are Communists", that "we are united by the community of our philosophical world outlook: all of us are consistent materialists". Lenin underscored this place, showing its fundamentally great importance in formulating the Party's strategical line in ideological and theoretical work. Further, defining the tasks of the journal, the editors stated that "we do not strive to be researchers who contemplate and study from afar the development of ideas, the struggle of class forces and tendencies in our society, but, on the contrary, we are fighters", and therefore, "our journal is a journal of struggle for the materialist world outlook". At the end of their statement the editors spoke even more definitely: "It is high time for us, in face of the ever greater disintegration in the enemy camp, to unfurl the banner of militant materialism."

Thus, the editors clearly voiced their credo: to wage an energetic struggle for materialism, to be militant, consistent materialists. But they lost sight of the cardinal condition for achieving this aim. This condition is the need to be *dialectical* materialists because only in alliance with dialectics does materialism become consistent to the end. Only dialectics, being materialistic, can make materialism militant and equip it for struggle against eclecticism, against the "ideological disarray prevailing among the bourgeois intelligentsia"

¹ A Soviet physicist, son of the renowned Darwinist biologist K. A. Timiryazev.

against opportunism, against pessimism and mysticism. The need for such a struggle was mentioned in the article "From the Editors" in the first issue of the new journal.

What stands out at once in the review of Einstein's book on the theory of relativity contributed by A. Timiryazev is a flagrant gap, the complete lack of knowledge and failure to understand materialist dialectics, its replacement by positivism, covered up by references to Marxism, to its propositions contained in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, the second edition of which had been published 18 months earlier.

The utter philosophical helplessness of the reviewer is revealed by his attempt to bring out the reasons why idealistic philosophical conclusions are drawn from Einstein's theory. "Why is it," he asked, "that in a healthy science where, as Comrade Lenin points out, a scientist 'spontaneously' becomes a materialist, such unhealthy trends arise? There can be only one answer: questions connected with the theory of relativity pertain to spheres where we with our technical facilities are not yet capable of solving matters by laboratory experiments. And where the natural scientist is deprived of his sole reliable mainstay his mind easily, very easily can wander astray."

According to Timiryazev, a scientist should operate only with theoretical propositions which can be verified by laboratory experiments; he must not go into the sphere of theoretical abstractions (among them, by the way, is all of dialectics which deals with scientific abstractions and accustoms scientists to operate with them); in that case a scientist automatically, "spontaneously" will find himself on the positions of materialism. Laboratory experiments, according to Timiryazev, is the sole reliable mainstay of materialism. Deprived of this mainstay, a scientist can very easily slip down to idealism.

Neither a conscious upholding of consistent philosophical materialism as a scientific world outlook nor any dialectics is mentioned here. The book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, to which Timiryazev referred, was not understood at all by him or, worse than that, was understood wrongly. He apparently thought that no idealism was a threat to a scholar who competently studied the experimental natural sciences, adhered to positions of spontaneous materialism and voiced thoughts which fully tallied with ordinary "common sense".

Materialist dialectics was thus avoided in two articles of the first issue of the new journal. Their authors, as though by common consent, called to fight for materialism; not for Marxist, dialectical, but for primitive or spontaneous materialism, assuming that this already guaranteed victory over any idealist reactionary views, over attempts to restore the bourgeois world outlook. The enlightening materialism they extolled suited the authors of these articles. They held that the mere proclamation of the need to fight against the idealist and religious world outlook sufficed for defining the fundamental line of the new Marxist journal.

That is why Lenin thought it necessary to contribute an article expounding a real, vitally urgent programme of philosophical work in a country where the proletarian revolution triumphed. This is what Lenin wrote: "I should like to deal with certain questions that more closely define the content and programme of the work which its editors have set forth in the introductory sta-

tement in this issue."² This desire of Lenin to define more closely the content and programme of the work along the lines of militant materialism showed that Lenin was not satisfied with the material published as leading and guiding in the first issue of the new journal. To define more precisely the content and programme of work meant, according to Lenin, to rectify the line wrongly charted by the journal and above all to place in the centre of attention materialist dialectics, fully omitted and avoided both by the editors and A. Timiryazev.

But ideological and theoretical dissatisfaction was merely a direct pretext for writing "On the Significance of Militant Materialism". The need for such a programme article was very pressing at that time and followed from the entire intricate situation on the ideological front in the early 1920s. One of the factors which demanded greater attention to the Party's theoretical work was that during the years of the revolution and the Civil War the Party was joined by very many new members who had no ideological and theoretical schooling. They passed through the crucible of struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, defending it from imperialist intervention and internal counter-revolution. But, with rare exceptions, they were unable to receive a systematic Marxist education. And the "soul" of this study has been and will be materialist dialectics, the "soul" of the entire Marxist doctrine. That is why it was vitally necessary to put forward the study and mastery of dialectics as the main programme, which Lenin did in his article.

The other factor which also demanded the advance of dialectics to the forefront of the Party's entire ideological and theoretical work was that at the beginning of the 1920s persons who laid claim to the role of Party's theoreticians, but actually were far removed from Marxism, made increasingly frank and energetic attempts to replace dialectics by eclecticism, voluntarism, metaphysics and formal logic. This was clearly demonstrated by the discussion on the trade unions held in 1921. Lenin resolutely criticised such attempts in his work "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin".

It was in the early 1920s that Bukharin with his "theory of equilibrium" and obvious liking for the Machism of A. Bogdanov, stepped up his activities in the theoretical sphere. He published a book *The Theory of Historical Materialism* where dialectics was replaced by mechanicism, and historical materialism—by vulgar sociology. Similarly in the book *The Economy of the Transition Period* Bukharin put in place of Marxism and dialectics Bogdanov's schematism and scholasticism.

To blast such anti-Marxist concepts which, in effect, expressed revisionist tendencies inseparably linked with the general political concepts of Trotskyism, on the one hand, and the Right-wing trend in the Party, on the other, it was necessary further to sharpen the main ideological and theoretical weapon of Marxism, its dialectics. This was the purpose of the programme of the new journal which Lenin put forward in his article.

Lastly, this was also dictated by both the international situation and the atmosphere within the country where open enemies of Marxism and frank ad-

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 33, p. 227.

vocates of the bourgeois world outlook became more active. "Smenovekhovstvo" * in politics, hope that Soviet power would perish unable to cope with the economic difficulties facing it, that the shoots of socialism would be stifled by the petty-bourgeois spontaneity of the commodity economy, was combined with statements by ideologists of the bourgeoisie and their echoes on questions of philosophy and the natural and social sciences. Typical in this respect was the publication of a collection dealing with the theory of relativity. The authors of this collection were the selfsame Machists whom Lenin routed in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Now they clutched at the theory of relativity in order to "refute" with its help materialism in general, and dialectical materialism in particular.

Such was the direct reason for Lenin's writing "On the Significance of Militant Materialism"; such were the deeper reasons for this, which followed from the entire situation at the beginning of the 1920s.

ELABORATION OF MATERIALIST DIALECTICS AS THE CENTRAL TASK SET BY LENIN

In rectifying the wrong line marked out in the first issue of *Pod znamenem marksizma*, Lenin naturally put to the foreground the task of creatively elaborating materialist dialectics and mastering it. Only in this way did he see the possibility of overpowering the philosophical enemy—idealism, agnosticism and fideism (clericalism)—which early in the 1920s particularly stepped up its attacks on materialism. Directly replying to the positivist principles of A. Timiryazev, Lenin wrote that "it must be realised that no natural (meaning also experimental — B. K.) science and no materialism (meaning also spontaneous—B. K.) can hold its own in the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas and the restoration of the bourgeois world outlook unless it stands on solid philosophical ground. In order to hold his own in this struggle and carry it to a victorious finish, the natural scientist must be a modern materialist, a conscious adherent of the materialism represented by Marx, i.e., he must be a dialectical materialist."³ The "solid philosophical ground", to which Lenin referred, presupposes the mastery of materialist dialectics and the ability to use it. It must be noted that Lenin begins to lead the reader to such a conclusion from the very first pages of his article. He draws on dialectics and steadily applies its principles when he demonstrates the need for an alliance of Communists with non-Communists who are consistent materialists and, in general, when he explains how the revolutionary vanguard must lead

* *Smena Vekh* (Change of Landmarks)—the title of a collection of articles as distinct from the collection entitled *Vekhi* (Landmarks, Moscow, 1909), published in Prague, and then the name of a journal published in Paris from October 1921 to March 1922. It was the mouthpiece of advocates of a socio-political trend that emerged chiefly among Russian émigré intellectuals who called for cooperation with the Soviet government, hoping for bourgeois regeneration of the Soviet state and the Communist Party. A certain revival of capitalist elements in Soviet Russia following the promulgation of the New Economic Policy served as the social foundation for this trend.—Ed.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 233.

the masses. Lenin utilises dialectics in formulating the programme of atheistic work and substantiating the principle of the partisanship of philosophy (although this expression is not used in this part of the article).

Dialectics is not directly named by Lenin in the first part of the article, but it is all the time in the focus of his attention. When he goes over to the natural sciences, however, he directly refers to it. It is the mastering of dialectics that is regarded by Lenin as the main aim of the alliance he conceived between Marxist philosophers and progressive natural scientists.

"Modern natural scientists (if they know how to seek, and if we learn to help them)," Lenin writes, "will find in the Hegelian dialectics, materialistically interpreted, a series of answers to the philosophical problems which are being raised by the revolution in natural science and which make the intellectual admirers of bourgeois fashion 'stumble' into reaction. Unless it sets itself such a task and systematically fulfills it, materialism cannot be militant materialism. It will be not so much the fighter as the fought, to use an expression of Shchedrin's. Without this, eminent natural scientists will as often as hitherto be helpless in making their philosophical deductions and generalisations."⁴

Why is this so? Because any materialism and atheism, if it is not equipped with dialectics, is incapable of coping with the highly sophisticated methods of struggle employed by idealism. In this context it is important to stress the direct link-up between Lenin's thoughts which underlay his article in 1922 and the thoughts he conceived in 1914-1915 when he worked on his *Philosophical Notebooks*. The direct connection between both these works passes above all along the line of dialectics. As pointed out earlier, the 1922 article expounds the thought that the onslaught of idealist reaction can be withstood only by dialectical materialism fully equipped with the dialectical method. Any other materialism, for example, natural-scientific and spontaneous, inevitably will suffer defeat and will not be able to overpower its philosophical adversary.

The same thought only in a different context was expressed by Lenin in the *Philosophical Notebooks*. Here is an excerpt from his conspectus of Hegel's book *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*: "That the universal should in philosophy be given a place of such importance that only the universal can be expressed, and the 'it' which is meant, cannot, indicates a state of consciousness and thought which the philosophical culture of our time has not yet reached".⁵ Lenin points out further that Hegel placed among the men who have not attained the philosophical culture of the time also those who said that sensory cognition is the truth, because, you see, the sensory is something universal. On this score Lenin remarks: "Thereby Hegel hits every materialism except dialectical materialism."⁶ The conclusion is that here, too, to defeat idealism one must be a dialectical materialist.

This is how Lenin's ideas, written at different times but organically interconnected, resounded in unison almost a decade later.

The task of studying and mastering dialectics, set by Lenin, is the quin-

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 234.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 38, p. 277.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

tescence of the entire article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism". He concretises this task demanding that it is essential to "arrange for the systematic study of Hegelian dialectics from a materialist standpoint, i. e., the dialectics which Marx applied practically in his *Capital* and in his historical and political works, and applied so successfully that now... every day of the awakening to life of new peoples and new classes serves as a fresh confirmation of Marxism."⁷

Lenin served warning that such a study, such an interpretation and propaganda of Hegelian dialectics was exceedingly difficult and that the first experiments in this direction would involve mistakes. "But only he who never does anything never makes mistakes," Lenin declared. These words were recalled more than once in later years. Unfortunately, the men who shouted loudest of all about the mistakes made in studying and materialistically interpreting Hegelian dialectics were those who themselves made no mistakes only because they had done nothing positive in this sphere but specialised in finding and, still more often, in inventing mistakes of others.

Lenin, evidently recalling how he himself fourteen years earlier had worked over Hegelian dialectics, states in his article: "Taking as our basis Marx's method of applying materialistically conceived Hegelian dialectics, we can and should elaborate this dialectics from all aspects, print in the journal excerpts from Hegel's principal works, interpret them materialistically and comment on them with the help of examples of the way Marx applied dialectics, as well as of examples of dialectics in the sphere of economic and political relations."⁸

This is exactly the way Lenin studied dialectics in the works of Hegel, as attested to by both his *Philosophical Notebooks* and the reminiscences of Krupskaya.

Lenin's attitude to the theory of relativity and its author can furnish a good example of how it is necessary, from positions of materialist dialectics, to approach and assess the achievements of modern science. Although Lenin was not a specialist in physics, but, mastering to perfection the method of materialist dialectics, he discerned, through the fog of A. Timiryazev's "critique", the true dialectical and materialist content of this theory. That is why he placed it in one rank with such great discoveries of physics as that of radium and put Albert Einstein among the "great reformers of natural science since the end of the 19th century".⁹

Thus, Lenin could not but notice that the theory of relativity declares, first, that there must be a dependence and mutual influence between space and time, and, second, that space and time themselves as the main forms of all being, must depend on their material content, i. e., on the motion of matter. It is these two propositions that follow in one or another way from the general principles of dialectical materialism: since both space and time are different forms of one and the same being, of one and the same matter in motion which comprises what is called the world, both these forms cannot be

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 233.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

external, independent in relation to each other, to the motion of matter and to matter itself, as Newtonian mechanics taught.

The theory of relativity deduced these propositions on the basis of purely physical (metric) considerations, which A. Timiryazev and his followers, mechanicians, have never understood. Quite the reverse, materialist dialectics helped Lenin to penetrate the philosophical essence of the question.

CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF DIALECTICS TO BE ELABORATED, ACCORDING TO LENIN

Guided by what Lenin said about dialectics and the ways of applying it in studying theoretical problems, including its own problems, one can outline a concrete plan of work in this sphere. In the recent past, and not infrequently today, too, the exposition of dialectics has been reduced to a mechanically scholastic selection of examples as illustrations to some or other propositions of dialectics or to a no less mechanically scholastic sticking philosophical terms onto the material of particular sciences. The untenability of such methods has been convincingly demonstrated with references to the views of Lenin who always resolutely spoke up against reducing dialectics and its laws to a sum of examples. An analysis of concepts may be named among the concrete problems and tasks facing dialectics in the natural sciences.

In view of the wide use in science of formal and mathematical methods of study, which by itself is undoubtedly a progressive process, there are tendencies to evade an analysis of the content of the categories and concepts of modern science and to confine oneself to a system of symbols and conventional designations. With such an approach the major task of dialectics in scientific thinking—the use of concepts—is relegated to the background or is even removed completely.

Yet, there arises with increasing clarity the immeasurably more important and interesting, although incomparably more difficult, task of a conceptual analysis of the entire content of modern natural science in order to work out methods of properly operating with modern scientific concepts. And this must be done bearing in mind Lenin's words: "Dialectics in general is the 'pure movement of thought in Notion's [here Lenin quotes Hegel's words—B.K.] (i.e., putting it without the mysticism of idealism: human concepts are not fixed but are eternally in movement, they pass into one another, they flow into one another, otherwise they do not reflect living life. The analysis of concepts, the study of them, the 'art of operating with them' (Engels) always demand study of the *movement* of concepts, of their interconnection, of their mutual transitions)." ¹⁰ Elsewhere, replying to the question "What is dialectics?" Lenin pointed out that it consists in disclosing the interdependences and transitions from one into the other of all concepts without exception, in the relativity and identity of opposites between concepts, in that "every notion occurs in a certain *relation*, in a certain connection with *all* the others". ¹¹

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 253.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

All these Leninist propositions have to be concretised in every individual case in applying materialistically interpreted Hegelian dialectics, i.e., materialist dialectics, to natural science and its history.

Another problem and task facing dialectics is the relationship of the historical and the logical. Special importance attaches in this context to Lenin's ideas pertaining to the dialectics of the history and logic of scientific cognition of unity. From the relationship of the historical and the logical, from their unity, according to Lenin, it is possible and necessary to deduce dialectics as the logic and theory of cognition. What is needed is "the history of thought from the standpoint of the development and application of the general concepts and categories of the Logic", ¹² Lenin wrote. Since the general course of all human knowledge, of all science in general proceeds strictly dialectically, "Insofar Hegel's dialectic is a generalisation of the history of thought," ¹³ Lenin noted. From this follows the general task set by Lenin in its full magnitude: "Continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx must consist in the *dialectical* elaboration of the history of human thought, science and technique". ¹⁴

Lenin analyses the question of the relationship of the historical and the logical in the epistemological light, too, when he links it with the question of truth. "Truth is a process. From the subjective idea, man advances towards objective truth *through* 'practice' (and technique)." ¹⁵ Here truth itself is interpreted by Lenin from the historical angle as the movement of knowledge. The same idea, only in a different context, was expressed by Lenin in the proposition that the question of truth is the crux of logic (Lenin puts a sign of equality between the question of truth and logic).

The task of creatively elaborating dialectics on the basis of the unity of the historical and the logical is immense in scale and difficult to accomplish. It demands the summing up of the entire history of natural scientific thought (if it is a matter of natural science and its historical development).

This task concerns Marxist philosophers, modern natural scientists and the historians of science and technology. Work in this direction could help formulate a general platform for further extending the alliance between them and making it richer in content and more creative. This is an exceedingly intricate task. As a matter of fact, Soviet scientists are only approaching it. But it is undoubtedly correct that the history of knowledge, the history of science cannot be elaborated outside the logic of knowledge, the logic of science and, conversely, logic must not be taken abstractly, in a formal way, outside the history of human thought. Scientific quarters in different countries are beginning to think this way. Thus, the idea of the need for bringing closer together studies of the history of science and the logic of science was voiced and energetically supported at two international congresses in 1971: at the 13th Congress on the History of Science in Moscow and at the 4th International Congress on the Logic, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science in Bucharest. Dialectics inexorably compels scientists to take it into account, because wi-

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

thout dialectics it is impossible to raise and solve urgent problems of modern science and its history.

Let us mention one more problem or task facing dialectics in the natural sciences. This is the further elaboration and application of the Marxist dialectical *method of ascending* from the abstract to the concrete. Of what value is this method for any science, including any branch of the natural and mathematical sciences? Its value lies in that it serves, in an ideal form, as a reflection of the general principle of development as applied to the task of giving a logically consistent exposition of the content of the given science. Just as the studied object itself makes the ascendancy from the lowest levels of its being (from its "cell") to ever higher stages in its development, so in a systematic mental reproduction of the process of its development, i.e., in an idealised form, the method of ascendancy in a generalised form reveals the same sequence of the stages of the given process.

In this way the natural sciences are now expounded which rely on direct experiment and its theoretical generalisation, and the deductive mathematical sciences which reproduce in an idealised form the process of cognition of one or another aspect of the object world singled out in an abstract form.

Lenin's idea was to apply the Marxist dialectical method to the exposition and study of dialectics itself. It seems very strange that all the developed sciences, without exception, actually rely on the method of ascendancy from the abstract to the concrete in presenting their content, in summing up the results of studying their object, while materialist dialectics as a science (and it undoubtedly is a genuine science in the strictest sense of this word) for some unknown reason must be expounded not according to this, its own method, but in some other way, for example, by citing examples to illustrate some of its individual propositions, which has always been denounced by Lenin.

Characterising the dialectical method employed by Marx in his *Capital* (and what was meant here is precisely the method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete) Lenin wrote: "Such must also be the method of exposition (or study) of dialectics in general (for with Marx the dialectics of bourgeois society is only a particular case of dialectics)." ¹⁶

The task set by Lenin as regards the method of exposition and study of dialectics awaits its accomplishment. It is high time for Marxist philosophers to tackle it in earnest.

* * *

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Lenin's article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism", it is necessary again and again to recall Lenin's testament expressed in it: to elaborate materialist dialectics from every angle and to help scientists creatively to master it because dialectics is the "soul" of the entire Marxist doctrine. Moreover, it is necessary to see all the time the succession which inseparably links this article of 1922 with all the other works of Lenin, particularly *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and *Philosophical Notebooks*.

¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 361.

Yuri VASILCHUK,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

The Productive Forces Dialectics

The materialist view of history regards the general conception of the development of the productive forces as the starting point for the solution of many, more concrete problems of Marxist-Leninist social theory and present-day revolutionary practice, and provides the decisive arguments for a critique of Right and "Left" revisionism and reformism. However, in the course of the current debate in Marxist economico-philosophical writings on the basic aspects of this problem the existence of considerable lacunae in the elaboration of the general theory has been observed. What is the intrinsic motive contradiction of the productive forces, what is the distinction between their being and essence, between their essence and phenomenon? On a fuller clarification of these questions depends the correct understanding of the processes in the resolution of this contradiction in reality, in revolutionary practice.

The purpose of research into the productive forces is to obtain an understanding of them as the result of a definite process of formation, not as the making of "material elements" external to man, but as our own formation in the process of man's growing impact on the external environment and his inner nature. The relations of production constitute something of a "second stratum" of social relations, the class integument in which the relations between man (society) and nature and the forms of labour cooperation achieved in this process appear. There is also need to analyse the productive forces in themselves, separately from this "secondary" social form, without, however, losing sight of the fact that it is the social class form that gives internal definition to every stage of the development of the productive forces.

When starting on his main endeavour in economic science in 1857, Marx gave, in the well-known "Preface", an outline of the theory of the productive forces as a coherent system. On this basis Marx subsequently wrote his *Capital*, and planned to complete his economic theory by writing another five parts. ¹ It is not hard to establish which part of this theory of the productive

¹ According to the general plan of the study of capitalism worked out by K. Marx the *Capital* was to be followed by Part II—"Landed Property"; Part III—"Wage Labour"; Part IV—"State"; Part V—"Foreign Trade" and Part VI—"World Market and Crises". See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 734-735 (in Russian); K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. I, p. 502; *The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, London, pp. 105, 119; K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 449, 451 (in Russian).

forces forms the basis of *Capital* and largely determines its structure. It is much harder to discover the aspects of the productive forces that were to have constituted the foundation of the subsequent parts of Marx's general economic theory. A study in this direction is an important task entailing the need to try to apply the logic of *Capital*, namely, the movement from a study of the simpler forms of being of the productive forces to their essence and further on to the ever more complex, "spiritualised" forms of their existence in modern society.

This article is an attempt to tackle the first part of the task: to analyse the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the productive forces and of their correlation.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH AND ITS ASPECTS

As man exerts an influence on nature, transforming and appropriating the substance of external nature, he also changes, transforms and elevates his own inner nature. In this process of "production in general" mankind appears as the subject of the productive forces, and nature as the object at which the operation of these forces is directed.² But is that also true for the initial stages in the development of human society?

Primitive man has at his disposal some productive forces only in purely nominal terms. The role of the productive forces is in actual fact played by the wealth of man's surrounding natural world (the natural wealth of the means of subsistence and of the means of labour). To originate and exist, these natural productive forces, determined by nature itself,³ do not require a force alien to external nature acting as their prime cause, as the subject. The productive, producing, creative forces of nature, the truly active element, are at one pole, and destructive, creatively impotent and inert primitive man, passively appropriating the fruits of nature's activity, is at the other.

This primitive man, or to be more precise, this gens, only now and again establishes an actively transforming relation with nature, only now and again acts as a subject and displays the specifically human attitude to the world. Characterising this economy as an acquisitive economy, Engels remarks that the natural implements and the means of labour created by man serve mainly as auxiliary instruments of acquisition.⁴ In this activity of his, man still proceeds from the natural wealth of his own nature, from the natural material and spiritual requirements which constitute the aims and motive forces of his

² Of course, to regard the whole of society as a single subject is to regard it in the abstract. The subject of the productive forces of society, as a definite social organism, differs in the various epochs and variously involves the bulk of the people of a given society (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 711, 720). The task of any study of the productive forces is to move across the necessary intermediate stages from the most abstract concept to the concrete elements of social production.

³ Natural productive forces, or the natural conditions for labour productivity, may be entirely reduced, Marx says, to the nature of man himself, to his race, etc., and to man's natural environment (See K. Marx, *Capital*, Moscow, 1965, Vol. I, p. 508).

⁴ See, F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1970, p. 209.

activity, and from his natural industry and capacity, which result from natural selection.

The natural productive forces of the acquisitive economy may be presented in the form of this sequence of elements connected with each other into a single whole: "Nature as a favourable environment" → "The implements of acquisition" → "Purposeful acquisitive activity" → "Natural requirements and capacities" → "Primitive man (gens)". Within this sequence, it is nature that most likely has the part of active pole, although the periods of its barrenness and man's impotence in face of nature strongly bring to the fore the insistent need for creating artificial productive forces, as an opposite to the existing ones, because society itself must become their active pole. And while natural productive forces are perhaps still the forces of nature and not those of society, they are already developing on the basis of their own laws, and like the cell, carry within themselves all the tempestuous manifestations of the dialectics of the productive forces, the material basis of mankind's history. Under the productive economy of the Asian mode of production, man's creative role within the framework of the natural productive forces is greatly increased.

The creation of society's artificial productive forces is the product of long historical development, already lying beyond the boundaries of the epoch of savagery, in the period of barbarity and civilisation, when a peculiar "reversal of poles" occurs and man establishes for himself the role of active element, of creative origin, and of subject in this unity of society and nature. Artificial productive forces already originate, exist and develop as a well-defined active and more creative element contrasting itself to primitive nature, including the primitive nature of man himself, and transforming it, because "every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity".⁵

While the ancient "socio-productive organisms" are based on the immaturity of the individual man, who appears only as a component element of the gens, the tribe, the commune, etc., the separate social individual already begins to appear as the subject of production towards the end of this period.

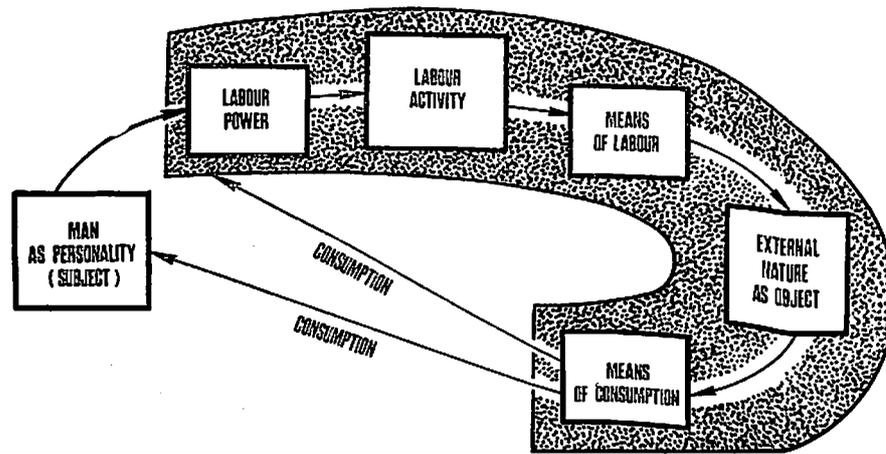
In his *Capital* Marx examines the productive forces in the process of their operation, not as congealed elements but as a system in motion, as a process consisting of simple elements: labour power, labour activity itself, as a process in which the labour power is applied, the means of labour, the objects of labour or the object upon which labour is directed, and the means of consumption, the consumer goods. This is graphically presented in Fig. 1 (the shaded area shows the sphere of the productive forces examined in *Capital*).

Man (and society) as the subject of the productive forces is no longer a simple element of this process. Structurally, this is a highly complex phenomenon, which has a great many facets and manifestations, and enters this process at one of its points only. This also applies to nature, as the universal object of labour, the object of the operation of the productive forces. It is not surprising that a few years ago a discussion was started among Marxists—and it is still going on—to discover what in nature is not an "element" of the productive forces.

⁵ "K. Marx to P. V. Annenkov, December 28, 1846", *The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, London, 1934, p. 7.

There is no need here to set out in detail Marx's theory of each of these simple elements. Let us merely note their close interconnection and transition into each other. For example, wage workers, of course, sell only their labour power. However, it is not an abstract "labour power" that goes to work in the mornings, but a living human personality, for whom the labour power is only an instrument, an implement in the process of labour. Two men with an identical general and special education and similar physical capacities act as totally different productive powers in terms of "capacity" and effectiveness, if they happen to be differently developed as personalities. Marx showed the tendency of capital to regard the wage worker as no more than a "draught" work force, instead of a personality, to regard him only as a thing, even if a thing that is alive and "conscious of itself".

FIG. 1



Mankind's labour activity is distinguished by conscious purpose, "but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will".⁶ It is the origination and development of this purposefulness that sets man apart from the other forces of nature and contrasts him to them. Engels, it will be recalled, traced another connection: the influence of labour on the development of man's own nature, his capacities and forces. He brought out the role of labour in shaping the human hand, articulate language as a form of intercourse between thinking beings, and other elements of the labour power of this specific thinking organism. Engels also showed the influence of labour on the development of the sense organs and of the brain itself as labour activity became more complex.

At a definite stage, the development of labour power in terms of skill and the complexification of labour activity are embodied in more complex implements or means of labour, new instruments or new techniques, which already exist separately, in detachment from the labour power. The means of labour

⁶ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 178.

appear as an embodiment of labour activity and as a measure of the development of human labour power. At the various stages in the development of the productive forces different objects were seen as the principal means of labour: stone and wood instruments and the cultivation of various crops, copper and bronze instruments, iron implements of production, slaves, as a "major technical invention", domesticated animals, the simplest and increasingly more complex machines, automated systems of machines or automated "self-adjusting systems", etc.

The degree to which the means of labour have been perfected is also an indication of the social relations under which labour is performed.

The level of development of the means of labour and labour power, the nature of the division of labour, the social relations of production and the wealth of natural productive forces are together expressed in labour productivity indicators. The recently discovered, relatively high level of labour productivity in ancient societies and civilisations was due mainly to high natural fertility.⁷

In the period of industrialisation, the main increment in productivity comes from additional "mechanical labour forces", and under the present scientific and technological revolution, from capital investments in education and the training of personnel. In different conditions, the law of increasing labour productivity, which Lenin observed, is "fed" by different factors.

At different stages in the development of production and society, the sum-total of material and spiritual consumer values produced in a year is differently made up of two component parts (useful things and useful effects), and each of these, in turn, of its material, spiritual components. The overall tendency is that as production develops, the share of the useful effect (appearing in the form of services), and of the spiritual elements of each of these two component parts tends to increase, and this is reflected in the range and quality of the things and services produced. However, the products of labour fully become consumer values, as Marx observed, only in the process of consumption itself. That is why their analysis requires a movement running from man, the subject of the productive forces, to the process of consumption and the consumer values. (See Fig. 2)

This is not only a matter of the general meaning of the process of consumption, or the development of the whole mass of wants existing in society for the progress of production. The important thing is to see that the rise and development of the wants of the social individual are a necessary condition for his development both as a personality and as a worker, so that the growth of the consumer power is not only a passive factor in the growth of production, but is, at the same time, a decisive component part in the development of man as the main productive force of society.

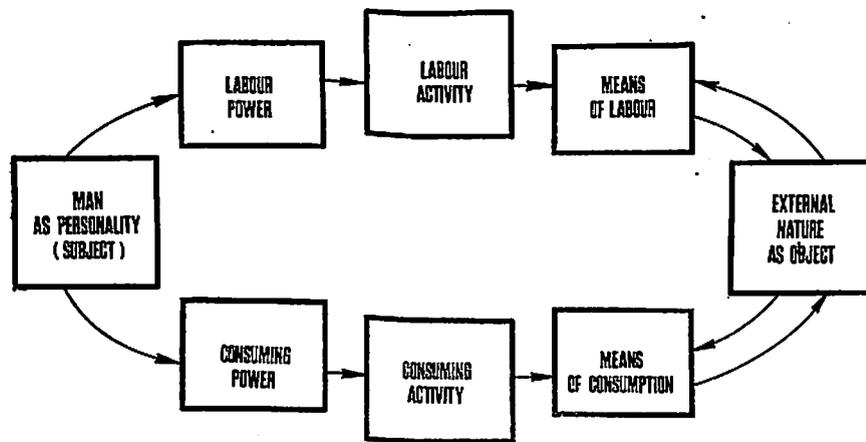
In this context man, as a developed personality—the subject of the productive forces—appears in the process of social reproduction not only as a labouring power, but also as a socially defined *consuming power*. This is a historically determined aggregation of socially necessary human wants which

⁷ For instance, crop yields in Sumeria ranging from 30-fold to 50-fold, with only 30 days of necessary labour; the maize yields among the Mayas; the high productivity in making primitive implements, etc.

are expressed as internal motives, as the motive forces of the individual process of consumption, are embodied in man's notions and purposes, which (by passing through the prism of class interests and relations) then determine the end result of social production (the goods and services that have to be produced) and through it also the means of labour that have to be used.⁸

Man's consuming power appears as his active, creative and productive power, a form of his substantial forces like labour power. The consuming power causes a voluntary tension and consequently results in a corresponding development of man's physical and mental capacities in his *consuming activity*, which assumes an especially creative and intense character in the consumption of spiritual values (education, learning, the improvement of one's mind, etc.). The consuming power and the consuming activity are both the counter-parts and the antipodes of labour power and labour activity, respectively. Let us note that these concepts have been fairly clearly defined in Marx's writings.

FIG. 2



The detached household and family unit⁹ is a cell in which a large part of man's consuming activity proceeds to this day.¹⁰ The main function of this activity in the family—which is no mere rehabilitation (reproduction) of the labour power of the family bread-winner (although this, too, is important), but also of emotional development, the shaping of the child's personality, as a basis for its further intellectual, spiritual and even physical development

⁸ "Consumption implies the object of production in the ideal, as an internal image, as a want, as an urge and as a purpose. It creates the objects of production in their still subjective form," that is, a spiritual production. The thing created in the ideal "...as an aim operates in a decisive manner in the process of production." K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, part 1, p. 28 (in Russian).

⁹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 162.

¹⁰ The importance of its development for the modern working class and modern nations will be seen from this comparison: a man in Sweden, for instance, puts into production about 40 hours of working time a week, and works another 20-30 hours at home; a woman with two children—about 60-70 hours, with the children putting into their studies about as much. In other words, in its active phase, consuming activity within the family entails the expenditure of roughly three times as much labour as production activity.

along the right lines¹¹, and the formation of the new generation, the new features of the individual and the nation, of culture and of society.' In this way, consuming activity serves to create the subject himself for this object of consumption—the more developed personality,¹² capable of developing a more complex labour power and engaging in more complex labour productivity. The development of man's consuming power also creates the conditions and the incentive for the development of his labour power.

Lenin emphasised that men were the principal productive force,¹³ meaning the definite unity of their labour and consuming power resting on man's development as a personality. In the report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev emphasised the fact that successful labour activity depended "on how fully material and spiritual requirements can be satisfied".

Lenin analysed the development of the requirements of the working class at different stages in the development of capitalism and formulated the law of growing requirements and growing social consumption. This was the "reverse side" of the law of growing labour productivity, because ultimately the goods produced must go into the process of consumption.

However, while these requirements rise together with the means of their satisfaction and in direct dependence on the development of the latter, the level of their development and satisfaction is not gauged by their volume, by the absolute quantities of these consumer values and their range, but by the measure characteristic of the given concrete society.¹⁴ A family, which in the eyes of a man from another society may appear to be getting all the necessary material values, may in fact be living at or below the poverty line, relative to the rising stage of requirements attained by this society. A definite, socially determined quantity of material goods and services goes to satisfy the minimum, basic requirements only beyond which begins the ever fuller development of leisure, in which the spiritual values and services are consumed, and in which the individual improves himself as a result of the formation of a higher consuming power. Where basic requirements are not satisfied, leisure becomes a time used for various sidelines or for back-breaking and dulling work at home to derive additional means of livelihood. In these conditions, the extension of basic requirements also appears as a limitation on the time devoted to man's self-improvement and as an extension of the "realm of necessity".

¹¹ The bourgeois approach to the problem of upbringing and education consists in the recognition of their productive character with respect to the mass of the working people only to the extent that these constitute the formation of labour power, of "dray horses", as Lenin put it, for the process of exploitation, but do not serve to create or satisfy any of the "extraneous" wants of the emerging personality.

¹² Marx observed that art objects also create the man who is capable of giving a fitting evaluation both of the objects themselves and of the complex labour going into their creation. Today, the canvasses and sculptures of the Renaissance masters are valued by society in terms of gold at an amount which is greater than the value of the industrial potential of the USA.

¹³ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 364.

¹⁴ The Right revisionists usually idealise this process of rising consumption, without noticing that it is profoundly contradictory, its ugly and antagonistic forms, or that the bourgeoisie has been using the instruments of culture for the spiritual enslavement of the masses. "Left" revisionism usually denies the very rise in the proletariat's requirements and consumption.

The simple elements of the productive forces examined above constitute three component elements which develop into each other: production, distribution and exchange, and consumption, constituting parts or distinctions within the single whole of social production.

The starting point required for an understanding of this coherent system is that within it primacy belongs to production proper (general), which ultimately determines distribution and exchange (particular), and through these—consumption (singular).¹⁵ The products which are made become the materials of consumption and determine the mode of consumption, forming the inducements and capacities for consumption and men's very requirements. But, as Marx showed, this is no more than a superficial connection between these complex elements, and that production is also immediate consumption, and consumption is also immediate production, while distribution and exchange can be understood only as an act within production and within consumption themselves.¹⁶

The failure to see this unity is a failure to understand that the relations of production cover both production, distribution, exchange and consumption, as their social forms, as relations between men concerning their participation in each of these component elements characterising the mode and forms of participation by men in production, distribution and exchange, and consumption.¹⁷ That is why each corresponding element of the relations of production is determined along two main lines. First, the element of the productive forces which is "laid" directly under it, and second, by its own basic internal connection, which is the primacy of relations concerning production itself.

AGGREGATE PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY. UNIFICATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR AND CONSUMPTION AS A FORM OF ITS EXPRESSION

"Labour is organised differently, depending on the implements it has at its disposal. The handmill implies a different division of labour than the steammill" (K. Marx)

The advancing unification of labour and social combination of labour processes, the increasing division and cooperation of agricultural and industrial labour, and of material and spiritual production are closely connected with a

¹⁵ See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1969, p. 127. (See also K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 714-715, in Russian). Neglect of this fundamental principle constitutes the basis of the methodology of present-day Right opportunism, which advocates a transition to a purely "consumer economy".

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 716-718, 721-725. Failure to understand this unity and identity of production and consumption constitutes the methodological basis of "Left" revisionism, which proceeds from the "possibility" of developing production itself over a long period through a degradation of mass consumption.

¹⁷ See, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, part I, p. 32 (in Russian); V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 216; Vol. 6, p. 264. These processes do not in themselves constitute a subject of political economy. Unfortunately, this cardinal distinction is ignored even in some textbooks.

definite division (or absence of division) of consuming activity, and constitute the second aspect of the being of the productive forces.¹⁸ This aspect develops according to its own, relatively independent laws, but on the basis and within the framework determined by the given state of the means of labour. The mode of men's joint productive activity, and the social organisation of labour may be very different with the same means of production and are something like an independent "productive force" of labour.¹⁹ This is already a *mass productive force*, which is greatly in excess of a mere sum-total of individual productive forces (each of which increases in the process), for it is the social productive force of labour.²⁰ All this to some extent applies to the social productive power of consumption (because in the process of consumption the consuming power in fact appears as a producing power).

Under primitive (or archaic) productive forces, which arise on the basis of wood, stone or bronze implements, the productive forces of labour and consumption in the family household on the whole exist as a unit, being divided up only for social operations, like the building of irrigation installations, cyclopic ritual monuments of antiquity, etc. Characterising this type of economy, which has survived to our own day (the parcel), Marx wrote that it has no division of labour, no application of science, no diversity of distinctions or talents, no wealth of social relations.²¹

The mere aggregation of the productive activity of peasants, tribes or communes in the process of joint construction of social installations (even without any division of labour between them) yields a vast advantage in terms of productive forces. There arose "the necessity of bringing a natural force under the control of society, of economising, of appropriating or subduing it on a large scale by the work of man's hand".²² There also arises the organ of such control, initially the distinct patriarchal power over the communes, controlling the operation of the social productive force, and subsequently, state power (whose head appears as the only, "divine" personality, "the source of warmth and sunlight"), using the commune as an instrument of its activity, as an object. The naturally growing system of social division of labour (agriculture and cattle-breeding, agriculture and the handicrafts) creates the conditions under which each serves the other in order to serve himself, each reciprocally using the other as his own means, with "men in any way working for one other".²³ However, "it was slavery that first made possible the division of labour between agriculture and industry on a larger scale, and thereby also Hellenism, the "flowering of the ancient world".²⁴ The emergence of slavery marks the beginning of the history of the secondary productive for-

¹⁸ See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, pp. 499-500.

¹⁹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 41.

²⁰ See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, pp. 320-322. "When the labourer cooperates systematically with others, he strips off the fetters of his individuality, and develops the capabilities of his species". (*Ibid.*, p. 329).

²¹ See K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte"; K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1969, pp. 478-479.

²² See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 514.

²³ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 71.

²⁴ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 216.

ces, which differ fundamentally from the archaic division of labour and consumption.²⁵

First, there appears on a broad scale separate mental labour and a separate sphere of spiritual production monopolised by a definite section of men. However, even under archaic productive systems spiritual production exerted a great influence on the growth of productivity in irrigated agriculture (Egyptian, Sumerian, etc., astronomy, the calendar, the cycle of agricultural operations, the system of agrarian-technical measures). Society requires a growing volume of knowledge, a growing spiritual potential in order to control the movement of the whole productive body in contrast to the movement of its separate, independent organs and the solution of other complex production problems. Men's release from physical labour, which this required, was achieved at the price of the most dulling, arduous, and sometimes patently foul and fatal labour involving vast masses of men.

Second, there also occurred a corresponding division of consumption: for the working masses there was established a consumption of material values (in its grossest and most limited forms) which did not require any consuming activity, and for a handful of the "select" a consumption of spiritual values and an increasingly intense and ennobling consuming activity.

Within the framework of the secondary productive forces themselves, the working masses occupy a different place in the sequence production-distribution and exchange-consumption. Graphically this is illustrated in Fig. 3.²⁶

This diagram reflects, on the one hand, the specific features of consumption among urban wage workers (as compared with consumption among peasants and slaves), and the development of their consuming activity and consuming power, and, on the other hand, the tendency of bourgeois society to limit this consumption to the aim of creating the labour power but not the personality (the distinction indicated by the continuous and the broken line in the consumption of the proletariat).

This second part of the productive forces system-consumption (as singular) and distribution and exchange (as particular) connecting this singular with the general, with production (analysed in *Capital*) into a single closed system, was apparently to have been the basis of the analysis of relations of production under capitalism in Marx's volume on *Landed Property*. Whereas the starting point for an analysis of capital proper is labour power, the starting point for an analysis of landed property is consuming power, man's second substantial power.

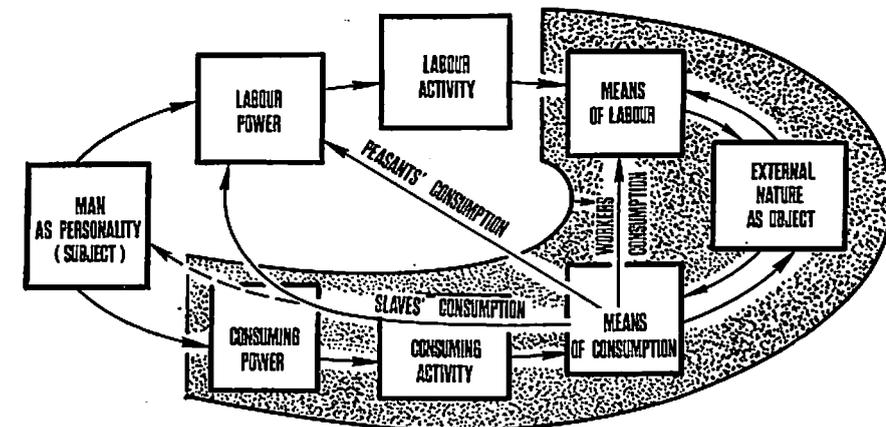
The division of labour and consumption examined above and the tendency of the secondary productive forces to confine the role of the working people

²⁵ "Division of labour only becomes truly such from the moment when a division of material and mental labour appears. . . may the fact that intellectual and material activity—enjoyment and labour, production and consumption—devolve on different individuals". (K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 43-44).

²⁶ The shaded part of the diagram is that part of the system which in its form of relations of production was not specifically analysed in *Capital* (consumption as a unity with distribution and exchange). If it is to be understood, there is need to go beyond the framework of capitalist relations even under capitalism.

to the sphere of purely material production and consumption does not mean that these masses do not take part in the process of spiritual progress in production and society, as the most reactionary thinkers claim. It is highly important to bear in mind that the immortal treasures of ancient India and China, Greece and Pergamon, ancient Rome and the Renaissance, the period of industrialisation in Europe and of the modern scientific and technical revolution are the results of the labour of the *collective worker* arising on the basis of a deep-going division of labour and consumption.²⁷ All the working

FIG. 3



people take part in the labour required to produce the final product, constituting a "multiplied productive force" or a "social productive force" (Marx) which is a succession of increasingly complex and interconnected work places of the collective worker arranged like the rungs of a great ladder.

The structure of this "ladder" is determined by the level achieved in the development of the implements and means of production, labour productivity and, what is most important, the development of the collective worker himself. However, as the productive forces develop a situation appears in which these material and human aspects of the productive forces grow beyond the existing development of labour and demand and make imperative a "technological" restructuring of the whole mode of the division of labour. This produ-

²⁷ The collective worker may be taken to mean both a collective labourer and a workman, whose several members, according to Marx, take a greater or lesser part in the manipulation of the subject of their labour, each performing one of its subfunctions. The cooperative nature of labour extends the conception of the productivity of labour and its vehicle, the productive labourer, including within the body not only those who directly employ their hands. It is sufficient merely to be an organ of the collective worker (see K. Marx, *Capital*, Moscow, 1965, Vol. I, pp. 508-509). Marx cites the school teacher, who is "labouring the heads of his scholars", as illustrating a member of the collective worker.

ces internal tension and conflict between the two sides of the productive forces, which culminates in a technological restructuring of the division of labour in accordance with the new quality of the material and human aspects of the productive forces.

In other periods, processes under way in the sphere of the division of labour may insistently demand a new level in the development of the collective worker himself and of his means of labour. At this point, the division of labour grows beyond the development of the material and human aspects of the productive forces. In this internal conflict of the productive forces, the active and passive poles may appear to switch places.

The division of labour is substantially restructured in the course of the development of the formative stage of the productive forces, where the beginning and the end are vastly different from each other, while the intermediate rung appears as a negation of both.

However, this scale of work places which production requires and which has been created by the division and cooperation of labour does not in itself constitute men's relations of production, although its character, its type ultimately also determines the form of property.²⁸ Still, even with a division of labour on similar lines the working men may be divided into different classes, and these classes may apportion between themselves the "top" and the "bottom" of each scale of work places in different ways. Thus, slaves, who were no more than "inanimate things", "mere implements", who stood outside the early slave-holding society and who towards the end of the Roman Republic, because its full-fledged citizens spurned any manner of work, had already taken over most of the work places entailing mental labour, the management of the latifundia, etc., while in law remaining the moveable property of the slave-holders. In fact, the great fortune amassed by Crassus, considerable even by modern standards, consisted of educated slaves. The division and cooperation of labour which, as material relations between men, constitute the internal form of the material activity of the collective worker determine a definite set of relations of production as their outward "integument", their outward form, but are not identical with it and at a definite stage of development even become antagonistic to this integument. Thus, under capitalism the productive force of the collective worker appears as the productive force of capital. That is why productive labour is recognised by society as being such only when it is carried out in the corresponding social forms, for instance, in the capitalist sector. This discrepancy between the "naked substance" and the concrete historical, real forms in which productive labour actually exists produced the two separate definitions of productivity given by Adam Smith (the first of which was, besides, reduced to the vulgar materialist—"Scottish"—view of productivity as being no more than the production of things). This controversy between groups of economists is still going on, and the point is also being debated under socialism.

²⁸ Lenin makes a clear-cut distinction between the division of labour proper and the definite social forms which it assumes in the various forms of the social economy (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 230-231).

RISING STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES. THE MEASURE OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES

On many occasions, the productive forces and the history of society appeared to be running in reverse. Thus, in the 12th century the wild Dorians, who appeared to be as wild as the Achaeans of a thousand years earlier, destroyed every vestige of the high and refined Creto-Mycenaean culture of the Achaeans, which had been created by skilled seafarers and merchants, outstanding builders, potterers, jewellers, artists, and other educated and talented men, a culture that Homer had sung the praises of. A state based on slave-holding was once again supplanted by the gens, seafaring trade died down, the great stone walls of vast fortresses and the ruins of palaces were overgrown with grass, the arts, the handicrafts and the art of writing were neglected and declined. But in place of Homer's youths, "torn asunder by bronze", we find warriors killed by the iron "sting of spears" and free men creating production on the basis of slave labour.

How are we to "add together" and synthesise decline in one and progress in another aspect of the productive forces? What is the measure of their development, for there must be some *general standard of comparison* for the productive forces of all the epochs. Labour productivity could hardly be adopted as such a standard because the things produced in the various epochs cannot be compared with each other, just as the working hours required to make these things are incomparable with each other in terms of quality. What is even more unreliable in this respect is the share and scale of the surplus product. Since their magnitude also depended on the magnitude of the necessary product, a civilisation with the producer at a poor and primitive level but with a more generous nature may turn out to have more highly developed productive forces.

But this standard is easily found if we bear in mind that men are themselves the main productive force. That is why the fundamental distinction between the social production of one epoch and that of another consists above all in the condition of the bulk of the working people in the functioning of the productive forces, that is, in the qualitative state of association and division of labour and consumption in society. This characterises the degree to which labour and consumption are conscious and spiritualised, and the extent to which the bulk of men are free from the oppression of the elemental forces of nature, of socio-political oppression and enslavement, and of mental and spiritual poverty.

Whereas under "*primary productive forces*" (productive activity which is acquisitive and is primitively united—the primitive communal and the Asian mode of production) the gens and the commune appear within the system of the productive forces not so much as the subject but as the object, as the more passive aspect as compared with the more active, constructive role of nature, under "*secondary productive forces*" (rising stages in the division of labour and consumption under the slave-holding, feudal and capitalist modes of production) the social individual already finds himself firmly established in the role of subject of the productive forces, with the dominant group of men playing the part of subject-object of this activity, and the bulk of the op-

pressed the role of object-subject.²⁹ Every progressive step by this oppressed mass towards an active, more creative and spiritualised condition in the functioning of the productive forces is marked by intense class struggle.

Within the system of "tertiary productive forces", which constitute the proper foundation of communist society, this movement is on the whole completed in the elevation of the bulk of the working people to the condition of active subject of the productive forces, for whom labour and consuming activity merge into a coherent identity.

Each of the rising types of the productive forces has its own specific measure characterising the conditions in which it flourishes and perishes. Marx analysed this measure of capitalist productive forces and called it the technical and organic composition of capital.³⁰ He also showed that the tendency of growth of this composition, which up to a point appears to be a boon for the development of the given type of productive forces, brings about the flourishing of all its potentialities while sharpening all the internal contradictions of capitalism. Might and wealth inevitably turn out to be a prologue for the downfall of this mode of production. In the slave-holding economy, slaves were the principal "material wealth", the "fixed capital" and the "means of production", and the number of slaves per working man, who was personally free, was the measure of the prosperity and the strength of this production and (beyond a point) the measure of its disintegration and destruction.

Towards the end of the Roman Empire, farm animals became the main "technical invention", the main implement of production on the latifundia in the Italian and the peripheral territories. The new composition, the structural relations of the productive forces (draught animals—men) proved to be more effective than the already "internally eroded" structure "slaves—free men", and its development constituted the internal basis for the history of the productive forces of feudal society over more than fifteen hundred years. In his writings based on the data of late 19th century Russia, Lenin showed that feudal relations were eroded from inside the commune, producing the capitalist mode of production, precisely by this saturation of some of the peasant farms with farm animals, and the further development of the "draught composition" of production. Many students have been unable to understand the crisis of slave-owning production and its destruction under the blows of the "semi-savage barbarians" and the destruction of many highly developed artisan cities in Europe and Asia in the Middle Ages, because they ignore

²⁹ Within the framework of each stage in the division of labour the bulk of the working people also travels a long way of development, for instance, from the slave as an object satisfying whim or religious "need" (slaves used as sacrifice to the gods), to the slave as an implement of labour (instrument) and then to the condition of "draught" animal already reproducing itself within the framework of a latifundium (having a family, children and the beginnings of a household economy), and finally to the condition of a thinking being, a worker by brain overseeing other slaves on an independently functioning latifundium, and even men working for hire. In fact, slaves sometimes went to work for hire elsewhere.

³⁰ See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Book III, Part III, Moscow, 1969, pp. 211-260. See Y. Vasilchuk, "Concretisation of the Formulas of the Technical and Organic Composition of Capital. Marx Against Keynes", *Transactions of the Institute of International Relations*, Moscow, 1962, No. 9. (in Russian).

the emergence and development of this specific measure of the productive forces in feudal society, the "biological composition of the economy".

Thus, in the 12th century the "nomad horde" of semi-savage and relatively small numbers of Mongolians, having conquered China with its 80 million in the East, overran the whole of Central Asia and the Middle East, and surged across the Black Sea steppes to the Adriatic and Lake Chudskoye in Europe, destroying centers of ancient culture and a high division of labour. It was only internal developments in Mongolia itself (and not any external resistance) that destroyed this empire of the "backward nomads", whose vastness is unparalleled in history. Could they be called backward? After all, 30-60 head of horses (and other animals in terms of horses) per Mongol family gave it a leverage of human power over nature which was unequalled anywhere in contemporary Europe and China, a vast store of leisure time in society, where "men in a free condition" constituted the overwhelming majority and where there was almost no indentured labour even within the family. Of course, the handicrafts and the division of labour among the Mongols had slid back. But at the same time the power of the material and the human elements of the productive forces and their cooperation at once greatly surpassed all the peaks reached anywhere in the contemporary world.

The acquisitive type of the productive forces under the primitive communal system is apparently characterised by this relationship: primitive man—the gifts of nature. The higher this relationship, the more insistent the need for transition to a producing economy whose productive forces are characterised by the natural fertility of the soil man tilled. This depended, for its part, on the instruments and the territorial structures with which the land was cultivated ("primitive-technical composition of production"). Its highest stage of development—transition to metal instruments (and weapons)—turned out to be the condition for the development of slavery.

Consequently, we find a single succession of specific measures of the productive forces which develop and generate each other, with the social division and cooperation of labour in its various forms periodically retreating and then surging forward once again.

In the modern world, we find almost all the stages of the productive forces examined above, coexisting and interwoven with each other, and consequently usually not appearing in their "classic" forms. The largest of these is the most archaic, preslave-holding level in the development of the productive forces, with women virtually maintained as household slaves.³¹

³¹ Thus, according to the calculations of F. Baade (FRG), in 1960 360 million families were engaged in agriculture all over the world. Of these, 250 million (70 per cent) used as their only implement the hoe or the wooden plough of the kind that had been used in Ancient Egypt or Babylon; 90 million families used the iron plough pulled by oxen, cows, horses or mules; and only 10 million families used farm machinery (F. Baade, *Der Wettlauf zum Jahr 2000*, Berlin, 1960). In the last 20 years (1950-1970), production per head in the Third World countries increased by 55-60 per cent, but for the bulk of the working people the product per head remains on the level of primitive poverty. By the end of the 1960s, 460 million people (60 per cent of the working population) in the UNESCO countries were illiterate, and in the 1960s the total number of illiterates among the adults had increased. That is why, the switch in the decade, for instance, in Mali, from the wooden to the iron plough constitutes a great leap in the development of the productive forces, concentrating

The scientific and technological revolution in the advanced capitalist countries has sharpened to the extreme the crisis of these precapitalist productive forces, because the new mass media have helped the masses to realise the extent of their degradation within the system of social production and consumption. Medicinal preparations upset the "natural equilibrium" between the food resources and the population—short life-span, cheap foreign goods exploding local production, etc. The "green revolution" is on, while the process of industrialisation merely creates new factors behind the movement of masses of the working people.

The present crisis of capitalist productive forces emerged in the conditions of the opposite process: the relatively fast growth in the social product per head and the growing spiritualisation of the consuming activity of the masses. Thus, from 1850 to 1950, the social product per head increased 6-fold in the USA, 3.5-4-fold in Britain, and 4-fold in Central and North-Western Europe (estimated by Baade). Characteristically, this process of growth was sharply slowed down for most advanced capitalist countries from 1910 to 1950, as the world wars and the "great depression" paved the way for the start of the scientific and technological revolution, and then accelerated again from 1950 to 1970,³² when the scientific and technological revolution began to restructure the productive forces of Western Europe, Japan, North America and Australia.

The dialectics of the formation and transformation of wage labour lie at the basis of the whole dynamics of the productive forces under capitalism. The initial condition of the wage-labour army (the epoch of primitive accumulation and industrialisation) was marked by the proletariat's desperate struggle for the right to reproduce its labour power, arduous physical and purely functional labour, and the most primitive forms of consuming activity. At the "middle stage of development" this was a class which had already in the main secured this right, but was often permeated with the conformism of the labour aristocracy in view of the inadequate level of its vital claims and personal development, a low general education and general cultural level, a class which was yet to become aware of its tasks in the struggle for its status as subject of the productive force. Finally, the modern working class of this period of the scientific and technological revolution has already put forward the demand for its participation in the management of production, and is already fighting not only for the satisfaction of its material needs but also for an extension of its leisure time, for access to spiritual values, to education and work by brain.³³ However, to become the subject of the productive

a thousand years of history. At the same time, this leap which is characteristic of precapitalist development of the productive forces does not, as yet, create any elements of socialism in Mali (as some were inclined to claim at one time).

³² In a matter of 20 years production per head in the USA and Britain increased, by 50 per cent and in Western Europe even by as much as 100 per cent (estimated by N. Rydvanov on the basis of data from *Yearbook of National Account*, 1965, 1969, and *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1971).

³³ It is the improvement of the economic condition of the working man, Lenin remarked in 1912, that helps to involve the mass of the working people in the movement, because this raises the working class morally, mentally and politically (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, pp. 71-72).

forces developed in personal terms would entail for this class a fundamental remoulding of its whole structure, a change in the class nature of society, of the bourgeois state, etc. Once again, an ever growing section of the working mass has gone beyond the status within the system of the division of labour to which it is consigned by the social system. The internal conflict of the productive forces is being sharpened, and its resolution is no longer possible without a remaking of the whole of society.³⁴

The methodology of modern Right and "Left" opportunism characteristically reveals the failure to understand this dialectic in the development of wage labour: the changes and the limits of these changes of its place in the historically defined system of social production, etc.³⁵ "Left" opportunism seeks to extend to the advanced capitalist countries the definitions of the working class at the initial period of its development (physical, purely functional labour, desperate struggle for mere reproduction of its labour power, etc.). Right opportunism regards the creation of that massive section of the working class which has now obtained access to education and mental labour as apparently signifying the emergence of a conscious leader, a new nucleus of the socialist working class movement, and the change in place of the working class within the system of the social division of labour, which occurs under the scientific and technological revolution, as signifying a gradual and complete restructuring of the relations of production, a "remaking of capitalism into socialism".

The class struggle and the socio-economic and political revolution, as the highest form of this struggle, is a powerful instrument for change in the condition of the working masses as the productive forces develop. It is precisely this "production role" of the class struggle of the working masses that makes it the pivot of mankind's social history, and the revolution its "locomotive". It is true that for the time being the fact that the class struggle is not an impediment but the main motive force behind the development of the productive forces remains a secret for many people. Let us recall that Austro-Marxism insisted that the class struggle and revolution merely bring the superstructure and the relations of production into correspondence with the new and already changed character of the productive forces. Where this has not yet taken place (as for instance, where there is no numerous, literate and "socially strong" working class, etc.) there is nothing for the proletarian revolution to do, and it becomes impossible and "unnatural" (Karl Kautsky's "productive forces" theory, and Otto Bauer's "social factors of force" theory). Lenin gave a convincing critique of these theories.³⁶ It was the October Revolution that gave the working masses of Russia access to all the benefits of education, culture and vigorous productive and social activity, opening their way to becoming the subject of the productive forces, thereby not just changing, "bringing into correspondence" the relations of production with the le-

³⁴ The contradiction of the capitalist productive forces were temporarily resolved and reproduced in new and more elaborate forms through the transition from simple cooperation to the manufactory, and then to machine production and the scientific conveyor-line production (see *Competition Between the Two Systems*, Moscow, 1970, in Russian).

³⁵ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 480.

vel of productive forces, but qualitatively altering the very structure of the productive forces.³⁷

At the same time, this qualitative change in the productive forces in the course of socio-economic revolution frequently goes hand in hand with a decline in labour productivity, a loss of sizable numbers of the most knowledgeable, cultured and experienced personnel from the erstwhile ruling class, and even a destruction of a part of the means of production. Only the new stage in the spiritualisation of the process of production, and the new awareness of the conditions of consumption by the working masses indicate the vast new potentials latent in the emerging system of the productive forces.

The long retrospective view shows that the productive level of a factory is measured not so much by the quantity and quality of the goods leaving its territory (however important this indicator may be), as by the level of the development of the generation of men who have gone through the "mill". It is the development of the working masses in personal terms that is one of the most profound motive causes giving an impetus to the development of the productive forces and of world history, and it is this development that is the true measure and the true standard of social progress.

At the same time, the new system of the productive forces establishes itself as a truly higher stage by creating faster rates of growth and eventually a higher productivity of labour, which is a reflection of man's changing condition in production, and which creates adequate conditions for his consumption. Lenin wrote that in the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system.

Whereas Right opportunism fails to see this role of class struggle and revolution as the motive force behind the productive forces dialectics, "Left" revisionism regards the very act of the political revolution as already signifying the actual establishment of the new productive forces, regardless of the real technical and technological level, labour productivity, or consideration of the fact that the mere aggregation into a commune of individual farmers working with hoes and carting their own produce to the city is far from being a "great leap" over three modes of production.

The powerful development of the *material and technical basis* of socialist productive forces in Soviet society before and since the war has created the conditions for rapid progress of *man himself* as the main productive force. The 24th Congress of the CPSU, by defining this development as the main line in the improvement of our society's productive forces, has thereby set the course towards the socialist scientific and technological revolution.

³⁷ "Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 241).

Vladimir SHCHERBINA,
D. Sc. (Philol.)

Ideology and Some Aspects of Culture

The history of Russian and world literature as a whole is a part of the history of human culture. At various stages of history, the preservation and enrichment of culture became a foremost task and an indispensable aspect of the social process.

Historical development since the early 20th century has compellingly raised the question of the future paths of world culture. To counter the spread of socialist ideas, the aesthetic reactionaries have created pessimistic and utilitarian concepts of the nature and historical paths of culture. Lenin's scientific analysis of modern society brought him to the conclusion that in the epoch of imperialism the basic contradictions of capitalism have reached the highest point of aggravation. Capitalism has become the greatest obstacle to man's cultural development. One of the characteristics of the spiritual degradation of the ruling classes in the epoch of imperialism is accentuation of the reactionary features of bourgeois culture, and reliance on obsolete, bigoted and anti-national ideas and forces.

In 1913 Lenin described the spiritual degeneration of the bourgeoisie thus: "In civilised and advanced Europe, with its highly developed machine industry, its rich, multiform culture and its constitutions, a point in history has been reached when the commanding bourgeoisie, fearing the growth and increasing strength of the proletariat, comes out in support of everything backward, moribund and mediaeval. The bourgeoisie is living out its last days, and is joining with all obsolete and obsolescent forces in an attempt to preserve tottering wage-slavery."¹

When the socialist revolution was imminent and during the period of its accomplishment, the whole question of "the people and culture" naturally came to the fore—the question of the changes introduced into the cultural life of society by industrial progress, which entails the revolutionising of the working masses. Scientific socialism regarded the towns as cultural centres, promoting the aesthetic progress of the population, whereas reactionary theoreticians saw in the growing popular activity a threat to the very existence of culture. Hence the pessimistic and élitarian concepts of culture, the prophecies of the inevitability of spiritual decline. The role played by the cities in the cultural life of society and the growing cultural activity of their working

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 19, p. 99.

population have formed, ever since the beginning of the century, one of the aspects of the polemic over the fate of culture.

Lenin maintained that the alienation of the people from culture is one of the exploiting society's chief contradictions, which can be overcome by the triumph of the revolution and socialism. He elucidated this problem in several aspects. In the polemic with the Narodniks and Cadets, he spoke of the progressiveness of the big cities where social and cultural wealth was concentrated. In the programme of revolutionary Social-Democracy he included the task of effacing the alienation of the millions from culture. In his *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx"*, he stated that the Social-Democrats were capable of appreciating the merit of the great centres of dynamism and culture, and rejected Berdyaev's contention that to eradicate the contradiction between town and country meant renouncing the treasures of science and art. "Quite the contrary," Lenin affirmed, "this is necessary in order to bring these treasures *within the reach of the entire people*, in order to abolish the alienation from culture of millions of the rural population, which Marx aptly described as 'the idiocy of rural life'."²

The question of the importance of cultural centres and big towns in society's spiritual life has become very topical since it concerns the evaluation of modern civilisation. It is precisely in the popularisation and democratisation of spiritual values, in the "barbarity" of the big cities that Spengler, for example, saw a threat to the very existence of culture, whose sole guardian and creator he considered to be the chosen few. The popularisation of works of art brought Spengler and other reactionary ideologists to the conclusion that art lacked prospects, and that at a certain stage of civilisation great artists gave up their calling to take up something more active—such as politics or business.

As we see, the theory that art is unwanted and powerless today is not new, although it is sometimes cloaked in ultra-revolutionary rhetoric. It had its origins long ago in the reactionary philosophy of history and is based on the theory that the creative stage of culture will inevitably be replaced by a consumer, spiritually barren stage of civilisation.

The essence of the comprehensive analysis by Marx and Engels of the fate of culture in bourgeois society is expressed in their assertion that capitalism is inimical to art and poetry. In Marx's view "disdain for theory, art, history, disdain for man as an end in itself"³ is inherent in capitalist society, which is dominated by private property and the money bag. Since, under capitalism, all spheres of human activity are subject to sale and purchase and are under the influence of market relations, "the bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers".⁴

The present-day world is undergoing fundamental changes. The confrontation between the socialist and bourgeois cultures is becoming more acute

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 154.

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 411 (in Russian).

⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 111.

and often takes complex forms, and this constitutes one of the principal contradictions of the spiritual life of our epoch. To counter the socialist concept of culture, our opponents are putting forward their own conceptions intended to affirm the aesthetic standards of the capitalist world. Bourgeois ideologists are doing their best to distort the meaning of the Leninist theory of cultural revolution and his doctrine of two cultures in one national culture. The idea about the necessity of inheriting all the achievements of human culture is usually misrepresented as the equalisation of socialist and reactionary phenomena in literature and art. In recent years the theory of a single culture of a single industrial society—which has allegedly eradicated the discrepancies between capitalism and socialism, and brought about cultural convergence in today's world—has been very fashionable.

If we examine the definitions of "culture" of the various ideological trends opposed to scientific socialism, we find that for all their diversity they all have a tendency to lose sight of the historical approach, and, instead, to lean towards the mystical irrespective of whether they involve the stadial, irrational, mythological or industrial-levelling theories. For example, Schmidt's *Dictionary of Philosophy*, published in West Germany, defines aesthetic culture as "expression of the will of the people or individuals as a result of self-determination".⁵ In this definition culture is abstracted from its socio-historical context. It is clear that such an interpretation is similar to those of Spengler and Ortega y Gasset, who counterpoise the aristocratic religiosity of culture to the allegedly egalitarian, democratic consumer civilisation of today. In works on the history and philosophy of world culture, the originality of these authors is exaggerated, often ignoring the fact that their concepts depend to some extent on Meyer's views, which are most fully expounded in his book, *The Theoretical and Methodological Problems of History*.

The historical approach to culture is rejected by some other leading foreign theorists as well. Whatever differences there may be between them, the non-historical and non-class treatment of culture is characteristic of A. Weber, M. Heidegger, C. Levi-Strauss, A. Toynbee, R. Wright, A. Huxley and H. Marcuse.

While some of them correlate cultural development with history, they give history itself a non-class and mystical character, turning it into speculative cyclic patterns. In their opinion, culture takes shape not in the conditions of a definite, specific social formation, but through mystical, formally logical, purely psychological, or bio-psychological factors (in the spirit of Freud).

In all these concepts of the cyclic development of society and its culture, subjective criteria of the essence of historical development are conspicuous. Spengler bases his historico-cultural concept on the inevitability of periods of cultural development and creativeness being replaced by periods of consumer civilisation. Toynbee constructs his theory of the historical process on the cyclic circulation of isolated equivalent civilisations. During the long period of work over his major book, *A Study of History*, Toynbee changed his views

⁵ *Dictionary of Philosophy*, Moscow, 1961, p. 312 (in Russian).

on a number of issues. But his basic concept remained the same. Every civilisation, according to him, passes through stages of emergence, growth, downfall and decay, and finally extinction.

Toynbee considers himself a broad-minded, unprejudiced scholar. But despite his subjective aspiration after truth, he failed, for example, to gain a proper understanding of the meaning of socialist progress because of his passion for his stereotyped pattern.

The American Professor Wright maintains that every cultural cycle begins with a heroic period that is bound to be followed by "troubled times", a characteristic aggravation of social and spiritual contradictions, and upheavals in the existing foundations of social life. The "troubled times" involves suppression of individuality and freedom, which entails depression of the spirit and loss of ideals. As a result, the people again create for themselves a new faith, religious or social, while the intellectual élite of society takes refuge in "art for art's sake". Then follows a return to the initial point—the beginning of a new cycle of development.

A somewhat different version of cyclic changes in culture is presented by Aldous Huxley. According to his pattern, periods of classicism give way to periods of romanticism, periods of religiousness—to periods of skepsis and periods of pacifism and internationalism—to periods of imperialism and militarism.

So we have quite a clear picture of the major clashes in world cultural development. They involve the replacement of periods of cultural development and creativeness by periods of consumer civilisation, prosperity by decline, heroism by depression, idealism by scepticism, romanticism by pragmatism, faith by scepticism, and pacifism and internationalism by imperialism and militarism. Notwithstanding the diversity of the main criteria determining the features and changes of the various cycles of cultural development, they all have something conspicuously in common. They all come to a basic postulate affirming the degeneration and decline of culture, which are connected with the historical process in a mystified form, as certain eternal laws fatally rotating in the closed circle of their movement in time.

From our point of view, the revolutionary innovation of the socialist concept of cultural progress lies primarily in the fact that it has removed this progress beyond the laws of capitalist society. The socialist concept of historical progress proceeds from the temporary, transient nature of the contradictions and laws of bourgeois society, and from the growing activity of the new, democratic forces and their emergence to the forefront of history. The above-mentioned concepts of the cyclical development of culture one-sidedly reflect the real contradictions and weaknesses of cultural life in capitalist society; they do not examine the role in cultural development of those social and democratic elements which form the prerequisite for the ascending processes in the course of world civilisation.

Every historical period contributes a fresh content to the concept of "culture", raises its own problems and gives rise to new phenomena and processes. The culture of the present-day world is distinguished by acute contradictions, great complexity and a diversity of forms and trends; but all the complexity of today's cultural life is explicitly brought out in the light of the ex-

perience of scientific socialism and its key methodological principle formulated by Lenin in his theory of two cultures in one national culture.

In his article "Critical Remarks on the National Question", Lenin wrote that there are two nations in every contemporary nation, and two national cultures in every national culture. And further: "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. But *every* nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of 'elements', but of the *dominant culture*."⁶

The development of world culture has borne out this thesis. Scientific socialism rejects the abstract notions of society and the concept of "abstract culture", which ignores concrete historical features and the contradictions of the spiritual development of society. This abstract conception of culture has formed the backbone of various, often opposed, conclusions. Humanist writers and artists who base themselves on the concept of "abstract culture" see no more than illusions, utopias or disillusionment, while bourgeois ideologists often exploit the non-historical, abstract approach to culture for their self-seeking class interests and with the aim of obscuring the development of socialist and democratic culture.

Today works of art are very complex compositionally. Increasing importance is being gained by the literature and art born under socialism. A strenuous search for truth distinguishes the works of many progressive artists of the world, above all the adherents of realism and other trends seeking the truth of life and an understanding of its objective processes.

Besides the art cultivated by reaction and the inhuman aspirations of imperialism, there also exists the art born of despair, confusion, alienation, disunion and impotence.

These diverse phenomena of the art of our time are correlated, both in origin and function, with historical man and his spiritual being, whose meaning can be comprehended only in a synthesised concept of "culture".

Only in living man, in his spiritual being and activity does culture take definite shape as a complex synthesis of all its forms, as an integral whole. In the inner life of the individual, all the distinct branches of aesthetic culture notwithstanding their relative independence, do not exist separately, but in close interaction and integrity. Living man is the converging point of the ideological, aesthetic and ethical aspects of culture. In the face of today's ideological struggle, all the problems of culture are concentrated on the central issue concerning the moulding of man, his consciousness, psychology and aspirations. It is in this connection that the opposition of the differing conceptions of culture and of its nature and mission is most conspicuous. One must always bear in mind contemporary man in the totality of his special spiritual features, interests, requirements and tendencies of development. And this implies, first and foremost, the competence to perceive rea-

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 24.

lity, the place and influence of art on society, and the different components of aesthetic culture and ideology.

The question of the ideological structure of contemporary culture is of great theoretical interest. The contradictions in its solution constitute one of the key aspects of the differences between the opposing conceptions of today, and in a large measure determine the substance of a concrete culture and the path of development of its separate branches.

Socialism covers culture in its multiformity, affirming the organic connection of its separate branches—philosophy, ethics, literature and art. Each of them appears in its specific and indispensable function, and at the same time in the unity of their common principles. The anti-socialist trends, on the contrary, tend to break up and narrow the content of culture and its separate branches.

Already there are quite definite methods by which the range of cultural values is narrowed, the usual ones being hypertrophy, absolutisation of one of the aspects of culture and its divorce from the totality of social and spiritual phenomena which determine the specific pattern of the cultural development of the epoch. Some theorists present culture as an élitarian, irrational or industrially-levelled-off stream; others as a totality of unconnected, isolated spiritual phenomena or stages. Hence the conceptions which say that contemporary literature is the sum total of separate isolated artistic structures, and which cast doubt on the existence of any extensive uniformity in the history of literature, and even on the legitimacy of the very notion of "world literature". Some authors do try to establish certain general features in contemporary world literature, but they represent them merely by absolutising some single aspect of the literary movement arbitrarily cut off from its actual ramified development. The "modernist" and "tragic" conceptions of world literature are very fashionable at the present time. These raise individual aspects of the spiritual development of bourgeois society to the level of universal laws. Such are the conceptions expounded in a *Illustrierte Weltliteratur-Geschichte* (Universal History of Literature) by Eduard von Tunk, *Bilan littéraire du XX siècle* (Balance of the 20th Century) by René-Marill Albérés, *Studien zur tragischer Literaturgeschichte* (Tragic History of Literature) by W. Muschg, *Sozialgeschichte der mittellaterlichen Künste* (Social History of Art and Literature) by A. Hauser, and *Literaturgeschichte* (History of Literature) by A. Schmidt. The initial points of those works are in harmony with the works on the philosophy of history and the philosophy of culture by Meyer, Spengler and Toynbee.

There are other means by which the subject-matter of literature is narrowed, and these consist in divorcing from the realm of culture its ideological, socio-philosophical and ethical aspects. That is what is done, for example, by the Formalist trends in both art and ethics. Artistic creation looks extremely poor in the works of the Formalists and in the theories of the New Criticism school. A new version of formalising all forms of artistic culture is Structuralism, which dissolves the life-giving nature of art and its humanising purpose in models of abstract thinking.

Today's discrepancies in understanding the foundations of cultural life have a direct bearing on the treatment of the question of the relationship of

ideology with culture, literature and art. It is quite natural that this question should be the focal point of discussions on the spiritual life of today. Let us emphasise that ideology is related not only to the socio-aesthetic aspect of artistic work but to the general enrichment of society's artistic and cultural activity.

Ideology represents, as it were, the self-awareness of culture, sums up its experience and unites all cultural spheres into a purposeful stream. Ideology gives culture vitality and a political, philosophical and ethical orientation, and deliberately includes it in the overall requirements of the times. Without taking account of the penetrative and synthesising function of ideology, it is impossible to grasp the meaning of all the processes in present-day artistic development.

The problem of the relationship of ideology to the fundamental laws of literature and the other arts is both important and complex, and can be correctly resolved only by taking into consideration their objective historical relationship.

Being based on the negativist trends of today, bourgeois ideology conflicts with the general trend of development of world civilisation. From this stems the theory of the universal alienation of ideology from culture, the absolutisation of their contradictions, and even their hostility. The moral degradation of the ruling classes has always produced specific conceptions of the development of contemporary culture. The current processes in the development of art draw our attention to yet another aspect of de-ideologisation. There is an increasingly distinct connection between the conceptions of art's de-ideologisation and those of its "de-culturalisation". With all their diversity, these conceptions tend to deny that culture is the total achievement of man's creative activity. Although the theories which affirm the legitimacy of only élitarian, anti-democratic culture are widespread, increasing weight is carried by those conceptions which deny culture and its creative nature, and strongly propagate the idea that the nature of man and art is primary, and that they are "independent" from culture.

It should be noted that the apologia for the primacy of art and its alienation from ideology and culture takes varied forms. There is the artless eulogy of demonstratively anti-social and cynical characters who live by primitive instincts and are possessed by the lust for violence. There are the artful, intellectualist theories that claim to be a universal synthesis of the spiritual qualities and conflicts of human existence. An example of the artful denial of culture, the idealisation of man's primacy, and the alienation of art from any ideology are the latest versions of Jungianism. According to these theories, the entire subject-matter of art is non-historical, irrational and based on a manifestation of "archetypes" buried deep in human subconsciousness since ancient times.

The creative conscious content of culture is thus cast away or transferred to the sphere of the irrational, chaotic, primitive or the absurd. For the neo-Freudians, the historical significance of the modernistic trends consists primarily in their divergence from realism, and its orientation on human development, thought, progress and the objective laws of history.

The call to a "return to primordality" has brought forth abundant works

establishing similarity between the modernistic art forms and primitive art. For instance, T. Monroe, W. Emrich, R. Hughes and other theorists of various persuasions consider abstractionism and allied modernistic trends to be the most up-to-date art form, alleging that they are related to the type of thought that is closest to the initial stage of human culture.

The "return to primordality", to primeval "naturalism", is one of the basic ideas of modernistic aesthetics and the reverse side of contemporary "myth-making". Following the theory of the "return to primordality", to primitivism, the advocates of surrealism and existentialism fill their works with pictures in which man is shown to be dominated by instincts. That is quite natural, since the realisation of subconscious universality is possible only in a background of non-contextual human material in which the social and ideological features of today are understated.

Works which propagate the return to primordial human nature argue against the socio-historical and moral essence of the advanced contemporary personality. The calls to resurrect the deep-seated, ancient, irrational primordial principles are found in many artistic, philosophical and aesthetic compositions. According to these views, culture and intellectuality are regarded as something foreign to the real nature of man, something that brings him to illusions and suppresses his natural and free conduct. Such are the characters and conflicts of several contemporary art trends based on the principles of Freudianism, especially its latest Jungian versions.

On the one hand, bourgeois ideologists are striving to confine the spiritual development of the personality to the sphere of their false or illusory standards of a specific culture or ersatz culture. On the other, they are persistently propagating the idea of alienating culture from the inner nature of man. To begin with, they reject the socio-historical essence of human nature and the idea that the latter can be perfected. They insist on the unchangeability, fatal viciousness and sinfulness of human nature. For instance, the West German philosopher, H. Weinstock, asserts in his *Tragedy of Humanism*: "If humanist socialism really wants to become genuine humanism, as Marx contemplated, it must reject the erroneous doctrine concerning the perfection of man in favour of the truth that man is imperfect."⁷

In the present-day world, the relations between man and culture are very complex. We are witnessing both the unification and separation of the personality and culture. Among the various processes taking place in contemporary culture, the most conspicuous is that of the formation of various types of personality. The various types of literary character cannot be understood outside the problem of "personality and culture", taking culture to mean the totality of man's knowledge, experience, ideological and moral qualities, and the level of his creative powers. The chief assignment of socialist culture, its vital mission, consists in shaping the new man, or, as Marx put it, in "humanising man". This implies the appreciation by all people of aesthetic values, their involvement in what Lenin called conscious historical creation.

⁷ H. Weinstock, *Die Tragödie des Humanismus, Wahrheit und Trug im abendländischen Menschenbild*, Heidelberg, 1960, p. 292.

To the question "What is culture?" Lunacharsky answered: "That is how we designate all the human conditions and achievements designed to improve man himself and all nature around him, to adapt man's environment to his needs and thereby promote the full and free development of all his good inherent qualities, and to bring him closer to genuine and sublime happiness."⁸

This description reveals the creative, humanist meaning of true, progressive culture, and the quality distinguishing it from all the aesthetic falsifications and mystifications that are often put into this concept. Socialist culture counters all forms of dehumanisation which today are declared to be the last word in human thought.

The artistic affirmation by Soviet literature of the new man in the socialist world is a new and great achievement of world culture. Prejudiced foreign critics are trying to counterpose to our idea of the advanced literary character of today the featureless, non-historical man who is unchanging by nature and isolated from the movement of the times and the confrontation of social forces. But, according to the socialist world outlook, the development of the personality, on the contrary, involves appreciation of cultural achievements, the overcoming of dark instincts, the spiritual rise of man and the full development of his best, humane qualities.

Any apologia of "spontaneity", whether it obviously inclines towards "de-civilisation" and "de-ideologisation" or any other form of disrespect for the socio-philosophical accomplishment of the time, leads to the decline of culture. Under the pretext of naturalness and impartiality in perceiving life, cultural wealth is rejected together with the beliefs and views of man, i. e. his whole synthesised experience which links him with other members of society. Rejecting culture, reason, intellect and ideas as a deceptive, inactive sphere oppressing the personality, ultra-modern theorists claim to bring out genuine human nature free from heterogeneous stratifications. But by rejecting the historical characteristics of the personality, they are actually distorting the real essence of man, for the ideal of naturalism and primordality is something entirely mystical and only expresses the disintegration of certain groups of today's intelligentsia insofar as the very nature of contemporary man is the outcome of history. So "de-civilisation" or the return to cave naturalism is a fiction, since it destroys the character of man and forfeits his objective historical traits and tears him away from the vital soil that gave birth to him. Man disintegrates into isolated elements and ceases to be himself.

Scientific socialism, on the contrary, regards the rejection of reason and the leaning towards animalism as a violation of human norms. Man is moulded into a contemporary personality in the true sense of this concept not by "de-civilisation", "disintegration", "naturalism" or alienation, but by society. And the more cultured he is, the more he symbolises our epoch. It is the degree of his activeness in the historical and cultural development of the world that best determines the extent of his contemporaneity.

⁸ A. V. Lunacharsky, *Culture and the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution*, 1927, p. 4 (in Russian).

One must not think that the idea of the "de-civilisation" of man and the tendency towards "intellectualisation" is a manifestation only of some theoretical concept. The idea stems from a number of contradictory processes of contemporary bourgeois society. It involves the reaction of some intellectual circles to the crisis and bankruptcy of bourgeois thought, as well as the attempts to justify the violence, amorality and anti-intellectuality which are characteristic of imperialism, and to affirm the human type that embodies the destructive principles of bourgeois society.

The aspiration for "de-civilisation", "de-intellectualisation" and "de-idealisation" takes diverse forms in art and emanates from diverse stimuli. We must of course differentiate between the sincere artists who adhere to sceptical conceptions, having been disappointed in the potentialities of reason, and the blatant propagandists of "de-ideologisation" for anti-socialist purposes. Nonetheless, the concepts of "de-ideologisation" and "de-intellectualisation", being based on disbelief in reason and on various versions of "naturalism", are objectively related to the "de-civilisation" theory.

The alienation of literature from ideology and culture is manifested in many forms, direct and indirect. One of them is the theory which perceives the determining factor of today's artistic and entire cultural development in scientific and technological progress alone, ignoring all ideological, socio-philosophical and ethical elements closest to art. According to this one-sided view, literature is concerned only with the influence of technological attributes and has nothing to do with aesthetic culture in the broad sense of the word. Such a view is rightly regarded as a tendency towards the "de-ideologisation" of literature. What must be borne in mind is that this way of separating literature from culture as a whole leads to the concept of spiritual and aesthetic levelled-out integration as a universal process of the present day.

The isolation of literature from ideology and from the social awareness of the epoch leads to the estrangement of art from culture, which is one of the main causes of the abundance of pseudo-intellectual and pseudo-innovatory compositions vainly laying claim to be a new discovery, a new vision of the world. Today's great achievements in science and technology, terrific velocities and striking discoveries have a considerable influence on the psychology of people and the world outlook of writers. But the spontaneous transfer of superficial technological attributes to the sphere of artistic creation oversimplifies the real essence of the matter. It has long been proved futile to draw a parallel between scientific and technological progress on the one hand, and artistic progress on the other. The one-sidedness of such a conception of 20th century progress has been recognised by many foreign writers. In his discussion with bourgeois sociologists, J. R. Becher supported the idea that the 20th century is primarily the era of a new humanism brought about by the socialist revolution. "The age of technology," said the poet, "is a definition that ignores a significant feature of our century: it should be called the 'humane age' of the Great October Socialist Revolution."⁹

The divorcing of the personality, literature and art from culture is also

⁹ J. R. Becher, *Verteidigung der Poesie*, Berlin, 1952, p. 134.

manifested in the tendencies to standardise them by adapting them to the stereotyped aesthetic patterns of the convergence theory. The socio-economic basis of the convergence theory is the imaginary approach of an era in which the world will have an integrated industrial society. R. Aron, W. Rostow, Z. Brzezinski, and other theorists of what they call the "convergent" development of contemporary society, are trying hard to direct culture and man's mind towards oversimplified aesthetic standardisation. According to them, all political, ideological and cultural differences are gradually dissolving in the stereotyped thinking of an integrated industrial society.

The theories of the "autonomy", "non-ideological character" and "convergent integration" of literature, which separate it from other forms of social consciousness, are not new. However, attention is drawn to the fact that the theories of the "de-ideologisation" of culture and the "autonomy" of art are being developed not only by the advocates of openly reactionary trends, but also by various pseudo-Marxist and ultra-"Left", ultra-revolutionary groups. The reasons for this are complex and must be attributed to the contradictoriness of today's political and spiritual life.

It is indicative that the seemingly opposed "evolutionist" and ultra-"Left" trends refer to the contemporary "industrial society" as their fundamental principle. The absolutisation of the mystification serves as the basis for various one-sided, anti-socialist conceptions. Following the authors of the theory of the convergent development of culture in an integrated industrial society, renegades and revisionists are trying to spread the myth that ideological differences are being obliterated.

A feature of the present period is that the attempts to efface the basis of socialist culture are being made primarily by revisionists, and they are followed by pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-"Left" circles. It could not be otherwise since the programmes of these openly reactionary trends cannot win popularity among the majority of the people who are striving for socialism.

Bourgeois propaganda zealously extols political apostasy and revisionism as an indication of liberation from dogmatism and as an ascent towards higher and more fruitful levels of thinking. But in reality, it always happens in such cases that we are presented with a picture of spiritual degradation and with the replacement of the genuine spiritual values of socialist culture by the current bourgeois and revisionist stereotypes. That is what has been done by renegades such as A. Lefavre, E. Fischer, R. Garaudy and E. Bloch. In their writings on political, philosophical and aesthetic themes, they usually just serve up various mixtures of the dogmas of bourgeois propaganda and follow the worn-out ideological standards of the "free world"

Fischer maintains that any ideology, be it socialist or bourgeois, is "false consciousness" that prevents man from having an objective world outlook. According to him, ideology is the sum total of ideas and truths about reality indispensable to some political force or other. He urges that man should come out of the fortresses of ideology into the expanse of his own unbiased thinking based on the discovery of general values. Any revolt against ideology, in his opinion, is a revolutionary act, irrespective of whether it is impelled by true, vital motives, or by false, deceptive ones. Reactionary ideology may rightly be described as "false consciousness". But distortions of nature

and the notion of nature cannot serve to denounce any ideology, i.e., a definite system of ideas and views—political, legal, philosophical, ethical and aesthetic. And the present denial of ideology, the endeavour to see in it an unstable "false consciousness" cannot be accepted otherwise than as one of the versions of the "de-ideologisation" of being and consciousness. In preaching the "de-ideologisation" of culture, art and all spheres of social and spiritual life, today's revisionists have come noticeably closer to the theorists of undisguised reaction.

Fischer's new book, *Auf den Spuren der Wirklichkeit* (In Search of Reality), describes ideology as a "threat" to genuine art. Ideology, it says, is capable of catching only the "shadow of reality", which is slipping away from it. The author speaks in an arrogant tone about the experience of the Soviet cultural revolution, declaring that it is progress only by the standards of "lazy and backward Russia". On the whole, Fischer denies the importance of Russia's revolutionary experience for the "contemporary industrial society", as he evasively calls present-day capitalism. He repeats the hackneyed ideas of bourgeois propaganda about imperialism's evolution into "people's capitalism" and "state capitalism", and about the complete transformation of today's proletariat into the technical intelligentsia. According to Fischer, today's foremost necessity is a new cultural revolution to be carried out by the intelligentsia. The new "cultural revolution" is said to be non-historical and non-social, and to emanate from the revolt of spiritual forces against any politics.

A specific feature of the pseudo-Marxist trends is the inconsistency of their fashionable authorities and their frequent change of idols. The once famous champions of "creative Marxism" such as Fischer, Bloch and Garaudy are obviously losing their popularity. For example, Garaudy's latest book, *Garaudy par Garaudy*, has been rather neglected by intellectuals everywhere. Having forfeited the authoritative support of the Communist Parties of their countries, such writers are fading into the background. They are now much less interesting to their bourgeois patrons and to certain intellectual circles. Having ceased to capitalise on the ideas of revolution and socialism, they cannot find any ground for even a speculative treatment of serious questions, as they previously used to do.

There are many irrefutable facts which prove the destructive influence of reactionary ideology on all cultural spheres and art forms.

The typical tendency in bourgeois culture to impoverish spiritual life and reduce its great diversity to stereotypes stems from the very nature of bourgeois society. In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin wrote: "Domination, and the violence that is associated with it, such are the relationships that are typical of the 'latest phase of capitalist development'; this is what inevitably had to result, and has resulted, from the formation of all-powerful economic monopolies."¹⁰

The relations of domination and coercion, characteristic of imperialism, in spiritual life are manifested in a spiritual oppression of society, and this leads to mysticism, conformity and distorted schematisation characterised by the stereotypes typical of bourgeois consciousness in general. This process of spiri-

tual coercion of the process of adaptation of spiritual life to the stereotyped schemes of bourgeois consciousness, takes various forms, artful and artless, direct and indirect. Spiritual pressure is evident in the primitive, "mass culture" which does not hesitate to propagate violence openly, as well as in the sophisticated, predominantly depressive, works that are full of sympathy for their victimised protagonists, but nevertheless affirm the oppression of the individual as an eternal and universal law of existence.

The Marxist conception of culture is opposed to any standardisation of spiritual life. Marxism regards the eradication of the socio-economic conditions which affirm domination and violence as the correct path to creativeness and a diversified spiritual life. It is the struggle against imperialist domination that provides the basis for cultural regeneration, and eradicates the ground for spiritual impoverishment and standardisation. According to Lenin, the abolition of capitalist domination increases "...millionfold the 'differentiation' of humanity, in the meaning of the wealth and the variety in spiritual life."¹¹

The quest for a standard abstract model of the 20th century's artistic awareness is also stimulated by contemporary structuralism, which is derived from the philosophy of E. Husserl and E. Cassirer. The present adherents of their views project structural principles into the field of artistic creation. They regard literature not as a reflection of the diversity of life, but as a fixed set of structural elements that they call "toposes", which resemble abstract "models", recurring subjects and plots.

Before going further we must define the concept of "structure" as applied in the sphere of artistic creation. The most common interpretation of this concept today is as follows:

Some theorists attach to the term "structure" the broadest meaning, saying that it expresses the distinct literary phenomena in their unity of form and content, the unity of creative principles.

By "structure" others imply merely the external formal organisation of the material of an artistic work. They give the word a narrow meaning and do not apply it to other aspects of literature such as its ideological trend and vital content.

A third group of authors, mostly of the semantic school, declare "structure" to be the basis of a universal category of art completely cut off from the process of cognition, and independent from the objective content of art. Several shades of meaning may be distinguished here. Most representatives of this school consider "structure" to be merely a symbolic, conventional sign for the immanent qualities of a work of art (Morris, Langer, Kaplan, Richards). "Structure" is often interpreted as the totality of a long determined arrangement of permanent symbols or "toposes" (Kurzius, Frey). Supporters of the theory of coherence see "structure" as nothing but a means for practical communication, a specific language through which values are brought out (M. Foucault).

Notwithstanding certain differences, common to all these versions is the understanding of artistic creation as a phenomenon that is outside gnosiological and ideological laws; as the totality of specific constructions whatever they

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 207

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 274.

may be called: "models", "toposes", "symbols", or "myths". But if we turn to the real literary process of the 20th century, we shall find that its contradictory and diverse trends and individual features cannot be packed into the narrow framework of a single structure of artistic awareness.

Lenin refuted the speculative approach to society, man and art. He persistently criticised the speculative, Machist structures of A. Bogdanov and his theories of "universal substitution", "introjection" and universal "elements" in the spiritual life of the epoch, which can be traced back to the theory that identifies "being" with social awareness.

In his "Empirio-Monism" and "Tectology", Alexander Bogdanov tries to create a speculative universal science, a kind of system of abstract structures embodying the universal laws of being. Lenin denounced Bogdanov's schemes, which are in many ways similar to the theory of universal "topos" models advanced by Husserl, Kurzius, Frey and other exponents of structuralism. The application of Bogdanov's views in the field of artistic creation led to the schematisation of art and the destruction of its vital and individual content.

The contemporary structuralist theories, in a broad methodological sense, serve as a basis for creating speculative tendentious conceptions of 20th century literature, which dissolve in all sorts of "universal models" the concrete historical diversity of art and avoid analysing its typology and differentiation. These subjectivist models—existentialist, depressive, industrial, abstract intellectualist, integrated or disintegrated, etc.—usually form the basis of the equally one-sided model of today's artistic thinking. Furthermore, no consideration is ever given to the decisive contradictions of the epoch and the differing positions of writers, which give rise to various, often opposed, conceptions of the world and man.

Some scholars, in their efforts to preserve the cognitive principles and idea-content of art, are often inclined to erase the concepts of "structure", "model", "symbol" and "myth", declaring them to be foreign to the very nature of scientific materialist aesthetics. But this tendency lacks historical and theoretical grounding.

The socio-philosophic and aesthetic works of Lenin are known to have a rich variety of categories that must be taken into account when studying such a synthetic sphere as artistic creation. Lenin used all the diverse categories in a correct, contemporary sense.

He recognised the general cognitive and aesthetic importance of symbols expressing definite qualities of life phenomena, but rejected immanent symbolics. He appreciated the symbolic images of Gorky and Verhaern and often turned to the images of classical mythology, emphasising their richness and spiritual meaning; but he never accepted the kind of myth-making that veils the truth.

The notion "model" is justified and indispensable when it signifies a real phenomenon and is capable of serving as a standard for other similar phenomena. The real, vital meaning of "model" is emphasised in Lenin's book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Criticising Helmholtz's theory of symbols, and comparing the meanings of "model" and reflection, Lenin described the concept of "model" as definite phenomena of reality depicted by art.

Explaining his attitude towards this concept, Lenin remarked: "The contours of the picture are historically conditional but the fact that this picture depicts an objectively existing model is unconditional."¹² That is why the term "model" here has a general gnosiological meaning and is not included among aesthetic categories. In this connection, Lenin wrote that the symbol theory reflects a certain distrust in the cognition of our sense organs: "It is beyond doubt that an image can never wholly compare with the model, but an image is one thing, a symbol, a *conventional sign*, another. The image inevitably and of necessity implies the objective reality of that which it 'images'."¹³

Lenin's treatment of the concept of "model" as an element of reality has great theoretical significance. It is opposed to the tendencies to create speculative constructions and "models" independent of reality. These are the "models" of contemporary myth-makers, who reject the idea of art's participation in man's quest for truth.

So the point is not the unacceptability of these terms as such, but the necessity to bear in mind their true content, meaning, differentiation, limitation, and their relevance in one sphere of cognition or another and in the system of categories used by a particular branch of knowledge.

In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin denounced Kautsky for substituting an analysis of just the forms of capitalism—without reference to their essence and prospects of social development—for an analysis of the historical content of the epoch. Lenin on many occasions and in many aspects voiced disapproval of the tendency speculatively to squeeze into abstract schemes the living social and spiritual diversity of the epoch.

For the most part, the endeavour to find a general non-social structure for today's philosophical, aesthetic and artistic awareness is associated with the opinion that socio-philosophical contradictions are unimportant, even non-existent in art, that they are overshadowed by the universal stereotyped laws governing the 20th century man's conception of reality. Understandably, such an approach to literature, and its formalisation, are incompatible with the one and only scientific understanding of literature as a specific and indispensable branch of human studies and cognition of the world.

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 136.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 235.

Sergei TIKHVINSKY,
Corresponding Member,
USSR Academy of Sciences

Nationalism and the Class Struggle in China's Modern History

The problems of the relationship of classes and nations, of the class struggle and nationalism, are of great interest for an understanding of the world historical process, of the socio-political phenomena in different countries and in modern international relations.

Interest in these problems among historians, philosophers and economists has grown in recent years, as testified by the fact that they have been raised at international scientific congresses. In 1966, at the Sixth International Sociological Congress at Evian (France), a special New Nations Working Group was set up under the eminent French sociologist and historian, Georges Balandier, Professor at Sorbonne. Many of the papers read and discussed at the session of this working group and in other committees, sections and groups of the Congress touched upon the formation of nations in the Arab East and on the African continent, the relation of this process to the development of culture and the interrelationships of the nations and nationalities, both on international and national scales.

The Soviet scientist G. Glezerman in a paper "Class and Nation" read at the Congress, outlined the Marxist-Leninist concept of society's division into classes and nations. The division of society (or a nation) into classes and the division of humanity into nations, nationalities, etc., have different historical roots and belong to different planes; but the relationships between nations and classes cannot be isolated from one another.¹ The process of formation of nations itself always has a definite socio-economic content. The formation of nations in Western Europe, North America and a number of countries in Asia, including China, was closely connected with the struggle to end the feudal backwardness and with the development of capitalist relations. This process affected all classes of society, but the leading force in it was the bourgeoisie reaching out for power.

There is, however, a substantial distinction between class relations and national relations. In the relations between the classes in antagonistic societies there is conflict of interests inevitably arising out of their socio-economic structures. This does not rule out, of course, the possibility of cooperation between

¹ G. Glezerman, "Class and Nation", *Sociological Problems of International Relations*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 211-218 (in Russian).

some of the classes when their interests coincide in some spheres (even if only temporarily). But the pivot of the entire history of the pre-socialist societies was the class struggle: the very emergence of the class society marked the appearance of conflicting interests within it; as regards the relations between nations, the division of mankind into nations, taken in itself, is not a source of conflict between national interests. Conflicts and antagonisms between nations are objectively inevitable only where there is rivalry between the exploiting classes, where there are ruling nations and ruled nations, and where this division of the nations is a product of socio-economic development bred by class society. For this reason the class and national struggles interweave but do not represent totally independent and distinct lines of development.

Marxism-Leninism rejects any attempt to view the national interests in isolation from the class interests; the relation of each class to the national interests is determined by its position in society, by its class interests. These national interests emerge at a certain stage of development at which nations are formed and take shape. In this connection all, or nearly all, the classes interested in social progress are drawn into the struggle against feudal backwardness or the struggle for national liberation. Here the national interests unite to one degree or another the majority of the classes. But even in this case, when the struggle involves the entire nation, each of the classes participates in it in its own way, conforming to its class interests. This is why Lenin demanded a precise analysis of "those varied interests of *different* classes that coincide in certain definite, limited common aims".²

The paper read at the Evian Congress by another Soviet scholar E. Bagramov, noted that the national relations developing on the basis of class relations, later display a certain degree of independence, manifesting itself in the following: (a) the existence of national interests may express, in a certain measure and under certain conditions, the aspirations of a number of classes; (b) the specific tasks of the national-liberation movement above all in the overthrowing of the foreign yoke and achieving national self-determination, that is, a national goal; (c) the enormous influence exerted on the national relations by national traditions, by national sentiments and relics of the past, the influence of which continues to make itself felt even after the socio-economic factors responsible for the national oppression have been eliminated; (d) the considerable influence exercised by such factors of national culture as language, religion, etc.; (e) the influence of national relations on inter-state relations.³

The question of relations between classes and nations evoked a broad discussion at the 13th International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Moscow in August 1970. One of the big topics discussed at the Congress with the participation of experts selected by the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHIS), was "Nationalism and the Class Struggle in the

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 12, p. 404.

³ E. Bagramov, "Bourgeois Sociology on the Sources of International Conflicts", *Sociological Problems of International Relations*.

Process of Modernisation of Asia and Africa", on which seven printed papers were presented and 18 delegates spoke in the debate.⁴

The Soviet historians—the author of these lines as the official ICHS expert on the given "big topic", R. Akhramovich, G. Kim, G. Kotovsky, G. Bondarevsky, E. Komarov, and others—as well as the scholars from the other socialist countries, explained the Marxist view of the process of historical development, based upon the concept of the uniform world revolutionary process worked out by Lenin, and consisting primarily of a transition from capitalism to socialism. This process covers also various democratic movements, including the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. "Marxism," Lenin wrote, "cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the most 'just', 'purest', most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism, Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity. . . To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, end all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go *beyond* these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie."⁵

The Marxist historians participating in the discussion at the 13th International Congress of Historical Sciences drew attention to the fact that bourgeois nationalism, as the ideology of the capitalist class, cannot accord with the class interests of the proletariat whose ideology is internationalism; but viewing events in their historical connection it must be admitted that nationalism has been and remains a historical inevitability in bourgeois society, as are also the national movements. In the struggle with feudalism, bourgeois nationalism acted as a historically progressive force. In Western Europe the epoch of bourgeois democratic revolutions covered the period from 1789 to 1871, and in Asia it began with the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907. In the countries of Asia in the latter half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the bourgeoisie in its overwhelming majority retained its revolutionary potential (which it has not lost even to this day in some of the countries) and fought for objectively national targets, democratic aims, for the overthrow of the alien yoke.

It is an absolute demand of Marxist historical science that a clear line must be drawn between the progressive aspects of nationalism and its reactionary, exploitative aspects. Nationalism is objectively progressive when it inspires the masses to the struggle against feudalism and colonial oppression; but when

⁴ 1. Note on a problem of British-Indian history: the question of "imperial partnership" during and after the First World War (H. Lüthy, Switzerland). 2. Nationalism and Class Conflict in China (S. Imahori, Japan). 3. Qualitative Changes in the development of Asian countries after the Second World War (A. Palat, Czechoslovakia). 4. Formation of modern élites in Africa since the middle of the 18th century (J. Geiss, FRG). 5. Problems of continuity of African states in the period of European colonial rule and after it (F. Ansprenger, West Berlin). 6. Ways and forms of the establishment of states in Africa and Asia after the Second World War (W. Markow, GDR). 7. Emancipations and reconstructions; a comparative study. (C. Vann Woodward, USA).

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 34-35.

the bourgeoisie resorts to nationalism to fight the proletariat, the revolutionary movement of the masses, it assumes a reactionary character. Marxist historians, addressing the Congress of Historians in Moscow, criticised the views of those bourgeois theoreticians who extol the second, the reactionary aspect of bourgeois nationalism, absolutise it, and regard it as the main driving force of social development. Some of the representatives of Western historical science are inclined to explain the character and direction of both the past and modern social development of the countries of Asia and Africa by theories of "modernisation" and "Westernisation". Recognising the historical inevitability of the social movements in those countries aimed against the mediaeval, feudal order, the advocates of these theories believe at the same time that the old system, the so called "traditional society", can and must be succeeded by only one form, the capitalist. They rule out the non-capitalist, socialist alternative in the social development of those countries. The adherents of the theory of "modernisation" regard the capitalist system as the crown, the apex of social progress. Some of the supporters of the "modernisation" theory see in the growth of nationalism in the Afro-Asian countries a "great barrier" to the spread of communism, a means of rescuing them from the "threat" of communism.

The paper of the Japanese scientist, S. Imahori, entitled "Nationalism and Class Conflict in China", aroused a lively debate and serious criticism at the Congress. Although the paper mainly dealt with the period of the Sino-Japanese war of 1937-1945 which, in Imahori's opinion, "played a decisive role in the formation of nationalism", it contained also a number of incorrect and controversial propositions relating to the modern history of China, such as the claim that the conflict between the feudal authorities and the peasantry under the Ming and Ching dynasties was due to the fact that the latter "began to fight against land rent in order to obtain capital necessary for expansion of production"; that "at the beginning of the eighteenth century a parasitical system of landlord estates was established in the countryside, extending its control over trading capital and rural markets. An obstacle to progress was thus created"; that in the Opium Wars the Ching dynasty was defeated and in unequal treaties recognised the Great Powers as the joint colonial government.

The official ICHS expert on the given subject the Dutch Professor E. Zürcher, devoted his speech to a polemic with Imahori. Among other things, Zürcher, on the basis of factual data, called to question Imahori's claim that from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war of 1937-1945, the class struggle in the regions controlled by the Eighth Army, which was under communist command, was discontinued and a solid anti-Japanese front was established with the participation of the peasants, workers, soldiers and landlords. Data cited by Zürcher showed that both in the territories controlled by the Kuomintang and the liberated regions controlled by the CPC, for a number of objective reasons, local patriotism prevailed during the war with Japan; that both parties had mobilised the population chiefly for purposes of civil war, rather than the war against the Japanese aggressor; that there was no distinct national patriotism, no enthusiasm by the classes and groups of Chinese society for the foreign enemy, because of the militaristic disunity in prewar China, of the

prevalence of local interests over national, and because of the protracted civil war which had broken out long before the Japanese invasion of the country began.

Academician N. Natsakdorzh of the Mongolian People's Republic strongly criticised the attempt made in Imahori's paper to contrast the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa to the international working-class revolutionary movement. The Mongolian scientist cited numerous convincing examples to show that all the three major trends of the modern world revolutionary process were indivisibly interlaced, and referred to the generous assistance given by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement to the national-liberation struggles in the different countries. Certain propositions in Imahori's paper were subjected to criticism by the Soviet historians G. Kim, R. Akhramovich and the author of these lines. At the same time the discussion revealed the keen interest existing in the problem of the relationship between nationalism and the class struggle in China, in which connection we feel justified to deal in this article at greater length with the given subject as applying to the modern history of China.

* * *

The formation of the Chinese nation, which began simultaneously with the birth of capitalist relations in the country, was hastened during the '70s to '90s of the 19th century when China's economy was assuming a capitalist character. It was then that the Chinese nationalist ideology began to take shape. The bourgeois-landlord nationalism in China at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century served as an effective weapon in the struggle of the new classes of Chinese society against the feudal Manchurian Ching dynasty, assuming at the same time a distinctly anti-colonial, anti-imperialist character.

The shaping of a nationalist outlook among the ideologists of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords in the said period was substantially influenced by traditional great Han concept of the feudal and pre-feudal Chinese society with their distinct xenophobia on the one hand, and, on the other, by the patriotic tradition of the long and hard struggle conducted by the Chinese Han population against foreign tribes and peoples (Huns, Tiurks, Hsienpi, Kitans, Chuchens, Mongols and Manchurians) who at various periods of China's long history had invaded its territory and subjected the predominantly Han population to their more or less prolonged rule.

Even in the early Chinese state of Chou (11-3 centuries BC) the ruler—the Wang—was revered as the "Son of Heaven" empowered by the Almighty to rule the Heavenly Empire. In the eyes of the ancient Chinese, the Son of Heaven was the supreme ruler not of the Chinese alone but of all the peoples outside China, who were believed to be ignorant barbarians, devoid, through their unfamiliarity with the Chinese language and customs, of the most elementary ideas of culture and civilisation. The name by which China was known—Chung-kuo (Middle State) reflected the belief of the Chinese that their country was the centre of the Universe. Confucianism, the official ideology of the ruling feudal class, embraced in the concept of "Heavenly", or the "Confines of the

Four Seas" not only Chinese territory proper, but also the territories inhabited by non-Chinese (non-Han) peoples, whose supreme ruler too was the "Son of Heaven"—the Chinese emperor. A detailed ritual was worked out governing the relations between the rulers of the peripheral tribes and peoples and the "Son of Heaven", specifying when and what kind of tribute they were to pay and how their ambassadors were to be appointed.

The Chinese emperors' expansionist policy was not successful at all times and on all borders; on more than one occasion they found themselves compelled to pay tributes to their belligerent neighbours and conclude humiliating treaties with them, but on each occasion China's rulers tried to "save face" and represent to the subjects their forced concessions as "great victories". The Chinese diplomats for many centuries resorted to the method of setting one neighbour against the other ("i i chih i"—"to put down some barbarians by others"), applied the doctrine of "containment"—"chi mi"—calling for the establishment on the borders of the Chinese empire of "buffer states", whose rulers received generous pensions and expensive gifts from China. Nevertheless, in the course of China's long history, large sections of the country, and sometimes the entire country, owing to the misrule of its feudal governors, repeatedly found themselves under the durable domination of alien tribes and peoples; it was only the self-sacrificing patriotic struggle of China's toiling masses, the peasantry especially, who were usually the worst sufferers from foreign oppression, which finally led to the expulsion of the invaders from China.

At the time of the opening of the modern period, in 1644, the feudal Ming monarchy in China, which had been going through a protracted political and economic crisis, fell under the blows of the great peasant revolt led by Li Tsung-cheng and Chang Hsien-chung. The commander of the government border troops, the big Ming feudal lord Wu San-chui betrayed his country and invited the Manchurian military leaders to invade China in order jointly to put down the rebellious peasantry. The Manchurians, who had repeatedly raided and plundered Northern China before, not only suppressed the peasant uprising but, making Peking the capital of their Ching dynasty, in alliance with the majority of the Chinese feudalists, gradually extended their rule to the whole of China. The Manchurian domination of China lasted for more than 267 years, right up to February 1912. Like the Chinese emperors of all the earlier dynasties, the Ching feudal rulers regarded all the neighbouring peoples as savages and barbarians, treated them with arrogance, and waged long wars of conquest against them, making use of the feudal Chinese foreign policy doctrines.

In relation to the general mass of Chinese the Manchurian conquerors pursued the policy of brutal repression and discrimination; 72 key strategic points of the Ching empire were garrisoned by select Manchurian "eight-banner troops" who ruthlessly put down any sign of popular unrest. To prevent any anti-Manchurian action by the Chinese, the Chings established a strict system of administrative, police and ideological control over the predominantly Chinese population, with severe penalties for the least sign of disobedience to the authorities, fomented constant strife among the different groupings of Chinese feudal aristocrats, preventing the emergence of any organised anti-Manchurian patriotic opposition. The Manchurians placed the Chinese under

the most rigid ideological control: all works of fiction, drama, history, philology, etc. were severely censored and became an object of vigilant control by the so called "literary inquisition" (wentsu yu). The Ching rulers pursued a policy of complete isolation of China from the rest of the world, fearing that contacts between the local population and foreigners might undermine the myth of the power and omnipotence of the Emperor (the "Son of Heaven").

Prior to the appearance in the third part of the 19th century of new social forces, as represented by the young Chinese bourgeoisie and the new landlord class, which began to satisfy the needs of the domestic and foreign markets, the patriotic resistance movement against the policies of the Manchurian rulers was led mainly by the Chinese labouring peasantry and the artisans of the cities organised in the traditional anti-feudal and patriotic societies known as "Hwaitants". Some of these societies such as the "Pailienchiao" ("Teaching of the White Lotus"), had their origin in the epoch of the national struggle for the expulsion from China of the Tartar-Mongolian invaders in the 14th century; others, like the "Kolaohuai" ("Society of Older Brothers"), "Tientihuai" ("Society of Heaven and Earth"), "Sanhohuei" ("Triad"), etc., appeared in the period of the patriotic resistance to the Manchurian conquest of Eastern, Central and Southern China in the '40s to '60s of the 17th century, but were able to recover from the brutal repressions of the authorities and to resume their struggle against the Chings only at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. The basic goal of these secret societies was the overthrow of the power of the Manchurians and the restoration of Chinese Ming imperial dynasty. Among the leaders of these societies were a good many representatives of the declassed, lumpen-proletarian elements as well as the shenshih (educated Chinese feudalists from among whom government officials were recruited—S.T.) and the merchant class. During the periods of decline of the anti-Manchurian struggle the members of these societies often engaged in contraband trade and brigandage; the activities of the societies were of a local character, being limited, as a rule, to isolated districts, and, at best, to a single province.

The great peasant war of the Taipings, launched by the secret society "Pai-shangtihuai" ("Society for the Worship of God") which raged in China in 1850-1864, was waged under the slogan of the overthrow of the alien Manchurian rule; the Taipings at the same time advanced also basically anti-feudal demands for equal tenure of the land, development of trade and private bourgeois enterprise, and democratisation of social life. One of the principal programme documents of the Taipings, the "Manifesto on the Necessity of Destroying the Northern Barbarians by the Will of Heaven" said: "China is the head; the Manchurians are the feet. China is a sacred country. Manchurians are filthy dirt. . . . But, alas, the feet are on top of the head; the dirty rabble is running roughshod over the sacred land. . . . All the bamboo forests in the Nanshan mountains will not suffice to describe their dirty work in our land. The turbulent waters of the Eastern Sea will not suffice to wash away their terrible crimes and villainies which cloud the sky. . . . Their tribe has propagated and multiplied but has not learned to live like human beings. Taking advantage of the fact that there were no people in China (capable of defending the country), they seized our land like robbers. . . . Now, fortunately, the path

of heavenly truth has been revealed to the people. . . . A campaign is starting that will bring inevitable extermination to the barbarians. The Manchurian rabble which has ruled for 200 years is doomed, its fate is sealed." ⁶

Encountering after the outbreak of the so called Opium wars (1840-1842 and 1856-1860) the colonial aggression of capitalist countries—Britain and France—and being unable to put down the peasant war of the Taipings by the old methods, China's Manchurian-Chinese feudal rulers, right up to the mid-90s of the 19th century, pursued a policy of "self-strengthening", the main aim of which was to increase the Ching empire's military potential in order to put down the rebellious masses and prevent popular uprisings in the future. With the direct participation of the Anglo-French interventionists the Taipings were crushed; following this the Chings brutally suppressed the revolts of the Nienchüns and Niehan peoples of south-western and north-western China, Dzungaria and eastern Turkestan. However, the policy of "self-strengthening" proved powerless to defend the empire against the colonialist, imperialist, aggression and to prevent the rise of a fresh wave of popular discontent with the Chings. The wars with France (1884-1885) and Japan (1894-1895) demonstrated the inability and unwillingness of the feudal Ching monarchy to defend China's territorial integrity. "Better to give away part of our lands to our friends [that is, to foreigners—S.T.] than to share power with our slaves," the Manchurian aristocrats said in justifying the cessation of the Taiwan Island to Japan under the Shimonoseki peace treaty. ⁷

Beginning with the '70s of the 19th century, the capitalist system increasingly gained a foothold in the country's economy; this, together with the aggression of the imperialist powers against China, gave rise to various Chinese bourgeois nationalist theories, the formation in the middle of the nineties of an organised opposition to the alien Ching rule, the "movement for reforms", the emergence of the first revolutionary democratic anti-Manchurian organisation headed by Sun Yat-sen, and the spontaneous struggle of the masses against the imperialist aggression.

Right up to the overthrow of the Manchurian monarchy in 1912, the different classes and social groups in China manifested their nationalism in different ways. A large part of the bourgeoisie was prepared to make a deal, to compromise with the Chings', formally to preserve the dynasty, while restricting its powers by a liberal bourgeois constitution.

The bourgeoisie was eager to rid itself of the obstacles to its commercial and industrial activities put up by the Ching feudal bureaucracy in the capital and provinces, and by foreign capital (the concessions for the construction of railways and sinking of mines secured by foreign companies, foreign control of the customs houses, etc.). The participants in the bourgeois-landlord movement for reforms, the supporters of a constitutional monarchy, in their first programme document, "The Collective Memorandum" of 1895 bearing 604 signatures under it, called upon the Ching court to protect the interests of the Chinese national industry against foreign capital, to safeguard

⁶ *The Taiping Uprising, 1850-1864*, (collection of documents), Moscow, 1960, pp. 21-23.

⁷ S. Tikhvinsky, *The Reform Movement in China at the End of the 19th Century and Kang Yu-wei*, Moscow, 1959, p. 258.

it against competition from foreigners, to give protection and support to the Chinese emigrants in the Malayan Peninsula, in Indochina, Siam, Java, Sumatra and elsewhere, who were oppressed by the foreign colonialists. They recommended that Confucianism reformed by Kang Yu-wei should be proclaimed the state religion, not only in order to carry out reforms in China, but also to provide an ideological vindication of the Chinese colonialist aspirations in South-East Asia.

"Our landowners do not know how to use the wealth of the land; our artisans and merchants have no industry of their own. . . . Meantime elegant products of foreign manufacture are filling the internal provinces. As a result, poverty among the people grows with each passing year, paupers are met with everywhere, the valleys and the mountains are teeming with robbers. . . . If we continue to maintain the old order and the old laws foreign complications will implacably beset us. Should we sit with folded arms and do nothing, rival states will tear our country to pieces," wrote the authors of the "Collective Memorandum".⁸

Because of their class limitations, the participants of the bourgeois landlord movement for reforms constantly kept before the Manchurian court the bogey of an inevitable popular uprising in the event of the rejection by it of the reform policy; they made no secret of their own dread of a peasant war similar to the Taiping rebellion, and wrote in the "Collective Memorandum" that "it is difficult to keep the people in a state of tranquillity, but it is very easy to provoke them".

The patriotic wave aroused by the war with Japan in 1894-1895 and the wide movement for reforms led by Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, Mai Min-hua, Wang Kang-niang and others, resulted in the appearance in 1895-1898 of a vast number of newspapers, magazines and other publications of a liberal-bourgeois nationalist character. The authors of articles in the reformers' magazine *Shih wu pao* (Modern Problems) condemned the aggressive actions of the foreign powers, protested against the passive attitude of the authorities and their connivance at the actions of the foreign powers, called for the regaining of the rights and territories lost by China as a result of foreign invasions, demanded that all concessions granted by the Manchurian government to foreigners be withdrawn from them, and that the so called "consular jurisdiction right" enjoyed by foreigners in China (under which foreigners were exempt from trial by Chinese courts) be cancelled. The German imperialist aggression at Shantung at the end of 1897, the invasion of China by other imperialist powers which followed in 1898 were sharply denounced.

Another reformist magazine, *Chih hsin pao* (Knowledge of the New), which began publication in 1897, criticised the government for refusing to introduce reforms, for capitulating to the Anglo-French interventionists in 1860, for the defeat in the war with Japan, and for its inability to put an end to internal unrest. The magazine vigorously defended the interests of the Chinese immigrants in the USA, Japan and South-East Asian countries and accused the Ching government of helplessness in protecting the interests of its nationals abroad. Articles published by *Chih hsin pao* strongly condemned the British,

⁸ Ibid., p. 106.

French, Japanese and Germans for seizure of territory in China, and urged the Chinese to revenge themselves for the humiliations to which they were subjected by foreigners, to drive the "foreign devils" out of China, to abolish their privileges.

As the ideologist of a large part of the new Chinese bourgeoisie, Kang Yu-wei called upon the Chings voluntarily to abolish the privileges enjoyed by the Manchurians and demanded that the principle of equality of all subjects of the Ching empire before the law should be fixed in the Constitution. To this end he, at the end of August 1898, addressed a special memorandum to the Manchurian Emperor Tsai Tien (Kuanghsu) "On the Emperor's Cooperation with his People and on the Abolition of the Inequality Between Manchurians and Chinese", stating that "the hearts of the entire nation must be united to resist the external threat and action must be taken to prevent the division of the nation into separate nationalities. . . . The differences existing between the Manchurians and Chinese. . . undermine the strength of the nation."⁹ Kang Yu-wei further proposed to put an end to the centuries-old practice of naming the Chinese state after the reigning dynasty and to name China, in accordance with the classical Confucian canons, "The Middle Flourishing State".¹⁰ He maintained that as a result of the reform programme proposed by him, China would within a decade or so become the dominant power of the world.

Kang Yu-wei's idea to make the Manchurians and Chinese equal before the law by the establishment of a constitutional monarchy continued to be elaborated in the liberal press until the revolution of 1911. Thus, in 1907, the magazine *Tungtang tsachih* (East), organ of the constitutionalists, in its issue No. 6 put forth the idea of a union between the Manchurians and Chinese, as representatives of the yellow race, in face of the external menace from the white race. The article stressed the assimilationist propensities of the Chinese-Hans ("our nation is strong in that it assimilates other nationalities and has never been defeated by other nations").

Another ideologist of the Chinese liberal bourgeoisie, Liang Chi-chao, influenced by the social-Darwinist conception of the natural-history struggle of the nations and races for survival, advanced, as early as 1902, the principle of "nationalism", which he described as the striving of people of one race, language, religion and customs for freedom and self-government, for the creation of a perfect government, for universal welfare and defence against other nations.¹¹ Liang Chi-chao at the same time opposed the anti-Manchurian ideas of the Chinese revolutionary democrats led by Sun Yat-sen on the plea that they interfered with the efforts to unite all the Chinese nationalities against the external danger and the threat of China's total subjugation to foreign powers. Liang Chi-chao saw the future of the nations of the world as an inevitable "racial conflict" and urged peoples of the yellow race to unite in the struggle against the peoples of the white race.

Among the participants in the reform movement in China at the end of the 19th century there were many who did not believe in a peaceful compromise

⁹ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁰ This is part of the official title of the People's Republic of China today.

¹¹ See Y. Chudodeyev, *On the Eve of the 1911 Revolution in China. Constitutional Movement of the Liberal Bourgeois-Landlord Opposition*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 134-135, 52.

with the Manchurians; well known for his strong anti-Manchurian views was the ideologist and leader of the Left wing of the movement, Tan Seu-tung, who in the book *Jenhsüeh* (Teaching of Humanity) castigated the anti-popular policies of the Manchurian conquerors, flouting any thought of a compromise between the Chinese and Manchurians. "Formerly the tyrants regarded the country as their private property," he wrote, "and now members of the savage nomad tribe have made China into their pasture. Coming across dense grass, water and fertile soil, they drove here, like cattle or fowl, their fellow-tribesmen in order to swallow us up, they never contented themselves with placing their garrisons in the country, with the severe punishments and endless tributes introduced by them."

He referred to the Manchurians as the most ferocious and coarsest of all the foreign conquerors ever invading China. Tan Seu-tung fiercely attacked the Manchurian rulers for the fact that, while oppressing the Chinese, they also brutally exterminated the non-Chinese national minorities inhabiting the territory of the empire, as well as the neighbouring peoples, conquered by fire and sword by the Manchurian soldiery in their interminable war campaigns. He thus referred with indignation to the conquest by the Chings of Sinkiang. Tan Seu-tung strongly condemned also the Manchurians' ruinous foreign policy, their constant attempts to placate the foreign aggressors by the sacrifice of Chinese lands. "I want all the Chinese to awaken from their sleep and to stop deluding themselves by regarding the Manchurians as their countrymen," he wrote.¹² This position brought Tan Seu-tung and his followers close to the Chinese revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen. At the same time, Tan Seu-tung, like the other reformers, resolutely denounced the invasion of China by the capitalist countries of the West and by Japan.

While in the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century the patriotic struggle in China was headed, as a rule, by members of the *shenshih* and was mainly anti-missionary in character, by 1905 representatives of new social forces had come to its leadership and it began to assume a distinctly anti-Manchurian and anti-imperialist character. After the first Russian revolution of 1905, which opened, in Lenin's words, the "epoch of the awakening of Asia", the first mass anti-imperialist actions were staged in China under the leadership of the bourgeoisie: the anti-American boycott of 1905-1907 and the boycott of Japanese goods of 1908, the movement launched in 1909 for regaining the right to exploit the mountain resources in Honan province seized by foreigners, the protests against the plans of an Anglo-French syndicate to establish mining rights in Yunnan province, and others.

Especially widespread became the movement for the withdrawal of the right to build railways seized by foreign companies (protests, in August 1907, against the building of the Shanghai-Ningpo railway by a British company, collection of public funds in 1909-1911 for the construction of the national Hu-kuang railway carried out under the patriotic slogans of expelling foreign capital from the Chinese railways, etc.). The Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 gave a fresh impetus to the propaganda of bourgeois nationalist ideas among the liberal opposition to the Chings; the image of the "extinct state"—Korea—

¹² Tan Seu-tung, *Complete Works*, Peking, 1954, p. 59 (in Chinese).

was widely used by the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords in support of the demand for the speediest introduction of a constitution.

The revolutionary-democratic wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie led by Sun Yat-sen, in the "Declaration" and "Rules" of the Union for the Rebirth of China established in 1894, advanced the slogan of the revolutionary overthrow of the Manchurian rule and, at the same time, called for resistance to "the strong neighbours who are offending the people with impunity" and preparing to tear China asunder. "Powerful neighbours have now encircled the country," Sun Yat-sen wrote in the "Declaration." "They look at us with tiger eyes and are bent on prey like hawks, are coveting our mineral riches, the abundance of goods produced in this country. And if hitherto they have gnawed at our land like worms and swallowed it piecemeal like sharks, they are now prepared to cut China up like a pumpkin to divide it like beans."¹³

All the policy documents and writings of the Chinese revolutionaries were marked by the strongest condemnation of the ruling Ching monarchy. The "Declaration of the Amalgamated Union", adopted in August 1905, the basic policy document of revolutionaries written by Sun Yat-sen and reaffirmed by the Hupei revolutionaries immediately after the launching of the revolutionary action in Wuchang in October 1911, contains some angry lines against the Manchurians together with calls for unity in the fight against them by all Chinese, irrespective of property and social standing.

"Those whom we now call Manchurians," the "Declaration" said, "can be traced to the eastern barbaric dynasties who lived on the other side of the border fortresses. In the days of the Ming dynasty they often violated the borders of our state. Later, taking advantage of the unrest in China, they invaded its territory, destroyed our Chinese state, captured power, and forced us, Hans, to become their slaves. Millions of rebels were killed by them. For 260 years we have been a nation without a country, without a motherland. The brutalities and outrages of the Manchurian rulers have now exceeded all measure. The army of justice has set itself the aim of overthrowing the Manchurian government and giving back the sovereign rights to the Hans. China must be a state of Chinese and governed by Chinese. Upon the expulsion of the Manchurians our national state will be revived to its glory. . . . Hans are clever and gifted. This has long been known to the world. Our homeland has repeatedly been struck by numerous calamities and sufferings. Now that the time has come for the restoration of the glory of our land let everyone put his soul into it! . . . All our compatriots must treat each other like brothers and sisters, must share joys and grief, must help each other in adversity, we are all equal—the eminent and the humble, the poor and the rich. We must be united and unanimous, we must regard it as our duty to defend the homeland and preserve the nation."¹⁴

Open appeals for the overthrow of the Ching dynasty and establishment of a republic were carried by magazines supporting the revolution and published in Hongkong, in the Shanghai international settlement, in Japan, in the Ha-

¹³ S. Tikhvinsky, *Sun Yat-sen. Foreign Policy Views and Practices (from the history of the Chinese national-liberation movement of 1885-1925)*, Moscow, 1964, p. 34 (in Russian).

¹⁴ *The Hsinhai Revolution of 1911-1913* (collection of documents and materials), Moscow, 1968, pp. 38-40 (in Russian).

wais, etc. At the same time, one of the central topics in the anti-Ching press and publications was the policy of the foreign powers in China. The magazine *Kuomin-pao* carried an article "The Fall of China", stating in part: "Our territory is becoming a colony, and our people a slave of Europe. In whose hands are the sovereign rights of China? The right to command its forces, the inalienable right of jurisdiction... all this has been captured by foreigners... our bays and straits... our territorial waters, the most important parts of China's coasts—all this has been seized by foreigners. There is not a single district in the Yangtze basin that is not in the sphere (of influence) of foreigners. China's mines are worked by foreigners, her taxes and customs are controlled by foreigners... the right to control our finances is in the hands of foreign powers." ¹⁵

If the official documents of the Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries for tactical reasons limited themselves to anti-Manchurian demands, the anti-governmental press and other publications of the first decade of the 20th century discussed ways and means of resisting aggression and achieving independence for the country. "To win such independence," wrote Chang Tai-yang, the editor of the organ of the Amalgamated Union *Min pao*, "is to regain Weihaiwei and Chingtao, to make sure that Shanghai is no longer the property of all countries, that the 18 provinces are not spheres of influence of any state."

The bourgeois-landlord revolutionaries blamed the Manchurians for the dependent position of the country; this was one of their arguments in favour of overthrowing the Ching monarchy. Thus, Ou Tsui-chia wrote in the pamphlet, *The New Kuangtung*, that the Chings deserve to be overthrown for the following reasons: "First, because China is a China for the Chinese, while the alien Manchurians cede, sell and present her property and lands to foreigners. Secondly, because ever since their invasion of China the Manchurians have tyrannised the Chinese, and with the arrival of foreigners the harm done by their administration has even increased: they have lost China's vassal areas and have given away all her coastal regions. Thirdly, because the court, far from supporting the just actions against foreigners, on the contrary, suppresses them. The Manchurian court is incapable of preserving China and its wealth from foreigners and does not permit the people to defend itself." ¹⁶

Another adherent of the revolutionary overthrow of the Ching monarchy, Yang Yu-lin, maintained that Chinese alone were capable of uniting the peoples of the yellow race for the fight against the "white menace", against the colonialist policy of the West. The idea of resisting foreign aggression found its most vigorous expression in Chen Tien-hua's pamphlet, *The Alarm Bell*. The author called upon the intelligentsia, peasants, traders and artisans "to whet the knives and swords" and together to drink "of the bowl of bloody wine". "Let us kill the foreign devils! Let us kill the traitors of the nation who have sold themselves to them!" demanded Chen Tien-hua, claiming that China had "a special source of strength—vast human resources", and that "even if some millions or even scores of millions of Chinese perish, nothing terrible

¹⁵ A. Grigoriev, *The Anti-imperialist Programme of the Chinese Bourgeois Revolutionaries of 1895-1905*, Moscow, 1966, p. 49 (in Russian).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

will happen. If we save the country the population shortage will be replenished within a few dozen years." ¹⁷

Taking a realistic view of the power and might of the imperialist states, which kept the Ching monarchy in existence after their suppression of the Yihotuan rebellion in 1901, and anxious to prevent a possible intervention of these states on the side of the Manchurians in the course of the future civil war against the Chings, Sun Yat-sen and his followers repeatedly assured these states that if they won power they would abide by all the treaties and agreements signed by the Chings with foreign countries.

The first of the "three people's principles" embodied by Sun Yat-sen in 1905 in the "Programme of the Chinese Revolutionary Amalgamated Union" (Tungmenghuei)—the leading organisation of the Chinese revolutionaries which prepared the overthrow of the power of the Manchurians—was "nationalism", which, along with the demand for the overthrow of the Manchurian monarchy, was to enable China to gain a position of equality with the other countries of the world. The documents and proclamations of the Amalgamated Union and the revolutionary organisations associated with it contained sharp criticisms of the Manchurian rule; under the powerful influence of the secret societies, many of which were drawn by the revolutionaries into their anti-government activities, and also of the landlord-shenshih elements imbued with a feudal ideology, these materials eulogised the innate virtues of the Chinese and displayed a chauvinist disdain not only of the Manchurians but of the other non-Han peoples, and of foreigners in general.

It was only after he became familiarised with the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution that Sun Yat-sen, at the First Kuomintang Congress held in 1924, gave a new interpretation of the principle of "nationalism" as a programme of struggle against the imperialist powers for the national liberation of China and the abolition of her semi-colonial status, in an inviolable unity with the Soviet Union and with the support of the worker and peasant masses.

Thus, an examination of the specific features of Chinese nationalism on the eve of the Hsinhai revolution shows that it gave expression to the socio-political views of different classes and groups of Chinese society opposed to the feudal Manchurian rule, and to the colonial policy of the powers towards China, as well as to some of the traditional feudal ideas of the place China and the Chinese held in the world.

* * *

Through China's entire modern history runs, like a red thread, the struggle of the many millions-strong masses of peasants, city artisans and members of the new classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—against the yoke of feudalists, both Manchurian and Chinese, as represented by the reigning Ching imperial dynasty.

¹⁷ Chen Tien-hua, *The Alarm Bell. Selected Materials on the History of Philosophical Thought in China*, Vol. 2, Peking, 1959, p. 530 (in Chinese).

Owing to the alien origin of the dynasty, the essentially anti-feudal struggle assumed, as a rule, the form of a movement against the dynasty. This was due also to the immaturity of the new social relations and extreme weakness of the capitalist sector of the economy, which began to develop only in the last third of the 19th century, and the insignificant part it played in the economy of the Ching Empire even as late as the beginning of the 20th century.

Starting with the '40s of the 19th century, in connection with the colonial enslavement of China first by Britain and then by France, the USA, Japan and other capitalist countries, isolated patriotic movements spontaneously sprang up in China against the colonial policy of the foreign powers and their acts of aggression aimed at the territorial division of China. The ruling elements of Ching China, sensing a threat to their hitherto undivided domination of the country from the forcible invasion of the foreign powers, often tried to make use of the patriotic movements in order to bolster up their authority among the people, but, frightened by the military superiority of the Western countries and extent of the popular movement, each time shamefully capitulated to the capitalist powers and betrayed the patriotic forces.

After the outbreak of the 1840-1842 Opium War with Britain a patriotic movement of the "tamers of the British" (pingying tuan) developed in the Southern China province of Kuangtung, led by local shenshihs and involving peasants, artisans, boatmen, fishermen, merchants, etc. The provincial authorities, who at first sympathised with and even encouraged the movement, after the victory in the Manchurian court of the advocates of capitulation to the British, ruthlessly put down the rank-and-file members of the movement but spared most of its leaders, the local Chinese feudalists.

During the Second Opium War of 1856-1860 the Ching administration made common cause with the British and French colonialists against the rebellious Chinese peasantry—the Taipings and Nientsuns—and the non-Han peoples of the empire. The armed British and French intervention on the side of the Ching Government in 1860-1864 played a decisive part in maintaining the Manchurian court in power.

In 1870, during the violent anti-French and anti-missionary demonstrations in Tienchin, the Ching court, frightened by the threat of war with France, cruelly suppressed the rank-and-file members of the demonstrations and limited itself to light administrative actions against the representatives of the Chinese feudal bureaucracy and the local shenshihs who had sponsored the movement. The Chings did not want to break or weaken their class ties with the Chinese feudalists which had been created during their conquest of China and which throughout the subsequent years served as the cornerstone of their rule.

Being powerless to offer effective resistance to the aggressor and fearing a patriotic upsurge in China's southern provinces during the war with France (1884-1885), the Chings hastened to capitulate to the French imperialists, throwing the entire burden of the war expenditures on the population of South China. The Ching court acted the same way during the war with Japan (1894-1895), when it rejected the proposal of the patriotic elements to continue the war and hastened to sign the burdensome and humiliating Shimonoseki peace treaty.

During the spontaneous patriotic peasant movement in a number of northern Chinese provinces—the Yihotuan uprising (1899-1901) which had an objectively anti-imperialist character—the Ching court attempted at first to give the movement its formal blessing and to use the rebellion in order to break the country's growing dependence on foreign powers. But as soon as the Manchurian-Chinese rulers were convinced of the complete military superiority of the interventionists over the peasant detachments and government forces, they surrendered to the imperialist powers and, together with the foreign troops, fiercely struck out at the Yihotuan. The signing by the eight powers participating in the intervention of the so called Conclusive (or Boxer) protocol with the Ching Government in 1901 not only fixed the semi-colonial status of the Ching Empire but retained in power the Ching dynasty and the feudal-monarchical system represented by it.

The fact that twice in the course of forty years the Ching monarchy was saved from inevitable doom by the armed intervention of capitalist countries could not but seriously affect the views of the ideologists of the new social forces; both those who sought to overthrow the Ching monarchy by revolutionary means and those who hoped to come to power through a peaceful compromise with the Manchurians, feared, and not without good reason, further intervention by foreign powers in the internal affairs of China, and of them each tried to prevent this from happening in his own way.

Thus, the Declaration adopted in May 1907 by the Union for Joint Progress, one of the revolutionary anti-Manchurian organisations which cooperated with the Amalgamated Union but which, owing to its being dominated by landlord elements, rejected Sun Yat-sen's third principle, "people's welfare", contained in the slogan of "equal rights to the land", severely criticised the Ching's anti-popular foreign policy. The Declaration said in part: "The Manchurians are currying favour only with foreigners and have themselves become slaves to them. They have made us into slaves of slaves, they are giving our lands away to some foreign states today and to others tomorrow. In incidents occurring between ordinary people and foreigners the Manchurians do not take the side of the people even in words but, on the contrary, murder their people in order to placate the foreigners. Every now and then they pay tributes to foreigners, concede railways, make a gift of mines and hand over the customs service to them. . . . Unless we drive out the Manchurians, in a few years time the whole of China will be in the hands of foreigners."

Recognising the might of the Western powers, the authors of the Declaration drew the attention of the members of the Union to the necessity of preventing an armed intervention by these powers in the civil war. "We must rise up in revolution," the Declaration said, "but under no circumstances should we demolish churches or kill foreigners. True the foreigners have come here with no good intention, but should we destroy the Manchurians and put China in order, the foreigners would not dare to offend us. The foreigners are quite likely to send their troops in aid of the Manchurians against us should we begin destroying churches and killing foreigners when our revolutionary army goes into action, but if we do not touch them they will have no excuse. . . . Should you cause them harm, according to international law they will respond by striking back. We are arousing the revolutionary army only in order to destroy

the Manchurians, but not the foreigners, from whom we will have nothing but trouble. Having finished our work we shall proceed to deal with the foreigners, which will not take much effort." ¹⁸

Although the programme slogans of the Chinese bourgeois landlord revolutionaries were directed in the main against the Manchurians, their objectively anti-feudal as well as anti-foreign character is beyond doubt. Thus, the Declaration of the Amalgamated Union stressed the difference in principle between the revolution for which the Union was preparing and the patriotic struggle for the consolidation of the Ming dynasty, which came to power on the crest of the struggle against the Tartar-Mongolian rule, as well as the struggle of the Taipings against the Manchurians. "The current revolution," said the Declaration, "in contrast with the revolutions of the earlier epochs, must bring about a change of the state system and welfare to the people. The programme of these changes is extremely variegated, but may in essence be expressed in the words, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity." ¹⁹ Upon coming to power, the revolutionaries promised to abolish the yoke of the administrative apparatus, the heavy taxes and duties, to spread education and medical care, to promote industry, commerce and agriculture.

The "three people's principles" elaborated by the outstanding Chinese revolutionary democrat Sun Yat-sen, and made the foundation of the "Programme of the Amalgamated Union"—"nationalism, power by the people, and people's welfare"—were of a distinctly bourgeois democratic and, to some extent, socialist character. "It is necessary to improve the economic organisation of society and introduce fixed prices on land in the country," wrote Sun Yat-sen in 1905. In this way will be laid the foundation of a state of social justice in which every family will be well-to-do and each will get his due. And those daring to monopolise the public property to the detriment of the interests of the people will be repudiated by society." ²⁰

As Lenin wrote in the article "Democracy and Narodism in China", "the objective conditions of China, backward, agricultural, semi-feudal country numbering nearly 500 million people, place on the order of the day only one specific, historically distinctive form of this oppression and exploitation, namely, feudalism. . . . The political exponents of this exploitation were the feudal lords, all together and individually, with the emperor as the head of the whole system." ²¹ The only way to rid China of its age-old backwardness was that of a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the feudal and semi-colonial system.

The revolutionary uprising of the garrison at Wuchang, a big administrative, industrial and trading centre of central China, which began on October 10, 1911, proclaimed the deposition of the Manchurian dynasty. Following the example of Hupei province, fourteen other Chinese provinces at the end of 1911 proclaimed their independence from the Ching government. On December 29, 1911, a meeting of delegates of the revolutionary provinces held at

¹⁸ *The Hsinhai Revolution of 1911-1913*, pp. 45, 46, 47.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

²¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 166.

Nanking elected Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Chinese Republic. The Provisional Government headed by Sun Yat-sen published a bourgeois-democratic constitution; for the first time in China's history, democratic freedoms and rights of the people were proclaimed, women received the franchise, conscription was introduced, and measures were taken to raise the miserable living standards of the people.

The imperialist powers, ignoring the revolution, continued to recognise the Ching Government and to hand over to the Prime Minister of that Government, Yüan Shih-k'ai, the duties collected by the foreign-controlled customs authorities in the revolutionary provinces, thereby depriving the republicans of their basic source of revenue; they concentrated in China large army and naval forces to hamper the activities of the revolutionary army; on December 20, 1911, the foreign powers flagrantly intervened in the civil war in China, peremptorily demanding that an end be put to the hostilities.

The intervention of the powers on behalf of the reactionary feudal comprador forces grouped around Yüan Shih-k'ai, together with the speedy desertion of the revolution by the liberal element of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords frightened by the growth of the revolutionary activities of the masses, forced Sun Yat-sen to cede the presidency to Yüan Shih-k'ai. The latter, controlling all real power in North China, forced the Manchurian court on February 21, 1912, the last days of the Hsinhai year under the Chinese calendar, to sign an order of abdication of the young Manchurian Emperor Pu Yi and to introduce the republican form of government.

The bourgeois revolutionaries, who represented the more developed industrial provinces of Eastern, Southern and Central China, as compared to Northern China, hoped to secure a majority in the future parliament to be elected in accordance with the provisional constitution adopted at Nanking, and thus to restrict the power of Yüan Shih-k'ai and the reactionary forces backing him; to the same end they wanted to transfer the capital from Peking to Nanking. However, this attempt to muzzle reaction by parliamentary means, without drawing the masses into the struggle, came to nothing: receiving a big loan from the imperialist powers for the suppression of the revolution, Yüan Shih-k'ai went over to the offensive, arrested the leaders of the parliamentary National Party (Kuomintang) set up on August 25, 1912, after the self-dissolution of the Amalgamated Union, and drowned in blood the isolated revolutionary risings of the petty bourgeoisie, soldiers and peasants in July-September 1913, which went down in the history of China as "The Second Revolution".

The country was placed under the military dictatorship of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the head of the feudal-landlord and comprador-bureaucratic forces of northern China, and the group of peiyang (northern) militarists built up by him still under the Ching regime. Sun Yat-sen and other leaders of the revolutionary wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie were forced to emigrate. China entered a prolonged political crisis the solution of which was indicated only by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Hsinhai revolution was unable to destroy the feudal and semi-colonial system in China; despite its failure, however, it was a significant stage in the history of the Chinese people's democratic and national-liberation struggle. In the course of the revolution, thanks to the self-sacrificing, heroic actions of the

rebellious people, the thoroughly rotten Manchurian Ching monarchy fell and the twenty-century-old monarchical system made room, at least formally, for a republican regime. The son of a peasant, Sun Yat-sen, was elected provisional head of the republic. As Lenin wrote, "despite its leader Sun Yat-sen's major shortcomings (pensiveness and indecision, which are due to his lack of proletarian support), revolutionary democracy in China has done a great deal to awaken the people and to win freedom and consistently democratic institutions."²²

The basic causes of the defeat of the Hsinhai revolution were, on the one hand, the weakness of the new social forces in the country—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—due to the weakness and distorted development of capitalist relations at a time when the countryside was still dominated by the feudal lords and the Ching empire became a semi-colony of foreign powers, and, on the other, due to the power of the feudal class and the comprador and militarist forces in the country and their support by the imperialist powers. In an article, "The Struggle of Parties in China", published in 1913, Lenin noted that the weakest point of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary party was that "it has *not* yet been able *sufficiently* to involve the *broad masses* of the Chinese people in the revolution".²³

The ideological preparation of the revolution too was extremely weak. The entire attention of the Amalgamated Union was focussed on propaganda of the first of the "three people's principles"—"nationalism"—while the second principle, "power by the people", and especially the third, "people's welfare", were not only left without an explanation but were not worked out sufficiently well by the revolutionaries themselves and often caused serious disagreements among them. There was nothing accidental, therefore, about the fact that after the overthrow of the Ching monarchy, that is, upon the realisation of the principle of "nationalism", the revolutionaries found themselves without a further programme of action and the Amalgamated Union dissolved itself.

The slogan of unity of all Chinese in the struggle for the overthrow of the Ching monarchy, regardless of social position and class affiliation—"nationalism", taken in isolation from the two other demands, diverted the masses from the solution of the objective tasks of the struggle against feudalism and imperialism, and led the bourgeois-landlord revolutionaries to a rejection of agrarian reforms and suppression by the republican authorities of the anti-feudal popular movements, to propaganda of class peace, and the preservation in the provinces of the power of the old Ching generals and bureaucrats of Chinese nationality, who in words repudiated the Manchurian dynasty, and, lastly, to the voluntary relinquishment by Sun Yat-sen of the presidency in favour of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

In the course of the preparation and carrying out of the 1911 revolution, a double-dyed great-Han chauvinism blossomed forth in the form of utter contempt for Manchurians, Mongolians, Tibetans and other nationalities, except the Chinese (Hans), as ignorant savages, barbarians differing little from beasts; this sentiment became prevalent for many years after the proclamation

of the republic and organically absorbed the extremely xenophobic Confucian ideology which had been propagated for centuries by the feudal rulers of China.

The murky wave of Chinese nationalism swept away and for many long years submerged the socialist ideas which Sun Yat-sen had advanced in 1905. It was only towards the end of his life, after learning about the experience of the October Revolution and under the influence of the Chinese proletariat, which in 1919 entered the arena of independent struggle, did Sun Yat-sen come to a full understanding of the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society and of drawing the broad masses into the struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction.

The reactionary aspects of Chinese bourgeois nationalism became strikingly manifest during the rule of the Kuomintang Party (1927-1949). There are many facts testifying to the strength of nationalistic traditions in modern China too, to a rejection of the class approach in the analysis of social phenomena. An allround study of the role of nationalism in China's modern and recent history and the nationalist traditions and vestiges in present-day China is of vital importance for the struggle against these vestiges for the triumph of the cause of socialism in the People's Republic of China and of the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

²² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, p. 282.

²³ *Ibidem*.

Boris SEREBRENNIKOV,
Corresponding Member,
USSR Academy of Sciences

On Language Universals

The present stage in the development of linguistics has been marked by a heightened interest in the problem of universals, with a considerable number of articles dealing with these problems appearing in linguistic journals. Indeed, many claim that universals are opening up a new page in the history of linguistics, permit a deeper penetration into the essence of the inner structure of language and a reconsideration of various hypotheses, and extend possibilities of reconstructing the ancient structures of languages and determining possible roads of their development. At the same time, as I see it, the current theory of language universals contains certain shortcomings which greatly hamper its development. A determination of the range of such shortcomings is no doubt useful, which is why the author of this article will endeavour to formulate them.

In my opinion these shortcomings can be summed up as follows:

a) **The contradictory and vague character of the term "universals"**.

As the etymology would suggest, they are indeed of universal distribution, and are to be met in any of the world's languages. It is in this meaning that some linguists understand the essence of universals. The following definition is given in O. Akhmanova's *Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*: "Language Universals. Language phenomena (properties, characteristics) to be met in all languages, inherent in all languages."¹

In keeping with this definition, some linguists also apply the term to such widespread phenomena as notional categories. Special semantic universal categories are singled out here, such as the category of the agent, of action, of the object of action, and of instrumentality, as well as the category of the object of possession, and that of spatial shifts,² and the like. "In the semantic content of aspect and modes of action," A. Bondarko remarks, "there find reflection such markers that are not specific only in the Slavonic languages. These are markers of continuativeness, processes, repetitiveness or non-repetitiveness, and such markers in the sphere of manner of action as resultativeness, ineptiveness, restriction of continuativeness and the like."³ Noteworthy among

¹ O. Akhmanova, *A Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*, Moscow, 1966, p. 485 (in Russian).

² See S. Katsnelson, "On Universal Categories in Grammar", *The USSR Academy of Sciences, "Universals and Their Place in Typological Research"*, *Theses of Reports*, Moscow, 1971, p. 10 (in Russian).

³ A. Bondarko, "Universal and Non-Universal Functions in Grammar", *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

universal categories, besides the semantic, are categories of content, which are conditioned by the inner patterns in the expression of extra-language content in language forms. Examples are: the category of substance, of pronominity, of subject and the direct object.⁴

There have been instances of the term being applied, in general, to any general feature in language, for instance, the existence of certain ways of linking words together (agreement, government, or parataxis), the existence of parts of the sentence (subject, predicate, object), the plane of content and that of expression, the asymmetry and the multi-level character of language symbols, and a certain conventionality of a language symbol. There even exists a special term—"absolute universals", i. e., "Any language contains vowels and consonants"; "Any language contains two-member sentences"; "Any language contains pronouns", and the like.

At the same time there exists a tendency to bring into the concept of universals phenomena that are in no way generally or absolutely widespread. B. Uspensky has defined the term "universals" as follows: "By language universals are understood patterns common to all languages, or to the vast majority of languages."⁵

Naturally, the question will arise: which is the trend to be followed. In uniting under the term of "universals" phenomena that are widespread and those with only a relatively high degree of frequency and, of themselves, are not universal, linguists often fail to discern that they are bringing together phenomena that differ in nature and are conditioned by different causes.

As a rule, absolute universals are platitudinous truths that carry little information on the methodical plane and are frequently quite useless. For instance, there is little use in a statement to the effect that any language contains vowels and consonants, or nouns. In this respect, far greater interest is presented by phenomena with a high degree of frequency but not generally widespread, as for example, implicit and diachronic universals. If one disregards the platitudinous truths known as absolute language universals, one can easily discern that all other types of universals are usually connected with the establishment of isomorphous features, uniform markers or processes identical in essence and yielding one and the same results. For instance: "With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional."⁶ Or else: "An example of a diachronic process with important psychological implications is the tendency found in the most diverse languages for unvoiced consonants between vowels to become voiced."⁷ In this connection, it may well be asked: what is to be understood by language uniformity? Let us return to the universals: "With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional." Here language uniformity is expressed by a patterned implicit link between such

⁴ See S. Katsnelson, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁵ B. Uspensky, "The Problem of Universals in Linguistics", *Novoye v lingvistike*, Issue V, Moscow, 1970, p. 10.

⁶ Joseph H. Greenberg, "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements", *Universals of Language*, Cambridge, 1963, p. 62.

⁷ Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles Osgood and James Jenkins, "Memorandum Concerning Language Universals", *Universals of Language*, p. 262.

language markers as the order in the sentence of the subject and the object of the action, of the verb that expresses the action itself, and of the postpositions. In this case, the researcher is interested, not in how notional categories, for instance, those of subject or object of the action—which can be purely fortuitous—are expressed, but in their inner systems links with other phenomena. It is in the same way that one should consider another universal: "The tendency found in the most diverse languages for unvoiced consonants between vowels to become voiced." Here language uniformity is expressed, not only in an identity of the conditions, and the character of the process in question but also in the pattern of the appearance of a voiced consonant.

Thus, it is uniformity in a language, and not the notional marker that is the basis of language universals. Research into the manifestation of a semantic notional category in various languages usually leads to the establishment, not of uniformity in its expression, but on the contrary, of considerable differences.

The close link between language universals and isomorphism, the uniformity of language expression, also permits the formulating of another important property of such universals, which can never be absolute, inasmuch as the various processes in the sphere of language always impose certain restrictions which hamper their absolute spread. Most probably this is a phenomenon with a high degree of frequency, and not universalia in the genuine meaning of the term. All language universals are marked by exceptions, which is why we consider it possible to give a more precise definition of language universals. In our view, *language universals are marked by a uniform and isomorphous mode of expression of inner-systems correlations of language elements, or a process of the same type in character producing the same results which manifest themselves with a sufficiently high degree of frequency in various languages of the world.* This definition is also applicable to semantic universals in which uniformity should also be a distinctive feature. Compare, for instance, the link between "the mouth of a river" and "mouth" (human), which is to be seen in many languages of the world.

b) The a priori nature of methods of studying universals.

In the past linguists would establish diachronic and implicit universals empirically by registering a high degree of frequency of language phenomena or the presence of an obviously implicit link between them. Today typologists are trying to create a theory of language universals and special methods of their ascertainment.

An analysis of the causes of established language universals leads up to the conclusion that these stem from relatively simple causes which can be established by the most ordinary traditional methods of research. The number of cardinal problems whose solution is essential for a successful search for universals is also inconsiderable. A demonstrable frequency of isomorphous phenomena is an essential marker of any universal. No less important a problem is the establishment of implicit links between phenomena; finally, the third problem consists in the establishment of the causes for the existence of a universal discovered.

We are deeply convinced that the creation of a special methodology of establishing universals should be preceded by extensive spadework in establishing the universals in all the more or less known languages of the world,

work based on the principles mentioned above. It is only in the process of such work that the need will arise of specific methods which may develop later into a coherent theory. To date, in our opinion, hardly a hundredth part of the necessary work has been done in this field. However, some present-day theorists in the sphere of universals have determined *a priori* what that method should be like. The starting point should be a genuinely scientific typology of languages. The method of establishing types should be reminiscent of the preparation of living languages for the needs of machine translation, for which the first thing to be done should be the selection of a frame-of-reference language that should be a yardstick in the description and characterisation of various languages. "If a frame-of-reference language exists and certain rules of the transition (correspondences) from that language to others that are being described are known, then we can characterise those languages unambiguously and consistently through that frame-of-reference language."⁸ It is with good reason that B. Uspensky considers the creation of a most economical mode of coding information on the structure of the world's languages a most important task of typological classification.⁹

Thus, a frame-of-reference, or referent language may prove a meta-language in respect of other languages under analysis. It is a deduced language implicitly used in such a comparison that becomes the optimum referent language in a typological comparison. In short, this is a kind of analogue to a meta-language in machine translation, a meta-language of translation operating as an intermediate system, through a comparison with which translated languages are analysed and described. In typological research, this referent language, like the meta-language of translation, should possess an entire system of means: it should also possess transformations of the transition from the referent language to concrete languages, a selection of markers essential for typological comparison, a system of assumptions, a classification of language elements, and many other things without which a referent language is unthinkable. However, several things still remain unclear: given such a referent language, how will a system of points of departure operate? In what degree will it be sufficient and how can that language be applied to typologically mixed languages?

These recommendations on methods are obviously based, not on the actual experience of searches for universals but on an attempt, typical of present-day structuralism, to examine living languages through the prism of a specially prepared and extremely formalised artificial languages or code.

c) Neglect of the study of the causes of language universals.

Many present-day researchers limit themselves to formulating language universals they have discovered, without going into the causes of their existence. Thus, R. Jakobson has pointed out that, as a rule, languages possessing a voiced and voiceless, aspirate and non-aspirate pairs of phonemes also contain the phoneme [h]. However, no mention is made of what conditions this implication, and why the phoneme [h] should exist in such conditions. True, R. Jakobson points out that, in those groups of Indo-European languages that

⁸ B. Uspensky, *The Structural Typology of Languages*, Moscow, 1965, p. 58 (in Russian).

⁹ B. Uspensky, Op. cit., p. 17.

have shed the archaic [h] without acquiring a new one, aspirates have become mixed with the corresponding non-aspirate explosives: compare, for instance, the loss of the distinction between aspirates and non-aspirates in the Slavonic, Baltic, Celtic and Tocharian languages, with the different fate of these rows in Greek and Armenian, the Indian and Germanic languages. In all these languages some oral phonemes long ago turned into [h].¹⁰ However, this assertion is not very convincing: it has been noted that, in many languages of the world, there is to be seen a tendency of the elimination of aspirated consonants as being difficult to pronounce. The shedding of aspirated consonants in the Slavonic and Baltic languages might have been the outcome of this tendency, which could express itself even in the absence of the [h] phoneme in the Indo-European parent language. It is also known that no Indo-European scholar has been able to reconstruct this phoneme along normal lines.

Neglect of any explanation of the causes of universals may lead to the formulation of false universals. Thus, a universal cited by Joseph H. Greenberg runs as follows: "If a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number."¹¹ In fact, however, there is no link between these two phenomena, since the presence of the category of number is in no way linked causally with the category of gender.

d) Mechanisticism in formulas of implicit universals.

In formulating implicit universals, some theorists often forget that the implications they have established, while operative in some languages, may prove quite inactive in others. Here are some interesting examples as formulated by Joseph Greenberg: "In languages with prepositions, the genitive 'almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes.'"¹²

In the Baltic languages the genitive usually precedes the governing noun, yet these languages have no postpositions. The cause of this anomaly is that, in agglutinative languages (of the type of Tartar), the genitive case is causally closely linked with the features of the agglutinative structure of languages, and is dictated by a consistently applied "determinandum + determinatum" law of word order. Postpositional constructions are isomorphous in izafat constructions in which the historical "determinandum" also precedes the "determinatum"; cf. the Tartar "proletariat dictaturasy" (the dictatorship of the proletariat). In the Baltic languages, the place of the genitive in the sentence is not linked organically with the structure of the language, for it has arisen either under the influence of certain substratic Finno-Ugric languages or as a result of a mechanical summation of individual instances of the place of the genitive. Here is another universal cited by Joseph Greenberg: "If the relative expression precedes the noun either as the only construction or as an alternate construction, either the language is postpositional, or the adjective precedes the noun, or both."¹³

¹⁰ See R. Jakobson, "Typological Studies and Their Contribution to Historical Comparative Linguistics", *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists*, Oslo, 1958, pp. 17-25.

¹¹ Joseph H. Greenberg, "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements" *Universals of Languages*, p. 74.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Reference might be made to a number of Finno-Ugric languages, such as the Permian, Mordovian, and the Baltic-Finnic languages in which, following the European pattern, relative clauses are introduced by special relative conjunctions and follow the noun, but all these languages contain postpositions, not prepositions. As for the reason, it may be supposed that there once existed, in these languages, participial constructions, the semantic analogues to relative participial constructions, which did indeed precede the nominative as is usually the case in agglutinative languages. Under the influence of the Indo-European languages, relative clauses of the European type arose in these languages during the passage of time, so that the implicit link was lost. As a rule, theorists of universals place such languages under the heading of exceptions, which are not explained in any way.

Hence it follows that in formulating implicit universals, the conditions should be indicated in which a given implication operates.

e) Limiting the search for universals to the synchronous aspect of language.

The interest displayed by structural linguistics in researches conducted on the synchronous plane is also exerting an influence on the work on the problem of universals. Diachronic universals are insufficiently studied, despite the solid experience accumulated in comparative-historical linguistics. The experience gained has not even been summed up. About 95 per cent of the universals established in recent years pertain to the synchronous plane. As so very correctly pointed out by T. Sharadzenidze, these universals are trite statements providing little information about the structural features of the world's languages.¹⁴ The possibility of new universals being discovered on the plane of the synchronous structure of languages is evidently small if one takes into account the custom of studying them through the prism of some artificial meta-language.

f) The Groundlessness of an Analogy Between G. Cuvier's Implications and Those Underlying Implicational Universals.

Theorists of universals often attach great importance to the significance of the typological methods that operate with universals. "Given a knowledge of the typological correlations," says B. Uspensky, "the researcher can restore an entire system on the basis of several patterns."¹⁵ Y. Stepanov has compared the method of establishing implicit universals with the method used by the natural scientist G. Cuvier,¹⁶ who regarded an organism as a closed system based on the law of the correlation of organs. According to the latter law, each part of an organism corresponds to other parts in structure and function. For example, incisors usually go together with a simple stomach, and flat molars with a complex stomach. One of these characteristics is an infallible guide to the other.

It should be observed, however, that there is a considerable distinction between the implications established by Cuvier, and linguistic implications, des-

¹⁴ T. Sharadzenidze, "Language Typology, Synchrony and Diachrony", *Theoretical Problems of Typology and the Northern Eurasian Languages*, Budapest, 1970, p. 35.

¹⁵ B. Uspensky, *The Structural Typology of Languages*, p. 18.

¹⁶ Y. Stepanov, *Fundamentals of Linguistics*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 134, 135 (in Russian).

pite an indubitable similarity between them. In the animal world, implications are far more stable and mutually conditioned. Linguistics implications, on the other hand, are less mutually conditioned and more given to change. Their methodological value depends greatly on the purity and stability of the language type. In typologically mixed languages, the implications inherent in pure language types may be completely neutralised, and become little suited or quite unfit for use in the method of prevision. Herein lies their considerable distinction from the implications established by G. Cuvier.

* * *

While referring to the shortcomings in the present-day theory of universals, we are in no way belittling the considerable theoretical significance that the study of universals has in general. Particular attention to universals indubitably marks the appearance of a new and important stage in the history of linguistics.

Nodari SIMONIA,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

"Awakening of the East" as a Historical Process

A study of the national awakening, which gave rise to the national-liberation movements, is of exceptional importance for an understanding of the substance of present-day political, socio-economic and ideological processes in the newly-free countries. A correct view of the genesis of present-day liberation revolutions may provide the clue which is now and again lacking for a full clarification of the deep causal nexuses underlying many phenomena today. This article is an attempt to analyse a number of questions bearing on the prerequisites for the national awakening of the peoples of the East.

The "awakening of the East" is usually said to have started at the turn of the 20th century, when, following the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia, revolutions took place in Persia, Turkey and China, and the revolutionary movement rose up in India and Indonesia. In May 1913, Lenin wrote: "World capitalism and the 1905 movement in Russia have finally aroused Asia. Hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy."¹

What is the usual meaning given to the concept of the "awakening of the East"? It is above all the awakening of the national consciousness among the peoples of the East, the emergence of a new, national leadership in the social movement in those countries, the consequent change in the social essence of the liberation movement, its gradual transformation into the present-day national-liberation movement, and its organisational shaping. The important thing to stress is that not every liberation movement taking place in that epoch or directly associated with the early bourgeois-revolutionary action can be said to express an awakening. In the preparatory material for the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin made this highly characteristic remark: "The use of *medieval particularism*? Too dangerous; not Marxist. *Modern national movements* should be distinguished from 'movements' (so called *movements*) of a medieval nature."²

Lenin regarded the awakening of Asia as a continuation of the universal revolutionary process of bourgeois-democratic change, as one of its stages. In his theses, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determi-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 19, p. 86.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 203.

nation", and a number of other works written in 1915 and 1916, he brought out three types of countries exemplifying the three stages of the worldwide process of national self-determination. "First, the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States. In these countries progressive bourgeois national movements came to an end long ago," that is, there "the national movement is a thing of the *past*." Second, the national movement in Eastern Europe "is a thing of the *present*". "Here it was the twentieth century that particularly developed the bourgeois-democratic national movements and intensified the national struggle." Third, in "the semi-colonial countries, such as China, Persia and Turkey, and all the colonies. . . it is largely a thing of the *future*". "In these countries the bourgeois-democratic movements either have hardly begun, or have still a long way to go." ³ Lenin rejected the unhistoric, anti-Marxist thesis that "self-determination is a worn-out slogan of the past epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and movements". He said: "Imperialism creates the oppression of nations on a new basis. Imperialism renews this old slogan. The East and the *colonies* (>1,000 million of the world's population). 'New' bourgeois-democratic national movements." ⁴

The common social character of these three streams determined the similarity of their objective goals. Lenin said that in the course of bourgeois-democratic national-liberation movements there arises a striving "to create nationally independent and nationally uniform states", and that "the tendency of these movements is towards the creation of national states in Asia, that it is such states that ensure the best conditions for the development of capitalism". He pointed to an "undoubted fact that in Asia itself the conditions for the most complete development of commodity production and the freest, widest and speediest growth of capitalism have been created only in Japan, i.e., only in an independent national state". ⁵

Indeed, it is the analysis of the social character and political importance of national-liberation revolutions that suggested to Lenin the idea that "the deep-going revolutionary movement of the hundreds of millions" in the colonies and dependent countries means their involvement in the "stream of world capitalist civilisation", and that "the East has definitely taken the Western path, that new *hundreds of millions* of people will from now on share in the struggle for the ideals which the West has already worked out for itself." ⁶ Lenin expressed this idea in mid-1912 and reaffirmed it later, after the First World War and the October Revolution, in one of his last works. He wrote: "As a result of the last imperialist war, a number of countries of the East, India, China, etc., have been completely jolted out of the rut. Their development has definitely shifted to general European capitalist lines. The general European ferment has begun to affect them, and it is now clear to the whole world that they have been drawn into a process of development that must lead to a crisis in the whole of world capitalism." ⁷

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 150; Vol. 23, p. 38; Vol. 22, p. 151; Vol. 23, p. 38; Vol. 22, p. 151.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 27, p. 441 (in Russian).

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 406, 399.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, pp. 164, 165.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 499.

What Lenin says about the crisis of world capitalism shows us another important aspect of the national-liberation movements of the East. Lenin took a dialectical view of these movements in what might be said two superimposed planes. While singling out the national-liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies as a specific, third stage of the universal process of revolutionary bourgeois-democratic changes in the historical plane, Lenin also showed the close interconnection and interaction between this process and the other contemporary worldwide revolutionary streams. It is precisely because the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia embodied the rising and revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement that it inevitably ran into conflict with the colonial interests of the imperialist powers. This brought the national-liberation movement closer to the other revolutionary streams and turned the peoples of the East into participants of the world anti-imperialist revolution.

In this context, Lenin wrote: "The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national-liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations." ⁸ That being so, "it is *possible* (and inevitable) that proletarian uprisings in the big, great imperialist powers should combine with national uprisings and the wars of small nations in colonies *against* the great powers". ⁹ These conclusions which Lenin drew from his analysis of objective reality became the basis for the revolutionary strategy of the international communist movement. He stressed: "We cannot afford to contrast the mass revolutionary struggle for socialism and consistent revolutionary programme on the national question. The two must be *combined*." ¹⁰

However, now and again this precept of Lenin about the need to combine the socialist revolution in Europe and the national-liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies is declared to mean that national-liberation revolutions should be regarded as an immediate and socially homogeneous component part of the world socialist revolution. This failure to draw a distinction between the socialist and the democratic aspects of liberation revolutions is being used by the Maoists to substantiate their thesis concerning the alleged shift of the centre of the world revolution to the East, thus grossly distorting Lenin's approach to the question of the place and role of the national-liberation revolutions in the worldwide revolutionary process.

Of course, Lenin never regarded the role of national-liberation revolutions in the worldwide revolutionary process as being cut and dried or immutable. Thus, prior to the First World War the national-liberation movement was on the whole at the stage of its emergence and self-assertion, a period of its early organisational steps. That is why Lenin had to argue and prove that "national wars *against* the imperialist powers are not only possible and probable, they are inevitable, *progressive* and *revolutionary*". ¹¹ Lenin said that

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 60.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 54, p. 476 (in Russian).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 463-464.

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 312.

"the imperialist era does not destroy either the striving for national political independence or its 'achievability' within the bounds of world imperialist relationships".¹² "National struggle, national insurrection, national secession are fully 'achievable' and are met with in practice under imperialism. They are even more pronounced, for imperialism does not halt the development of capitalism and the growth of democratic tendencies among the mass of the population. On the contrary, it accentuates the antagonism between their democratic aspirations and the anti-democratic tendency of the trusts."¹³

In that period Lenin also outlined the conditions in which anti-imperialist, national-liberation wars succeed. "They require either the concerted effort of huge numbers of people in the oppressed countries (hundreds of millions in our example of India and China), or a particularly favourable conjuncture of international conditions (e.g., the fact that the imperialist powers cannot interfere, being paralysed by exhaustion, by war, by their antagonism, etc.), or the simultaneous uprising of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in one of the big powers (this latter eventuality holds first place as the most desirable and favourable for the victory of the proletariat)."¹⁴ Let us note that this latter condition (the October Revolution of 1917) together with the weakening of the imperialist powers as a result of the First World War went to create, at one time, real prerequisites for some success of national-liberation struggle in Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, China and several other countries. After the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin remarked on the role of the working people in the colonies and semi-colonies and added: "The imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the Soviet power in Russia are completing the process of converting these masses into an active factor of world politics and the revolutionary destruction of imperialism."¹⁵

But even at that time, Lenin was also giving thought to the further prospects of the national-liberation movement. Like Marx and Engels, he reached the conclusion that even before the final triumph of communism, but provided socialism was victorious in the chief capitalist countries of the West, some contingents of the national-liberation movement could go beyond the framework of bourgeois-democratic transformations.¹⁶ Subsequent development provided graphic confirmation that the victories of people's democratic revolutions and also the entry of a number of countries in Asia and Africa on the non-capitalist path became possible precisely in a historical situation in which the main forces of imperialism were engaged in confrontation with the Soviet Union, the main bulwark of world revolution.

The bourgeois-democratic character of the national-liberation movement which emerged at the turn of the century largely explains the fact that some aspects of the national awakening of the peoples of the East were reminiscent of those of the history of the European peoples during their struggle against feudalism. There was good reason, for instance, why Lenin spoke of the "revolutionary peoples of Asia performing their 1789 and 1793". Elsewhere he re-

¹² Ibid., Vol. 23, pp. 53-54.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. 22, p. 312.

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 454-455.

¹⁶ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 243-245.

marked that "in Asia there is still a bourgeoisie capable of championing sincere, militant, consistent democracy, a worthy comrade of France's great men of Enlightenment and great leaders of the close of the eighteenth century".¹⁷

The fact that some socio-political phenomena in the East are similar to respective events in Europe's historical past is not at all unusual because similar laws of social development operated in both areas. The West did not only show the East the prototype of bourgeois society, but because of direct contacts and the "power of example" also gave a direct impetus which greatly accelerated the process of national awakening among the peoples of the East.

It is generally recognised that the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 served as a powerful stimulus in the national awakening of many countries of the East (primarily those neighbouring on Russia), a fact Lenin repeatedly noted in his works. But why precisely did that revolution have such a powerful impact on the awakening of the East? The important thing was that that Russian revolution coincided with the period when, under the influence of "world capitalism", as Lenin observed, the internal prerequisites for national awakening had already matured in some countries of the East, while tempestuous processes of democratic ferment were already under way in others. Still, there is more to it than a mere chronological coincidence. Another factor was equally important: "Geographically, economically and historically, Russia belongs not only to Europe, but also to Asia. That is why the Russian revolution succeeded not only in finally awakening Europe's biggest and most backward country and in creating a revolutionary people led by a revolutionary proletariat.

"It achieved more than that. The Russian revolution engendered a movement throughout the whole of Asia. The revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China prove that the mighty uprising of 1905 left a deep imprint, and that its influence, expressed in the forward movement of hundreds and hundreds of millions, is ineradicable."¹⁸

Lenin points out not only Russia's geographical location but also her economic and historical position. That is the whole point. On the one hand, Russia was faced with what might be called the "typically Asian" problem of overthrowing a corrupt absolutist regime (a stage Europe had long since passed). On the other hand, Russia had a higher level of economic and social development and class struggle. It was natural therefore that the people's bourgeois-democratic revolution not only shook the idea that absolutism in Russia was solid, but also set an inspiring example, putting Russia in the van of the whole revolutionary movement in the East.

Let us also note that because the revolutionary processes in the East itself developed unevenly, events in some countries then had a "secondary" effect on the "lagging" countries. There is no doubt at all, for instance, that the Young Turks movement and the 1908 revolution had an influence on the liberation movement of the Arab and a number of other Moslem peoples. The Chinese revolution of 1911 had a similar influence on the national movements in Indonesia, Vietnam and other countries. The *swadeshi* movement (defence of national production) and *swaraj* (limited self-government within the framework of

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 198; Vol. 18, p. 165.

¹⁸ Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 252.

the British Empire) which arose in India and the tactics of boycotting the Europeans were also adopted in Indonesia and Vietnam. Now and again the influence of European political thinking on the local national movement was effected through the medium of a third Asian country, as in Indo-China, where under the influence of the writings of Chinese reformers (Kang Yu-wei and others) a section of the Vietnamese intelligentsia turned to the study of the French philosophers, especially Montesquieu and Rousseau.¹⁹

Still, the awakening of the East was in no sense a copy or an echo of contemporary political events elsewhere. The roots of national awakening among the peoples of the East go deep down into the history of European penetration in the countries of this area, being connected with social, economic, political and ideological changes in the socio-historical development of the countries which fell victim to colonial enslavement. At different periods of history, colonialism had a different and sometimes highly contradictory influence on the development of the countries of the East. The European powers conquered the countries of the East because they had a higher level of socio-economic development. The conversion of these countries into objects of downright plunder and ruthless exploitation (with the use of methods of extra-economic coercion) stimulated capitalist development in the metropolitan countries and their transition to the industrial stage.

For its part, this led to an even greater extension of the scale on which the colonies and the dependent countries were exploited, and their involvement in the world capitalist market. The exploitation of the East by commercial and industrial capital promoted the accumulation and centralisation of capital that was under way in the metropolitan countries. As capitalism moved into its monopoly stage, the traditional socio-economic structure in the countries of the East began to disintegrate (through the export of capital and the introduction of new methods of production and exploitation), thereby preparing the prerequisites for the final liquidation of colonialism itself. Such is the dialectical fabric of the natural historical process of colonial development.

Throughout the history of colonialism there existed a contradiction between the colonialists' subjective urge to keep the peoples of the East conserved on the level of socio-economic development on which the European invasion found them, on the one hand, and, on the other, the objective process of destruction of the traditional social structure promoted by the activity of European newcomers, who stood on a higher rung of civilisation. In the initial period of colonialism the destructive force of the objective factors was still insignificant and the tendency for preserving the traditional order prevailed; in the final period of colonialism (the epoch of imperialism) the destruction of this order had gone so far that this tendency became insuperable.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly pointed to these destructive, objectively revolutionising factors.²⁰

What are the concrete historical prerequisites for national awakening and

¹⁹ See D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1964.

²⁰ Marx, for instance, said that English capitalism "has a two-fold mission in India: a destructive one and a constructive one; on the one hand, it is to destroy the old Asian society, and, on the other, to lay the material foundation for Western society in Asia" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 9, p. 225, in Russian).

social revolution that took shape in the period of colonial development in the countries of the East virtually in every sphere of social life—economic, political and ideological?

In the *economic plane*, the shaping of these prerequisites was expressed, in particular, in the emergence of the capitalist structure and the formation of domestic markets. This was promoted, first by the measures taken by the colonial administration to centralise the state and the territory, thereby largely limiting the feudal fragmentation; second, the establishment of the minimum infrastructure (highways and railways, coastal and ocean shipping, telegraph and postal communications, power stations, etc.), which linked the economy of the countries of the East to the world market; third, the export of capital to the colonial and dependent countries and their inclusion in the world capitalist economy.

Let us emphasise that initially the re-orientation of the economy of these countries upon the world market did not yet affect the old mode of production, but if this was subsequently to be transformed, the traditional economy had to be subordinated to the world market. This marked no more than the first stage in the general historical evolution of the Asian economy, and its main aspect was that from the very outset gradually but steadily a growing share of the traditional peasant and handicraft products went onto the world market. Thus, at that stage the traditional mode of production was subjected to world capitalism only nominally and through the use of coercion. In fact, world capitalism was just adapting itself to the traditional economy, without as yet probing deep into its structure but already modifying its motives and ultimate goals.

The nominal subordination of the peasant and handicraft production to the world market, while not resulting in instant disintegration of that production, nevertheless served as a prerequisite for further changes. This is an objective inevitability, which leads to a change in the immediate relationship of domination and subordination within the countries of the East. The relations of personal dependence on the feudal lords or the bureaucratic state gradually tend to lose their importance, while the relations of economic dependence on local commercial and usurers' capital come to the fore. The mediated subordination of peasant production to the world capitalist market resulted in its direct subordination to local commercial and usurers' capital. This marked the second stage in the evolution of the traditional mode of production in the East.

In the new historical conditions, created through the subordination of the economy of the countries of the East to monopoly capital, a fundamental change began to take place in the meaning and content of commercial and usurers' operations. Earlier, because of the undivided sway of traditional, pre-capitalist relations, when the merchant could buy any goods produced over and above the requirements of the closed natural economy, but not the peasant's labour power so that the exploitation of the peasantry by the merchants and the usurers remained a side-line. Now, just because the demand of the world capitalist market and the economy had turned peasant labour into an exchange value, commercial and usurers' capital was enabled (operating, for instance, as a middleman) to buy the peasant's labour power, and this already marked the third stage in the evolution of the traditional mode of production.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, this chain of consistent economic dependence took shape in most colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East: the small commodity producer depended on the commercial and usurers' or middlemen's capital, and the latter on foreign capital (that is, on the world market).

In this chain, local commercial and usurers' capital served not just as an instrument effecting a mechanical link-up between two differing modes of production, but as a vehicle of the transforming effect of the world capitalist economy on the traditional Asian society. It is not surprising, therefore, that from the ranks of merchants and usurers rose the first groups of local (native and alien-Asian) bourgeoisie in most countries of the East.

The erosion and destruction by colonialism of the traditional social structure created the *socio-psychological prerequisites* for national awakening in the countries of the East. In social terms, these prerequisites were expressed in the emergence of new social sections and the formation of new classes, in psychological terms, in the release of these new sections from the influence of traditions and customs. As earlier noted the core of the emergent national bourgeoisie was made up of men who came from the ranks of the merchants and the usurers. Let us add that on the eve of the national awakening, that is, roughly by the turn of the century, many capitalist middlemen (including the compradors themselves) had already accumulated considerable amounts of money and had begun to invest them in industrial enterprises working for domestic or even regional Asian markets. In addition, within the economic cells unaffected by monopoly capital there developed home industries, the handicrafts and the manufactories. However difficult the conditions in which national capital emerged, however ruthless the competition from the foreign monopolies, however inexorable the world crises of the capitalist economy which periodically ruined various groups of the rising national enterprise, the important thing was that the formation of the bourgeois class in colonial conditions had begun and, what is more, had become irreversible.

The export of capital, which is characteristic of the epoch of imperialism, also marked the start of the formation of the industrial proletariat. Because the emergence of the early contingents of the proletariat was usually connected with the establishment of foreign enterprises, this process initially proceeded in isolation, without affecting the making of the local bourgeoisie, and in some ways even running ahead of the formation of the national industrial bourgeoisie. However, on the eve of the epoch of national awakening the young contingents of the working class were yet to be consolidated in most countries of the East, and the local proletariat was still to establish itself as an independent social force.

Exceptional importance for the national awakening of the peoples of the East attached to the formation of the local intelligentsia, for it was the first to give expression to the national self-awareness that it was to carry into the midst of larger democratic circles, and to awake them to an active and organised struggle for their national liberation. The formation of the national intelligentsia in the countries of the East was also a contradictory process and initially met the objective requirements of monopoly capital in fairly literate lower technical and administrative personnel, some improvements

of medical services for the local population, etc. At the same time, the rapid enlargement of the colonial superstructure at the turn of the century likewise created a demand for literate local men who were to fill various posts in the lower (and to a lesser extent middle) echelons of the bureaucratic machine. However, having stimulated, in a highly limited measure the making of the intelligentsia, colonialism was subsequently unable fully to control either the internal social laws governing the development of this new social section, nor the moulding of the political character of its various strata.

However, before any social stratum or class could make itself known as a new social force, public opinion had to undergo a preliminary psychological restructuring, and sufficiently broad and massive discontent and disillusionment in the old ideals and traditions had to mature and express itself. Economic development had laid the objective economic foundation for this process: as personal relations were supplanted by money relations, the traditional political institutions being preserved by colonialism began to lose their social basis, while, in the light of economic relations, the members of the local ruling sections were becoming a superfluous class. In an effort to avert the erosion of the socio-economic foundation of traditional power and to bolster it up with the aid of its full military and police power, colonialism achieved some highly dubious and contradictory results. The fact is that it was unable to do this without simultaneously turning the representatives of traditional power into their obedient puppets, who depended entirely on the foreigners, who toadied up to them and were constantly abused for their pains. In the eyes of the local population this stripped them of any vestige of authority that they still had.

This applies not only to the colonies. In the semi-colonial countries (like China, Turkey and Iran) a similar process of erosion of the socio-psychological basis of traditional power was likewise running its course (even if in somewhat different forms). This was prompted by the growing direct intervention by the imperialist powers in the internal affairs of the dependent countries, the unequal treaties imposed on them, the dispatch of their commissioners and advisers, who were usually vested with very broad powers; the insistence on extra-territorial rights and the withdrawal (on the pretext of providing guarantees for external government loans) of the main sources of the national income from the jurisdiction of the local authorities and their transfer to full control by the colonialists, and many other factors.

The contradictory processes in the later half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, noted above, were further developed through the colonialists' attempts to consolidate their political domination by further centralising the system of colonial administration. As a result, methods of indirect administration were being largely supplanted by a system of direct administration through the medium of a bureaucratic colonial apparatus. In the course of this reorganisation men from the old ruling sections in the main found themselves included in the colonial apparatus. Their status in the social structure of the colonial countries was no longer attractive for the young generation of the local aristocracy. Thus, the contradictory development of colonialism had created the conditions for the emergence of discontent among some social sections in colonial and semi-colonial societies. This negative attitude could have, per-

haps, served as a prelude not to a national awakening but to a re-establishment of the pre-colonial order, a tendency which in fact occurred in some instances in countries where tradition was still strong and where it had been less eroded.²¹ However, on the whole, the historical situation within and outside the countries of the East had changed so fundamentally that any development of the liberation struggle for a re-establishment of independence on the old, traditional socio-political basis had become impossible. New forces capable of accepting new ideas and conceptions, worked out in the centuries of development and struggle under Western civilisation, had already emerged in the social arena.

On the other hand, seeking to continue and even to perpetuate their political domination, the colonialists began to make half-hearted concessions to the new social forces, in the hope of extending their social base and diverting the ferment in the minds of men into safer channels. Some liberalisation of the colonial administration first started mainly at the end of the 19th century (with the exception of India, where various aspects of this policy had been adopted much earlier). This policy provided for the establishment of curtailed representative institutions, some extension of local participation in various consultative bodies, introduction of self-government and similar measures. One important aspect was the introduction of European education in the colonies and the dispatch of local young men to schools and colleges in the metropolitan countries. Government schools, institutions of higher learning were set up in Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China and other colonies, in the hope that Western education would turn the new intelligentsia into a reliable base for colonialism. One of the main ideas, for instance, in the "ethical line" pursued by the Dutch colonial administration was the establishment of an "association" of Indonesians and Dutch men on the basis of a common European culture.²² However, again and again the colonialists failed to achieve their ends. Thus, in Indo-China, the results of the assimilation policy were highly contradictory: there, the bitterest enemies of the French turned out to be those who had the best knowledge of the French language.²³ However, the main thing, as Marx once remarked, was that with the introduction of the new policy in the sphere of education there emerged a "new category of men possessing the knowledge necessary for administering the country, men who had come into communion with European science".²⁴

Among the substantial concessions to the local population was the opportunity to set up social organisations and put out periodicals. Marx wrote, having in mind mid-19th century India: "The free press, first introduced into Asian society and run mainly by the offsprings of mixed marriages of the

²¹ "The old feudal ideology did not give way to the bourgeois ideology everywhere and at once. Thus, the call for the unity of all Moslems—Pan-Islamism—issued at the end of the 19th century by Jemal ed-Din Afghani, was an attempt to combine the anti-colonial struggle with a preservation of the feudal system in the Moslem countries." (See A. Guber, A. Miller, "Political and Economic Changes Within the Countries of Asia and Africa in the 20th Century", *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1965, No. 6, p. 9).

²² See A. Belenky, *The National Awakening of Indonesia*, Moscow, 1965, p. 56 (in Russian).

²³ See D.G.E. Hall, *Op. cit.*

²⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 9, p. 225 (in Russian).

Indians and the Europeans, is a new and mighty factor in the restructuring of this society."²⁵ Some 40-50 years later, the local press in many other colonial countries likewise became a similarly mighty factor. Of course, the activity of national organs of the press, as of other social organisations, proceeded under the strictest control of the colonial administration and was systematically subjected to the fierce repressions from the latter. However, the dialectic nature of the social process was expressed in the fact that this acute struggle itself helped to shape the national awareness of the peoples of the East.

The practical results of the concessions mentioned above (in terms of the scale of education, real representation, etc.) were negligible, but their historical importance lies in the fact that the struggle for them helped to create definite political prerequisites for national awakening. On the one hand, they created the conditions for turning the new social sections into a political force capable of giving a lead to the nationwide anti-colonial movement and investing it with a purpose, and, on the other, they gave this force the requisite modern political instruments (the parties, the press) necessary for shaping in society a new attitude of mind and involving broad democratic masses in an organised national-liberation movement. We find emerging new types of national leaders whose direct and indirect contacts with European civilisation enabled them to learn of the history of the emancipation struggle and the great revolutions of the European peoples, of contemporary political struggles and revolutionary movements in the world, thereby absorbing the ideas of bourgeois democracy and assimilating Western conceptions of nationalism and the ideas of national statehood.

The formation of the main *political factors* underlying the national awakening was a highly complex and multidimensional phenomenon. It was vastly influenced both by the specific features of the "original material" (the specific socio-economic and political conditions in the individual countries, the character and importance in the structure of the social sections from which the early national leaders sprang) and the diversity of the sources of external influence. However, for all these distinctions the awakening of the national awareness of the peoples of the East also had something in common. It was expressed, in particular, in the fact that as various social forces were involved in the active political movement, the awakening of the national awareness ran through three main phases: *aristocratic*, *bourgeois* and *petty-bourgeois* nationalism. Earlier, we already remarked on a similar phenomenon in the history of Indonesia.²⁶ Indeed, these three streams in the national movement can be traced in almost every country of the East. What is more, this is apparently not so much a specific feature of the countries of the East, but a more general regularity. Lenin remarked on a similar "modification" of nationalism in Poland, when he wrote: "German oppression has welded the Poles together and segregated them, after first awakening the nationalism of the gentry, then of the bourgeoisie, and finally of the peasant masses".²⁷ Of course, the succes-

²⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 9, p. 225 (in Russian).

²⁶ See N. Simonia, *The Bourgeoisie and the Formation of the Nation in Indonesia*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 64-66 (in Russian).

²⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 453.

sion of phases in the awakening of the national awareness could not be absolutely similar in every country of the East. Similarly, the importance of the various brands of nationalism in the general process of the national awakening (and accordingly of the role and importance of their vehicles) was highly dissimilar in the various countries.

The first band of national leaders was usually made up of men who came from the aristocratic sections of the population, or the "class of intellectual nationalists".²⁸ With a Western education, many of them returned home not to become officials under the colonial administration but journalists, teachers, doctors, writers, etc. In advocating the adoption and transplantation of the fruits of Western civilisation onto the soil of the colonial and dependent countries they acted as non-bourgeois spokesmen (in terms of social origin) for the ideas of bourgeois development. Their bourgeois character was relative, because it was not subjective but objective. As a rule, the aristocratic nationalists expressed bourgeois views and ideas long before the bourgeoisie took an independent stand and put in a claim for its class interests.²⁹

At the same time, this brand of nationalism was typically limited and moderate in the demands it put forward and the aims it set in cultural, educational and constitutional reforms envisaged within the framework of the existing colonial or semi-colonial system. The differences of political superstructure between the colonial and dependent countries did not have any material effect on the nature of the political demands made by the aristocratic nationalists in the respective countries. Whereas in the semi-colonial countries their constitutionalism did not go beyond the limits of the monarchy, in the colonial countries it fully fitted into the existing political system. A reformed colonial superstructure, they believed, was to play the same "civilising" role that enlightened absolutism had played in the nominally independent countries. In other words, their constitutional monarchism was in effect adequate to "constitutional colonialism".

The idealism and political weakness characteristic of the stand taken by men from this section sprang from the fact that they were impelled in their actions not by their own, immediate, class and material interests (after all, they came from the wealthy sections of society enjoying the greatest privileges), but by ideal stimuli, primarily their awareness of national inequality under the colonial system. Despite the limited character of their political demands and mode of action, the aristocratic nationalists still performed their historical mission of heralding the national awakening. In the various countries of the East the political trend of aristocratic nationalism took different organisational forms. In Turkey or Indonesia, for instance, this trend at once assumed the form of political organisation, marking the start of the organised national-liberation movement.

A peculiar situation took shape in the Indian national-liberation movement,

²⁸ E. A. Clark, *Peoples of the China Seas*, St. Louis—Dallas—Los Angeles, 1942, p. 43.

²⁹ See A. Guber and A. Miller, *Op. cit.*, p. 9. It is not a new historical fact in any sense for members of the old aristocratic sections to display "initiative" in proclaiming the ideas of the future bourgeois society. Evidence of this comes from the history of social thought in 17th century England and 18th century France.

where the shaping of the aristocratic nationalism proceeded simultaneously with the shaping of bourgeois nationalism within the framework of a single all-India party, the Indian National Congress (INC), which was set up in 1885. One must note in this connection that in India the British succeeded to a greater extent than anywhere else in imposing on local society the forms and methods of bourgeois development most approximating the "English model". I do not mean the purely outward similarity expressed in the imitation by India's propertied classes of the attributes of the English way of life, ranging from every-day customs and manners, language, dress, etc., to the proceedings at the INC meetings which imitated English parliamentary procedures. There was a much deeper similarity expressed in some repetition in India of the general scheme of relationships and arrangements of socio-political forces which were to be found in some periods of English history.

In the period of national awakening in India, we already find the bourgeoisified aristocracy and the landowners in close political collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie, which was highly reminiscent of the alliance of the new landed gentry and the big bourgeoisie in England in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is this peculiar unification of the old and the new propertied classes in both countries that enabled them to maintain their influence on the more radical petty-bourgeois trend in the emancipation movement. Like the English Levellers, the Indian "extremists" (petty-bourgeois democrats) proved to be incapable of escaping from bourgeois hegemony for any meaningful historical period in the advance of the revolutionary struggle. The more radical trend among the petty-bourgeois democrats, expressing the interests of India's working people (the "extremist" minority led by Tilak) found itself isolated and defeated in much the same way that this had earlier occurred with the diggers, or the "true Levellers", the radical trend within the Leveller movement.

On the whole it may be said that in that period the British colonialists managed to realise their programme of dividing and subordinating to their influence the various streams of the national-liberation movement.

Aristocratic nationalism, because of its specific character, could not meet the requirements of the nationwide liberation struggle. This is why wherever it has remained in the most unmodified form and wherever it has failed to fuse organisationally with the liberal bourgeoisie, it was supplanted as the leading national force by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalism. These forms of nationalism expressed the interests of social development and the liberation struggle of their countries in a more direct and "down-to-earth" way. Depending on the general level of development in the individual countries, the relation of class forces and the relation of the reformist and radical elements within the body of petty-bourgeois democrats, the latter either found themselves tailing the bourgeoisie or emerging as an independent trend, sometimes even dominating the bourgeoisie. In India, for instance, the petty-bourgeois democrats, represented by the "extremists", had no political organisation of their own, and continued as the left wing of the INC. Its differences with the bourgeois-nationalist trend of the "moderates" were mainly on the issue of the attitude to the tactics of boycotting foreign capital as a means of achieving "swaraj" and "swadeshi", with most of the "extremists" advocating peaceful and legal means of struggle.

The similarity of some features of socio-political development in the East with corresponding phenomena in Europe's historical path has provided imperialist propaganda with ground for assertions that the emergent countries of our day must repeat the "classical way" of the West. However, it is well known that the West's own capitalist development ran along a great variety of concrete ways. After all, Britain alone followed the "classical way". In France, we already find essential distinctions, to say nothing of Germany's Prussian Junker way or of the USA's "colonisation" variant of capitalism, or even the Portuguese, Spanish and Greek variants of capitalist development.

Social development in the countries of the East shows a similar or even greater diversity of ways. Let me say in this context that Marx, Engels and Lenin had repeatedly to criticise attempts at dogmatic distortion of some propositions of scientific socialism concerning the general laws of historical development. Thus, criticising N. Mikhailovsky, a prominent ideologist of Narodism, for putting a false interpretation on his *Capital*, Marx said in a letter to the Editors of the Russian journal *Otechestvennyie zapiski*, that Mikhailovsky "insists on presenting my historical essay on the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe as a historico-philosophical theory of the universal way along which all nations are doomed in some fatal way to travel, whatever the historical conditions in which they find themselves, in order ultimately to arrive at an economic formation which ensures, together with the greatest flourishing of the productive forces of social labour, the fullest development of man. However, I must beg to differ. For this would simultaneously be much too flattering and too shameful".³⁰

Criticising the pedantry of the European and Russian petty-bourgeois democrats, Lenin stressed that "they are complete strangers to the idea that while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary, presumed, that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development", and that these peculiarities are naturally "in keeping with the general line of world development".³¹

Lenin further pointed out that the peculiar nature of the historical situation of the eve of the October Revolution, for instance, offered Russia the opportunity "to create the fundamental requisites of civilisation in a different way from that of the West-European countries".³² It is quite obvious, therefore, that the reference to what Lenin said about the East having finally taken the way of the West should not be oversimplified into a mere imitation and repetition of the ways traversed by the countries of Europe. These words contain a broader and deeper idea of the common socio-economic and political modernisation of the traditional societies of the East (or, in Lenin's words, the "creation of the fundamental requisites of civilisation"), which however would run (and actually does run today) in highly specific and peculiar forms.

On the other hand, it has become a fashion among some bourgeois scientists in the West to insist that once free of colonial oppression, the peoples tend to re-establish "pre-colonial society". They refer to the fact that the efforts in many countries of the East to establish the new superstructural forms of modern bourgeois society have ended fully or partially in failure and have led to the re-establishment of despotic regimes, highly reminiscent or merely imitative of the traditional state power in these countries. However, such assertions are scientifically untenable. A partial re-establishment of some traditional institutions does not yet signify an actual return to the pre-colonial stage of development. A reversion to an old form does not necessarily mean a re-establishment of the old substance. In this context, it is highly interesting to recall Lenin's polemic with G. Plekhanov on the meaning of nationalisation. In 1906, Plekhanov argued that the nationalisation of land in Russia would mean the re-establishment of a superstructural institution to be found in the 17th century Rus prior to the reign of Peter the Great, and that, he added, would be latent with the threat of a restoration of the "Asiatic mode of production". Lenin countered this by saying that "because the words are identical, he [Plekhanov] failed to see the fundamental difference in economic, that is, production relations. Although he built up his argument on the restoration of Muscovy (i.e., the alleged restoration of Asiatic modes of production), he actually spoke about political restoration, such as the restoration of the Bourbons (which he mentioned), that is, the restoration of the anti-republican form of government on the basis of capitalist production relations." Napoleon's restoration of the empire or the Bourbon restoration, Lenin stressed, "had nothing in common with pre-capitalist modes of production",³³ but on the contrary helped to strengthen bourgeois relations.

So in the East, the dismantling of republican and the re-establishment of absolutist forms of government did not at all mean the restoration of the old socio-economic order.

³³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 332.

³⁰ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 19, p. 120 (in Russian).

³¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 477.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 478.

Yuri OSIPOV,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.) -

Third World: Debts and Interest

Being extremely backward in economic respects, the developing countries cannot themselves create prerequisites for a stable and rapid development, even if they apply the most intense efforts. In contemporary conditions the internal accumulations of a country do not suffice to restructure a lop-sided, national economic structure. They are never big enough to intensify the country's socio-economic growth since this calls for large-scale imports of capital and modern equipment. (In the economic development programmes of the young national states the share of the import of articles for productive purposes accounts for 40-50 per cent or more of total investments.) This means that the national funds of international payment means need be supplemented to enable them to cover their growing investment expenditure.

THE NEW STRATEGY OF "AID"

The developing countries are strenuously seeking new ways of increasing their currency resources and are therefore doing all they can to change their present political and economic relations with the capitalist world. In this they are helped by the growing might of the socialist world system. The imperialists are compelled to reckon with the radical changes on the planet, with the fact that the newly-free countries are extending their political and business ties with the socialist states. Monopolists are aware of the threat that their sphere of influence in the backward areas of the world will continue to shrink, and that the political and social atmosphere will grow even tenser there.

"Imperialism," Leonid Brezhnev emphasised in the report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, "is being subjected to ever greater pressure by the forces which have sprung from the national-liberation struggle, above all by the young independent and anti-imperialist-minded states of Asia and Africa." ¹ That is why the policy aimed at retarding the development of the newly-free countries often alternates with a policy of tolerance for a certain national-economic growth, so long as this coincides with the interests of monopoly capital. In the new conditions, the imperialists do not confine themselves to military-political actions, but are willing to incur heavy material ex-

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU. Documents, 1971, p. 23.

penditure in order to split the national-liberation movement, to capitalise on the many difficulties of the developing countries, their economic backwardness. This strategy of neocolonialism determines also all its other components, including the substantial changes in the structure of international credit relations and in the territorial flow of financial resources.

International capitalist credits continue to hold an important place in the system of inter-state economic and political links. "With the national debt arose an international credit system," Marx noted, "which often conceals one of the sources of primitive accumulation in this or that people." ² Under imperialism, especially at the present stage, when state monopoly regulation plays an ever increasing role, international financial relations have taken on new forms, and credits are exerting a much greater influence on the structure of political, social and economic relations. International credits are used not only as a means for mitigating the regular flare-ups of the crisis of the capitalist currency system; they are also widely used as an instrument of imperialism's neocolonialist policies.

It should be noted that alongside quantitative changes (a growth in the total credits granted to the developing countries), the export of capital is also undergoing qualitative changes. Now that the colonies have won political freedom, the sphere in which the methods of "classical colonialism" can be applied has greatly shrunk; private investments are retreating and the export of state capital begins to play the leading role in credit and finance relations.

At present direct foreign investments account for slightly over one-third of the total flow of resources (including subsidies) from the developed capitalist countries to the underdeveloped areas of the world. The relative slow-down in the export of private capital is partly due to the political instability in many developing states. The struggle for nationalisation and curbing of the activities of foreign monopoly is intensifying. Ever more countries are embarking on the road of radical socio-economic reforms. Under these conditions we observe a certain change in the structure and organisation of foreign investments: new branches (the manufacturing industry), which formerly did not interest investors, are now being built up and, what is particularly important, raw materials whose value has been raised by the revolution in science and technology (oil, non-ferrous metal ores), are being rapidly developed.

The adjustment of the imperialist monopolies to the rapidly changing conditions raises the importance of the methods of state-monopoly regulation and the role of the political superstructure in the system of economic relations, including also their external forms. One of the objectives of the neocolonialist policy is to maintain an economic structure and a socio-political orientation in the developing countries that would help to strengthen the capitalist system in general, and monopoly capital in particular. At the same time, the quantitative growth of state loans to the developing countries is a legitimate reaction to the radical political changes in the contemporary world, and to the growing activity of the newly-free countries in the world arena. Finally, interstate capitalist credit becomes also a means of replacing private enterprise and acts as a catalyst for foreign investments.

² K. Marx, *Capital*, Moscow, 1965, Vol. I, p. 755.

There are essential distinctions between the export of private and state capital. To reduce these categories to the single concept "aid" (as Western publications often do) is to slur over the distinctions in their content and purpose.³ Profit considerations, the striving to obtain maximum benefits from investment transactions, are typical of the export of private capital, whereas, the main consideration in granting state credits and subsidies is the "global" effectiveness of the latter, that is, the effect obtained from the aggregate of measures taken by the imperialist creditor-countries to influence economic and social processes in the newly-free states. At the same time, despite definite distinctions, the two forms of capital export are a component part of the general strategy aimed at preserving the structural basis of world capitalist reproduction and the exploitation of the countries and peoples dependent on imperialism.

At the end of the 1960s the net flow of financial resources from the developed capitalist countries to the developing countries, coming under the heading "official" financing (bilateral state credits, subsidies, and loans by international financial organisations), amounted to about \$7,000 million a year. This accounted for about 10 per cent of the total accumulations and 20 per cent of the total imports of those states. In India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Tunisia and many other countries, especially the African, the share of external financing greatly exceeded the average indicators (20-50 per cent and more of the total volume of the national investments in the state sector).

One might think that the drawing into the national economic turnover of comparatively large credit resources would strengthen the economic potential of the former colonies. Actually, however, imperialist credits do nothing to improve the lot of the people in the economically backward areas of the world. It is now recognised even in the West that over the past decade there has been no stable relation between the volume of the resources coming from abroad and the economic growth rates of the developing countries, with the exception of some short-term successes in a small group of countries. The gap between the per capita income in the main Western countries and that in the developing nations is increasing both in relative and in absolute terms. In extreme cases the gap reaches a figure of over \$3,000 a year and, as approximate computations indicate, it may grow to \$9,000 a year by the end of the century.

On the whole, imperialist loans tend to intensify the economic exploitation of many of the developing states in the system of the world capitalist economy. The operation of the credit mechanism within the framework of exploiter relations has posed a new complicated and difficult problem to the developing states: how to pay their foreign debts.

³ The Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) give the following statistical gradation of aid: 1) "Official Development Assistance". This includes credits and subsidies, granted to the developing countries on a bilateral interstate basis; 2) "Other Official Flows". These include loans by multilateral financial and other organisations, means obtained through the purchase of bonds issued by the governments of the developing countries, and also official export credits; 3) "Private Flows". These include direct and portfolio investments, and also private export credits issued for terms of over one year. Thus, the category of aid is considered only as "the movement of long-term financial resources". This approach is methodologically unsound and frequently criticised with good reason.

DEBT STATISTICS

In 1969 the debts of the developing countries to the capitalist creditor states reached the impressive figure of about \$60,000 million, of which the South and East Asian countries accounted for \$21,400, the Latin American for \$17,600, the African for \$9,200 and the Middle Eastern countries for \$4,900 million.⁴ The debt increased particularly rapidly between the mid-50s and 1965 (it increased from \$10,000 million to \$38,000 million, i.e., by an average of 14 per cent a year).

On the whole the greater part of the debt is shouldered by a small group of states, mainly such with a large territory and population, for example, nine countries (India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Turkey, Columbia and Chile) account for 40 per cent of the developing world's total foreign debt.

The growth of the foreign debt exhibits certain specific features. When the debt only begins to accumulate, the "fresh" flow of credits and loans considerably outstrips the increment in the expenditure on servicing the debt (clearing of the basic debt and interest payments). This is because the terms for amortisation payments are not yet due and interest is paid mainly out of new loans. In this initial stage, the import of state capital covers the gap between the exchange requirements and the debtor countries' own sources of financing. Relatively soon, however, the feedback mechanism springs into action. The period of grace terminates and payments have to be made on former credits. The debtor countries now have to look for additional reserves to meet their commitments, and if no such reserves are available a steadily increasing share of the new capital coming from abroad is used to pay off old debts. The greater initial deficit in savings and investments that has been filled by foreign credits, the higher is the debt servicing cost.

The payments on debts have avalanched in the developing states. In 1969 the payments made by them for the "aid" of the capitalist creditor countries (debt amortisation and interest) amounted to about \$5,000 million, which was twice as much as in 1961. In recent decades the average yearly growth of the sums needed to clear external debts and to pay interest on them reached about 17 per cent, which exceeded the increment in the gross product of the national states by more than three-fold and was much higher than the growth rate of their exports and of the new inflow of credits and subsidies during that period.

Between 1965 and 1967 the ratio between the expenditure on the amortisation of foreign debts and the payment of interest on them, and the gross average yearly inflow of new capital (state loans, credits by international financial organisations, private loans and commercial credits) was 73 per cent in Africa, 52 per cent in East Asia, 40 per cent in South Asia and the Middle East, and 87 per cent in Latin America.

According to estimates by experts the ratio between the expenditure on the servicing of old debts and new loans will worsen considerably by 1977, if the inflow of foreign credits remains at the 1965-1967-level (approximately 2 per

⁴ See *World Bank. International Development Association. Annual Reports.*

cent per annum). In Africa it is expected to attain 121 per cent, in East Asia 134 per cent, in Latin America—130 per cent, in South Asia and the Middle East—97 per cent.⁵ This means that in all developing countries (with the exception of South Asia and the Middle East) the payment of old debts will shortly begin to exceed the inflow of new loans. Even if the developed capitalist countries for some reason or other have to increase the average growth rate of "aid" to 8 per cent a year (which seems extremely unlikely in view of the present trend towards a relative decrease in the flow of capitalist credits and subsidies), the developing states will still have to return from 60 to 90 per cent of the gross inflow of new state capital in order to pay interest and clear the basic debt. On the whole the expenditures of the developing countries on foreign debt servicing, expressed in absolute terms, are expected to rise by 1977 to \$ 9,200 million, or to exceed the 1967 level almost two-fold.

Table 1

Debt Service Payment of Developing Countries
(million dollars, at the end of the year)

	1961	1965	1968	1969	1970 estima- ted
Total	2,314	3,415	4,527	4,968	5,980
Including:					
Africa	172	468	601	725	926
East Asia	224	194	284	436	749
Middle East	170	247	364	475	481
South Asia	246	347	542	618	637
Latin America	1,250	1,721	2,239	2,182	2,311

Data for 80 countries.

Source: *World Bank. International Development Association. Annual Reports.*

WHY IT BECOMES EVER MORE DIFFICULT TO SERVICE DEBTS

In the first UN development decade (1961-1970) international credit was an instrument of state monopoly regulation and played an important role in economic relations between developed capitalist and developing countries. The increase in the average economic growth rate of the developing countries from 5 to 6 per cent a year, envisaged in the second decade (1971-1980), is to be based on the import of commodities for productive purposes. Consequently the requirement of many Asian, African and Latin American countries for so called reserve currencies, necessary for the payment of such imports, will inevitably increase. However, the foreign debt problem is extremely acute even now and threatens to grow into a protracted crisis in the near future.

The sharp deterioration of the objective conditions essential for the solvency of the debtor-countries has elicited widespread comment in official Wes-

⁵ This does not include subsidies. If they remain at the recent level there will be a certain net inflow of resources to Africa and South Asia. However, the trend will not change for the developing world as a whole. See *Partners in Development. Report of the Commission on International Development*, Lester B. Pearson, Chairman, New York, 1969, p. 74.

tern business and scientific circles. Typically, the problem posed by the state of the credit mechanism is generally considered in isolation from structural processes and the factors determining and aggravating the unequal position of the world's backward areas in the system of modern capitalism's world economic links. Some people display excessive enthusiasm for quantitative analyses, mathematical models and abstract prognostications of the ways and means by which the foreign debts of the developing states could be settled. Others attempt to shoulder the debtor countries with the responsibility for the critical state of affairs; accuse them of using credits ineffectively, of failing to organise the financial and credit system rationally, of wasting resources and other sins. Finally, there is a group of politicians and economists who link the aggravation of the debt problem with the threat of "new upheavals" on the continents where social unrest is fermenting, and who, therefore (often extremely emotionally), insist that Western credit policy should become more manoeuvrable and flexible and that short-term political and strategic advantages should be geared to the long-term objectives of donor countries' global policy.

To see the problem of the developing countries' debts in the light of pure credit relations is to obscure the true causes of the crisis. It should be remembered that the emergence of the debt problem is due, first and foremost, to the nature of monopoly, to the preservation in the world capitalist economy of relations based on domination by the strong over the weak, of relations of exploitation and subordination.

In extensive areas of the world the economic structure formed historically under the strong influence of extra-economic forms of coercion. As a result of the inclusion of new territories into the sphere of colonial domination a small handful of "advanced" countries secured the exclusive right to oppress and financially to strangle the vast majority of the peoples in the world. The already extremely weak economic organism of the "poor" nations was bled white.

Even now, after foreign extra-economic forms of coercion have been abolished, many of the commodity-producing and hence of the most productive economic branches of the developing countries continue to be firmly tied to the mechanism of world capitalist economy. About 90 per cent of their export proceeds come from the sale of agricultural and raw materials. Moreover, almost half of those countries obtain over 50 per cent of their currency proceeds from the export of a single commodity, while 75 per cent of them obtain 60 per cent of their incomes from the export of no more than three commodities.

Such are the facts and they must be reckoned with. The newly-free states have to carry on their economic development encumbered with this burden inherited from their colonial past. Moreover, the higher the share of exports in the country's gross product, the greater the role they play in transforming the internal savings into real capital (investments) and in forming the economic mechanism.

Inflow of earnings from exports are even more important to the settlement of foreign credit commitments, since the credits granted by industrial capitalist countries are not paid by deliveries of staple products (as are those granted by socialist countries), but are cleared almost exclusively with freely con-

vertible currency, which is at high premium there. Since the local currency of most developing countries is not usually freely convertible into the currency of the leading Western countries, the debt problem depends to a very high degree on the amount of dollars, pounds sterling, West German marks and other key currencies they are able to mobilise on the capitalist market.

The narrow and one-sided specialisation of their export trade, the wider use of synthetic substitutes for natural products, and the restrictive customs policy of the developed countries all tend to prevent an acceleration in the growth of the currency proceeds many developing countries receive from the sale of agricultural and raw materials.

In this connection we should note that the protectionist policies now being pursued by the United States in connection with the crisis of the capitalist currency monetary system have greatly aggravated the position. Even now the Third World suffers heavy losses from the reconstruction of the Brettonwood's system. However, this does not exhaust the financial loss caused by the new currency order. On the one hand, the contraction of the US market for goods produced in other countries intensifies the competitive struggle on the markets of these states and, hence, further cuts the export proceeds of the Third World countries. On the other hand, the devaluation of dollar delivers a heavy blow to their young industry and retards their economic restructuring. At the end of the '60s, the developing states sold in North America (mainly the USA) almost 50 per cent of the output of their manufacturing industry, whereas now the export of finished articles and semi-manufactures will encounter a not easily surmountable barrier.

The drop in the world demand for the staple export commodities of these states goes hand in hand with another unfavourable trend, namely, the worsening of the terms of trade, which intensify the redistribution of the export earnings in favour of the developed capitalist countries. For example, the average yearly increment in the export proceeds accounted between 1960-1967 to 8.8 per cent in the latter, and only to 6.1 per cent in the developing countries.⁶ The general result of this trend in the external trade exchange has been a drop in the newly-free countries' share in the value of world capitalist exports from 27 per cent in 1953-1954 to 18 per cent in 1970.

The progressive aggravation of the payments difficulties in the Asian, African and Latin American countries makes it extremely unlikely that they will be able to settle their foreign debts. Raul Prebisch, the former General Secretary of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference for Trade and Development) expected the deficit in the current payment transactions of all developing countries to reach the astronomic figure of \$ 24,000 million by 1975.

⁶ Attempts by Soviet and other economists to make a qualitative evaluation of the loss of currency proceeds by the developing countries in the foreign trade with the capitalist countries differ within wide limits depending on what is chosen for the initial basis of these computations. This means that these computations are somewhat conditional. Yet all of them indicate the predominance of the tendency towards the intensification of exploitation of the young states. In accordance with our computations these states lost in the price gap in the sixties no less than 3,000-4,000 million dollars a year. See Y. Osipov, *Financial Methods for the Mobilisation of Savings in the Developing Countries*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 108-109 (in Russian).

Even though the currency situation may somewhat improve in some states during certain periods, the facts show that fluctuations over short periods do not affect the development of the general long-term trend. Underlying this dominating long-term trend are economic factors and imperialist policies, which can be expected to change the payments and trade relations between the Third World countries and the developed capitalist countries to the detriment of the former.

The exploitation of the peoples in the former colonies by monopoly capital, too, is rapidly intensifying. The contraction of this sphere of undisguised plunder has weakened imperialism, but it has not lessened its appetite, its greed for maximum profits, its selfish striving to appropriate the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, in a word, has not changed its exploiter nature. Imperialism now uses new means of neocolonialist policy not only to stem the tide of the growing national-liberation movement, but also to intensify the economic exploitation of vast continents. Statistics give convincing proof of this: the profits of foreign monopolies being repatriated (in the second half of the sixties they increased by 11 per cent a year, now, according to our computations, they amount to no less than \$ 7,000-8,000 million a year) and the volume of resources from other than commercial operations redistributed abroad are quickly growing. On the whole, the imperialists collect an enormous tribute from the former colonies and semi-colonies, which in some cases is much greater than the resources they give to the latter in the form of "aid".

In reality, the rich countries are becoming importers of capital from the "poor" countries, and are financing many of their needs with resources obtained as a result of their economic exploitation of the vast majority of the peoples in the world. The tribute exacted by the imperialists now includes millions of dollars the developing countries pay for credits granted to them.

The rapid growth in the sums paid for foreign credits is directly connected with the "dear money" policy the imperialist countries pursue in the less developed world. The terms for the settlement of debts and, especially, the rate of interest are the most "rigid" elements of liquidity. They are preliminarily fixed in credit agreements and do not depend on the economic potential or solvency of the debtor countries.

True, the expansion of mutually profitable cooperation between the developing and socialist countries has recently compelled some capitalist creditors (Britain, Canada, Denmark and Sweden) to lower the rate of interest on loans. However, this lowering does not make up for the less favourable terms enforced by other creditor states, notably the USA, who has raised the payment of "aid" from 2 per cent in 1963 to 2.7 per cent in 1969. On the whole, the average rate of interest charged in 1969 by the DAC member countries (this organisation includes 16 capitalist states) was 2.8 per cent, the average term for credits—27.8 years and the period of grace—6.7 years.⁷

Superficially it appears that the terms on which inter-state loans are granted are more favourable than those on which private loans are given. However, if the chronic deficits in the balances of payment of the developing countries

⁷ OECD Press Release, July 20, 1970.

and the fact that they have to pay in freely convertible currency for credits are taken into account, these terms, too, are far from privileged. In fact, they weigh heavily on many Third World countries. Besides, the expenditure connected with the utilisation of "aid" is often higher than the nominal rate of interest on loans. The actual rise of the cost of financing (a concealed rise of interest) is due to "tied" aid and the lowering in the share of subsidies in the total volume of resources granted (in the past 10 years they dropped from 87 to 63 per cent).

The fact that allocations are tied up with contracts restricts the debtor countries from manoeuvring on buyers' markets, and moreover, decreases the real amount of external financing. Contract prices are generally from 20 to 40 per cent higher than the prices on the world market, and in some cases exceed the latter by as much as 100 per cent and more. The developing countries lose up to a thousand million dollars a year on "tied" aid alone.⁸ They are a direct additional profit made by the monopolies of the USA and other capitalist states.

The difficulties being experienced by many developing states are further aggravated by the worsening of the terms of multilateral financing. For example, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) charged 4.25 per cent for credits in the late forties, but raised the interest to 8 per cent in 1970. Similar practices are typical also of other regional finance organisations.

At the same time the structure of official financing does nothing to promote a reorganisation of the backward economy in the developing countries and to raise their potentials. A large part of that "aid" is granted for military-political purposes and therefore does not promote economic development. A no less impressive share of the resources is granted in the form of food subsidies (for example, 18 per cent of the bilateral financing by all creditor countries in the DAC, and over 31 per cent of US "aid"). Subsidies are not connected with investments and therefore do not appreciably affect extended social reproduction.

On the whole, the export of state capital by imperialist countries is structured by the imperialist strategy of creating additional stimuli (the large share in the "aid" programmes is taken by loans for the development of the physical infra-structure) for an expansion of monopoly activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, the resources diverted from the economies of the developed capitalist states for concessional credits and subsidies are compensated by the "better" terms created for the exploitation of the peoples and natural resources in the former colonies.

The critical state resulting from their indebtedness prompts many developing states to look for new possibilities of attracting currency resources from abroad. The capitalist countries, primarily the USA, have in recent years made it their policy to decrease the volume of economic "aid" and the number of credit recipients. Between 1956 and 1961, for example, the yearly increment in the official financing by the DAC member countries was over 13 per cent,

⁸ *The Terms, Quality and Effectiveness of Financial Flows and Problem of Debt Servicing. Note by UNCTAD Secretariat, TD/B/C, 3/35, p. 17.*

but it dropped to 3.2 per cent between 1961 and 1968. The developed capitalist countries did not fulfil their commitment assumed at the Second UNCTAD Conference—to bring the volume of bilateral and multilateral aid up to 0.7 per cent of their GNP. Moreover, the indicator of 0.54 attained in 1961 dropped in the late '60s to 0.34 and has since then remained on that level. On the whole, DAC had to admit, the real total of credits and subsidies per head of the population in the Asian, African and Latin American countries has remained roughly at the ten-year-ago level.

The relative decrease in the foreign resources distributed through official channels was linked mainly with the "political restraint" introduced in Washington. As of 1963 the US Congress has regularly cut the economic "aid" for the developing countries, and this has led to a steady drop in allocations both in absolute and relative terms. In 1970 US economic "aid" amounted only to 0.31 per cent of its GNP, as compared with 0.52 per cent in 1965.

The cut in "aid" last August by another 10 per cent was due not so much to the balance of payments difficulties of the USA, as to its resolve to continue its hard line. Some countries, notably those having adopted a progressive socio-economic orientation in their development policies, will receive considerably less "aid". The "Strategy of the Seventies" report recently published in Washington emphasises that the USA should adopt a tough policy with respect to countries nationalising US property without a rapid, sufficient and effective compensation. The US authors of the report insist that the President should be given the right to refuse trade preferences to such countries and to cut the size of "aid" to them.

The developing countries will suffer still further losses from the 10 per cent credit cut introduced in August 1971 by the USA. Other capitalist creditors will probably also endeavour partly to compensate the losses they incur as a result of the currency crisis and the unilateral US action by decreasing the "aid" to the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Under these conditions the debtor countries have to take recourse, whether they like it or not, to private commercial credits, which are a very expensive form of international financing. Private credits compensate to some extent the insufficient inflow of long-term resources via inter-state channels; at the same time they are more easily obtained than loans on concessional terms, since they (primarily export credits) are generally granted for a short term (from one to five years) and at the high rate of interest prevailing on the market. In many respects commercial credits are nothing but a means of capitalising on the economic difficulties of the developing countries; they once again confirm that along with political objectives the "aid" of the rich countries pursues the aim of facilitating the activities of private monopolies in that part of the world.

The growth of short- and medium-term commitments worsens the structure of the foreign debt and leads to huge overpayments in currencies which are in short supply in the debtor states. For example, at the end of the '60s commercial debts accounted for over 25 per cent of the total foreign debt of the developing countries; at the same time the payments on their servicing reached approximately 50 per cent of the total exchange expenditure on the amortisation of the foreign debt and the payment of interest.

**Structure of the Developing Countries'
Outstanding Public Debt at the Beginning of 1970**
(percentages)

Table 2

"Official" bilateral loans	54.4
Credits by international organisations	19.2
Supplier's credits and other private loans	26.4
Total:	100.0

Source: *World Bank, International Development Association, Annual Reports.*

In many of the developing countries the term of payment for previous loans expired at the end of the '60s. As a result they are ever more frequently compelled to seek resources to refinance their old debts and to pay the interest on them. At first they utilised easily obtainable credits from firms for that purpose. Soon, however, payments will be due also for these loans and being short of liquidity currency reserves the debtor countries will have to seek more expensive short-term loans. They thus find themselves in a vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape.

The aggravation of the foreign debt problem checks the economic development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Even though some of them have achieved considerable success in restructuring their backward economy, they still find it difficult even partly to offset the action of the unfavourable tendencies in the world capitalist economy, and to raise their financial potential in absolute and foreign exchange terms. At the same time formerly accumulated gold and currency reserves have been exhausted and do not suffice to finance the investments envisaged in their national development plans and to cover their current trade expenditure, let alone to create reserves for the subsequent solving of foreign credits. At the end of the '60s the gold and exchange reserves of the developing countries sufficed to pay for just over one-third of their commodity imports and services.

**Official Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserves
of the Developing Countries**
(million dollars, at the end of 1970)

Table 3

	Reserves	Import	Reserves as a per- centage of imports
Latin America	5,665	13,500	42.0
Middle East	3,120	7,855	39.7
Asia	5,120	19,160	26.7
Africa	4,125	10,000	41.2
Total:	18,030	50,515	37.5

Computed according to *International Financial Statistics*, September 1971.

Naturally, the debt problem could be somewhat mitigated by checking the increase in the import of commodities for productive purposes. But this would, to all intents and purposes, be tantamount to a rejection of active development. According to computations by experts of the UN Secretariat, the industrial imports of the developing countries have to grow by no less than 7-8 per cent a year for their GNP to grow by 6 per cent a year. A lowering of that indicator would lead to a decrease in the scale of real accumulations. The young states cannot sharply cut the import of foodstuffs because the need for them is steadily growing in connection with the urbanisation and economic restructuring. Owing to the rapid population increase the volume of these imports is expected to double by 1985.

Nor should one ignore the influence exerted by the monopolies of the imperialist countries on the price-forming mechanism on the capitalist market. As a result of it, additional exchange expenditure is needed to maintain even the already attained physical volume of imports. Finally, the aggravation of the crisis of the dollar and the system of international payments inflicts no little harm to the import possibilities of the Third World countries. It will be remembered that the developing states were losing out on the rise of world prices for finished goods even before. The higher cost of industrial imports was largely due to inflation. The various troubles being experienced by the Western countries and, especially the vast expenditure of the USA in connection with its military-political actions abroad, have aggravated the difficulties of modern capitalism. Besides, the vast amount of foreign dollars has spread the "inflation disease", which has eroded the mechanism of financial settlements and among other things led to a drop in the purchasing power of many national currencies. The rise of prices has affected also the export branches. Under these conditions foreign trade channels were used to shift the "additional" cost expenditures of the main capitalist states partly onto the shoulders of the less developed countries.

Moreover, now that the system of fixed old parities has practically collapsed as a result of the monetary crisis, many developing countries are compelled to shoulder not only the consequences of the "export" of inflation, but also the burden of additional losses from the devaluation of the dollar and revaluation of the West European and Japanese currencies.

Devaluation is decreasing the real value of accumulations in US currency with respect to the currencies of countries which have raised their rate of exchange. The developing countries now have to pay more dollars for imports from states which have officially revalued their currencies since the basic (contract) prices for most raw materials exported from Asia, Africa and Latin America (including oil) are fixed in US dollars.

In any case the aggravation of the monetary crisis will entail a further deterioration of the terms of trade for most newly-free countries. As imports grow more expensive and as the already low solvency of many countries sinks even lower, the state organisations in those countries will have to raise the sums in their internal budget expenditure earmarked for the payment in foreign currency for their imports from the West European countries and Japan.

The limited financial possibilities of the developing states will not enable them rapidly to compensate the heavy losses resulting from the monetary

crisis out of their internal sources; their internal accumulations do not grow fast enough. Moreover, payments to clear their debt "swallow" an ever larger part of the increment of the national income and thus prevent an expansion of their own economic basis.

In world practice the influence exerted by the growth of the foreign debt on liquidity (in the broad sense of the word) is generally measured by relegating the expenditure linked with the clearing of the debt and the payment of interest to the export proceeds or (less frequently) to the aggregate currency income from current transactions in the balance of payments. The indicator (coefficient) "expenditure on debt servicing—exports proceeds" is valuable in analytical respects and gives, on the whole, a sufficiently clear idea of the pressure to which the balances of payments and the liquidity of the developing countries are subjected as the payments on the foreign debt grow. It also helps to some degree to evaluate the ability of debtor countries to meet their commitments to creditors in the event of a stop or slowdown in the inflow of new loans. The coefficient will rise when export proceeds drop, and the debtor country will thus be warned that its potential possibilities of settling its foreign debts are deteriorating.

At the end of the '60s the ratio between the expenditure connected with the servicing of the foreign state debt and the export proceeds of all developing countries was about 10 per cent, but in some countries it exceeded the average. It was over 25 per cent in Brazil, Argentina and Indonesia, 20-25 per cent in Mexico and Tunisia, 15-20 per cent in India and Pakistan, and 10-15 per cent in Columbia, Peru, Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Uruguay, Turkey and Ghana. If the payment of profits and dividends on private foreign investments is added to the expenditure on the external debt, it will be seen that in 21 of the 36 countries for which statistics are available, the size of the coefficient is 15-20 per cent and over, and that only in 7 of them it is below 10 per cent.⁹

The question arises of whether there is an ultimate (upper) limit for the coefficient, after the attainment of which a debtor country is no longer able to service its foreign debt without interfering with its economic growth? We have examples when the ratio between the expenditure on the payment of foreign debts and investments and current currency inputs exceeded 30 per cent. In Argentina, at the end of the 1890s, the coefficient was 40 per cent, between 1930 and 1934 it was 35-44 per cent in Australia, and in 1932 it was 37 per cent in Canada. R. F. Mikesell noted that in the '30s a rise of the coefficient to 25-30 per cent led to a critical state in most countries. On the other hand, the coefficient rose sharply as a result of a rapid drop of the export proceeds and as a result the borrowing countries were on the brink of failing to meet their commitments to creditors.¹⁰ Thus, it can be conditionally considered that the top tolerable level of the coefficient is 25-30 per cent, however, for the developing countries it will obviously be considerably lower. The facts show that in some national states difficulties begin when the coefficient rises already to 10 per cent.

⁹ See *World Bank. International Monetary Fund. Balance of Payments Yearbook*, Vol. 20.

¹⁰ See R. F. Mikesell, *The Capacity to Service Foreign Investment in US Private and Government Investment Abroad*, University of Oregon, 1962, p. 383.

Let us now attempt to trace the probable future dynamics of the coefficient. Assuming that all loans are granted on the terms of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (7 per cent per annum for 25 years, period of grace—5 years), the ratio between the expenditure on debt servicing and exports will reach 101 per cent already in 30 years, if we presume that the export proceeds will grow 5 per cent a year (variant A), and 43 per cent if the average yearly increment of the proceeds grows by 8 per cent (improbable variant B). The getting of loans on the conditions given by countries in the Development Assistance Committee tends to lower that coefficient. However, even under these conditions it may in 30 years reach 39 per cent (variant A) or 17 per cent (variant B).¹¹

Taking into account that the credits granted by international organisations comprise only about one-fifth of the total foreign debt of the developing world, the general indicator "debt expenditure—exports" will according to our computations probably exceed 50 per cent under variant A and 20 per cent under variant B. This means that if there is no change in the terms of foreign financing, many states, even granted the most favourable conditions (an 8 per cent growth of exports), will encounter not only a sharp crisis in liquidity, but may even face the dilemma of either refusing to pay their debts or of stopping their economic development. Even in the past there were debtor countries who experienced a sharp insufficiency in exchange resources and repeatedly delayed payment in clearance of their debts, endeavoured to achieve their partial consolidation or a refinancing on new conditions (Argentina, Turkey, Brazil, Chile, Ghana, Indonesia and Peru). Now the number of such states is steadily increasing.

FORECASTS AND PROSPECTS

The problem faced by the developing countries in connection with the payment of their foreign debts threatens to reach an impasse which will have a destructive effect on their economic growth. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries are losing their illusions as regards capitalist "aid", and the striving to embark on radical social economic reforms is steadily gaining ground. This causes grave concern in the West. G. D. Woods, the former World Bank President, warned as early as in the mid-60s that it was essential to make the terms of external loans easier. The Pearson Committee essentially adopted the same point of view. Having analysed the trends predominating in international economic relations, the committee experts reached the conclusion that "the current debt problem lies in the fact that the terms of past loans were harder than the borrowing countries could bear. As a result, a number of large

¹¹ The above assumptions are based on the following conditions: 1) the net inflow of foreign financing is 40 per cent of the export in the zero year; 2) the gap between import and export is filled fully by resources attracted from outside, whereby it rises by 2 per cent a year in the first 15 years and remains constant after that; 3) it is conditionally assumed that under variant A the export proceeds of the developing countries grow by 5 per cent a year; and under variant B by 8 per cent (*Partners in Development*, pp. 160-161).

developing countries have already exhausted their capacity to service more external loans on conventional terms. If concessional terms are not available, they will either have to forego development opportunities open to them or face even more formidable debt service problems in the future".¹²

However, Pearson's programme contains no radical recipes for a solution of the complicated problems facing the developing world. Its task is to mitigate the maturing political conflicts in the world in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism and to carry out partial reforms; its method is a pragmatic approach, a search for compromise solutions designed to reduce social antagonisms.

In the view of the committee experts if the debt burden is to be eased account should be taken not only of the objective need of the developing countries for big investments, especially into branches with a low profitability but also of the difficulty these countries experience in mobilising internal accumulations. This means that the expenditure on debt servicing connected with investments is to be financed partly from the resources of the creditor countries. At the same time the improvement in the terms of foreign financing should, in the view of the authors of the report, promote the attainment of a better balance between the economic growth requirements and the need to maintain relative stability in the monetary system. This somewhat hazy formula conceals reproaches to the donor countries, who generally agree to revise the debts only if the governments of the debtor countries are willing to considerably cut expenditure in their development plans.

The Pearson Committee proposed a limited utilisation of commercial (export) credits. This was to be compensated by the elaboration of measures to mitigate the sharp fluctuations in the export earnings of the developing countries. In particular, the committee proposed to include a provision in credit agreements giving the borrower the right to stop payments on debts in the event of unforeseen short-term disturbances in the equilibrium of the balance of payments. If these disturbances are due to difficulties evolving from long-term tendencies which are exerting an unfavourable influence on the structure of the foreign debt, the Committee recommends that long-term loans should be partially increased or the terms for the payment of old debts extended. The refinancing procedure is also to provide for a drop in the effective interest rate on formerly accumulated debts.

Finally, Pearson's report attaches particular importance to a general unification of the credit policy pursued by the Development Assistance Committee member-countries, and also to a further liberalisation of the terms of external financing; it proposes to establish an upper (ultimate) limit for the terms of "official" loans, granted through state or multilateral channels, namely: the average rate of interest is to be 2 per cent per annum, the term of the loans—25-40 years, the period of grace—7-10 years. The recommendations contained in the report are to be implemented simultaneously with a growth of the volume of inter-state financing (especially subsidies), which, in the view of the committee, should by 1975 be brought up to 0.7 per cent of the GNP of the developed capitalist countries.

¹² *Partners in Development*, p. 160.

It is an open question whether the recommendations of the committee can be practically realised. The situation in recent years shows that the imperialist countries have confined themselves to vague promises and have done nothing else. Actually, nothing has been done since September 1969, when the report was published, to lighten the debt burden of the developing countries. There is every reason to believe that the programme will be one more piece of paper.

However, even if we presume that the aggravation of the political and social atmosphere in the economically less developed parts of the world will compel the imperialist states to accept the recommendations of the Pearson Report, the debt problem will not be resolved by far. The developing countries will still have to pay an ever-growing foreign currency tribute to their creditors. On loans granted through "official" channels alone, the payment of interest and the amortisation of the basic debt are expected to grow from \$ 700,000,000 in 1969 to \$ 6,200 million in 1987, and the curve representing the growth will begin to rise at an accelerated rate already in 1975.¹³

It is unlikely that it will be possible under these conditions to check the growth of expansive short-term private borrowings. The structure of the foreign debt will obviously deteriorate further, payments on debts will grow, and many of the developing countries will have to face additional difficulties in their efforts to secure economic growth. It is also extremely unlikely that the payment of debts will be attended by an improvement in the terms of the developing countries' foreign trade. In view of the specific features and consequences of the revolution in science and technology, one should expect that the discrimination and exploitation of the newly-free countries in the system of the world capitalist economy will take on sharper forms. Finally, the monetary crisis, attended by the real prospect of a cut in official assistance, creates difficulties for the Third World in payment of their previous credits. True, the devaluation of the dollar with respect to the currencies of some of the developed countries and inflation tend to depreciate the dollar debt to some degree. However, this *does not make it easier for the developing countries to pay their debt*. Firstly, there is a simultaneous depreciation of their proceeds in US currency from trade transactions. Secondly, the possibilities of selling their industrial output on the US market are decreasing. Thirdly, they have to pay more for imports from countries which have revalued their currencies. Fourthly, the dollar reserves of many of the developing countries are negligible. Finally, as a result of the balance of payments difficulties of the USA they have to expect that more rigid terms of financing will be enforced and this aggravates the problem of debt servicing considerably.

Moreover, the revaluation of the currencies of the West European countries and the Japanese yen raises the value in dollars of the credits granted in Japa-

¹³ These computations consider only expenditure on the servicing of the state debt, and ignore private debts, official export credits and loans granted by multilateral organisations on hard terms. It is expected that the net inflow of loans via state channels will by 1975 reach 0.7 of the GNP of the developed capitalist countries and will be maintained on that level. It is also expected that 50 per cent of the bilateral "aid" will be granted in the form of subsidies and 50 per cent in the form of loans on the following conditions: 2 per cent per annum, for 40 years with a period of grace of 10 years. This shows that computations of the Pearson Committee have been greatly underestimated. (See *Partners in Development*, p. 165).

nese yen, West German marks, Dutch guildens, Swiss francs, etc. The developing countries fear that as a result of the revaluation they will be compelled to defray additional expenditure on their foreign debts.

The vulnerable position of most Third World countries in the system of the international division of labour and also the extremely narrow basis for internal savings deprive them of the possibility to neutralise appreciably the consequences of the monetary crisis and the discriminatory policies of the imperialist states. For this reason the developing countries demand that international problems should be resolved in a broad democratic aspect and that their objective development needs should be taken into account. Official Washington, however, unambiguously tells the less developed "periphery" that it is not interested in the special needs of "poor" countries. At the same time the USA and its Western partners have essentially barred countries in which two-thirds of the world population reside from participation in the discussion of urgent questions pertaining to international monetary system reform. These matters are resolved in the lobbies by a narrow group of imperialist countries, making up the so called "group of ten".

This makes it clear that all limited compromise solutions of the extremely complicated debt problem are entirely unsatisfactory. The increasing adjustment of the credit policy pursued by the neocolonialists to the aims of their long-term strategy in the developing countries, the striving to introduce elements of flexibility and manoeuvrability into that policy are intended, first and foremost, to provide new stimuli for monopoly capital in developing territories with rich natural resources, and thus to perpetuate the structural basis, formed already during the colonial period, on which the entire mechanism of world capitalist reproduction essentially rests.

However, the imperialist tactics are doomed to defeat. The experience of the '60s demonstrates that in many developing countries the struggle for national regeneration is becoming a struggle against exploiter relations. Today many Asian and African countries have embarked on the non-capitalist road of development and more are taking that road. Having taken an orientation on the building in future of a socialist society, they are carrying out radical social economic transformations which meet the interests of the people and strengthen their national independence. The struggle against the very foundation on which the exploiter system rests delivers heavy blows to the positions of capitalism as a world social system and, naturally, has a telling effect on the inter-state, including credit and financial relations between the young states and the imperialist powers. These unequal links will inevitably come under ever greater pressure from the anti-imperialist forces in the newly-free countries, who are fighting for the establishment of progressive political and socio-economic structures.

*Konstantin TARASOV,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)*

Monopoly Capital in Latin America and Specific Features of Its Development

In the recent period, the emergence and development of monopoly groups of big capital has been a characteristic feature of economic development in some countries of Latin America. The big bourgeoisie taking shape in countries like Mexico, Brazil and Argentina * increasingly appears as the representative of emergent national monopoly capital.

The formation of monopoly groups within the big Latin American bourgeoisie is highly peculiar and differs markedly from the emergence of the financial monopoly bourgeoisie in the USA and other industrialised capitalist countries at the turn of the century. The concentration of production and capital which runs right up to the formation of monopolies, the emergence of a relatively small number of giant enterprises, the inter-penetration of banking and industrial capital and the formation of banking monopolies—all these processes took place in the USA and the West European countries under considerably mature capitalist relations of production and a relatively high level of development of the productive forces.

In Latin America, where the natural course of capitalist development was deformed at the turn of the century by the massive intrusion of US and European capital, the formation of the big bourgeoisie and then of the monopolies as well was retarded and is now taking place in different historical conditions, in a multistructural economy, with a relatively low level of development of the productive forces, and increasing foreign-trade expansion by the imperialist monopolies. These circumstances are of very great importance for a correct understanding of the essence and specific features of development of monopoly capitalism in the leading Latin American countries. The sphere in which the national monopolies in these countries exert their economic influence has been substantially narrowed down both by the development of the state sector and by the sway of foreign capital, which characterises the state of affairs in the most profitable and promising branches of the national economy in the countries of this region.

The limited scale of the economic strength of the emergent national monopolies may be regarded as the most important effect caused by these factors. The share of their control of the key branches of the economy as a whole is still small, and on this count they lag far behind the monopoly associations in

* This article does not deal with the situation in Chile.—*Ed.*

the industrialised countries. In no Latin American country is monopoly capitalism the prevalent economic structure.

Monopoly capitalism in Latin America seeks to compensate this weakness by collaborating with state-bureaucratic groups of the big bourgeoisie. This process has been markedly advanced in Mexico, where the local monopoly groups actively interact with the state-bureaucratic elite. Many monopoly groups in this country have their men in key posts in the state apparatus. For their part, members of the Mexican bureaucratic bourgeoisie who have become rich are increasingly inclined to invest their capital in companies controlled by local monopoly groups.

An analysis of the origins of the local monopoly bourgeoisie is highly important for an understanding of its specific features. In the Latin American countries, the big bourgeoisie emerged in the early 19th century, with the end of the wars of independence. The big bourgeoisie of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia and other countries of the continent operated as a middleman specialising in catering for international trade and connected exclusively with the sphere of circulation. The first Latin American banks, closely connected with British, US or French capital, or controlled by these, also appeared in the 1830s and 1840s, likewise as middlemen. Throughout the 19th century, these banks essentially performed the very modest functions of go-between, helping to establish production ties between the local agrarian oligarchy and foreign capital.

The situation underwent a marked change at the turn of the century. With the development of banking and the growing financial power of the banks, they intrude ever more decisively into the production sphere of the Latin American economy. This process is intensified with the formation of the world capitalist market, the broader expansion of foreign capital and relatively intensive development of capitalism in the economy of countries like Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil. The establishment of closed family associations, most of them by émigrés from Italy, Spain and the Middle East, was a prominent feature of development in that period.

In the USA and the European countries, the emergence of financial monopoly groups was prepared by the concentration of capital over a long period, the establishment of powerful industrial monopolies and their coalescence with banking monopolies. With the embryonic industry and survivals of pre-capitalist relations in the countryside, the leading role in the forming of monopoly associations in the Latin American countries was—and still is—played by the banks, which (considering the acute shortage of circulating capital) secure control of industrial companies through the credit system, or set up their own companies. The economic realities in the major Latin American countries today provide fresh confirmation of Lenin's conclusion that the banks "are centres of modern economic life, the principal nerve centres of the whole capitalist economic system."¹ Industrial capital has a secondary part to play in the formation of the monopoly bourgeoisie in these countries. In general, concentration in the industry of the Latin American countries constantly lags behind concentration in banking and commerce.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 25, p. 329.

Concentration processes in the economy of these countries largely help to build up individual groupings of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Industrial censuses taken in the 1960s show that enterprises employing over 200 workers account for two-fifths in Brazil, and one-third in Argentina. These enterprises make up respectively 3, 2.5 and even 1 per cent of all industrial enterprises. In some industries, the situation is such that a handful of companies account for the bulk of the output.

In some Latin American countries, the concentration of capital in the hands of a relatively small group of bankers and entrepreneurs has reached considerable proportions. In Uruguay, 3 per cent of the shareholders own 55 per cent of the capital invested in the economy. In Colombia, 53.5 per cent of all the capital of joint-stock companies is owned by 0.1 per cent of all the shareholders. In the leading Latin American countries, corporate capital has become an instrument for mustering uncommitted funds. In 1940, joint-stock companies accounted for 48.3 per cent of the capital invested in Brazil's industry; by 1965 the figure had gone up to 68.4 per cent.

The concentration of production and centralisation of capital in the industry of the countries in the region are paralleled by concentration in the sphere of banking and by a substantial change in the role of the banks. In Mexico, for instance, there are over 100 private banks, but in 1968 three of them—Banco Nacional de México S. A., Banco de Comercio S. A. and Banco de Londres y México S. A.—accounted respectively for 27, 26 and 8 per cent of total resources.

The stock exchange has been playing a growing role in the Latin American economy, and one indicator is the growing sale of industrial company stocks. In 1940, a total of 44,000 shares were sold through the Mexico stock exchange, and in 1965, the figure was over 100 million shares worth over \$ 1,000 million. The shares of almost 400 Mexican companies are quoted on the stock exchange, whose volume of sales in 1968 came to \$ 2.4 billion. In other Latin American countries, the annual turnover on the stock exchanges is more modest: on the São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires stock exchanges it comes to about \$100 million, and on the Caracas stock exchange—\$ 110 million.

Private bank resources have increased substantially over the prewar period: in Mexico, for instance, they went up from \$ 500 million in 1950 to \$ 6 billion in 1968. The banks and other credit and financial institutions in Mexico hold over one-half of all the corporate stocks.

The face of the bourgeoisie has been substantially changed by the development of the corporate form of business and other attributes of finance capital. Initially, monopoly associations were in the form of family groups, exemplified by those in Brazil which emerged in the early 20th century (Matarazzo, Jaffet, Pignatari, Moraes and others). These were closed family groups with a weak development of share ownership, the holding system, and so on.

In recent years, alongside the closed family associations, there have appeared groups based more extensively on the holding system and mutual interests, without any obvious sway by a definite family association. This form is most typical for Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela. In Brazil, and Peru, the family association is a more typical form. Mexico has developed forms of both types: of the six leading monopoly groups, 3 have holding companies controlled

by the Jenkins, Troyet and Garza Sada families, and the rest are controlled by some other family groups.

The most important monopoly groups have now taken shape in three Latin American countries: Mexico, Brazil and Argentina.

In Mexico, there are about 20 monopoly associations, but the leading role belongs to six of them: the Banco Nacional de México, the Banco de Londres y México, and the Sociedad Mexicana de Crédito Industrial banking groups, and the Jenkins, Troyet and Garza Sada associations. In 1970, the six major monopoly groups in Mexico, controlled about 300 companies with the assets valued at \$3,300 million to \$3,500 million. In addition, they had an interest in another 250 companies with assets valued at about \$ 5,000 million. Let us add that the banks controlled held over four-fifths of the resources of the private banks of the country.

The Banco Nacional de México S. A. financial monopoly group operates on the basis of the country's major private bank of the same name. The group controls a total of 50 companies with assets valued at \$ 1.1 billion, and has an interest in another 50 companies. The Legorreta and the Díaz families play the leading role in this group, with control apparently being gradually established by the former, which had 20-25 companies within its sphere of influence. The Crédito Bursatil S.A. investment company, controlled by the group, ranks third in the assets league, which is headed by two financial companies: Financiera Bancomer S.A. and Compañía General de Aceptaciones S.A. The group has considerable influence in the insurance business, and the América, Cia de Seguros, which it owns, is Mexico's leading insurance company.

The industrial companies within the group operate over a wide range, but preference appears to be given to heavy industry. Seven companies of the Banco Nacional de México S. A. group are among Mexico's 30 major foreign and national companies (in terms of sales). Four of these have a place apart and are among the ten major companies in the country: Compañía Fundidora de Hierro y Acero de Monterrey (steel), Celanese Mexicana S. A. (man-made fibre and products), Fábrica Automex S. A. (automobiles) and Cervecería Modelo (beer). These companies lead in their branches and control a sizable part of the output. Thus, Fábrica Automex turns out about a quarter of the cars and trucks, and Cervecería Modelo—one-half of Mexico's beer. In June 1967, the Legorreta group joined the Mexican government in taking over 66 per cent of the stock of the American Azufrera Panamericana, the leading sulphur producer. The group has a monopoly of the asbestos products market, and owns the country's leading iron ore company, Cerro de Mercado. It also controls important sectors in paper, tobacco products and electrical equipment.

The Banco de Londres y México S. A. group emerged at the end of the 19th century, and initially catered for the interests of Anglo-Mexican trade. It is now engaged mainly in financial operations. The core of the group is made up of 7 banks, three of which have a considerable part to play in Mexico's finances: Banco de Londres y México S. A., Banco Industrial de Monterrey and Banco Azteca S. A. The group owns five financial companies, including one of the largest in the country—Compañía General de Aceptaciones S. A.—four insurance companies (including La Nacional S. A. and La Provincial S. A., which are among the five major ones). Its industrial interests are represented by

companies in the paper, woodworking, pulp and chemical industries. The group is headed by Maximilino Michel, a banker who holds directorships in 20 companies of the group. Altogether the group controls about 30 companies with assets worth \$ 500 million.

The group of bankers of the Sociedad Mexicana de Crédito Industrial joint-stock company (in 1970 it had a capital of \$ 80 million) is headed by Francisco Xavier Gaksiola and Gonzalo Lavin. Established in 1930, this is a holding company controlling over 30 Mexican companies with assets of \$ 500 million, including Banco Mexicano S. A., which was set up in 1932. The group is based on a system of 11 banks headed by the latter (Banco Mexicano de Occidente S. A., Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco S. A., Banco Veracruzano S. A., Banco de Cédulas Hipotecarias, among others), two financial companies and four insurance companies, all of which is evidence of a marked diversification of the group's activity.

In industry, the group has an interest in the flour, chemical, steel, fishing and automobile industries. It controls the whole of the flour industry and one-half of the facilities for the manufacture of soda. It owns two automobile assembly works (Manufacturas de Partes de Automóviles S. A. and Wilys Mexicana S. A.), and the Aceros Esmaltados steel mill.

The monopoly group headed by Carlos Troyet (the holding company is called Carlos Troyet & Co.) emerged in the 1930s after a split in the banking group headed by the Jenkins family. Initially, the Troyet group operated as an industrial one connected with the mining industry in Chihuahua state. In 1936, it secured the controlling interest in Banco Comercial Mexicano S. A. from the Jenkins family, and since then the Suarez banking family has been playing an active role within the group. It now owns about 80 companies with assets worth over \$ 500 million. Its core consists of three banks: Banco Comercial Mexicano S. A., Banco Continental S. A., and Banco Regional de Tamaulipas S. A. The group also has an important role to play in the insurance business, where it controls eight companies, including the Seguros. La Comercial S. A. which ranks second to América, Cia de Seguros. The group owns a number of finance companies, of which Crédito Minero y Mercantil S. A. ranks among the country's Big Five.

Apart from banking and insurance, the group has major interests in the manufacture of household electric appliances, in steel, mining, cement, beer and timber-chemical industry. In the last three, the group has a leading position.

The Jenkins family (of US origin) has a highly peculiar part to play in Mexico's economy. Up until the mid-1930s, the Jenkins family held the controlling interest in Banco de Comercio S. A., and Banco Comercial Mexicano S. A. When the latter was taken over by the Troyet group (with the Jenkins family retaining a minority interest), Banco de Comercio S. A., set up in 1932, and heading a network of 30 banks, became the backbone of the group. The bankers Manuel Espinosa Iglesias and Antonio Correa are the partners of the Jenkins family. The group has a patently parasitic, usurer's character, being engaged in stock-market operations, the financing of commercial companies, and so on. It owns Mexico's major finance company, Financiera Bancomer

S. A. Among the group's industrial companies is Compañía Minera San Francisco, a leading gold-mining enterprise in the country. Fondo Mary Street Jenkins is the holding company of the Jenkins group.

The Garza Sada family association has a place apart among Mexico's monopoly groups, first because it is the only group in Latin America set up by a person of Indian stock (Roberto Garza Sada), and second, because it is not connected with Mexico City, but with Mexico's northern industrial centre, Monterrey, and with the industrialists of the area. Apart from a number of banks in Monterrey, the group also owns a powerful national network of 32 banks, headed by the Banco Nacional S. A., a super-bank set up in 1941. The Garza Sada group is the rising star of Mexico's monopoly capital. It already controls the sugar industry, the whole of the salt production, and a considerable part of the steel, mining, automobile, glass and chemical industries. In 1965, the group, together with the banker Bruno Pagliai, took over a 51 per cent interest in the Mexican branch of the American Smelting and Refining Company, which controls one-half of the output in Mexico's mining industry.²

In 1965, Brazil had 500 families each with a fortune of over \$ 1 million, including 12 families with fortune of \$ 100 million.³ Almost all of them are part of one of 25 monopoly associations, among which a special role is played by the Matarazzo, Moraes, Pignatari, Guimãraes, Vidigal, Simoncen, Sã, Faria, Klabin-Lafer, Salles and Jaffet groups.

The Matarazzo financial-industrial family association is headed by the Industrias Reunidas F. Matarazzo S. A. holding company, the country's largest private company. In 1969, it had a capital which ranked it after the six state companies and the American-Canadian light company. Since 1958, it has had its own bank—Banco Intercontinental do Brasil S.A.⁴, which in 1967 took over the fairly large Banco Auxiliar de Crédito S. A.

At present, the group has companies in different branches of the Brazilian economy: textiles, food, paper, ceramics and other branches of the light industry, and also in cement (one-fifth of the national output), steel, engineering, chemicals, oil refining, shipping, and so on. It has total sales valued at over \$ 300 million a year. Altogether, members of the Matarazzo family head or have directorships in almost 200 companies. The Industrias Reunidas F. Matarazzo S. A., established in 1911, is the group's holding company.

The Ermirio de Moraes family association controls about 40 companies, through Industrias Reunidas Votorantim S. A., its holding company, with assets worth \$ 41 million.⁵ The group is based on two banks (Banco Sul Americano do Brasil and the Banco Federal de Crédito set up in 1945) and Brazil's leading finance company, Credibras.

The Ermirio de Moraes group operates in the heavy industry, and owns up to 40 per cent of the facilities in Brazil's cement industry, and also Cia Brasileira de Alumínio (one-half of the aluminium production), Nitro Química Brasileira, Cia (a leading chemical company) Siderúrgica Barra Mansa S. A.

² *Boletín Minero y Financiero de México*, México, 23.6.1965.

³ *Business Week*, New York, 27.3.1965, p. 61.

⁴ *Banker's Almanac 1968/69*, London, p. 396.

⁵ *Banas Brasil Industrial 1967/69*, Rio de Janeiro, 1967, p. 511.

(about one-tenth of the steel output), which is among the ten major steel companies, Mineira de Metais S. A. (iron ore), Agroindustrial Igarassú S. A. (phosphorite extraction in Pernambuco state), etc. Brazilian analysts estimate the capital of the companies in the group to total about 580 million new cruzeiro.⁶

The Francisco Pignatari group (16 companies) has considerably extended its positions in recent years. It also has its own holding company, Pignatari, Administracao, Industria e Comercio (1970 capital—52.4 million new cruzeiro). The group is serviced by Banco do Estado de São Paulo and Banco de Comercio e Industria de São Paulo, S. A., whose stock is held by Francisco Pignatari. The group plays an important part in non-ferrous metallurgy, producing 100 per cent of the copper, and over one-half of the zinc and the lead, and featuring prominently in the manufacture of non-ferrous metal products. In addition, it owns the country's largest aircraft assembly plant, Cia Aeronáutica Paulista, and also the Fábrica de Armas Automáticas, an arms manufacturing company.

Another major industrial concern, owned by the Jaffet family, which is of Lebanese-Syrian extraction, has grown up on the basis of textile production. The Jaffet brothers emigrated to Brazil from the Lebanon in the 1880s, studied the textile business for a long time, and in 1907 set up their own textile company. However, in the 1930s and the 1940s they switched their main operations into steel and mining and also banking. The four brothers, who now head the Industrias Reunidas Jaffet, control about 20 enterprises. They own several companies mining manganese and iron ore (including one of Brazil's leading companies, Mineração Geral de Brasil, set up in 1938), a shipping line, ship-repair yards (Estaleiro Cruzeiro do Sul) and Banco Cruzeiro do Sul, both at Santos.

The Simonsen family association (Industrias Reunidas Simonsen) consists of two groups, the first being headed by the sons of Roberto Simonsen, the founder of the concern, who control a number of large companies in Santos (building, meat-packing, real estate, synthetic rubber, etc.), and also have an interest in insurance and mining in the state of São Paulo. The second group (Murrey Simonsen) is headed by Roberto Simonsen's brother, the banker Jorge Simonsen, and his son Jorge Wallace Simonsen, Jr.

Compañía Constructora de Santos, a building contractor, was the first company in the group set up by Roberto Simonsen in 1912. His sons now own 12 companies. The bastion of the second sub-group and of the whole Industrias Reunidas Simonsen association is Banco Nordeste do Estado de São Paulo, set up in 1923. The Simonsen group owns Brazil's major coffee exporters Compañía Comercial Paulista de Café and Compañía Nacional de Comercio de Café, the Fidelidade de Seguros S. A. insurance company, and together with the Ginle family, the country's leading docks company, Compañía Docas de Santos. Simonsen Jr. is vice-president of Banco Brasileiro de Desenvolvimento Finasa. One of the group's companies, Propac S. A., imports automobiles from the USA.

⁶ *Banas Informa*, 15.6.1970, p. 16.

As with the Moraes and Simonsen concerns, the basis of the Vidigal family concern, headed by Gastão Eduardo de Buino Vidigal, which has been rapidly developing in the recent period, is also the Banco Mercantil de São Paulo S. A., which was set up in 1938 and ranks fourth in deposits.⁷ Among those who took part in the establishing the bank was Wolf Klabin (the Klabin-Lafer group). In addition, the group has a sizable interest in Banco do Estado de São Paulo. These banks are among the country's Big Ten. At present, the Vidigal group owns 21 enterprises (banks, insurance companies, plantations and exports, coffee and cement). It is trying to strengthen its positions by establishing the closest possible economic ties with the Klabin, Matarazzo and Simonsen families.

The Klabin-Lafer group emerged in Brazil's paper industry, where it is based on Industrias Klabin do Paraná de Celulose S. A., which was set up in 1934, and is now the leader in the branch. Having taken over the commanding positions in the paper industry, this group went on to "cultivate" other branches as well. In 1950, Jacob Lafer and Samuel Klabin, the group leaders, set up a metal-working company, Metal Leve S. A., which employs over 2,000 persons. This company has investments from the FRG. In addition, the group owns the Universal de Fosforos S. A., match manufacturers (jointly with the United States Universal Match), and the leading plastics company, Rilsan Brasileira S. A. (jointly with the French Péchiney). The group has a large interest in the Nitro Quimica Brasileira.

The Guimarães banking group emerged in the 1870s. In 1937, David and Francisco, sons of the founder of the dynasty, Francisco-Antuanesa Guimarães, set up their Banco Irmãos Guimarães S. A. in Rio de Janeiro. In 1956, they secured the controlling interest in Banco Hasan, in 1957, Banco de Rio, and Banco Planalto de São Paulo, and in 1958, Banco de Belo Horizonte. Finally, in 1966, they took over Banco Operador. After this, the Guimarães brothers set up FIDES S. A., one of the country's major finance companies, and also Crédito Comercial. Administração de Bens Irmãos Guimarães is the group's holding company.

In Argentina, much influence is exerted by six leading monopoly associations: the SIAM di Tella group (Sociedad Industrial Argentina de Maquinarias) in the heavy industry, and the Fabril Financiera (capital in early 1970 over \$ 300 million), Brown-Menendez (27 companies), Bekkar Varela (40 companies), Tornquist S. A. and Bunge y Born groups in the light industry. SIAM di Tella, together with Matarazzo, is one of Latin America's largest private companies.

The Torcuato di Tella family has a leading position among Argentinian companies in automobiles (SIAM di Tella Auto), engineering (SIAM Maquinarias, SIAM di Tella Ltd., SIAM Electrotécnica and others) and one of the leading positions in steel (SIAT). Besides, SIAM di Tella Ltd. has an interest in Chilean, Brazilian and Uruguayan companies valued at a total of \$ 25 million. In 1968, SIAM sales were valued at \$ 300 million. Fondo Torcuato di Tella is the group's holding company.

⁷ *Conjuntura econômica*, Rio de Janeiro, 1970, p. 22.

On the whole, there are almost 3,000 financiers and industrialists in Latin America with personal fortunes of over \$ 1 million. Some of the fortunes are very large: roughly ten fortunes in Mexico and Argentina and 12 in Brazil are over \$ 100 million each. In countries like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay, a big bourgeoisie is taking shape with definite monopoly features, and with industrial and banking capital closely interwoven. The capital of this bourgeoisie penetrates into neighbouring economically less developed countries. The di Tella group (Argentina), for instance, has enterprises in Brazil and Uruguay. The capital of Brazilian monopolies has even gone to the African continent, to Angola, Mozambique and so called Portuguese Guinea.

The big bourgeoisie in the Latin American countries today differs essentially from its predecessor of the 19th century, although it simultaneously has a complex social structure and includes groups which differ markedly from each other. In particular, the bourgeoisie still engaged in purely middleman operations continues to have strong positions in the economic life of many Latin American countries. At the same time, from the traditional layer of middlemen and usurers a bourgeoisie is branching off which is connected with the sphere of production, the burgeoning industry above all. An important role in the formation of this layer of the big bourgeoisie has been played by the growth of capitalism in agriculture and the transformation of the latifundist oligarchy into agricultural capitalists. Many members of the landed oligarchy in the most developed Latin American countries are taking an active part in establishing financial and industrial companies, joint-stock companies, banks, etc.

The local monopoly groups of the big bourgeoisie are not only most intimately connected with imperialism, but also have a thousand bonds with the landed oligarchy of the Latin American countries. In Brazil, the growing and marketing of coffee and cotton has produced the Prado, Salles, Simonsen, Ginle and other monopoly groups, which have sizable landed estates.

The agrarian-financial Tornquist group in Argentina is of similar origin. Initially, the Tornquist family association consisted of big landowners specialising in livestock farming (in the south of Buenos Aires Province) and in sugar plantation (Tucuman Province). The family then got itself a bank (Banco Tornquist y Cia) and began to buy up industrial stock. At present it owns 25 industrial and agricultural companies and has an interest in another 21. The head of the clan, Fernando Tornquist, is president of the Centro Argentino de Productor de Azúcar, the sugar producers' federation, and is a head of one of the world's largest flour milling concerns, Bunge y Born (three-quarters of the facilities in the flour industry of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay).

Of course, Latin America's agrarian oligarchy has considerable economic strength and sources of accumulation of capital, a part of which it invests in industry, commerce and finance. It is also true that the founders of many of the present financial-industrial associations and groups in the Latin American countries made their money on commercial operations involving cotton.

coffee, wheat and other farm products. But these groups attained their present strength because of other factors, namely, the growing concentration of production and capital, a marked increase in the volume of the domestic market and the volume of internal accumulations and on that basis the accumulation of financial resources in the banks through the development of corporate enterprise, etc. That is why there is ground to speak of the formation of a monopoly Latin American bourgeoisie on the basis of the interpenetration and integration of the banking, industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie in these countries.

This process has gone forward against the background of the gradually changing face of the continent, intensified urbanisation, and the conversion of once agrarian-raw material countries into agrarian-industrial and even industrial-agrarian countries (Mexico, Brazil, Argentina), and the relative expansion of the domestic market and the national sources of capital accumulation. At the same time, the formation of monopoly capitalism in the Latin American countries has gone forward under the growing economic expansion of imperialism. The emergence and formation of local monopoly groups of the big bourgeoisie takes place under the domination of US capital in the key branches of the economy.

We have already noted the fact that foreign capital had rocked the cradle of Latin American banks which have had such an exceptional part to play in producing the local big bourgeoisie. Even today, many of the biggest banks in the Latin American countries are national only in name, and are in fact foreign-owned. In Argentina, the First National City Bank of New York financial group controls the "Argentinian" banks Banco Argentino del Atlántico, Banco de Bahía Blanca, US-West German capital controls Banco Argentino de Comercio; French capital controls Banco Argentino del Centro, and so on.⁸ Up until 1969, Banco de Crédito in Peru was controlled by Italian capital, Banco Internacional by US capital (Chemical Bank of New York and Grace Company), Banco Continental by Chase Manhattan Bank, Banco del Progreso by Israeli capital, and Banco de Lima by French capital.

Many Latin American monopoly groups owe their appearance directly to foreign capital. In 1910, roughly 70 per cent of the capital of Banco Nacional de México S. A. (founded in 1881) was owned by French capital. The Mexican financial group Banco de Londres y México S. A. was founded in 1884 on the basis of that bank, which is controlled by the British Bank of Mexico and South America. In addition, up to 21.5 per cent of its capital belonged to the French. Since the British still have a controlling interest in this bank, the group is for all practical purposes still within the sphere of influence of British capital. A similar conclusion is drawn by Mexican scholar José Luis Ceceña with respect to the Jenkins group, a veiled US association.⁹

The leading role in the economy of Uruguay belongs to four groups of the banking bourgeoisie, centred round Banco Comercial (founded in 1856), Banco Popular, Banco de Crédito and Banco Mercantil. The first of these

is essentially controlled by Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, while the second is closely connected with it.¹⁰ In the first of these banks the well-known Uruguayan oligarchic families Santayana, Peirano, Otegui, Irureta Goyena, Gallinal Xeber, Braga Salvaña and others are partners of this US bank. It should be borne in mind that Banco Mercantil belongs to the Peirano Facio family which is closely connected with US and Franco-Belgian capital. Consequently, only one banking group—Banco de Crédito—does not have overt connections with foreign capital.

In Venezuela, a prominent role is played by the Eugenio Mendoza group, which emerged in the 1930s. Mendoza now owns dozens of companies in the chemical, cement, paper and engineering industries, and also in wholesale trade. Mendoza has the services of Banco Mercantil y Agrícola S. A., in which the controlling interest is held by Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank. Mendoza is often called "Rockefeller's man".

Brazilian monopoly groups are also connected with foreign capital. Thus, the Klabin-Lafer association maintains close relations with international Zionist financial circles, Matarazzo collaborates with companies within the Rockefeller and Du Pont groups, and with the Italian Pirelli concern. The Rodia association, the leading outfit in the manufacture of man-made fibre and some textiles in Brazil (its enterprises employ more than 10,000 persons), is considered to be Brazilian, but the main shareholder in this group is the French company, Rhône-Poulenc.

The strong ties which exist between monopoly associations in Latin American countries, the landed oligarchy and US imperialism largely predetermine their reactionary attitudes on political issues at home. However, far from all the groups of the Latin American monopoly bourgeoisie agree to play the part of junior partner to US Big Business. Some of them seek, under the banner of continental nationalism, to restrict the influence of US monopoly capital in Latin America and to carry out a "changing of the guard", so as to obtain a free hand in their economic and political expansion.

This, for its part, sets new tasks before the liberation movement of the peoples in the region. The Document issued by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 justly declared: "The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundists."¹¹

¹⁰ *Estudios*, Montevideo, 1969, No. 49, p. 48.

¹¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 29.

⁸ *Nueva Era*, Buenos Aires, 1970, No. 3, p. 213.

⁹ J. Ceceña, *El Capital monopolista y la economía de México*, México, 1963, p. 115.

Владимир Ильич Ленин. Биографическая хроника. Т. 2, М., Политиздат, 1971, 720 стр.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle, Vol. 2, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1971, 720 pp.

The second volume of *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle*¹ is a result of long and painstaking studies by scientists of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Central Committee of the CPSU.

The volume covers a period of over seven years: from January 9, 1905, up to April 22, 1912 (here and elsewhere all dates are given in the Old Style). About 4,000 facts and dates are recorded in the volume. This is not a mere huge list of information derived from literary sources and archives. The materials of this fundamental work unfold an impressive panorama of the life and activity of the great revolutionary in a definite span of time.

A. Lunacharsky remarked that an extremely intense will, powerful intellect, concentrated energy, tremendous capacity for work, practical indefatigability and amazing vitality were the dominant traits of Lenin's character. "In the most terrible moments we experienced Lenin was invariably even tempered," Lunacharsky said. And here is what Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote about Lenin: "His self-control was very strong." These traits were so important and necessary for the leader of the militant party of the working class, especially in such turning-points of history as the first revolution in Russia (1905-1907), the ensuing dark period of the Stolypin reaction, and the new revolutionary advance. It is these stages that are reflected

¹ A review of the first volume was given in *Social Sciences*, No. 3(5), 1971.

in the second volume. Lenin's energy was indomitable. As always, during that period he did not stay away for a single day from the leadership of the Party's practical activity. At the same time, studying everything new produced by the activity of society, he enriched the treasure-house of Marxism with classical works: *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*, and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

The volume records hundreds of Lenin's articles; his numerous meetings with Party workers at all levels; his participation in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and in general Party conferences, from Tammerfors to Prague, which cleansed the Party of those who wanted to liquidate it and from opportunists; his vast correspondence; his activity in the International Socialist Bureau (ISB), of which he was a member; the days and hours he spent in the libraries of Geneva, London, Paris, Copenhagen and Stockholm and the very many books and periodicals he read. The intensive work of Lenin in the pre-revolutionary period multiplied manyfold during the 1905 Revolution, especially in its culminating stage, and this is clearly brought out in the volume.

The reader learns that the Police Department by Circular No. 14430 instructed the chiefs of the gubernia gendarmerie offices and sections of the secret police and points at the border carefully to watch for the appearance in Russia of Lenin and other émigrés. In case of detection they had to report to the Department and to put them under secret surveillance. The circular letter is dated November 13, 1905, but Lenin actually "appeared in Russia", in Petersburg itself, on November 8.

He arrived in Petersburg clandestinely. Only from December 1 to December 4 did he and Krupskaya reside there legally and then again had to lead a life of people constantly hunted by the police.

But it seemed that these inconveniences and difficulties did not exist—so great was his energy and his diverse activities.

During the very first day in Petersburg Lenin met and had talks with many party activists; then he went to the Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery to pay homage to the victims of "Bloody Sunday"; at an extended meeting of the Petersburg Party Committee he made a speech about the attitude of the Party to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

Such was his busy schedule during the first day in Petersburg.

The volume offers a detailed account of Lenin's meetings with Party functionaries, his speeches at sessions of the Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee, the editing of *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), the first Bolshevik periodical published legally which actually was the central organ of the Party; his participation in the activities of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and in two Petersburg City Party Conferences. Lenin also found the time to conduct studies with future propagandists and Party organisers in the countryside, to deliver several talks on Marxist philosophy and current political problems at a circle of students. Nor was his literary work stopped for a single day. What he wrote from November 8, 1905, to the end of February 1906 takes up more than 100 pages in his *Complete Works*.

During this period he spent six days in Tammerfors at the first conference of the RSDLP, in December 1905. In January 1906 he clandestinely visited Moscow, studied the situation after the December armed uprising, visited the sites of the barricade battles, spoke with their participants and participated in a meeting of a group of writers and lecturers of the Moscow Party Committee where the results of the uprising were summed up. He also visited his sister Anna several times at Sablino, near Petersburg.

The *Biographical Chronicle* presents Lenin not by himself but among the Bolsheviks, among the workers—and this is one of the merits of the volume.

A conversation of Lenin on August 7, 1907, is related in the volume on the basis of a document found in the archives. He said that a period of reaction was setting in Russia for 3-4 years; he himself would stay in Finland, not far from Petersburg and once in three months would go to Brussels for meetings of the International Socialist Bureau. His analytical mind precisely defined the nature and the duration of the immediate historical period.

Other pages in the volume conclusively show with what fortitude and purpose Lenin taught the Party how to retreat after the defeat of the revolution, preserving a maximum of the healthy forces, how to work in the period of the most vicious reaction and to meet fully prepared the new revolutionary upsurge, always to stand at the head of the working class and act as its staunch vanguard.

N. Mor

Основы марксистско-ленинской философии.
М., Политиздат, 1971, 543 стр.

Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy,
Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1971,
543 pp.

The third, revised edition of this textbook, has been published. It was written by a group of authors, headed by Academician F. Konstantinov. Since the first (1958) and the second (1962) editions there have been many new social and scientific developments. As it is closely linked with life, social prac-

tice and scientific progress, Marxist-Leninist philosophy has generalised the new facts and phenomena of the last decade and become richer as a result. Naturally, these new developments had to be reflected in the textbook on Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

The present edition of this textbook takes into account the latest achievements in philosophy, and deals with the topics on which Marxist-Leninist philosophy is concentrating its attention today. New information has been used in explaining some of the subjects treated in the former editions, and completely new problems have been dealt with and, consequently, new chapters and sections have

been added to deal with concepts and categories formerly not required by the syllabus. The order in which all these are treated has also been changed accordingly.

A new paragraph has been added to the first, introductory section of the textbook in order to explain the partisanship of philosophy. Today, the political struggle has extended to all aspects of life. Under these conditions, an objective analysis of philosophical problems can only be made if the Marxist-Leninist principle of partisanship is taken into account. It is only with the help of this principle that we can grapple with the perplexities of the modern ideological struggle, and stand firmly on positions of objective truth. The explanation of all questions in this textbook are based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of partisanship. It should be noted that, by consistently applying the partisanship principle in philosophy, the authors have been able to give in their statement of the basic propositions of dialectic and historical materialism a scientific appraisal and characteristics of the neo-positivist tendencies, the speculation on ideas of abstract humanism, etc., indulged in by modern philosophical revisionism.

The textbook shows that dialectical and historical materialism is a science in which there can be no stagnation, since it elaborates theoretically all the significant happenings in life, and is thus constantly filled with new content. It also shows that the rapid development of all branches of knowledge, scientific and technological progress, the dynamics of modern socio-political life, the important phenomena as a whole and facts typical of our epoch form the objective basis for the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophical thought.

Materialism, as Engels noted in his time, must inevitably change in form with each new, epoch-making discovery in the natural sciences. This view of one of the founders of Marxist-Leninist philosophy serves as the guiding principle, not only for the philosophical generalisation of new scientific discoveries, but also for describing the results of these generalisations in this textbook. The textbook uses the findings of modern science to elucidate the basic propositions, laws and categories of materialist dialectics. The findings of modern science are not only used to illustrate the propositions of dialectical materialism, but also to reveal the methodological role and importance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in modern scientific cognition, and to prove that a correct philosophical generalisation of the latest scientific and social achievements

can only be made on the basis of the principles of dialectical materialism. Philosophical generalisations of the latest findings in research into the problems of elementary particles, space and time, the classification of the way in which matter moves, the modelling of thought processes and so on are reflected in the chapters on matter and the forms of its existence, on consciousness as a property of highly organised matter, and on the nature of human cognition.

The modern development of science has brought problems of the theory of cognition sharply to the fore and they have, therefore, been accorded special attention by the authors. In expounding gnosiological problems, consideration has been given to the findings of recent research into the dialectics of subject and object, into the philosophical aspects of linguistics, into semiotics, formal logic, the correlation between the empirical and theoretical levels of knowledge, and so on. In our opinion, it was quite logical to devote special chapters to the nature of cognition, scientific research methods, and also paragraphs to the relation between the abstract and the concrete, analysis and synthesis, the historical and the logical, the formation and development of scientific theories, and to intuition. The very fact that these questions have been included in the textbook shows that Marxist philosophical thought is continuously developing, because it interprets opportunely all the important discoveries in science and social practice.

Considerable space has been given to the Leninist theory of reflection, and recent achievements in its development have been used to expound it. Several chapters set out its various aspects and prove that the theoretical and cognitive problems connected with scientific development can only be explained consistently and scientifically with its help.

The problems of historical materialism, too, are explained in greater detail than in previous editions.

The chapter on socio-economic formations also deserves attention. We believe that it is extremely important, for only the elaboration of the concept of socio-economic formation has made it possible to purge sociology of subjectivism, to picture social life not as a haphazard conglomerate of historical facts and events, but as a live, natural, historical process, in which all spheres of social life form an integral and mutually conditioned, logical whole. This textbook rightly regards the theory of socio-economic formation as "the cornerstone of Marxist sociology".

The chapter dedicated to the structure and

forms of social consciousness is also instructive. On the basis of modern research it explains the concept of spiritual culture, the relation between ideology and psychology, and between social and individual consciousness, the struggle between present-day socialist and bourgeois ideas, and other problems. The practical tasks of communist education, of moulding a communist personality, and of overcoming vestiges of the past in people's consciousness, make these problems vital.

For the same reasons, this textbook tackles the problem of society and the individual in earnest. This problem was treated less thoroughly in previous editions, and was considered secondary in several other teaching aids on dialectical and historical materialism, or even omitted completely. In the present edition a special chapter has been dedicated to this problem.

The inclusion of the chapter "Historical Forms of Community: Tribe, Nationality, Nation" should also be welcomed. Only by setting forth the questions related to the emergence and development of different forms of socio-historical communities, this key aspect of the socio-historical process, is it possible to give the reader a clear idea of the historical process.

The chapter on historical progress also evokes considerable interest. The question of the trends governing the course of history in general, and of modern social development in particular, is essential to forming a correct view of the world. The correct solution of this question is the theoretical basis for the practical and political orientation of different classes and social groups. This textbook convincingly shows that a scientific solution of

this complex and many-faceted problem is only provided by Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Marxism emerged and formed as a revolutionary teaching in the course of a relentless struggle against bourgeois ideology. For this reason the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy cannot be deeply revealed and understood without a critical analysis and exposure of the anti-scientific, reactionary essence of modern bourgeois philosophy and sociology. The intensification of the ideological struggle in the world today has naturally had an impact on the philosophical problems being elaborated by Marxists, and also on the manner in which the propositions of dialectical and historical materialism are being taught.

Although the various philosophical conceptions advanced by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are criticised as the basic questions of dialectical and historical materialism are expounded, this edition contains a special section entitled "Criticism of Modern Bourgeois Philosophy and Sociology". The range of questions dealt with in this section helps the reader to concentrate his attention on the erroneous views held by the ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism, to expose their falsification of the real problems advanced by modern, social development.

Obviously, the quality of every book, in general, and of a textbook, in particular, depends not only on its content, but also on the form in which the material is presented. One of the merits of this new edition is that it is written laconically, and the questions are dealt with in a clear and concise manner.

P. Kolonitsky,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.)

M. Г. ЯРОШЕВСКИЙ. *Психология в XX столетии. Теоретические проблемы развития психологической науки.* М., Политиздат, 1971, 368 стр.

M. YAROSHEVSKY, *Psychology in the 20th Century. Theoretical Problems of the Development of the Science of Psychology.* Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1971, 368 pp.

In Soviet psychology, equipped with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the mind and

consciousness, intensive researches are now under way in various fields, including the engineering, pedagogical, social, medical, managerial, cosmic and other branches of psychology. The rapidly extending front of these investigations calls for a more profound elaboration of the basic theoretical problems of the science, its categorial apparatus in particular. To analyse the present state of the science, to reveal and understand the logic of its development is no doubt a *sine qua non* for such an elaboration. That is precisely what the book under review is devoted to.

Proceeding to examine the situation in

psychology the author shows that it is possible to determine the trends of the science and to ascertain the laws of its development on the basis of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge alone, in which the principle of reflection and the principle of historicism are most closely interconnected. "The science of psychology," the author writes, "centres on real events, processes and relationships independent of the intellectual and experimental activities of individual researchers." These are reflected in notions and concepts, hypotheses and models. Reflection, according to Lenin, presupposes the energetic activity of the subject striving for the objective truth. Every new thing in the development of scientific knowledge signifies transition to a more and more adequate reflection. "The coincidence of thought with the object is a process."¹ This process unfolds within the microframework of the activity of an individual mind and on the macroscale of the historical development of knowledge. It unfolds in an atmosphere of social collisions and is observable in different kinds of philosophical projection which may give its individual elements and aspects an inadequate, illusory image. Here, Lenin pointed out, lie the epistemological roots of idealist theories. Guided by these methodological principles, the author strives to generalise the positive knowledge accumulated by psychology and convincingly disclose the untenability of the various bourgeois-idealist interpretations of mental activity and of the subject of the science itself.

With the aid of concrete material the author has succeeded in showing the profound effects of urgent socio-political requirements on the movement of psychological ideas and on the emergence and change of hypotheses and concepts. These requirements may stimulate the progress of the scientific knowledge of the mind, but they may also deform it, as is the case with the major psychological schools in the capitalist countries—"behaviourism", Freudism, Gestalt psychology. The rise of such schools and their decay was a natural process, for the reality of mental life found itself wrongly interpreted in their theoretical schemes. The latter are delimited by the author from the system of psychological categories accumulating in their content a positive knowledge about mental processes and properties, a system taking shape in the course of the evolution of scientific thought.

Being closely connected with the other

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 38, p. 194.

sciences about nature and society, psychology has a subject of its own, the cognition of which entails special difficulties in view of the specific nature of mental phenomena. It is on these difficulties that idealism speculates in an endeavour to prove that man's inner life is not within the reach of scientific knowledge. Tracing the great impact of Marxist thought on the development of scientific ideas about the faculties and requirements of man, his thinking and speech, and the structure of his consciousness as a whole, the author illustrates the fruitful influence of Marxist ideas on the elaboration of concrete notions about the mental life of the individual. Thanks to the Marxist interpretation of consciousness and behaviour, Soviet psychologists were able to find a dialectical approach to the problem of the mind and to understand how the sensual and the mental image of the world around are formed, how various behaviour motives arise and replace each other and how mental development proceeds. The regularities established in this field have enabled Soviet psychologists to make their contribution to the programme of training and education and to elaboration of complex problems of moulding the individual.

Much space in the book is devoted to the importance of Lenin's works in explaining the main ways of developing psychological knowledge. Lenin had analysed the relationship of the image (sensation, perception, thought) to the objective source reproduced in it, the relationship of mental phenomena to nervous processes, the relationship between the mental image and the real practical action regulated by it, and other key problems of psychology. Lenin's conclusions have outlined the prospects of the cardinal methodological problems of psychology in our day and age.

The progress of scientific knowledge about the mind attests to the fallaciousness of the attempts to isolate consciousness from reality and present it as a secluded inner life, to ignore the peculiarities of the mind and put a sign of equality between mental phenomena and nervous processes, between the individual and the social, between the work of the brain and the work of a computer. With the scientific and technological revolution in progress, the role of human factor, far from being minimised, increasingly grows in importance. The development of cybernetics has engendered in some bourgeois sociologists and psychologists a desire to present man as a "programme-controlled automaton".

The author shows that cybernetics has fertilised psychology and made it possible to introduce new methods and explanatory sche-

mes into the study of the mental regulation of behaviour. Information theory, the theory of servomechanisms, programming and other cybernetic trends have enriched scientific ideas about the subjective image of the objective world, about the structure of action and its self-regulation. The psychological process itself can to a certain extent be regarded as the processing of information according to a definite programme. From this, however, one should not haste to draw the conclusion that there is no difference between the sensual or the mental image of the world around, arising in the human brain, and the processing of information in a computer.

Information in a computing machine is of a coded nature. The human brain with its mental functions is needed to encipher and decipher this code. Man stands both at the input and the output of a computer. The information contained in images with which man operates is immeasurably richer than information processes taking place in computing devices, however sophisticated. In their interpretation of information processes, Soviet psychologists are guided by the Leninist theory of reflection, which makes it possible to overcome the narrowness of the view that there is no difference between a code and an image. Today the problem of image attracts the attention of bourgeois psychologists as well. It is an image that imparts to human behaviour a conscious and purposeful nature. However, in their attempts to explain the role of image in the aggregate mechanism of behaviour bourgeois psychologists cannot go beyond the limits of subjectivism whose groundlessness was disclosed by Lenin.

The book contains an analysis of the evolution of behaviour psychology (behaviourism), a theory now current in the USA.

Starting by the assertion that in human behaviour there is nothing but a "blind" response to stimuli, the advocates of this trend have now arrived at the conclusion that a subjective image is an indispensable component of any purposeful action. In their interpretation of an image, however, they have not moved a single step forward compared with those who regard an image as a purely subjective product of the mind.

The author observes the scientific achievements of psychology in studying individual mental processes, sensations and thinking in particular, and shows that it is only by learning on the idea about the reflective nature of these processes that one can successfully use cybernetic models and methods.

M. Yaroshevsky concentrates on complex problems of psychological theory, which are of a methodological nature and explain many important propositions characterising the present state of the science of psychology. The author approaches the facts as a philosopher and a historian of the science, as a man who understands and takes account of the two possible ways of considering these or those facts characterising scientific theories and concepts: their consideration at the level of the ideas of a scientist himself as to what he is doing, what aims he has set himself and what results he is striving to achieve, and at the level of the real importance of the work of a scientist for the general development of science, for the implementation of the immediate and remote results of scientific thought. Constant comparison of these two planes of consideration, i. e., what is really accomplished in science and what is conceived by a scientist, is an interesting and specific aspect of discussing problems of psychological theory, an aspect typical of the book under review.

Academician A. Petrovsky,
USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences

Расы и народы. Современные этнические и расовые проблемы. Ежегодник, т. I, М., Изд-во «Наука», 1971, 363 стр.

Races and Peoples. Ethnic and Racial Problems Today. Yearbook, Vol. I, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1971, 363 pp.

Volume I of a new serial publication by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, *The Races and Peoples*.

Yearbook, has been published in 1971, designated by the United Nations as a year of struggle against racism. The *Yearbook* is designed to continue the extensive and systematic work carried on over a period of many years by a group of Soviet ethnographers on the problem "Racism in the Countries of the 'Free World'. New Stage in the Struggle Against It".¹

¹ See "Soviet Science Exposes Racism" by N. Lopulenko in the *Social Sciences*, No. 2(4), 1971.

Racism, racial and national discrimination, and national oppression are distinctive features of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and constitute the main problems dealt with in the new *Yearbook*, which contains contributions not only from ethnographers and anthropologists but also specialists in many other lines, and public figures and practitioners. The *Yearbook* consists of the following sections: Questions of Theory, the Science of Races, Against Racism and National Oppression, Ethnic Processes in the Modern World, and Documents and Materials. In my opinion, the structure of the *Yearbook* helps to make a complex and comprehensive study of such present-day problems as racism and racial discrimination, the national question, national contradictions, the national-liberation struggle and national oppression. The *Yearbook* contains highly interesting studies of the internal national-ethnic and social situations in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Apart from articles by Soviet writers, the *Yearbook* also contains a study, "Miscegenation and the Interaction of Cultures in Latin America", by the well-known Swedish scientist M. Mörner who is quite right in regarding racial contradictions as stemming mainly from social contradictions.

The theoretical section of the *Yearbook* is of especial interest. It contains two studies: Y. Bromley's "Concerning the Characteristic of the Concept of 'Ethnos'" and Y. Averkieva's "Neo-evolutionism, Relativism and Racism". The latter shows very well the political and partially philosophical roots of present-day West European and US bourgeois conceptions in the sphere of ethnography. Bromley's article may be seen as summing up the long and lively discussion in the Marxist press of the character and content of the concept of "ethnos" and "ethnic community". The author appears to be quite right in regarding such stable phenomena characterising ethnos as language, territory, ethnic self-awareness and

culture or cultural traditions, stability of psychological make-up and specifics of mental stereotypes, and established behavioural complexes, not as being the marks of ethnos but as its properties, its elements, because only the specific components of these elements, which help one ethnos to distinguish itself from the rest, may be regarded as ethnical marks. Among these elements of ethnos one may apparently also class endogamy, although there is no need to regard this element as an absolute. At definite stages of its development, the ethnos may also display an inherent urge to growth at the expense of others. However, it should be borne in mind that for ethnos none of these elements is an obligatory, differentiating one, because, as Bromley says, ethnos is no mere sum total of "marks" and "common features", but a coherent system, and one which, in addition, is aware of its coherence.

I should also like to draw attention to the importance of the theoretical formulation of problems in national and popular culture in the context of studies of the basic ethnic processes in the past and in the present. The study of the complex aspects of the ethnogenesis of peoples insistently requires consideration of the methodological problems of paleoethnography.

Foreign readers may find helpful the outlines in English appended to each of the 15 articles in the volume. Let us add, too, that translations of some of the articles in the *Yearbook* have already been published in rotaprint collections *Against Racism* (in English, French and Spanish), and *Theoretical Problems of Ethnography* (in French and Spanish) issued by the Social Sciences Today Publishers, USSR Academy of Sciences. In addition, some of the articles in the *Yearbook* are to be included in a book on the theoretical problems of Soviet ethnography to be published in English by Mouton Publishers at The Hague.

V. Korolyuk,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

История внешней политики СССР. М., Изд-во «Наука». Т. I, 1917—1945 гг., 1966, 478 стр.; т. II, 1945—1970 гг., 1971, 519 стр.

History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, Vol. I, 1917—1945, 1966, 478 pp.; Vol. II, 1945—1970, 1971, 519 pp.

Many books on diverse questions related

to the history of Soviet foreign policy and international relations have been issued in the USSR in recent years. The monograph under review, edited by B. Ponomaryov, A. Gromyko and V. Khvostov, as it were, synthesises the achievements of Soviet historians in studying the entire complex of these questions.

The theoretical level of this fundamental study should be mentioned first of all. The introduction and many chapters and sections

of the work bring out in detail the content of the main principles of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. In characterising them, the authors demonstrate their logical and integral connection. Soviet foreign policy is designed to ensure favourable conditions for building socialism and communism, to assist the struggle of the working people for social and national liberation, for peace among all nations. The authors offer a precise definition of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which represents a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

The second feature of the book is the disclosure of the relationship between economics and politics in the sphere of international affairs. Devoting considerable space to an examination of the economic development of the world, the authors show the growing influence exerted by politics, especially foreign policy, on the destinies of world development.

An essential feature of the work also consists in that it pays attention to all the continents. In earlier works on international questions Europa-centrism at times prevailed, whereas the present book discusses the USSR's relations with Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Colombia and many other countries.

The authors have utilised a large number of hitherto unpublished archive documents, including those from the Archives of the Foreign Policy of the USSR. A considerable part of the new material relates to the external economic policy of the Soviet Union. Most books published earlier dealt very little with questions of trade and economic relations between the USSR and other countries. This gap has now been filled.

Much space is given to Soviet foreign policy in 1917—1924 when Soviet diplomacy emerged and struck root under the leadership and with the direct participation of Lenin. A consistent analysis of the events of those memorable years enables the authors to give a deeper insight into a number of problems.

Interesting materials are presented on the foreign policy of the Soviet Republic during the Soviet-Polish war in 1920. These documents show the Soviet Government's efforts to achieve peace with Poland and establish normal relations with the Baltic states.

The book reveals with sufficient thoroughness one of the major measures of the Soviet state in that period—the conclusion of equitable treaties with Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, which opened a new page in the relations of the young Soviet Republic and Eastern states. The Soviet Government attached great importance to rendering assis-

tance to states fighting for their political and economic liberation. Under the new treaty, the Soviet Republic gave Afghanistan one million gold rubles gratis, built a gun-powder factory, provided equipment for a telegraph line, sent technical specialists, and so on. Notwithstanding the grave economic situation and famine in Russia in 1921, the Soviet Government gave Turkey 6.5 million gold rubles during that year. The leaders of Eastern countries highly valued this assistance.

The authors trace in detail Soviet foreign policy in 1921—1932, the stand of the Soviet state at the conferences in Genoa, The Hague and Lausanne, the struggle of the USSR for disarmament, the relations of the Soviet Union with Germany, Britain, France and other countries.

During the entire interwar period the second half of the 1930s was perhaps the most replete with international events. The chapters dealing with this period are written in a vivid style and are highly convincing. It is in them that the biggest number of new archive materials is given, including reports of Soviet ambassadors, transcripts of their conversations with leaders of Britain, France, Germany and other countries, and diplomatic correspondence.

The authors describe in detail the tragic events of 1938 when Hitler Germany prepared for, and effected, the seizure of Czechoslovakia. During those months the Soviet Union exerted tremendous effort to defend Czechoslovakia. Many interesting documents relate to the actions of the USSR in the spring and summer of 1939, its striving to reach agreement with Britain and France on organising a rebuff to Nazi Germany. Data cited in the book show that the leaders of Britain who frustrated the talks of the military missions in Moscow simultaneously entered into secret separate negotiations with Germany. Soviet-Japanese relations were exacerbated in the summer of 1939. The Red Army had to wage big battles against large units of the Japanese army. In these intricate conditions with Britain and France refusing to reach agreement with the USSR, in face of a threat both in the West and in the East, the Soviet Government was compelled to accept Germany's proposal on the conclusion of a non-aggression pact.

The authors draw the natural conclusion that it is "through the fault of the Western powers that the development of events in 1939 did not follow the path of building up collective security. Incidentally, neither did they follow the path onto which the Munichmen sought to steer them—the path of war by

imperialist states against the land of socialism... The war began within the capitalist world, between two antagonistic groups of imperialist powers".

The first part of the work ends with a detailed analysis of Soviet foreign policy during the Second World War, which conclusively demonstrates the important part played by Soviet diplomacy in rallying the antifascist forces to attain victory by the USSR over Hitler Germany.

The second part of the work deals with the foreign policy of the USSR in postwar years (1945-1970). The authors and the editors succeeded in eliminating the difficulties resulting from the fact that postwar problems had been less studied than earlier issues. This part shows that it is possible to make a scientifically-based study of periods in history closer to us chronologically. Naturally, here the authors were able to draw to a lesser extent on available monographs and had to do direct research to a much greater degree.

The 25 postwar years witnessed a world cardinally altered by the last war and continuing steadily to change; a world in a state of unrest and tension, in different parts of which imperialist-provoked armed conflicts flared up and dramatic situations arose that threatened to plunge mankind into the abyss of a global war. This entire period was marked by the consistent, steadfast and unremitting struggle of the Soviet state to preserve and strengthen peace.

Everything new that distinguishes the postwar world is presented concisely but in an exact and convincing way, namely, the advance of the national-liberation movement and the disintegration of the colonial system, the development of capitalism's general crisis and the weakening of the positions of imperialism as a whole, the victory of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries and then also in the Western Hemisphere, creation of the camp of socialist countries, the steady consolidation of the might of the Soviet Union, and, as a consequence of all these developments, a radical change in the balance of world forces. All these questions are presented not statically but in their dynamics, in their numerous interconnections and intertwining.

In conditions in which out of the six powers that dominated prior to the Second World War three (Germany, Japan and Italy) suffered a military defeat, while two (Britain and France) were weakened by the war, the United States of America tried to play the part of the "saviour" of the capitalist system. Explaining this circumstance

which laid a big imprint on international affairs, the authors at the same time rightly remark that the strengthening of US imperialism, while the other bourgeois countries were exhausted, provided a basis for new deep contradictions within the capitalist world.

The general weakening of imperialism did not change its aggressive nature. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the founding of aggressive military blocs, open intervention in Korea, aggression in the Middle East, struggle against a German peace settlement, support of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, intervention in the affairs of young Asian and African states, the provoking of war against revolutionary Cuba and, lastly, the dirty war in Indo-China—all these actions of the United States, the principal force of contemporary imperialism, are consecutively examined in the book as links of the imperialist policy of stepping up international tension and suppressing the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The history of Soviet foreign policy is presented in the book not simply against the background of the general international situation but in its natural, organic connection with it. Enhancement of the role of Soviet diplomacy on the basis of the greater might, economic and socio-political prestige of the USSR, in fact, dictated a global examination by the authors of international affairs because the Soviet Union is working to preserve peace throughout the world.

The postwar period has faced Soviet foreign policy with new tasks. Its principles have been creatively developed from every angle. Its main principles and trends, mapped out by Lenin, naturally, have remained immutable. But conditions in the world have changed so essentially that it has become necessary to solve new major theoretical and practical problems on the basis of the Leninist propositions.

The birth and development of a new type of international relations within the bounds of the world socialist system is consistently brought out in the book. The authors do not merely describe the importance of the treaties of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries, but also reveal the characteristic features of fraternal relations between them.

Due attention is paid to the assistance of the Soviet Union to formerly enslaved peoples in their struggle for independence. Soviet foreign policy has played a big part in accomplishing the noble task of eliminating

colonialism. But the young states of Asia and Africa and also Latin American countries now, too, are subjected to allround pressure by the imperialist powers. In these conditions the development of political and economic relations between the USSR and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is of inestimable importance for preserving and consolidating their state sovereignty and advancing their national economy.

The history of the Soviet Union's relations with young Afro-Asian states and Latin American countries is a new but swiftly developing and highly promising section of Soviet historical science. Here researchers have a wide scope of activity and many unstudied problems.

The Soviet Union, already during its initial years, acting in the interests of the working people of all countries, launched a struggle for disarmament. In postwar years

this effort acquired special importance. This problem holds a notable place in the book—3 chapters out of 17. The subject is examined chronologically—the main stages of the Soviet Union's struggle for disarmament and reduction of armaments are singled out and the specific features of each are examined.

The authors' analysis of the history of relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries covers all major international events in postwar years. At times it is, perhaps, regrettable that some of the events are presented too sketchily. But the difficulties facing the authors and editors are understandable. There were so many events and they literally closely followed each other that the exposition of many, even quite important, subjects had to be shortened.

The vast material presented in the book amply reveals the noble aims, lofty principles and great art of Soviet diplomacy.

Y. Polyakov,
Corresponding Member,
USSR Academy of Sciences
A. Chubaryan. D. Sc. (Hist.)

История рабочего движения США в новейшее время. М., Изд-во «Наука». Т. I, 1918—1939 гг., 1970, 590 стр.; т. II, 1939—1965 гг. 1971, 611 стр.

Contemporary History of the Working-Class Movement in the USA, Moscow, Nauka Publishers; Vol. I, 1918-1939, 1970, 590 pp.; Vol. II, 1939-1965, 1971, 611 pp.

This two-volume study traces the development of the class struggle in American society for nearly 50 years in close interconnection with the economic and social changes both within the USA and in the world. It has been prepared by a group of researchers of the Institute of World History, USSR Academy of Sciences, and other scientific institutions (editorial board: B. Mikhailov, N. Mostovets and G. Sevastyanov).

A historical analysis of the intricate and contradictory phenomena in social relations and in the working-class movement enables the authors to draw important conclusions about the new relationship of the general laws of the class struggle in their concrete, specific display in our times, and in conditions of state-monopoly guidance and regula-

tion of economic and social relations in the USA.

The monograph is well substantiated with documentary sources, for the authors utilised materials available not only in Moscow, but also in the archives and libraries of Washington, New York, Madison, and Berkeley.

Tendencies in social relations, the economic struggle between labour and capital, changes in the trade unions, the labour policy of government agencies and other problems are viewed in their dialectical development. The influence exerted by the general crisis of capitalism and the emergence and growing might of the socialist system on the economic and political situation in the USA and the working-class movement is thoroughly examined. The authors take into account the specific features of the traditions of the trade unions and the world outlook of the American proletariat and reveal the manoeuvres of the US capitalism in utilising economic and political instruments for the ideological conditioning of the workers and undermining their movement. At the same time the monograph brings out characteristic changes in the economic, political and socio-psychological spheres of American society which determine the new factors in the working-class movement.

The reader will find an analysis of the socio-economic reasons for the changes in the composition of the working class and the trade unions, the creation of industrial unions and the collapse of the narrow craft unionism (the appearance of the Congress of Industrial Organisations and the undermining of the positions of the labour aristocracy which dominated the American Federation of Labour up to the 1930s). Of interest is the dynamics of the strike struggle, its mounting pace and the changing nature of its social significance.

The authors trace the democratic traditions of the US working class in the interwar period, the Second World War and the post-war years in the struggle for setting up industrial unions against fascism for the opening up of the Second Front against Hitlerism and for peace.

The founding and development of the Communist Party of the USA is examined in connection with both the Great October Socialist Revolution and the internal factors which determine the new stage of the class struggle in the USA. Owing to this, the problem of combining the mass American working-class movement with socialist ideology is presented as an objective necessity, the practical implementation of which, however, involves a number of serious specific difficulties.

The authors present the development of the American working-class movement as a dynamic process not devoid of weaknesses and inconsistencies. The organisation and the ideological and theoretical level of the working-class movement in the USA still greatly lag behind the spontaneous exacerbation of social contradictions. A number of objective and subjective factors which operated in the past and are still preserved retard fundamental changes in the mass workers' movement.

Alongside these serious obstacles, factors of an opposite nature also operate in the United States which steadily lead to the unification of the proletariat, exacerbate its contradictions with the monopolies and the entire state-monopoly mechanism and promote progressive tendencies in the workers' movement.

The economic struggle of the working class forms the basis of social relations in the USA. Recently it has been increasingly reflecting the polarisation of the concentrated forces of the antagonistic classes: monopoly capital which relies on the state, on the one hand, and the big unions, supported by the entire workers' movement, on the other. This struggle is becoming increasingly linked with the problem of deep-going social reforms. This attaches great political significance to

the exposure of the union bureaucracy which, backed by the state-monopoly machine, still holds strong positions among the workers.

As early as the 1930s, in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism the unions became more active in politics. They succeeded in winning and extending social security and prevented the adoption of extremely reactionary laws, and so on. Concentrating a large number of voters (up to 30 million) they were a big force which government agencies and bourgeois parties had to consider.

The relative well-being of the organised working class, represented in many unions by a substantial number of highly skilled and well-paid workers, enables the union bureaucracy to impose on them cooperation with the two-party bourgeois political system. Utilising anti-labour laws, the union bureaucracy has introduced respective amendments in union constitutions. The authors adduce interesting materials showing the greater application of coercive methods against the workers with the help of anti-labour laws and the practices of governmental and judiciary agencies which after the Second World War revised and actually reduced to naught the liberal labour laws won by the working class in the 1930s. State-monopoly capitalism and the union bureaucracy have created a single complex of anti-communist measures in order to raise insurmountable obstacles to the progressive forces in the working-class movement.

The recent further shift of the top labour leaders to the Right is accompanied by a deeper rift between them and the union activists at the middle and lower links. The union rank and file, too, has become much more active.

Regeneration processes are mounting in the trade union movement as an inevitable consequence of the radicalisation of the working people and the exacerbation of social contradictions in the country.

"The struggle between the two tendencies in the trade union movement," it is pointed out in the monograph, "the democratic and the opportunistic, remains a factor influencing the policy of the US unions and the working-class movement as a whole. Today, as in the past, the struggle of these tendencies is one of the regular features of American history."

The authors examine the reasons for the absence of a mass political workers' party in the USA. They rightly conclude that of decisive significance in this respect are the definite achievements in the economic struggle, the ideological and theoretical backwardness still preserved among the masses and the

flexible social manoeuvring of the ruling circles. After the Second World War the Left, progressive wing in the working-class movement was subjected to cruel persecution, while the alliance of the union bureaucracy and state-monopoly capitalism gained all-embracing importance in applying the "bourgeois labour policy". Capitalist parties are trying to make the unions a dependent part of their machine in order to have a stable mass of votes and to prevent the unions from taking the path of independent political activity. In

the 1960s the idea of organising a mass workers' party again received many supporters in the trade unions.

In summing up, it may be said that the authors have produced a serious scientific work on the history of the social struggle in the principal capitalist country. There is no doubt that it will draw the attention of all who study the intricate problems of class relations in the USA and contribute to a better understanding of their tendencies in conditions of capitalism's general crisis.

V. Androsov,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

Л. ЗЕВИН. *Новые тенденции в экономическом сотрудничестве социалистических и развивающихся стран.* М., Изд-во «Наука», 1970, 207 стр.

L. ZEVIN, *New Tendencies in the Economic Cooperation Between the Socialist and Developing Countries*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers 1970, 207 pp.

The monograph by L. Zevin, D. Sc. (Econ.) contains a wealth of material on all the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The author shows the importance of equal and mutually advantageous economic ties for the solution of urgent problems of the socialist economy and for the economic development of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Between 1955 and 1968 trade between the CMEA countries and the developing world increased four-fold and reached 3,600 million rubles a year. Financial and technical assistance to developing countries is also on the upgrade. The CMEA countries have participated in the construction of over 2,000 projects; more than half of them are already in service. The bulk of the projects are financed from long-term credits which amount to some 7,000 million rubles. As a result, the recipient countries will be able to increase their productive capacities in the major branches of the economy: over 100 per cent in steel smelting, 60 per cent in oil refining, over 30 per cent in power generating; the area of irrigated lands will increase by 1,500,000 hectares.

These figures attest to the great successes of the economic cooperation between the socialist and developing countries. At the same time, an analysis of the existing volume and structure of economic ties between these coun-

tries, the latest trends in this cooperation and tentative calculations of the needs and resources of the parties concerned testify to the existence of considerable possibilities for a still greater expansion of their mutually advantageous economic relations. With this aim in view there is need to further the elaboration of theoretical principles of cooperation, to improve existing economic ties and seek new forms and methods of establishing such ties, and to perfect the very mechanism of cooperation.

The author makes a theoretical analysis of the entire system of economic relations between the socialist and developing countries from the time they were first established to the late 1960s. As he points out, the division of labour between the two groups of countries can perhaps be optimised along two major lines. First, the use of the existing international division of labour with a gradual elimination of its negative consequences for the developing countries. Second, the purposeful formation of new-type economic relations between the participants.

The author concentrates on new phenomena in economic cooperation. These essentially consist in an ever wider expansion of economic relations, which in the past chiefly covered the sphere of exchange, while now they are also extended to the sphere of production. The development of production ties, the author notes, helps to multiply the advantages of equal economic relations. The latter become more stable and to a lesser extent depend on the adverse effects of the world capitalist market. Moreover, they serve to strengthen the elements of balance in economic exchange and create favourable conditions for an ever greater part of this exchange being carried out within the framework of long-term production agreements.

Experience shows that cooperation in production tends to proceed along several lines: assistance in developing natural resources and their exports from the newly-free countries; assistance in raising the degree of processing these resources and in making comprehensive use of them; promotion of cooperation and specialisation in manufacturing industries between the socialist and developing countries. The author points out that these trends are to be distinguished according to their qualitative nature. The choice of a concrete trend and its importance depend on the internal processes taking place in the socialist and developing countries.

Of interest is the section on the effectiveness and mutual advantage of cooperation. This problem has so far been approached

from a general angle. The socialist and developing states have largely been regarded as countries supplying each other with products they are short of. Effectiveness and mutual advantage have been assessed according to the influence of externalities on the individual aspects of economic development in the participating countries. Most commendable therefore is the author's attempt to work out a system of related indicators which would more fully characterise the effectiveness of economic cooperation between the socialist and developing countries. The proposed system is based on three basic groups of criteria: general, specific and indirect, which help to take account of the effect of cooperation as regards both the entire national economy and its individual branches and enterprises.

A. Chekhutov,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

P. В. КИЖАЛОВ. *Культура древних майя*. Л., Изд-во «Наука», 1971, 363 стр.

R. V. KINZHALOV, *The Culture of the Ancient Mayas*, Nauka Publishers, Leningrad, 1971, 363 pp.

This monograph is the result of more than twenty years of work. The author took up the culture of the ancient Maya Indians back in 1949 and has written several books and a score of articles on the subject.

A comprehensive study which reflects all the major achievements of Soviet and foreign Americanists, it has a bibliography, very valuable in itself, that is the first of its kind and practically all-embracing.

The author's main task, as is pointed out in the introduction, is to provide a general description of the culture of the Maya Indians over more than two thousand years of their history. In our opinion, Kinzhalov has proved equal to this task, giving a detailed account of various aspects of their culture from agriculture to religion, using archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic sources, as well as written memorials, both in local American and European languages.

Though many books on the Maya civilisation have appeared in the United States, Mexico and other countries at various times, this is the first Soviet book on this subject, and it differs markedly from all of them in method and approach. In addition, most of the other works are popular rather than scien-

tific in character. As a rule, they are short, contain no critical analysis of the sources, and have no bibliography. Moreover, they are all pretty much outdated by now.

The principal merit of the book under review is its wide use of the material on the Maya Indians of the mountains, to whom other researchers paid but scant attention. Yet, it is these materials which lead to conclusions of the greatest interest on the early stages of the Maya culture. Also new and important is the author's postulate about the continuity between the culture of the Maya Indians and that of the other peoples of Central America. This enables him to interpret many aspects of the Maya culture which have here-to-fore seemed enigmatic and mysterious.

The early sections of the book introduce the reader to the areas of Maya habitation (Southern Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, British Honduras) and state the tasks the author has set himself.

The chapter entitled "Sources and History of Study" introduces the reader to the complex problems of source study, a new branch of American studies, which includes archaeological, historical, ethnographical and linguistic material. But the title of the chapter does not fully reflect its contents, for it not only reviews what had been done by the early 1970s but also gives recommendations regarding the direction of future research.

The author gives an exhaustive characterisation of the economy and material culture of the ancient Maya. He is one of the pioneers in this field, for these aspects of life of the aborigines of Yucatan and Guatemala have

become a subject for research in only the last fifteen or twenty years. The same could be said of the chapter which reviews certain aspects of the social order. Of special interest is the way in which Kinzhalov handles the question of farming in Mesoamerica and its early connections with the culture of the Olmecs. Using what seems at first to be some rather unusual material on Olmec art, the author comes to the conclusion that the first steps in the intensive development of agriculture were made on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. It is here, in the primary centre of Olmec culture, that the process of social stratification began.

The author makes a thorough study of the material on the Maya community system. While slavery and the aristocracy had been given more detailed treatment, though not sufficiently so, in earlier works no one before Kinzhalov seemed to have taken up the study of this problem. The conclusions he draws about the differences between the communities of the mountains and those of Yucatan are well substantiated and very important for further study of the social order of the Maya Indians.

In the fourth chapter, Kinzhalov concentrates on certain unsolved problems, and others which have never even been raised before, concerning the level of science among these ancient people. One of these is the essay on their knowledge of medicine. Less attention is paid to the problems of written language and the calendar, which were dealt with in detail in the fundamental work by Y. Knorozov.¹ Here, too, however, we can

¹ See Y. Knorozov, *The Written Language of the Maya Indians*, Moscow-Leningrad 1963, and other works.

find a number of interesting observations about the character of calendar cycles, for example.

A whole chapter is devoted to architecture and representational art. A careful analysis of the stylistic peculiarities of Maya art, and the well-grounded periodisation of its development have made this section of the book probably the most interesting of all. Moreover, this by no means is a repetition of the earlier works by the same author, including the ones recently published,² and further develops the ideas and theses based on the latest materials (for example, the interesting analysis of the vessel from Altar de Sacrificios; the treatment of the "dancers" depicted on the stelae of the late classical period as a representation of shaman rituals, etc.). The skillful use of monuments of representational art in the study of other aspects of Maya culture (farming, dance, religion, etc.) is also worthy of note.

A separate essay is devoted to literature, the dance, and music, the most interesting part of which is a profound analysis of the basic myth of the Maya, the "Popol-Vuh" epic about the twin brothers. The conclusions here permit of a completely different approach to the interpretation on the mythology of the whole Mesoamerica.

The last chapter introduces the reader to the religious beliefs of the ancient Maya.

Kinzhalov's monograph, which is the first work on the ancient American culture written from Marxist positions, is an original, profound, and well-grounded study, an encyclopaedia of the life of the ancient Maya.

² R. Kinzhalov, *The Art of the Ancient Maya*, Leningrad, 1968.

A. Dridzo,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

«История советской многонациональной литературы», М., Изд-во «Наука», т. I—561 стр.; т. III—631 стр., 1970, т. II книга I—510 стр., 1971; книга 2—560 стр., 1972.

A History of Soviet Multinational Literature, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, Vol. I, 1970, 561 pp.; Vol. III, 1970, 631 pp.; Vol. II, Book 1, 1971, 510 pp.; Vol. II, Book 2, 1972, 560 pp.

A History of Soviet Multinational Literature is a collective work of more than

200 authors representing almost all the nations and nationalities of the USSR. Thirty-seven institutes of literature and language in the Union and Autonomous Republics, headed by the Gorky Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences, participated in preparing its six volumes. For the first time in Soviet literary criticism it sums up the experience of more than 50 Soviet national literatures in the course of half a century. The first, second and third volumes came off the press in 1970-1972.

Chronologically, the entire work is divided as follows: Volume I—the 1920s; Volume II—the 1930s; Volume III—the period of the

Great Patriotic War; Volumes IV and V—the postwar and present periods; Volume VI is a chronicle of the literatures of the various Soviet peoples over 50 years.

The authors were faced with intricate tasks—to reveal the main trends and regularities of the literary development of the Soviet peoples. They had to study the national features and aesthetical diversity of the literatures which make up the unity of Soviet letters. The specific historical development, original artistic traditions, national literary processes and, lastly, the inimitable aspect of every literature—this range of questions had to be studied and reflected. A common compositional solution was found for all the volumes. They contain an introductory chapter, which delineates the main problems of the period and brings out the regularities of the multinational literary process, and chapters dealing with separate national literatures.

The first volume covers the historical path traversed by Soviet literatures from their emergence after the October Revolution up to the establishment of the Writers' Union of the USSR. The interpretation of the history of multinational Soviet literature in the light of Lenin's doctrine of the development of national cultures in socialist society is the main methodological principle of the entire publication.

The introductory chapter of Volume I, written by L. Timofeyev (jointly with S. Shakhovskoy) highlights the historical prerequisites and traces the shaping of the ideological unity of the literatures of the Soviet peoples. The authors, drawing on national traditions—folklore and literary—and mustering a host of literary facts pertaining to the 1920s, show how in the new historical conditions of the revolutionary epoch the Soviet literatures united on the basis of the method of socialist realism manifested in national specifics. The crystallisation of socialist realism is described as an organic process which encompasses all literatures and is based on their new, common historical destiny. An analysis of national literatures enables the authors to assert that the common trend of their development is based on a major regularity of socialist society—the accelerated advance of the formerly backward nations and nationalities under the impact of the new social conditions, the cultural cooperation of the Soviet peoples and the application of the Leninist principles of nationalities policy.

An extensive study of the writings of the 1920s made in twenty chapters dedicated to separate national literatures of the time reveals the proximity of their aesthetic aims

and similarity of subjects. What is common for advanced writers of different nationalities is their perception of life as an irreconcilable struggle of the new world against the old, the similarity of social conflicts and the exceedingly keen exposure of the old world (particularly in a satirical aspect). The national specificity of the literatures is displayed in the characters of the new works who act in definite historical conditions and in the different artistic traditions followed by the writers, and so on.

The volume ends with a chapter on the international ties of Soviet literature, which shows that from the outset it has attracted the close attention of peoples throughout the world as an integral part of the new socialist art, the vehicle of advanced social and aesthetical ideas of the epoch ushered in by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Volume II consists of an Introduction which describes the basic subjects covered by the literature of the 1930s and of sections summarising the laws governing the development of multinational poetry, prose and dramaturgy.

Forty-two national literatures are represented in the volume, each of which is examined in a separate chapter. As in other volumes, the order of chapters here is based on the regional principle and, like the preceding volume, this one ends with a chapter on Soviet literature's international links.

The importance of the new volume of *A History of Soviet Multinational Literature* is that it establishes an objective, scientifically-based conception of the development of the literature of the 1930s, a period which not infrequently was evaluated erroneously and one-sidedly.

The Introduction, written by G. Lomidze, is a serious research showing the essence of the multinational literary process in its interconnection with the social development of the epoch, the moral and humane content of revolutionary transformations and economic achievements that were an essential prerequisite for moulding the new man.

The Introduction examines the question of the multinational unity of Soviet literature which throws new light on the significance of the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers.

The volume analyses such a basic question of the 1930s as the establishment of the method of socialist realism in all national literatures of the Soviet peoples.

The chapters on multinational prose, poetry and dramaturgy give a broad picture of the development of the genres of literature of

socialist realism in its concrete national forms. The wide range of materials contained in the study of the literatures of the Soviet peoples in these chapters makes it possible to reveal the artistic laws common to all the Soviet literatures and the aesthetic diversity of their national forms.

Volume III of the *History* covers extensive and diverse material which fits into strictly fixed bounds of time—the 1,418 days of the war. It opens with an introductory chapter, "Soviet Literature During the Great Patriotic War", where vast data on multinational art demonstrate the indivisibility of the destinies of the embattled Soviet peoples and their literatures and the strength of their friendship which withstood the supreme trial. Soviet writers of different nationalities worked intensively in the hardest conditions, dedicating their talent to victory. Many of them took part in the war as soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army, others were at the frontlines as war correspondents, army newspaper editors and political workers. All this could not but leave its imprint on the literature which became a chronicle of the exploits of the Soviet peoples who rid the world of the Nazi aggression.

The authors of the introductory chapter and the chapters on national literatures show that common historical destiny of the Soviet peoples strengthened their internationalist ties and promoted exchange of artistic experience.

A leading role in this process was played by Russian literature whose rich traditions and tremendous ideological and aesthetical experience helped the literatures of other Soviet peoples to measure up to the demands of the time. This interaction of cultures enriched national literatures with new artistic solutions. New developments in traditional aesthetics emerged in a number of national cultures.

In analysing the literary process, the authors trace the advance of the national self-consciousness of the Soviet peoples fighting against the common enemy. Keener interest in past traditions which, as it were, received a "second lease of life", gave rise not only to outstanding works of folklore (for example, of Jambul) but also to literature oriented on the traditions of folk poetry. Like the other volumes, Volume III ends with a chapter on the international bonds of Soviet literature.

N. Vorobyova,
Cand. Sc. (Philol.)

«Современное литературоведение США. Споры об американской литературе».
М., Изд-во «Наука», 1969, 352 стр.

Literary Criticism in the USA Today. Discussion of American Literature, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1969, 352 pp.

«Проблемы литературы США XX века». М., Изд-во «Наука», 1970, 527 стр.

Problems of 20th Century American Literature, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1970, 527 pp.

Over the past few years interest in the study of American literature has markedly grown in the Soviet Union. This is evidenced by the ever increasing number of works dealing with both general and specific problems of development of classical and contemporary literature in the USA. Among these works are the two books under review, prepared by a group of specialists from the Gorky Institute of World Literature, the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The study of contemporary American literature—the subject of the first book—covers an extraordinarily vast field, whose importance has particularly increased after the Second World War. Of course, literary criticism in the USA does not exist as something isolated, something cut off from life, but reflects the overall state of intellectual life in American society and the distinctive features of the battle of ideas which is going on within this society. The aim of the authors of the book was to disclose the various trends in literary criticism in the USA, ranging from the reactionary, propagating the principles of the conformists, to democratic and Marxist trends; to determine the basic regularities of its development in connection with the social changes which are taking place within the country.

The book mainly deals with works by American literary critics on the literature of the USA which were published in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. The question of the struggle between the conservative, democratic and socialist trends in the American

literary criticism of our age is posed in general outline in the opening article by M. Mendelson, "Studies of 20th Century American Literature and Problems Dealt With in Works by American Writers".

In another of his articles, he takes a look at the works of Van Wyck Brooks, one of the most prominent exponents of the democratic trend in literary criticism in the USA. Here attention is pointedly paid to the contradictions in the development of the democratic trend and to the difficulties entailed due to the active opposition of conservative criticism and, at the same time due to the fact that the democratic trend itself suffered from definite inconsistencies.

In their articles, M. Koreneva and A. Mu-lyarchik describe the struggle which has unfolded around the contemporary novel and drama in the postwar years.

In another two articles in the collection, US literary studies of the classical heritage of American literature are reviewed. In his work, A. Nikolukin dwells on the way in which the formation and national peculiarities of American literature are being treated. M. Mendelson's research deals with the struggle which is going on around works by the leading American writers of the 19th and 20th centuries, for example those of Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis.

Besides articles, the book also contains a bibliography of the works on American literature printed in Russian. (The bibliography covers the years 1963-1968 and is a continuation of the work published in *Problemy istorii literatury S.Sh.A.* [Problems of the History of American Literature] in 1964.)

The second book deals with the works of a number of 20th century American writers. When looking at the works of such distin-

guished contemporary writers as Robert Lowell, Norman Mailer, Tennessee Williams, Saul Bellow, John Chivers and John Updike, the authors have attempted to uncover in their research the distinctive features of the creative careers of these writers and of the individual manner of each of the writers named. They have also attempted to establish what they call the regularities underlying the development of the American novel, poetry, the drama and the short story over the past few years. An analysis of the works by the writers mentioned shows that their best works are filled with a spirit of protest against bourgeois society and expose its anti-human nature. The researchers also note the aspects in the works by the above-mentioned prose writers, novelists and poets, which are evidence of a certain decline in the arts in the USA and their susceptibility to the influence of modernism.

Special attention is given to the works by those American writers, who frankly state their purpose as being to preserve the existing bourgeois relations, to spread conformism in the country and glorify the policy of aggression.

In the second part of the book there are articles dealing with works by US writers who are relatively less well known in the Soviet Union, such as Thomas Wolfe, Ellen Glasgow, Ring W. Lardner, Francis Scott Fitzgerald, Lindsay Vachel and Edith Wharton. These articles point to the role played by the writers mentioned, in forming and developing the realistic method in contemporary American literature.

The book also includes a large bibliography of works by 20th century American writers, which have been translated into Russian.

M. Koreneva,
Researcher, Gorky Institute
of World Literature

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

Congresses • Conferences • Symposiums

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

At the present stage in the cooperation between the CMEA member countries questions bearing on the development of socialist economic integration hold a central place. The international scientific symposium "Current Problems of Socialist Economic Integration", held in Moscow in October 1971, discussed a number of important theoretical aspects of this process and ways of tackling concrete practical tasks. Sponsored by the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences, and the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System the symposium was attended by scientists from all the CMEA member countries. Over 50 scientific papers and communications were read at the symposium's plenary and panel sessions.

In his introductory speech M. Lesechko, Chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke about the great practical significance of the questions discussed at the symposium and especially emphasised the importance of the tasks facing economic science in connection with the realisation of the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA member countries adopted by the 25th CMEA session in June 1971.

The symposium conducted its work at plenary sessions and in two panels: the first discussed problems of the optimisation of econo-

mic structures in the conditions of socialist integration; the second dealt with problems of improving the internal systems of regulating external relations.

Eight reports were delivered at the plenary sessions. O. Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted his report to the formation and integration of the production structures of the CMEA countries. He stressed that both the autarkic tendency to create a closed economic complex and excessive specialisation and one-sided structure of the national economy equally hamper high economic efficiency. In this connection he noted that the most rational way of integration would be for each country to assign a certain number of industries the bulk of whose production is exported to the member countries of integration.

"National Systems of Management of External Economic Activity in the Conditions of Integration" was the subject of a report by Y. Shiryayev (USSR). He said that socialist integration presupposes the creation of an economic mechanism adequate to its goals, that is, an interconnected system of joint planning activity, commodity-money instruments and international organisational and legal structure which would ensure the development of integration and its organic inclusion in separate national economies. The main conditions for the accomplishment of this task, in his opinion, are the transition to integrated external economic activity and the

creation of economic, organisational and legal prerequisites inside each integrating country for the wide-scale development of direct ties between their ministries, agencies and other state bodies as well as between production, technico-scientific, and trade organisations.

K. Dobrev, Director of the Institute of Economy, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, touched upon the principles and methods of coordinating economic policy in the sphere of capital investments between the CMEA countries. He particularly stressed that the basic principle here must be the combining of national and international interests which will make it possible to create an optimal structure of the national-economic complex of separate socialist countries and the community as a whole.

The plenary sessions heard a report by Academician G. Kohlmeier (GDR) on the intensification of the process of national reproduction, by J. Wesolowski (Poland) who spoke about some aspects of currency relations, and reports by T. Kiss (Hungary) "Basic Problems Ensuring Supply of Raw Materials and Capital Investments in the Conditions of Integration of CMEA Member Countries", by N. Belli (Rumania) "Some Ideas on Socialist Economic Integration", and by M. Maksimova (USSR) "The Mechanism of Economic Decisions in the Common Market".

The first panel discussed questions relating to the integrational structural policy, in particular, in respect to coordination of planning activity (A. Alexeyev—USSR); finding ways of coordinating the national interests of the CMEA member countries (A. Butenko and Y. Belyaev—USSR); changes in the long-term strategy of economic development (J. Soldaczuk—Poland); optimisation of national-economic structures in the light of the theory of an economic complex (I. Tauchman—Czechoslovakia); territorial distribution of the productive forces of the CMEA countries

(P. Alampiyev, V. Maksakovsky, I. Mayergoiz—USSR) and other questions.

It was emphasised that the integrational structural policy will help to approximate the economic levels of the CMEA member countries (L. Zlomanov—USSR), to perfect the structure of their industrial production (V. Bobrov—USSR), and the development of allround European economic cooperation (N. Shmelev—USSR).

The role of value categories in the formation and integration of national structures (M. Savov—Bulgaria), the influence of the international investments bank on the formation and structures of economic cooperation (S. Ausch—Hungary) and the necessity of the international concentration of investments (A. Zubkov—USSR) were discussed.

The second panel examined a wide range of questions concerning the internal systems of regulating the external relations of the CMEA countries.

A number of reports was delivered including "The Basic Trends of Perfecting the Management and Planning Systems in the GDR's External Economic Activity" (W. Kupferschmidt—GDR), "The Economic Criteria of Integration" (P. Bozyk—Poland), "Problems of Combining Bilateral and Multilateral Forms of Cooperation" (S. Poliaczek, D. Sc. [Econ.]—Poland) and "Economic Instruments of Socialist Integration" (Y. Kormnov—USSR).

A number of speakers discussed problems of joint planning activity, analysed various aspects of improving foreign trade prices, drew attention to the problems of industrial integration and the prerequisites for forming direct links as an element of the integration mechanism.

The symposium enabled scientists from the socialist countries to exchange views on the most important problems of socialist economic integration, contributed to the solution of a number of scientific and practical questions of integrational cooperation between the CMEA member countries.

B. Pugachyov

OPTIMAL PLANNING OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ITS MANAGEMENT

Further improvement of planning and management of the national economy is one of the major conditions for raising the efficiency of production at the present stage of building communism. Mathematical methods and electronic computers are a powerful instrument of planning and management. Elaboration of the theory and techniques of finding optimal decisions and ensuring conditions for implementing them are one of the main trends in the development of economic science at present.

Considerable experience in studying the theory of optimal planning and management and the practical aspect of its application has been accumulated in institutions of the Academies of Sciences of the USSR and the Union Republics, ministries and departments in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent and other cities.

The First All-Union Conference on Optimal Planning and Management, held in Moscow, December 1971, discussed the state and prospects of research in this sphere and enabled scientists and specialists to exchange know-how. Organised by the Scientific Council on Optimal National Economic Planning and Management (USSR Academy of Sciences) and the Economico-Mathematical Institute (USSR Academy of Sciences), the Conference was attended by more than 600 people—scientists, personnel of planning and economic agencies, faculty members of universities and institutes and industrial executives. More than 200 papers were read at plenary sessions and at the three panels which discussed the following problems: methodological problems of elaborating the system of optimal planning and management of the national economy; problems of devising automated management systems and information systems; mathematical problems of optimal planning and management.

The following papers, summing up the research done and outlining prospects and trends of further theoretical and practical stu-

dies, were read at the first plenary session:

"The Main Methodological Problems of Creating a System for the Optimal Functioning of the National Economy" (Academician N. Fedorenko); "Questions of Long-Term Planning and Scientific Forecasting" (Academician A. Yefimov); "Problems of Improving National Economic Planning" (N. Lebedinsky, Vice-Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee); "Optimisation Models of Territorial-Production Planning" (A. Aganbeyan, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences); "Principles of Constructing a Nationwide Automation System of Collecting and Processing Information for Accounting, Planning and Management in the National Economy" (V. Myasnikov, Head of the Central Board of Computation Technology and Management Systems, State Committee on Science and Technology); "Prospects of the Development of Mathematical Methods and Their Application in Economic Studies and Planning of the National Economy" (Academician L. Kantorovich); "Basic Problems of Creating Automated Management Systems" (V. Karibsky, Deputy Minister of Instrument-Making Industry of the USSR); "Cost Accounting in the System of the Optimal Functioning of the Socialist Economy" (P. Bunich, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences).

The plenary session adopted a decision which contains recommendations for the improvement of planning and management of the economy and the earliest introduction of the results of research.

It was emphasised at the Conference that the extensive work done by Soviet economists in cooperation with mathematicians and other scientists made it possible to put on the agenda the practical task of introducing by stages a system for the optimal planning and management of the national economy.

To raise the level of all planning and management in accordance with the present-day requirements of science is a task of great

importance for the development of economic science, of all social production. It is an im-

portant reserve for raising the efficiency of the country's economy.

K. Gorfan,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

FORUM OF SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

An All-Union Conference of heads of social science chairs at Soviet universities and institutes was held in Moscow last December. At present more than 3,000 chairs function in the Soviet higher educational system, and they have on their staff about 27,000 instructors in the history of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. They have a leading part to play in the ideological and political education of the students, and in moulding their Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The study of socio-economic disciplines is at the same time an important component part of the general scientific training of future specialists.

The conference was attended by more than 3,500 people who discussed important and urgent problems of development of the social sciences and improvement in teaching them in the light of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

M. Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered the opening speech. He stated that the CPSU always, at all historical stages, devoted paramount attention to theory, the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in close connection with social practice, the life of society, and fought against the underestimation of the role of theory and narrow practical approach. In recent years, the Party has accomplished much work in the theoretical study of a number of big and intricate problems of Soviet society's economic and socio-political development. But much work remains to be done.

The main thing on which the 24th CPSU Congress orientated social scientists, Suslov emphasised, was the theoretical elaboration of

fundamental questions of developed socialist society and the scientific substantiation of the ways and means of its gradual development into communism. The present stage in building communism faces the social sciences with a multifaceted complex of problems that require for their solution the combined efforts of representatives of the most diverse spheres of knowledge, including the natural sciences. M. Suslov mentioned as an example the problem of management in its broadest sense—from an individual enterprise to the entire national economy. A scientifically-based solution to the given problem, further improvement of the entire management system will furnish a reliable key to the fullest disclosure and utilisation of the possibilities and advantages of socialism, the more efficient use of the latest equipment, manpower, material and financial resources, and to the acceleration of progress in all spheres of socialist society.

M. Suslov further noted that the CPSU is an integral part of the international communist movement. That is why, naturally, in its activity it devoted ever greater attention to urgent problems of the world revolutionary process, elaboration of fundamental questions of development of the world socialist system, an analysis of contemporary imperialism, study of the nature of the socio-economic changes in the developing countries. In this context it is the task of social scientists to study more fully the forms and methods of cooperation between fraternal parties, to raise their political role in the world revolutionary process, to reveal the objective law-governed nature of the allround approximation of socialist states, to determine the long-range prospects of their economic in-

tegration, to furnish an analysis of the ways and forms of influence by world socialism on the development of the non-socialist part of the world. There is now an ever keener need for a thorough study of new phenomena and deep-going processes under way in the capitalist world.

The papers read by the USSR Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education V. Yelyutin, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "The 24th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Social Science Chairs at Higher Educational Establishments", and by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "The 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Main Trends in the Development of the Social Sciences", raised questions pertaining to the further trends of research in

the social sciences; they showed the ways for raising the ideological theoretical level of teaching socio-economic subjects in universities and institutes and outlined the organisational forms of coordinating research conducted by academic institutes and chairs of higher educational establishments.

More than 100 scholars took part in the discussion of the papers at plenary sessions and in the panels on the history of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. Problems of methods of teaching the social sciences were comprehensively examined. The panel meetings were chaired by Academicians P. Pospelov, F. Konstantinov and N. Fedorenko and by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ts. Stepanyan.

A. Gorshenev,
Editor-in-Chief,
Vestnik vysshei shkoly Journal

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-COMMUNISM

In October 1971 Baku was the venue of a scientific conference on the theme. "The National-Liberation Movement and Problems of the Struggle Against Present-day Anti-communism", organised by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council on Questions of Ideological Trends Abroad, jointly with the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The Conference was attended by Soviet scholars from research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of the Academies of Sciences of several Union Republics. In all, 44 papers and reports were heard at the Conference.

In his opening address G. Aliyev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, pointed out the need to analyse manifestations of anti-communism in the concrete historical-conditions of the countries concerned and the extent to which it is taken up by certain social groups.

An important aspect of this work, G. Aliyev went on to say, is to analyse the pernicious consequences of anti-communism for the developing countries, their struggle to consolidate their national independence and to overcome the grim heritage of the past.

"Present-day Anti-communism—a Weapon Against the National-Liberation Movement" was the subject of the paper read by Academician M. Mitin. In it he discussed the basic problems of the national-liberation movement today, criticised some of the latest anti-communist conceptions, and dealt with some of the questions of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and anti-communism, and the need to consolidate the national-liberation movement and all the progressive forces of our day in the fight against imperialism.

The plenary sittings heard the papers: "The Revolutionary Processes in Latin America and the Ideological Struggle" by V. Vol'sky, Director of the Institute of Latin Ame-

rica of the USSR Academy of Sciences; "Soviet Azerbaijan in the Distorting Mirror of Anti-communism" by T. Kocharli, D. Sc. (Hist.); and "The Historical Sources and the Social Meaning of the Current Events in China" by M. Sladkovsky, Director of the Institute of the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Conference then continued its work in four sections. The Section on the *national-liberation movement and the struggle against the ideology of imperialism* considered questions of the fight against the imperialist and neocolonialist doctrines being introduced into the spiritual life of the peoples of the developing countries by subtle ways and means of ideological expansion. The speakers concentrated on the specific features of the subversive ideological activity of the neocolonialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America in conditions of the growing socio-class problems in the national-liberation movement.

In the Section on *ideological trends in the present-day national-liberation movement* the participants discussed the many-sided nature of this movement in Asia, Africa and La-

tin America. They stressed the importance for the national-liberation movement of setting up a vanguard party equipped with a scientific theory.

The Section devoted to a *critique of the conceptions levelled against the non-capitalist way of development* exposed the ideology of neocolonialism. It discussed the new versions of the imperialist conception of "modernisation" intended to disguise the attempts to impose on the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples the capitalist way of development, and other theories and doctrines directed against the countries orientated towards socialism.

The Section on the *use made by anti-communism of "Left"-opportunist trends in the national-liberation movement* discussed problems of the struggle against various manifestations of anti-communism in general and its "Left"-opportunist varieties in particular. The speakers critically analysed Maoism as a concentrated expression of "Left" opportunism perilous to all the revolutionary forces of our time.

Y. Ikonitsky,
Cand. Sc. (Law)

INTERNATIONAL AGRARIAN SEMINAR

An international scientific seminar on the subject, "The Experience of Agrarian Reforms in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan and Its Importance for the Newly-Free Countries", was held in Frunze in August 1971. The seminar was organised by the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz SSR. It was attended by some 150 scientific and practical workers from the various republics of the Soviet Union, by scientists from other socialist states and from over 20 newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The aim of the seminar was to reveal, on the basis of a comprehensive study of the

agrarian and the related socio-economic changes in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan, the international aspects of this experience which can be applied by the newly-free countries, with due regard for their national features, in the struggle for their social and economic progress.

At the plenary sitting T. Usubaliyev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, delivered a report, "The Republics of the Soviet East—a Living Embodiment of the Leninist Theory of the Transition of Formerly Backward Peoples to Socialism, Bypassing the Capitalist Stage of Development". The speaker used a wealth of material to describe the basic stages of development of the Republics of the

Soviet East, which in the life-time of one generation have advanced from mediaeval backwardness to a developed socialist system, thereby confirming the correctness of the Leninist theory about the possibility for backward peoples to directly embark on the road of socialism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.

The further work of the seminar proceeded in its three sections. In the Section on the *Socio-Economic Prerequisites and Historical Conditions for Agrarian Reforms* much attention was devoted to a comparison of the agrarian system in the Republics of the Soviet East on the eve of its reorganisation with the agrarian system in the developing countries of today with a view to revealing common typological and national features. A detailed discussion was held on the ways of creating the necessary political and organisational conditions for successful democratic agrarian reforms.

The experience of anti-feudal agrarian reforms in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan and its international significance were discussed in the Section on the *Elimination of the Vestiges of Colonialism and Feudalism in Landownership*. It was pointed out that democratic anti-feudal agrarian transfor-

mations can be successful only if the broad masses of the toiling peasantry are involved in this work on the basis of the class struggle in the countryside.

The discussion in the Section on the *Socio-Economic Results of the Agrarian Reforms. The Ways and Means of Raising Agricultural Production* was devoted to the problem of using the practical experience of the Republics of the Soviet East in solving one of the main contradictions of the newly-independent countries, that of the conservation of the social, economic, production and technical backwardness of agriculture as the basis of their economies.

The seminar served to promote a creative exchange of views and a deeper understanding of the experience of the socio-economic transformations in the Republics of the Soviet East as applied to the concrete conditions of the Afro-Asian and Latin American developing countries.*

* The Editorial Board of "Social Sciences Today" of the USSR Academy of Sciences has published a collection, *Agrarian Transformations: Forms and Methods*, in English and French, in which the reader will find references to the material of the seminar in Frunze.

Y. Alexandrov,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF SOVIET SINOLGY

An All-Union Scientific Conference on the subject "Current Problems of Soviet Sinology" was arranged in Moscow in November 1971 under the auspices of the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences. It was attended by more than 200 sinologists of research institutes, educational establishments and other organisations of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Lvov, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Chita, Novosibirsk, Tashkent, Alma Ata and Frunze. More than 40 papers and 70 communications on problems of the home and foreign policy of the People's Republic of China its history, ideology, culture, literature

and language were read at the plenary sessions and in the panels.

The main paper "The Present State and Tasks of Soviet Sinology" was read by M. Sladkovsky, D. Sc. (Econ.), Director of the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences. Tracing the stages in the development of Soviet sinology he noted that the study of China in our country goes back to the distant past. Relations between Russia and China as contiguous states predetermined the need for the reciprocal study of their material and spiritual culture. Russian sinology, known by the works of scholars like

N. Bichurin (Iakinf), P. Kafarov, V. Vasilyev, N. Przhevsky, V. Alexeyev and N. Kurner, was noted for studies of a comprehensive nature and influenced the development of Soviet sinology.

The reporter singled out in the history of Soviet sinology the 1920s and 1930s when a whole pleiad of talented Marxist scholars came to the fore leaving a deep imprint in science. The study of China made a notable advance after the Second World War and especially after the formation of the PRC. He reminded the conference participants of the fundamental works by Soviet scholars written in the 1950s and noted the successes in the study of China. At the same time he spoke about shortcomings in Soviet sinological literature connected chiefly with the fact that in a number of cases it was held captive by official Chinese historiography, which, as is known, falsified many events in the past and the present of China.

In the second part of the paper, dealing with the present stage of sinology and its tasks, Sladkovsky described the extensive work accomplished in studying and elucidating different aspects of the economy, history, ideology and culture of China. He stressed that many works furnished an objective analysis of China's past and present, exposed the various falsifications spread by Maoist and bourgeois anti-communist propaganda. He also mentioned the important concepts which follow from a Marxist-Leninist re-evaluation of the old sources and from the new sources put into scientific circulation.

Important problems and tasks in studying the history of China were the subject of the paper by S. Tikhvinsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and L. Delusin, D. Sc. (Hist.), who raised a number of questions the study and solution of which is needed for a deeper and objective understanding of the processes of China's socio-economic development. Noting that without deep penetration into the past of Chinese society, it is difficult and at times impossible

to understand the essence and the nature of present-day events in the PRC, the reporters emphasised that they in no way believed that all the development of China was "coded" in some kind of "chromosome DNA" of ancient or mediaeval China.

They regarded as problems of paramount importance for the present the study of the class struggle, in the first place the class struggle of the Chinese working class, restoration of the true history of the development of the Chinese revolution throughout all stages, and especially at its consummating stage, a thorough analysis of the causes for the rise of Maoism, its social roots, the relationship between the national and the social aspects in contemporary history, a study of the history of Russian-Chinese, Soviet-Chinese and American-Chinese relations, etc.

The paper by G. Astafyev, D. Sc. (Hist.), and A. Yakovlev, Cand. Sc. (Econ.), dealt with problems of the foreign policy and international relations of the PRC. The authors noted that the emergence of China in the international arena as an independent sovereign state in 1949 and especially the subsequent shift of the PRC leadership to nationalist positions put forward the task of studying its foreign policy and international relations as an important and independent branch of sinology. Mentioning the major works published on this subject, the authors drew attention to problems requiring deeper elaboration and to the need for joint effort by sinologists in different scientific centres in studying questions of the foreign policy of the PRC and its history.

N. Fedorenko, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in his paper "Problems and Tasks of the Study of Chinese Literature" pointed out that specialists in this sphere face general and specific tasks—the study of the regularities underlying the development of literature; research into the specifics of the creative work and style and the means of artistic expression and language of writers; the study of the folklore foundations of Chinese literature and the role of the folk-

lore; the study of the basic trends in the development of the lexicon, and so on.

V. Solntsev, D. Sc. (Philol.), presented a paper on problems of linguistics, laying stress on trends requiring a more profound elaboration. Among them he mentioned studies of the dialects of the Chinese language, of the language situation in China and the history

of language. Problems of devising and applying methods for the faster study of Chinese held an important place in the paper.

The Conference also heard the paper by G. Yefimov, D. Sc. (Hist.), and three communications on the main tendencies in the development of sinology in the major bourgeois states.

R. Mirovitskaya,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

ALL-UNION SYMPOSIUM ON AMERICAN HISTORY

An All-Union Symposium on American History was held between November 30 and December 3, 1971 in the Institute for World History (USSR Academy of Sciences). In it participated experts on US history, working in research institutes, universities and pedagogical institutes in Moscow, Leningrad, Kazan, Kiev, Baku, Kuibyshev, Grozny, Kemerovo and other towns.

The participants discussed such cardinal problems of US history as the American revolution of the 18th century; the formation and development of the American nation; the workers, farmers and general democratic movement; Russian and Soviet-American relations.

G. Sevastyanov, D. Sc. (Hist.), made a report on the state of American studies in the Soviet Union. He noted that Soviet scholars were greatly interested in US history. Research on this subject has assumed a large scale and a great number of books telling about various aspects of the American people's life has been published. In the discussion of the report attention was drawn to the need for a more thorough coordination of research, and for the extension of cooperation with a view to making American studies more comprehensive.

The participants listened with rapt attention to A. Fursenko's comparison of the American and French revolutions and their motive forces. He described the influence of

these two major historical events of the end of the 18th century on the subsequent development of world history. The report "Formation of the American Nation" by S. Bogina looked at the ethnic composition of the US population, at the processes at work in the ethnic structures as a result of the general social changes in the USA, traced the influence of immigration waves on the formation and development of the nation. An animated exchange of opinion followed the reports of V. Malkov and P. Shishkin, which analysed the workers' and general democratic movements in the USA, told of the multifarious forms and methods of social protest by US workers.

G. Kuropyatnik's report on the specific features in the US agricultural development during the past century looked at the interaction of diverse economic and socio-political factors in the making and assertion of the capitalist farmer economy in the USA. The key problems of US agriculture today were analysed in P. Zolotukhin's report "Influence of the Scientific and Technological Revolution on the Position of US Farmers".

V. Furayev's report "On the Study of the History of Soviet-American Relations", defined the degree to which the key question pertaining to that subject have been researched, and pointed to the necessity for a further elaboration of some as yet little studied aspects of these problems.

N. Bolkhovitinov told the symposium of his research into the relations between Russia and the USA in the first half of the 19th century.

The participants noted that in connection

with the 200th Anniversary of the War of Independence, Soviet historians should concentrate their efforts on the study of this important period in US history.

G. Sevostyanov,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NUREMBERG TRIAL

In October 1971 an International Scientific Conference was held in Moscow to discuss the legal, political and moral aspects of the Nuremberg principles viewed in the light of the past and the present.

The Conference was attended by jurists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The main report, "International Legal Problems of Responsibility of the Nazi War Criminals and Present-day Imperialist Aggressors", was delivered by V. Chkhikvadze, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the State and Law. The reporter pointed out that in the process of administering justice in Nuremberg the International Military Tribunal had formulated a whole series of new international criminal cases, such as plotting against peace and complicity in it; the planning, preparation and waging of an aggressive war; war propaganda. The Tribunal ruled that such acts entail criminal responsibility and are subject to an inevitable severe punishment. Following this the United Nations recognised these ruling as norms of the international law now in force.

In the course of the debate at the Conference the historic significance of the Nuremberg principles was chiefly assessed from the viewpoint of their influence on the subsequent progressive development of international law and the setting up of a system of international legal and political measures to stop and prevent imperialism's crimes.

Professor Z. Resich (Poland) read a pa-

per, "The United Nations 25 Years After the Nuremberg Sentence", in which he described the big positive role of the socialist countries in developing the principles of peaceful cooperation as the basis of modern international law and politics.

In his paper Professor H. Kroeger (GDR) showed the historic significance and the direct influence of the Nuremberg Trial on the destinies of postwar Germany and substantiated the importance of its principles in setting up an effective system to maintain European peace and security today.

Professor J. Mražek (Czechoslovakia) told about the transformative influence of the Nuremberg ideas, the incorporation of the rulings of the International Military Tribunal in modern international law and the codification work carried out on this basis in the national legal systems.

The historic lessons of the Nuremberg Trial serve to mobilise the efforts of the peoples of the world to put an end to the US aggression in Indochina and to punish the new war criminals. This problem was central to the Conference. Pham Van Bach, Head of the delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, thoroughly analysed the aggressive war of US imperialism and the nature of the crimes being committed by it. The Vietnamese jurists qualify the US war as a crime consisting in committing aggression against the basic national rights of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer peoples. This crime is at the same time a crime against peace, which was condemned in the Nuremberg sentence.

Pham Than Vin, Executive Secretary of

the Association of Vietnamese Jurists, drew on vast factual material to show that in scope and intensiveness the US aggression goes far beyond the case formulated in the 1949 Geneva Convention, for it does not only mean genocide, but also biocide and ecocide, i.e., the destruction of fauna, flora and generally the entire natural environment. Pham Than Vin also exposed the criminal US policy of "Vietnamisation" designed not to stop the aggression but to drag it out indefinitely. Under the slogan of "Vietnamisation" the USA continues to commit the gravest crimes.

Generalising the experience of the Nuremberg Trial, Professor A. Poltorak (USSR) noted that there was always a direct connection between the aims of an aggressive war and the criminal methods of its conduct. The aggressive aims of the US war in Indochina predetermine the criminal nature of the US military operations which are state-organised crimes. The Bulgarian jurist S. Penkov showed in his paper that this regularity was also observable in the criminal acts of the Israeli armed forces. On the temporarily occupied Arab territories the military and civil authorities of Israel are daily committing war crimes and crimes against humanity and peace in the sense of Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal. The acts being committed by the Israeli brass hats likewise violate the general conditions for protecting human rights, laid down in the UN Charter and the General Declaration of Human Rights.

Much attention was devoted at the Conference to the practice of prosecuting nazi and present-day war criminals. The legislative and judicial practice of the socialist countries

shows that the just conviction of war criminals was made possible in these countries by bringing national law into line with the principles and rules of modern international law. Professor K. Lyutov and Professor V. Petrov (Bulgaria), Professor J. Renneberg (GDR) and Professor F. Markus (Hungary) pointed out that the criminal codes of the said countries contained long lists of crimes against the laws and customs of warfare for which the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, the Nuremberg sentence, the 1949 Geneva conventions, the 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Values and other documents serve as an international legal basis. Similarly, these codes establish criminal responsibility for such acts connected with the preparation of aggression as the planning and propaganda of war or abetment to war. The socialist countries have, consequently, fully discharged their international legal commitments as regards the prosecution and punishment of war criminals. The situation is entirely different in the Federal Republic of Germany; the judicial activity of its organs of justice between 1945 and 1971 was dealt with in the paper read by Doctor C. Pilichowski (Poland). Several Soviet jurists criticised the activity of the judicial bodies in Federal Germany and the USA, which prosecute war criminals on the basis of national criminal law alone, by using its structures for acquitting criminals or for reducing punishment to a minimum.

The historic lessons of the Nuremberg Trial are a warning to the present imperialist aggressors that punishment for all their crimes is inevitable. Disregard of the past may have tragic consequences in the future.

I. Ledyakh,
Cand. Sc. (Law)

WORLD CONGRESS ON PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

The International Association of Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy held its regular congress in Brussels in the period between August 30 and September 3, 1971. The

Congress was attended by 350 scholars from 37 countries, the European socialist countries inclusive.

The Congress was devoted to the topic

Legal Reasoning, which was divided into four items: a) Legal Reasoning; the present state of the problem (speakers: C. Perelman, Belgium, and G. Kalinowski, France); b) Legal Reasoning in History (speakers: M. Villey, France, and T. Viehweg, FRG), c) Substantiation of Decisions in Law (speakers: Lon Fuller, USA, and Z. Ziembski, Poland); d) The place of legal reasoning among the other types of theoretical and practical thinking (speakers: D. Kerimov, V. Tumanov, USSR, and G. Tarello, Italy).

The discussion essentially turned on the employment in law of such branches and divisions of logic as deontological logic, mathematical logic, topics, the logic of normative judgements, argumentation theory, and on the place of logical research methods in the methodology of legal science. Thus, the subject discussed at the Congress reflected the general tendency of modern science towards formalisation. The process of using law—by the court above all—does not only provide considerable material to illustrate the laws and rules of logic but is also characterised (and that is what distinguishes this process from many other types of practical activity) by the conscious application of the laws and rules of logic with a view to achieving definite aims and results. Therein lies the practical significance of the topic of the Congress.

In their papers and addresses the Western scholars furnished quite a lot of interesting material and generalisations relating, in particular, to juridical argumentation. However, their general methodological propositions of a neo-positivist nature gave rise to fundamental objections on the part of representatives of the Marxist philosophy of law.

First, a logical analysis of judicial activity should be without prejudice to the analysis of this activity from the angle of social factors influencing the process of taking decisions. Meanwhile, the tendency to present this process as a mere logical procedure has proved to be very strong. With such an approach, the social content of the process of administering justice finds itself hidden be-

hind its "logical coating", and accordingly, the shortcomings of judicial activity are reduced to the insufficient logical equipment of the court alone.

Second, one could not but object to the extreme exaggeration of the role of logical methods of studying legal phenomena in the methodological arsenal of law as a social science. Under the obvious influence of neo-positivist philosophy, many Western scholars presented them as an omnipotent key to all doors and at the same time underestimated the role of other methods of cognising law, the historical and sociological methods in particular. This fallacy became even more serious when topics was proclaimed the basic method of logical approach to law (T. Viehweg's concept supported by some of his followers). The advocates of topics, which has of late been often referred to in West German scholarly writings, have failed to prove that this category advanced by Aristotle (a system of reasoning on the basis of probable premises) is capable of expanding in essence our ideas of law and its fundamental problems or, what is more, of being adequate at all to meet the requirements of modern scientific knowledge (as regards mathematical logic no such question arises).

In their paper, "Legal Reasoning and the Methodology of Legal Science", the Soviet representatives showed the basic methodological principles of the Marxist philosophy of law and the role of the dialectical-materialist outlook as the basis of genuine scientific knowledge. The paper points out that logic looms large in the methodological arsenal of legal science and in this sense is an important component of legal reasoning. However, to reduce legal reasoning to the employment of logical methods alone runs the danger of greatly limiting the scope and possibilities of jurisprudence as a social science. These methods are really essential, though not omnipotent, only in studying the internal structural connections of a legal system and its basic notions, elaborating clear-cut legal definitions and studying the process of applying legal norms.

This kind of studying, however, is only one of the many tasks of legal science, and legal reasoning in its neo-positivist interpretation considerably restricts the possibilities of this science. For instance, is it possible to answer the question as to the ways of the further development of law in our age on the basis of such an approach? Obviously, not. This point of departure does not permit disclosing the dialectics of content and form in law. The very limits for the rightful employment of formal logic can only be defined on the basis of a philosophico-dialectical understanding of law and its basic problems. Genuinely scientific legal reasoning cannot be anything other than the creatively comprehended use of the most varied methods of scientific cognition on the basis of dialectical materialism.

These propositions were expounded in the addresses of scholars from other socialist

countries and were received by the audience with great attention.

Another positive aspect of the Congress consists in the fact that it was devoted to one blanket topic interesting also in the sense that it lies at the junction of philosophy, logic and law. All this allowed for its sufficiently thorough and comprehensive discussion. Mention should also be made of the quiet and businesslike atmosphere of the Congress.

In the course of the Congress elections were held to the leading bodies of the Association. Its new President is now the Belgian scholar C. Perelman, who is known for his works in the field of logic, law and moral philosophy. D. Kerimov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor H. Klenner of the German Democratic Republic were elected to the Executive Committee of the Association.

V. Tumanov,
D. Sc. (Law)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

The 15th International Congress of Administrative Sciences was held in September 1971 in Rome. This regular meeting of management experts was organised by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

Over 500 delegates represented more than 70 countries and various international organisations.

There were three subjects on the Congress's agenda: 1. Governmental and Administrative Organisation in the Field of Scientific Research; 2. The Effect of Technological Progress on the Procedures, Methods and Structure of State Administration, and 3. Participation of Users or Directly Interested Persons in Public Administration, Including National Education Administration.

Actually, however, five subjects were discussed, since the second and third items of the agenda were each sub-divided into two. The second subject was discussed from two angles: A. The Application of Information

Processing in Public Administration; and B. New Integrated Systems for Planning Programming and Budgeting. The third subject was sub-divided into: A. The Participation of Users or Directly Interested Persons in Public Administration; and B. National Education Administration. Working groups were formed for each of these problems which held their sittings during the Congress.

Great interest at the Congress was shown in the question of so called new integrated systems for planning, programming and budgeting.

As a result of the development of state-monopoly tendencies in the capitalist countries a growing portion of the national income is being channelled into the budget; the role of the budget is growing and attempts are being made at state planning. This has made it necessary to work out a corresponding system of work for the state administrative apparatus to coordinate planning measures, individual programmes and the budget with

a view to a more effective distribution of state resources, which are being depleted due to growing military expenditure and the increasing number of various state-launched programmes. This coordination is promoted by the development of computer techniques and various new scientific trends, including the systems approach and mathematical modelling. On the basis of this approach and the integration of data furnished by various sciences the so called planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) has emerged in the USA. Similar systems, partly under the influence of the PPBS, began to appear in some European capitalist countries. The RCB (Rationalisation des choix budgétaires) system has emerged in France. In recent years the PPBS and RCB have spread to other countries. The paper on that question read by T. O'Cofaigh (Ireland) summed up the experience in the application of these systems and told of the difficulties and problems arising in the field.

The discussion of T. O'Cofaigh's paper was businesslike and to the point. At the same time an obvious attempt was made by the US delegates to advertise the PPBS.

In his paper on the subject M. Piskotin noted that the "integrated systems for planning, programming and budgeting" of the kind applied in the USA and some other countries were not used in the Soviet Union. At the same time he pointed out that the organisation of national economic planning and its interaction with the budget, worked out in the USSR on the basis of the socialist system of economy, had many of the features and elements used in the PPBS and RCB. The rapporteur outlined the basic features of the planning and budgeting systems in the USSR, described the measures taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state to improve national economic and budget planning through the utilisation of the latest scientific and technological achievements, including economico-mathematical methods and computers. Special attention was devoted to the measures in this field outlined by the

24th Congress of the CPSU.

The third subject on the agenda evoked a lively discussion. The general rapporteurs on this subject were Professor J. N. Khosla (India) and Professor H. Buch (Belgium).

The experience of the USSR in this field was described in the paper by A. Lunev "National Education Administration in the USSR". Lunev told of the constitutional guarantees of the right to education in the USSR, described the system of public education, training and retraining of personnel in the Soviet Union. He also analysed the legal status of the education administration bodies in the USSR and told of the forms in which working people and representatives of voluntary organisations participate in national education administration.

The discussion had revealed two approaches to the subject. The champions of one of them concentrated on the general humane aims of education and dealt with questions of education administration of "equal" importance to all countries. The second approach was expressed mainly in the papers and statements of representatives from the socialist countries. They noted that the trend and scale of education depends on how the state provides the necessary material conditions for it: the training of teachers and researchers; the publication of inexpensive text-books; the building of schools and institutes, free education, and so on.

The question of the causes of student disturbances was extensively discussed. Delegates from the USA, Belgium, Portugal, the Federal Republic of Germany tried to picture these disturbances as phenomena typical of all countries. Representatives from socialist countries showed their connection with the general class struggle in the capitalist countries.

During the Congress the Scientific Committee, the Committee on Administrative Practices and the Group of Schools and Institutes held their own sessions.

M. Piskotin,
D. Sc. (Law.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR LOGIC, METHODOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

In 1971 the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science held two international congresses—the 13th International Congress of the History of Science (Moscow, August 18-24)¹ and the 4th International Congress for Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science ((Bucharest, August 29-September 4). The problems discussed at them had much in common, and many of them were closely related. The consecutive holding of these two international meetings of scholars, one closely following the other, promoted a deeper understanding of the range of problems treated by the history and philosophy of science, and of the connection between them.

The programme of the Bucharest Congress included about 500 scientific reports and informations. The reports told of the headway made by the logic, methodology and philosophy of science in recent years.

The work of the Congress was carried on in twelve sections: I. Mathematical Logic; II. Foundations of Mathematical Theories; III. Automata and Programming Languages; IV. Philosophy of Logic and Mathematics; V. General Problems of Methodology and Philosophy of Science; VI. Foundations of Probability and Induction; VII. Methodology and Philosophy of Physical Sciences; VIII. Methodology and Philosophy of Biological Sciences; IX. Methodology and Philosophy of Psychological Sciences; X. Methodology and Philosophy of Historical and Social Sciences; XI. Methodology and Philosophy of Linguistics; XII. History of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science.

One of the specific features in the modern development of the logic and the methodology of science is that research in that field of knowledge is carried on in equal measure by mathematicians and philosophers. The elabo-

ration of the problems of mathematical logic, the foundations of mathematics, the theory of automata, etc., presupposes mainly the solution of mathematical problems, while the elaboration of the methodology and philosophy of science is confined mainly to the philosophical sphere. This specific feature in the development of logic found its expression also in the work of the Bucharest Congress, where Sections I-III and VI discussed predominantly mathematical problems, while Sections IV, V, VII-XII dealt mainly with methodological and philosophical problems.

Section I focussed attention on research in to the algebra of logic and the generalised analysis of logical calculus (mainly many-valued logics). An interesting discussion took place at the symposium on the theory of hierarchies, where reports were read by Y. Yershov (USSR) and Y. Moschvakis (USA). Y. Matiyasevich, a Soviet scholar, read a report "On Recursive Unsolvability of Hilbert's Tenth Problem" in Section II, which was a major scientific event at the Congress. Note should also be taken of the reports contributed by a number of Czechoslovak mathematicians (O. Demuth, A. Kučera and others), who developed the ideas of the Soviet school of constructive mathematics and logic. Considerable interest was evoked also by the reports made by J. K. Minichiello (USA) on intuitionistic logic without negation, by J. Diller (FRG) on one of the variants of the interpretation of Gödel's theorem for arithmetic of the finite types, and by N. Shanin and A. Dragalin (USSR) on recent research findings in the building of semantics for the basic constructive and intuitionistic theories, etc. Reports contributed and delivered by scholars from the socialist countries held a major place in the work of Sections I and II.

One of the central questions considered at the meetings of Section II was the discussion of the nature and methodological features of the field of scientific knowledge that has

¹ A report on the 13th International Congress of the History of Science is published in *Social Sciences*, No. 2(8), 1972.

recently come to be called Computing Science. L. Kalmar (Hungary) advanced the view that Computing Science is not part of mathematics, but a special field of science.

The work of the Congress was opened by the report of A. Tarski (USA), entitled "Reflections on the present of the set theory". In the view of the speaker the controversy between logicism, formalism and intuitionism is identical with the controversy between realism, conceptualism and nominalism, and, being of a philosophical nature, does not affect the internal problems of set theory. A. Tarski expressed his belief that there may be a modification of the axiomatics of set theory by including into them some intuitively obvious postulates. Major interest was evoked among the participants also by the symposium on the prospective development of the philosophy of mathematics, held in Section IV.

Section V was remarkable for the great number of reports heard, as well as for the diversity of the subjects discussed. Major attention was given to the discussion of the nature and methods of the development of the methodology of science and to the analysis of its relations with epistemology (P. Kopnin and V. Lektorsky, USSR; G. Kröber, GDR; M. Bunge, Canada; T. Kotarbinski, Poland, and others). D. Gorsky and A. Uyemov (USSR), G. Hempel (USA), M. Hesse (UK), A. Musgrave (New Zealand) took part in the symposium on deductive models of science. It is interesting to note that a highly critical attitude was expressed with respect to the neopositivistic conception of empirical significance. Various aspects of the problem of the relation between the empirical and theoretical levels of knowledge were discussed in the reports of J. Hintikka (Finland), F. Kutschera (FRG), M. Popovich (USSR), E. Agazzi (Italy) and others. A report "On the Logic and Epistemology of the Casual Relation" was delivered by G. H. von Wright (Finland). In his report V. Sadovsky (USSR) advanced arguments to show that the general systems theory should be considered

as a special metatheory.

The symposium conducted by Section VI on probability as an objective disposition was dedicated to the memory of Rudolf Carnap, a prominent logician of the 20th century. Probability in science was considered in L. Savage's (USA) report. N. Kossovsky (USSR) told of the results he had obtained in building the probability theory in terms of A. Markov's constructive mathematics.

Speakers at Section VII extensively reviewed various subjects of the methodology of physics—P. Achinstein (UK) dealt with macro- and microtheories, A. Fine (USA) with the modern aspects of quantum measurement, A. Shimony (USA) with the status of hidden variable theories, I. Akchurin and N. Ovchinnikov (USSR) considered the problem of the unity of physical knowledge. The symposium on cellular automata and their significance to the foundations of biology held at Section VIII told of the results obtained in that field by American (M. Arbib, G. Herman), Soviet (V. Varshavsky) and Dutch (A. Lindenmayer) scholars.

The work of Section IX was opened by the report read by F. Bresson (France) which analysed the possibilities of the application of mathematics to the psychological sciences. At the symposium "Can Psychology Bypass the Brain?" reports read by D. Davidson and W. Rosenblith (USA) looked at the philosophical and natural-historical aspects of the problem, while V. Zinchenko (USSR) told of the importance of modern psychology to the physiology of the brain.

Section X gave much attention to the discussion of general methodological problems of the social sciences. These questions were also treated in the reports of the Soviet scholars (V. Kelle, A. Starchenko and others), in the report of M. Constantinescu, President of the Rumanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences, P. Crosser (USA) and others. A number of reports was dedicated to the problems of using formal mathematical methods in the social sciences, and to the question of modelling social processes.

The work of Section XI revealed the tendency towards the introduction of precise methods and formalisation into linguistics. R. Piotrovsky (USSR) and H. Schnelle (FRG) looked into the legitimacy of singling out a new linguistic subject—engineering linguistics. The reports of S. Dik (Netherlands), J. F. Staal (USA) and J. Thorne (UK) described the latest achievements in the methodology of linguistics.

In the work of Section XII an important place was held by the symposium on currents in the 19th century philosophy of physics, held with the participation of G. Buchdal (UK), B. Kedrov (USSR) and M. Markovic (Yugoslavia). B. Kedrov's report analysed the discontinuity-continuity problem in the physics and chemistry of the 19th century. M. Markovic told of the difference between the physical, logical and axiological forms of necessity. The reports and papers at the section analysed a wide range of problems of the history of the logic and methodology of science.

The General Assembly of the Division of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science of the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science was held during the

Congress and elected A. Mostowski (Poland) President of the Division's Council. It was decided to hold the 5th International Congress for Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science in 1975 in Salzburg (Austria.)

In summing up the work of the Congress, we should note that in recent years logical research has become much more profound in the USSR, USA, Poland, Finland, Sweden and some other countries. The level of the Bucharest Congress can be considered higher than that of the preceding Amsterdam (1967) Congress, notably the work of the philosophy sections. The 4th Congress was the first ever to be held in a socialist country, which made for the wide representation of scholars of the socialist countries. Of the 800 scholars from 34 countries participating in the Congress, about 50 per cent were scholars from socialist countries; they contributed about half of the reports and papers. In the philosophical aspect the Congress showed the growing decline of the influence of the neopositivist concept of the philosophy of science in the West, and the increasing role of the dialectico-materialist interpretation of problems of the logic and methodology of science.

V. Sadovsky,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHINESE STUDIES

About 200 delegates from 21 countries attended the 23rd International Congress of Chinese Studies, held in Oxford (Britain) in September 1971. The number of participants exceeded the delegations at the previous congresses, which speaks of the growing interest in problems of China. Most of the delegates were from European countries. The socialist countries were represented by sinologists of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. The Soviet delegation was headed by M. Sladkovsky, Director of the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The presence of many young people—students, post-graduates and young research associates—was a characteristic feature of the Oxford Congress.

In accordance with the decision adopted at the meeting of representatives of the delegations from different countries in Stockholm, where the previous Congress met, no main subject for papers and discussions was fixed for the Oxford session. This was prompted by the desire to open the rostrum for a wider range of participants and to afford an opportunity to discuss the most diverse problems related to China. As a result, papers on many branches of sinology were read at Oxford:

history, economics, philosophy, literature, culture, linguistics and demography.

The first session of the Congress opened with papers by Soviet delegates. M. Sladkovsky's paper "The Historical Conditions of the Formation of the Socialised Economy of the People's Republic of China" emphasised the big part played in the economic development of the PRC by proper consideration for the experience of building socialism in the USSR and by Soviet economic assistance. During the discussion of the paper much attention was given to the economic programme of Sun Yat-sen and its evolution towards a socialist orientation.

The audience listened with great interest to papers by Soviet scientists who were not present in person at the Congress—S. Tikhvinsky, "The Main Trends of the Policy of Self-Strengthening (the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century)", and E. Konovalov, "Some Aspects of the Demographical Problem of the People's Republic of China". Questions of demography evoked a lively discussion, in which the opinion of the author of the paper prevailed, i.e., that the PRC has sufficient unutilised internal territorial and material resources and, given a correct, scientific approach, could settle and employ the "surplus" population of the country's overpopulated regions.

Among other communications dealing with problems of the contemporary history of China great interest was aroused by the paper of W. Liu (Britain) on the Xiafang Movement in the PRC. In the author's opinion, the failure of this movement served as an impulse for the turn of the Chinese leaders towards the so called "cultural revolution". The paper evoked a lively discussion. The Soviet delegates upheld the viewpoint that differences between the supporters of the Liu Shao-chi line and the Maoists had not only ideological but also economic prerequisites.

The paper of A. Bokshchanin (USSR) "The Social Causes of the Chingnan War (1399-1402)" dealt with problems of the mediaeval history of China. The keynote of the paper

was that this internal conflict was caused not by narrow dynastic disputes but by a keen political struggle within the Chinese ruling class.

The attempt of V. Grynypas (Belgium) to find parallels between the evaluation of human nature by Mencius, ancient Chinese philosopher, and European philosophers, was quite interesting. Problems of ancient Chinese philosophy were also raised in the paper of R. Moritz (German Democratic Republic), "On the Teaching of Hui Shi and Its Role in the Development of Ancient Chinese Thought".

Many delegates discussed questions of China's literature and culture. The delegates received with interest communications by V. Sorokin (USSR) "Chinese Classical Drama"; by B. Csongor (Hungary) "On the Social Background of Shui hu chuan". Analysing the social composition of the characters in the novel Csongor employed in his study sociological methods now successfully applied in the humanities. The paper of M. Galik (CSSR) "From Pan-aestheticism to Proletarian Literature", well arranged in form and content, stimulated an exchange of opinions on questions of continuity and innovation in Chinese literature of the 1920s. Among the communications on the subject of Chinese culture mention should be made of the paper by Chang Hao (FRG) "The Relationship between the Numbers in the I-ching and the Chinese Musical Tone-system".

The Congress also discussed problems of linguistics both of the old and the modern Chinese language. Among papers on these subjects we shall mention "Chinese Historical Linguistics" by G. Downer (Britain) and "On the Question of the Facultative Choice of Grammatical Indexes in Chinese Language" by N. Solntseva (USSR). The question of the dialects of the Chinese language commanded much attention in the papers and discussions on linguistic subjects.

Evaluating the general results of the 23rd International Congress of Chinese Studies a definite shift of interest may be noted towards

modern problems which attracted a wide audience and aroused the liveliest discussions. But this by no means detracted attention of the participants from "classical sinology" either. Such a combination, in our opinion, is

highly useful for the comprehensive development of sinology.

The next, 24th International Congress of Chinese Studies is to be held in Leiden, the Netherlands, in 1972.

A. Bokshchanin,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES

The 14th International Congress of Byzantine Studies was held in September 1971 in Bucharest. The Congress was attended by 640 scholars representing all the leading Byzantine study centres of the socialist countries, as well as those in Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, the FRG, Greece, Italy, the USA and many other countries. The Soviet Union was represented by a delegation of 33 experts, headed by V. Lazarev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The papers read at the plenary sessions of the Congress were grouped mainly around four major subjects: 1. Byzantine Society and Its Intellectual Life in the 14th Century; 2. the Borders and Border Regions of the Empire in the 7th-12th Centuries (Asian Borders); 3. Secular Art in Byzantium; 4. Byzantium and Rumania.

The main paper on the first subject was read by I. Shevchenko (USA). He attempted to define the social composition of the Byzantine intelligentsia in the 14th century. The rapporteur maintained that the intellectual élite in Byzantium (writers, scholars) were descendants of noble families, mainly from the entourage of the Emperor and the Patriarch. During the discussion a controversy arose over the question of the social origin of the creators of folk literary works. I. Shevchenko and H. Hunger (Austria) insisted that the same authors had created works of both élitarian and folk literature and that they were all representatives of the ruling class. At the same time H. Beck (FRG) and A. Kazhdan (USSR) insisted that folk literature

had been created among democratic circles.

The basic questions of the nature of the economy and social system in late Byzantium were discussed by E. Werner (GDR), who made a general assessment of the epoch of late Byzantine feudalism. He characterised it as a period of the still progressive development of the feudal formation. Z. Udaltsova (USSR), who on the whole agreed with Werner, noted, however, that in late Byzantium not only the feudal economy developed, but that shoots of a new society could be observed as well.

M. Chadzidakis (Greece), S. Radojčić (Yugoslavia), V. Lazarev and A. Bank (USSR) dealt with questions of late Byzantine art. Lazarev discerned two periods in the development of art in late Byzantium: before the 1330s, when new progressive features made their appearance, and later, when a period of decline and of the domination of reactionary mystical doctrines set in.

The main paper on the second subject of the Congress "Borders and Border Regions of the Empire in the 7th-12th Centuries (Asian Borders)" was read by Héléne Ahrweiler (France). She suggested a new broad interpretation of the problem of borders: nation, state and civilisation. She demonstrated that the political, military and fiscal borders often did not coincide, that they varied, and were unstable. The paper treated of the political and cultural diffusion between the empire and the states bordering on it.

The collective paper by Soviet scholars Z. Udaltsova, A. Kazhdan and R. Bartikyan entitled "The Social Structure of the East-

ern Border Regions of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th-12th Centuries" raised the question of the existence on the eastern borders of the empire of a specific multiethnic dynamic social structure which exerted a constant social and cultural influence on Byzantium. The paper gave a Marxist interpretation to the problem of the mutual influence of the social relations in Byzantium and the adjacent states.

The central subject of the paper read by D. Obolenski (Britain) was the cultural, religious, political and partly also social diffusion between Byzantium and the neighbouring states. The rapporteur attempted to give the typology of the spread of Byzantine civilisation to the contiguous countries. However, as Z. Udaltsova pointed out, the paper exaggerated somewhat the extent of Byzantium's influence on Rus and other countries.

Many papers were devoted to the history of Byzantine art. The main paper on the third subject "Secular Art in Byzantium" was read by A. Grabar (France). J. Beckwith (Britain) spoke about Byzantine fabrics; W. Volbach (FRG)—about applied art in Byzantium; O. Podobedova (USSR) devoted her paper to the miniatures in ancient Russian manuscripts, kept in the Lenin State Library in Moscow.

A lively discussion was held on the sub-

ject "Byzantium and Rumania". The main paper by E. Stănescu (Rumania) presented a review of Rumanian-Byzantine relations from their political (predominantly), ecclesiastical and economic aspects. In his paper V. Georgescu (Rumania) described the importance of Byzantine influence on the formation of various institutions in the feudal Rumanian principalities. Questions of Byzantine influence on literature and art were raised in the papers of I. Mircea, I. Ștefănescu and Mariana Musicescu.

A great number of papers were read at the meetings of the special Congress' panels on: (1) codicology, paleography, diplomatics; (2) papirology, epigraphy, historical geography; (3) numismatics and sigillography; (4) archaeology and art; (5) musicology; (6) science history; (7) miscellanea.

At the sittings of the International Association of Byzantine Studies, held while the Congress was in session, the Association's administrative bodies were elected and supplemented. D. Zakythinos (Greece) was elected President of the Association. The next Congress of Byzantine Studies is to be held in 1976 in Cyprus. On the proposal of the Soviet scholars an international symposium on the socio-economic history of Byzantium is to be held in Moscow in 1974.

K. Osipova,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

THE CONGRESS OF THE PACIFIC SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The Pacific Science Association met for its 12th Congress in Canberra from August 18 to September 3, 1971. The Association is a non-governmental international regional scientific organisation, whose main task, according to its Charter, is to promote cooperation between scientists in the Pacific area in studying scientific problems of this area, especially problems connected with the rising living standards of its peoples.

Organised by the Australian Academy of Sciences, the Congress was attended by some

1,500 scientists from 49 countries, who discussed in its four sections over 400 papers on the following main themes:

A. Productivity and Conservation in the Pacific;

B. Man in the Pacific;

C. Environmental Quality and Resource Management: Political, Legal and Administrative Realities;

D. Geological Structure and Mineral Resources in the Pacific Area.

The Soviet National Committee for the

Pacific Science Association was represented by a delegation of 36 specialists who participated in the work of all the four sections of the Congress. In addition, a group of Soviet scientists from special exploring expeditions had arrived in Australia on board the *Dmitry Mendeleev* and *Academician Vernadsky* expeditionary vessels of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to take part in the symposium on the marine sciences held in Sydney on August 16 and 17, on the eve of the official opening of the Congress.

Let us examine the themes discussed in Sections B and C.

Section B dealt with the various aspects of development of the Pacific population. For instance, the programmes of the three symposiums held in the Section provided for discussions on the following subjects: the prehistory of man in the Pacific; movements and genetic affinities of population in the Pacific; demographic background and population dynamics; inbreeding and consanguinity studies; interactions of cultural, social and economic factors with the biology of populations; effects and implications of urbanisation and modernisation; medical status and disease patterns; nutritional status in the Pacific; physiological aspects: fitness and climatic tolerance; child growth. The following Soviet papers were read in this Section: "The Population and Scientific and Technological Progress in the Developing Countries" by Y. Guzevaty, D. Sc. (Econ.); "The Demographic Aspect of the Food Problem in the Developing

Countries" by L. Knyazhinskaya, Cand. Sc. (Geog.); "New Types of *Arbovirus Foci* in the Northern Part of the Soviet Far East and Their Relationship with Other Regions of the Pacific" by D. Lvov, D. Sc. (Med.).

Man and his environment were discussed in Section C. The participants centered attention on the administrative and legal aspect of the problem: international legislation in the field of exploitation and protection of natural resources, marine resources in particular, and the legal and administrative shortcomings of state control over natural resources in countries with a federal system (Australia, Canada, the USA); they also discussed the problem of working out science-based programmes for the use and protection of natural resources. L. Knyazhinskaya's paper, "Social and Techno-economic Approaches to the Problem of Human Environment", was devoted to substantiation of the thesis that the socialist system, under which all natural resources are the property of the state and are used in a balanced manner in the interest of the working people, is objectively most conducive to the protection and rational use of the environment.

Parallel with the Congress, the Pacific Science Council, the Association's supreme body, was in session. It adopted some amendments to the Constitution and the Charter of the Association and decided to convene the next, 13th Congress, in Vancouver (Canada) in 1975.

Y. Guzevaty,
D. Sc. (Econ.)

* * *

PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF THE USSR

Prominent Soviet philosophers and also other social scientists and natural scientists attended the Constituent Congress of the Philosophical Society of the USSR held in Moscow in December 1971. The 650 delegates represented the leading research establishments, universities and institutes, state and social organisations of Moscow, Leningrad, and other

cities of the Russian Federation and all the Union Republics of the USSR.

The Congress set up the Philosophical Society of the USSR, an organisation affiliated with the USSR Academy of Sciences, approved its charter and elected the board and the auditing commission.

The founding of the Society, it was point-

ed out at the Congress, was a great event in the ideological, scientific and socio-political life of the Soviet Union; it reflected the spiritual advance of the Soviet people and further development of democratic principles in the organisation of scientific activity. The participants spoke about the great tasks and possibilities of the new society and made concrete proposals as regards the trend of its work.

The main tasks of the new society are to contribute to the utmost to the creative development in the USSR of research in the sphere of philosophy and scientific communism and to raise their efficacy; widely to enlist Soviet philosophers in propagating the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the achievements of philosophical science; to raise the methodological influence exerted by Marxist-Leninist philosophy on other sciences, further to consolidate the alliance of philosophers, natural scientists and scientists working in the humanities; to coordinate research in the most urgent problems of philosophy and scientific communism; to unite the constructive efforts of scientists in different philosophical institutions of the USSR; to raise the ideological, theoretical and methodological level of teaching philosophy and scientific communism in educational establishments; to extend the consistent struggle against anti-communism, reactionary bourgeois philosophical theories and concepts of Right and "Left" revisionism, chauvinism and racialism and against any distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Philosophical Society of the USSR will maintain contacts with similar societies

in other countries and international scientific organisations in the philosophical sphere.

The Philosophical Society of the USSR has collective and individual members. Scientific institutions, faculties of higher educational establishments, research departments, sectors and laboratories and editorial offices of journals with a philosophical trend are eligible for collective membership. A Soviet citizen engaged in scientific, pedagogical and propaganda work in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, scientific communism and methodological problems of modern science may become an individual member.

The society and its branches will have sections of dialectical materialism, historical materialism, scientific communism, ethics, scientific atheism, history of philosophy, logic, philosophical questions of natural science and methodological problems of the social sciences. Academician F. Konstantinov was elected President of the Philosophical Society of the USSR at the organisational meeting of the board which also elected the following Vice-Presidents of the Society: Academician B. Mitin; M. Rutkevich, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; M. Asimov, Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik Republic; K. Buslov, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Byelorussian Republic; F. Kocharli, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan Republic; V. Shinkarchuk, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Republic; and B. Ukrainsev, D. Sc. (Philos.).

I. Nazarov,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.),
Chief Scientific Secretary,
Philosophical Society of the USSR

NEW SCIENTIFIC CENTRE OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

At the close of 1971 a new scientific centre—the Institute of Psychology—was set up at the USSR Academy of Sciences. The establishment of the Institute was dictated by

the growing role played by the psychological sciences in the life of society, specifically in production and technology, in education and public health, in culture and ideological work

and in other spheres of social life. At the same time psychology is beginning to play an increasingly important role in the development of modern scientific knowledge as a whole and especially in philosophy, the concrete social sciences, economics, the science of law, ethics, aesthetics and the science of management. That is why the Institute of Psychology has been set up within the framework of the Department of Philosophy and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Since psychology is an important link between the social, natural and technical sciences the scientific and methodological guidance of the Institute is effected not only by the Department of Philosophy and Law but also by the Department of Physiology and the Department of Mechanics and Control Processes, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Institute has set itself the following basic tasks: elaboration of the fundamental theoretical problems of psychology and theoretical fundamentals of the development of the applied branches of psychology, participation in the comprehensive research into the problems bordering on psychology, on the one hand, and philosophy, sociology, physiology and control processes, on the other, and coordination of psychological research in the USSR.

The Institute will conduct research into the structure of contemporary psychological knowledge, psychology's place in the system of sciences, the trends of its development and on this basis the elaboration of the methodological fundamentals and a long-term programme of its development in the USSR. The study of the psychological structure of the individual, his socio-historical determination, the formation and development, analysis of the individual as a subject of consciousness and motivation of behaviour will be another sphere of the Institute's studies.

The problem of the individual will be studied in close connection with the problem

of the collective, which presupposes research into the relations between people in a collective, into the psychological mechanisms forming public opinion, group activity, etc. Research will centre on the interrelation of activity, communication and cognition, their genesis and historical development. The Institute will also pay great attention to the experimental study of mental functions, processes and states, especially of perception, thinking, memory and emotional stress.

Soviet psychology has old traditional ties with physiology. Suffice it to mention the names of such eminent scientists as I. Sechenov, I. Pavlov, V. Bekhterev, A. Ukhtomsky and others who played a great role in the formation of scientific psychology. The Institute will continue these traditions and will develop research in the sphere of neuropsychology, the neuropsychological mechanisms of motivation and psychophysiology.

The Institute will also study the mechanisms of memory, means of controlling mnemonic functions of the brain through the guided regulation of the biochemical, biophysical and physiological processes responsible for the processing, storage and eliciting of information.

Technological progress has brought about considerable changes in the role and place of man in production processes. In this connection the Institute will study the processes of the information interaction of man and machine (man-machine system), the psychological mechanisms of decision-making in interaction with the computer, the role of the human factor in a man-machine system. It will also study the reserves of man's creative thinking.

The aforementioned lines of research determine the structure of the Institute which has the following sections:

- Section of Theoretical and Experimental Psychology;
- Section of Social Psychology;
- Section of Engineering Psychology;
- Section of Psychophysiology.

B. Lomov,
Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences;
Director of the Institute of Psychology, USSR Academy of Sciences

SOVIET COMMITTEE OF FINNO-UGRIC SCHOLARS

Finno-Ugric studies have acquired increasing significance in recent years. This sphere has become a comprehensive science which includes not only linguistics but also archaeology, ethnography and anthropology and also the study of folklore and literature. At present Finno-Ugric research is conducted, alongside central institutions, by scientific establishments of the Estonian Union Republic, the Karelian, Udmurt, Marii, Mordovian and Komi Autonomous Republics. To improve co-ordination of these studies and also to extend contacts with scientific institutions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland and other coun-

tries, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has organised a Soviet Committee of Finno-Ugric Scholars at the Academy's Division of Literature and Language. The main tasks of the Committee are to coordinate Finno-Ugric research in Union and Autonomous Republics, to prepare for participation in international congresses and to promote constant contacts and ties with foreign scientific institutions and scholars.

P. Ariste, Member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, has been appointed chairman of the Soviet Committee.

THE SERIES "SOVIET INDOLOGY" PUBLISHED IN INDIA

At the close of 1969 the eminent Indian philosopher D. Chattopadhyaya started publication of the series "Soviet Indology". The preface to the 1st volume says that the aim of the series is to expand cooperation between Indian and Soviet scholars in Indological research and in the auxiliary subjects related to it. "From the Indian end," D. Chattopadhyaya writes in the Preface, "by far the most important thing... is popularisation in India of the Soviet contributions to Indology."

The seven issues already published familiarise Indian scholars with the achievements of Soviet researchers studying Indian history and culture, and with the best works of the founders of Soviet Indology.

The series opened with the work by N. Anikeyev "Modern Ideological Struggle for the Ancient Philosophical Heritage of India". It was followed by a collection containing the works of Academician F. Shcherbatsky translated for the first time into English: "A Buddhist Philosopher on Monotheism", "History of Materialism in India", "Scientific Achievements of Ancient India", and a translation of Dharmakirti's "Establishment of the Existence of Other Mind", with a commentary by Vinitadeva. The book contains a short bibliography of Shcherbatsky's

works and an excerpt from a description of the archives of the prominent Buddhist scholar which gives the reader an idea of the wide range of his interests and views and his numerous scientific contacts, including contacts with Indian historians and philosophers.

The 3rd volume of the series contains the reports (either in full or their summaries), on the Kushan problem, submitted by Soviet scientists to the UNESCO conference in 1968. It opens with the report made by Academician B. Gafurov "Kushan Civilisation and World Culture" which sums up the achievements of Soviet and foreign scholars in their research into the history and culture of the Kushan state. As G. Bongard-Levin, D. Sc. (Hist.), author of the preface to the book, justly notes, the Kushan epoch is an inalienable part of the history of the peoples of India, the Soviet Central Asian Republics, Pakistan and Iran. In this volume the reader will find works written by 38 Soviet scholars.

The 4th volume of the series contains the monograph *Tibetan Historical Literature* written by Prof. A. Vostrikov, a pupil of F. Shcherbatsky. Completed in 1936 this monograph was published in 1962 as volume 32 of the well-known "Biblioteca Buddhica" se-

ries founded by the eminent Soviet Indologists S. Oldenburg and F. Shcherbatsky. The English translation of this unique work, made by Mr. H. Ch. Gupta, a researcher at the National Library in Calcutta, makes it available to foreign scholars. The book is supplied with a bibliography covering the period from 1936 till our time.

The 5th and 6th volumes contain works by Academician F. Shcherbatsky. They familiarise the foreign reader with the creative heritage of this scholar, which is particularly appropriate since in 1972 scholars will mark the 30th anniversary of his death.

The collection of articles by the Soviet historian of ancient India G. Bongard-Levin comprises the 7th volume. Formerly published in various periodicals these articles were practically unavailable to the foreign reader. The sixteen works by the Soviet Indologist (some of them written in co-authorship with other Soviet scholars) now translated into English will give the foreign reader a fuller picture of the scope of research into this sphere in the USSR. The collection *Studies in*

Ancient India and Central Asia consists of three main parts: problems of the protohistory of India, problems of ancient Indian history and culture and problems of the history and culture of Central Asia. The supplement to the book carries the article "From the History of Russian Buddhology".

An important feature of the book is that it contains works, based on vast factual material, testifying to the wide scope of India's traditional historical links with Central Asia.

The publisher of the series Mr. Chattopadhyaya has managed to strike the right balance between the classical legacy of Soviet Indology and its present-day achievements. The series has been given a good review in the Indian press. The Calcutta *Statesman* particularly notes the fundamental nature and depth of the works by Soviet Indologists. Soviet Indologists for their part wish Mr. D. Chattopadhyaya every success in his work on this series and express their sincere appreciation of his disinterested, friendly efforts aimed at the promotion and expansion of Soviet-Indian co-operation in the sphere of science.

I. Serebryakov,
Cand. Sc. (Philol.)

REVIEWS OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES IN SOVIET SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS (NOVEMBER 1971-JANUARY 1972).

History. Ancillary Historical Disciplines

Ангелов Д. *Богомилството в България*. София, Наука и изкуство, 1969, 561 с.

Рец.: Николов И. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 243—248.

Велков В. *Робството в Тракия и Мизия през античността*. София, 1967, 153 с.

Рец.: Штаерман Е. — *Вестник древней истории*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 217—225.

Коджейков Д. *Партията и профсоюзното движение в България*. София, 1970, 134 с.

Рец.: Доронченков А. — *Вопросы истории КПСС*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 130—131.

Примов Б. *Бугрите. Книга за поп Богомил и неговите последователи*. София, Изд. на Отечественния фронт, 1970, 384 с.

Рец.: Бегунов Ю. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 117—118.

Фол А. *Демографска и социална структура на древна Тракия I хилядолетие преди новата ера*. София, 1970, 282 с.

Рец.: Штаерман Е. *Вестник древней истории*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 217—225.

Beyer H.-V. *Über den Sachverhalt der Demothhenischen Rede für Phormion*. Inaugural Dissertation. Berlin, 1969, 238 S.

Рец.: Глускина Л. — *Вестник древней истории*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 212—217.

Brüning H. *Memoiren. 1918-1934*. Stuttgart, 1970, 721 S.

Рец.: Гинцберг Л. — *Вопросы истории*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 167—171.

Byzantinistische Beiträge. Hrsg. von J. Irmscher, Red. G. Hansen. Gründungstagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Byzantinistik in der Sektion Mittelalter der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft vom 18. bis 21. IV 1961 in Weimar. Berlin, 1964.

Рец.: Дмитриев Г. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 267—271.

Ceská národní rada, sněm českého lidu. K 25. výročí osvobození. Uspřádá V. Vaněček. Praha, 1970, 219 s.

Рец.: Мыльников А. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 100.

China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913. Ed. and with an Introduction by M. C. Wright. New Haven and London, 1968, XIII, 505 pp.

Рец.: Ефимов Г. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 170—176.

Choniates N. *Die Krone der Komnenen. Graz, Wien, Köln, 1958; Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopol. 1958; Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale im Spiegel der schönen Rede*. 1966. (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber).

Рец.: Каждан А. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 251—255.

Daniel Krman ml. (1663-1740). Itinerarium. (Cestovný denník z rokov 1708-1709). Bratislava, 1969.

Рец.: Шутой В. — *История СССР*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 202—206.

Dau M. Danmark og Sovjetunionen 1944-1949. Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1969, 291 s.

Рец.: Кан А. — *История СССР*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 210—213.

Dölger F., Karayannopoulos J. *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden*. München, 1968, XXXIII, 203 S.

Рец.: А. К. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 261—263.

Eaves R. G. Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy 1513-1524. England's Relations with the Regency Government of James V. New York, Exposition Press, 1971, 197 pp.

Рец.: Каменецкий Б. — *Вопросы истории*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 188—190.

Gayley H. A. *History of Africa from Earliest Times to 1800*. New York, 1970, 300 pp.

Рец.: Львова Э. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 91.

Die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches 1870-71 in Augenzeugenberichten. Hrsg. und eingel. von E. Deuerlein. Düsseldorf, Rauch Verlag, 1970, 482 S.

Рец.: Закаурцев О. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 188—189.

Guillou A. *Saint-Nicolas de Donnozo (1081-1060/61)*. Città del Vaticano, 1967, XIV, 75 p.

Рец.: А. К. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 257.

Gürsel H. *Tarih boyunca türk-rus ilişkileri. Bir siyasi tarih incelemesi*. Istanbul, Ak yayinlari limited şirketi, Baha matbaas, 1968, 252 s.

Рец.: Пощверня Б. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 176—180.

Hallet R. *Africa to 1875*. New York, 1970, 500 pp.

Рец.: Львова Э. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 91.

Hervouet Y. *Bibliographie des travaux en langues occidentales sur les Song parus de 1946 à 1965*. Vol. I. En appendice: Bibliographie des travaux en langue russe. Par L. Kuvshinnikova. Bordeaux, 1969, XXI, 139, 28 p.

Рец.: Лапина З. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 202.

Ho Chi Minh, notre camarade. Souvenirs de militants français rassemblés par Léo Figueres. Paris, Editions sociales, 1970, 272 p.

Рец.: Милов А. — *Азия и Африка сегодня*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 57.

Hulse J. W. *Revolutionists in London. A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970, VIII, 246 pp.

Рец.: Туполева Л. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 207—208.

Kalabiński St., Tych F. Czwarte powstanie czy pierwsza rewolucja. Lata 1905-1907 na ziemiach polskich. Warszawa, 1969, 443 s.

Рец.: Хренов И. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 96—100.

Knoch P. Studien zu Albert von Aachen. Der erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik. Stuttgart, 1966, 223 S.

Рец.: Заборов М. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 263—265.

Koźmiński M. *Polska i Węgry przed drugą wojną światową (Październik 1938-wrzesień 1939). Z dziejów dyplomacji i irredenty*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1970, 371 s.

Рец.: Поп И. — *История СССР*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 217—219.

Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego. (Wybór). Tłumaczyli z języka tureckiego: Z. Abrahamowicz, A. Dubiński, S. Piaskowicka-Rymkiewicz. Redakcja naukowa, wybór, słowo wstępne i komentarz: Z. Abrahamowicz. Szkic o Ewliji Czelelim i jego dziele: J. Reychman. Warszawa, 1969, XXXVIII, 477 s.

Рец.: Григорьев А. — *История СССР*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 214—217.

Longnon J., Topping P. *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle*. Paris, 1969, VIII, 326 p.

Рец.: А. К. — *Византийский временник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 258—259.

Łukawski Z. *Polacy w rosyjskim ruchu socjaldemokratycznym w latach 1883-1893*. Krakow, 1970, 151 s.

Рец.: Орехов А. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 114—117.

Madajczyk Cz. Polityka III rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce, 1939-1945. T. 1-2, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo naukowe, 1970. T. 1, 664 s., T. 2, 528 s.

Рец.: Носкова А., Григорьянц Т. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 185—186.

The Mathematical Papers of Isaac Newton. Vol. 1-3, Ed. by D. Th. Whiteside. Cambridge, 1967-1969. V. 1, XLVI, 590 pp., V. 2, XXII, 520 pp., V. 3, XXXVII, 576 pp.

Рец.: Аксенова Е. — *Вопросы истории естествознания и техники*. М., 1971, вып. 2 (35), стр. 80—85.

Mishra D. P. Studies in the Proto-History of India. Delhi, 1971, 200 pp.

Рец.: Бонгард-Левин Г. — *Азия и Африка сегодня*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 26.

Poulsen H. Basaetelsesmagten og de Danske nazister. Det politiske forhold mellem tyske myndigheder og nazistiske kredse i Danmark 1940-1943. København, Gyldendal, 1970, 498 s.

Рец.: Кудрина Ю. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 208—211.

Przygoński A. Polska w walce z okupantem hitlerowskim (1939-1945). Warszawa, 1971, 179 s.

Рец.: Костюшко И. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 100—101.

Przygoński A. *Udział PPR i AL w powstaniu Warszawskim*. Warszawa, 1970, 265 s.

Рец.: Костюшко И. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 100—101.

Rechowicz H. *Aleksander Zawadzki. Życie i działalność*. Katowice, 1969, 216 s.

Рец.: Большакова К. — *Советское славяноведение*. М., 1967, № 6, стр. 101—103.

Rothstein A. *Lenin in Britain*. London, 1970.

Рец.: Зиновьев Г. — *История СССР*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 213—214.

Shirer W. L. *The Collapse of the Third Republic*. London, W. Heinemann, Secker and Warburg, 1970, XXIV, 1045 pp.

Рец.: Уткин А. — *Вопросы истории*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 190—191.

Schmidt E. *Die Verhinderte Neuordnung. 1945-1952. Zur Auseinandersetzung um die Demokratisierung der Wirtschaft in den westlichen Besatzungszonen und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Frankfurt am Main, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1970, 242 S.

Рец.: Борозняк А. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 203—204.

Schreiner J. H. *Aristotle and Perikles. A Study in Historiography*. Oslo, 1968, 138 pp. (Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. supplet. XXI).

Рец.: Доватур А. — *Вестник древней истории*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 205—212.

Uguzzoni A., Ghinatti F. *Le tavole greche di Eraclea*. Roma, 1968, 237 pp.

Рец.: Яйленко В. — *Вестник древней истории*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 200—205.

Unbewältigte Vergangenheit. Handbuch zur Auseinandersetzung mit der Westdeutschen bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung. Hrsg. G. Lozek, H. Meier, W. Schmidt, W. Berthold. Berlin, Akademi-Verlag, 1970, 566 S.

Рец.: Салов В. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 186—187.

Warda J. *Mahatma Gandhi, przywódca Indii*. Warszawa, Książka i wiedza, 1968, 244 s.

Рец.: Кучера С. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 191—192.

Young M. B. *The Rhetoric of Empire. American China Policy, 1895-1901*. Cambridge (Mass.) Harvard University Press, 1968, 230 pp.

Рец.: Мурадян А. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 184—187.

Problems of Today. International Relations

The American Alliance. Australia, New Zealand and the United States, 1940-1970. Melbourne, Cassel, 1970, 257 pp.

Рец.: Ханженков В. — *Вопросы истории*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 192—195.

Aronson I. *The Press and the Cold War*. Indianapolis-New York, The Books Merrill Company, 1970, 308 pp.

Рец.: Райко Н. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 81—84.

Baldwin H. W. *Strategy for Tomorrow*. New York and Evanston, Harper and Row Publishers, 1970, 378 pp.

Рец.: Быков О. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 138—142.

Bangou H. *La Guadeloupe de 1939 à nos jours ou la nécessaire décolonisation*. Aurillac, Editions du Centre, 1970, 352 p.

Рец.: Ковальская А. — *Новая и новейшая история*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 190—191; 2. С. И. — *Латинская Америка*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 184—185.

Cabral A. *Guinée "portugaise": le pouvoir des armes*. Paris, François Maspero, 1970, 120 p.

Рец.: Григорьев В. — *Международная жизнь*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 149.

Cantril A. H., Roll C. W. *Hopes and Fears of the American People*. New York, Universe Books, 1971, 93 pp.

Рец.: Гайденко В. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 91—92.

Diplomacy for the 70's. A Program of Management Reform for the Department of State. Department of State Publication 8551. 1970, 610 pp.

Рец.: Соломатина В. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 86—88.

Emery E. *The Press and America. The Interpretative History of Journalism*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1969.

Рец.: Андрунас Е. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 3, стр. 94—95.

Folliet J. *L'information moderne et droit à l'information*. Lyon, Chronique sociale de France, 1969.

Рец.: Урина Н. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 96—97.

Fulbright J. W. *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*. New York, Liveright, 1970, 166 pp.

Рец.: Берзин Л. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 86.

Greuner R. *Gegenspieler. Profile linksbürgerlichen Publizisten*. Berlin, Der Morgen, 1970.

Рец.: Лайне С. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 91—92.

Gurtov M. *Southeast Asia Tomorrow. Problems and Prospects for US Policy*. Baltimore and London, The J. Hopkins Press, 1970, 114 pp.

Рец.: Кулагин В., Малетин Н. — *Международная жизнь*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 129—130.

Hastings M. *Barricades in Belfast. The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland*. New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1970, 203 pp.

Рец.: Орлова М. — *Рабочий класс и современный мир*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 145—148.

Imperium Springer. Macht und Manipulation. Hrsg. von B. Jansen und A. Klöne. Köln, Verl. Pahl-Rugenstein, 1968.

Рец.: Демуров А. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 86—87.

Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung. Hrsg. von C. F. v. Weizsäcker. München, C. Hanser Verlag, 1971, 699 S.

Рец.: Пономарев Г. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 135—138.

Labarca Goddard E. *Chile al Rojo*. Santiago de Chile. Ediciones de la Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1971, 398 p.

Рец.: Виноградова Т. — *Латинская Америка*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 141—143.

Labour Monthly. London, 1921-1971.

Рец.: Пресс В. — *Рабочий класс и современный мир*. М., 1971, № 5—6, стр. 239—242.

Lenin in Contemporary Indian Press. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970.

Рец.: Круглов Е. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 4, стр. 85—86.

Liebman A. *The Politics of Puerto Rican University Student*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1970, 205 pp.

Рец.: Пояркова Н. — *Латинская Америка*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 182—184.

Maclean D. *British Foreign Policy Since Suez, 1956-1968*. London, Hodder and Strongton, 1970, 343 pp.

Рец.: Матковская О. — *Вопросы истории*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 164—167.

Mander J. *The Unrevolutionary Society. The Power of Latin American Conservatism in a Changing World*. New York, Publ. by A. A. Knopf, 1969, 331 pp.

Рец.: Михайлидис Н. — *Латинская Америка*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 155—157.

Mattelart A., Piccini M., Mattelart M. *Los medios de comunicación de masas. La ideología de la prensa liberal en Chile*. "Cuadernos de la realidad nacional". 1970, № 3.

Рец.: Бондаренко О. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 81—82.

Mosher F. C., Harr J. E. *Programming Systems and Foreign Affairs Leadership. An Attempted Innovation*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970, 261 pp.

Рец.: Шведков Ю. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 87—89.

Prada A. C. *Problemas del periodismo actual*. Bogota, 1969, 85 p.

Рец.: Клементьева Н. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 80—81.

Salomon J. J. *Science et politique*. Paris, Seuil, 1970, 407 p.

Рец.: Шаталов И. — *Международная жизнь*. М., 1971, № 10, стр. 143—145.

Scammon R. M., Wattenberg B. J. *The Real Majority. An Extraordinary Examination of the American Electorate*. New York, 1970, 347 pp.

Рец.: Кузьмин А., Козлов В. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 88—90.

Schwoebel J. *La presse, le pouvoir et l'argent*. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1968, 288 p.

Рец.: Анিকেев В. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 94—96.

Smith P. McCoy. *The Air Force. Plans for Peace. 1943-1945.* Baltimore-London, The J. Hopkins Press, 1970, 132 pp.

Рец.: Арбагов А. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология.* М., 1971, № 12, стр. 78—80.

Talese G. *The Kingdom and the Power.* New York, World Publishing 1969, 555 pp.

Рец.: Егоров А. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика.* М., 1971, № 3, стр. 96.

Tebbel J. *The American Magazine: A Compact History.* New York, Hawthorn Books, 1969, 279 pp.

Рец.: Голованова Г. — *Вестник Московского университета. Журналистика.* М., 1971, № 5, стр. 92—94.

The United States and China: The Next Decade. Ed. A. D. Barnett, E. Reischauer. New York, 1970, 350 pp.

Рец.: Обухов А. — *Новая и новейшая история.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 191—193.

Der Vertrag zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Volksrepublik Polen. Bonn, Presse-und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 1970, 288 S.

Рец.: Гоголадзе Р. — *Международная жизнь.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 146—147.

Vinhas M. *Estudos sobre o proletariado brasileiro.* Rio de Janeiro, Civilização brasileira, 1970, 279 p.

Рец.: Коваль Б. — *Латинская Америка.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 143—145.

Archaeology

Ancient Pakistan. Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar. Volume III. 1967. Special number. Peshawar, 1968, 407 pp.

Рец.: Щегенко А. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 304—306.

Boube-Piccot Chr. *Les bronzes antiques du Maroc. T. I. La statuaire.* Texte et planches. Tanger, Editions marocaines et internationales. 1969, 380 p. 285 pl.

Рец.: Беляев С. — *Народы Азии и Африки.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 206—208.

Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University. Shiraz, 1969, No. 1.

Рец.: Массон В. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 310—311.

Calmeyer P. *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanschah. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.* Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.

Neue Folge, 5. Berlin, 1969, 202 S.

Рец.: Алексин В., Курочкин Г. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 290—292.

Casal J.-M. *De la Mesopotamie à l'Inde. La civilisation de l'Indus et ses énigmes.* Paris, Fayard, 1969, 225 p.

Рец.: Заднепровский Ю. — *Советская археология.* М., 1971, № 4, стр. 282—284.

Deneauve J. *Lampes de Carthage* (Centre de recherches sur l'Afrique Méditerranéenne. Serie archéologie). Paris, Editions de Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1969.

Рец.: Беляев С. — *Советская археология.* М., 1971, № 4, стр. 290—292.

Fairservis W. A., jr. *The Origin, Character and Decline of the Early Civilisation.* New York, 1967, 48 pp. (American Museum Novitates. No. 2302).

Рец.: Щегенко А. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 283—286.

Lamberg-Karlovsky C. C. *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967-1968.* Cambridge, 1970. (American School of Prehistoric Research, Bull. No. 27).

Рец.: Сарниди В. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 282—283.

Lumley-Woodyear H. de. *Le paléolithique inférieur et moyen du Midi méditerranéen dans son cadre géologique. T. I. Ligurie-Provence.* Paris, Editions de Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1969, 475 p. (V Suppl. à "Gallia préhistoire").

Рец.: Праслов Н. — *Советская археология.* М., 1971, № 4, стр. 280—282.

Müller-Karpe H. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte.* Bd. 1-2. München, Beck, 1966-1968. Bd. 1, *Altsteinzeit.* 1966, 389 S. Bd. 2, *Jungsteinzeit.* 1968, 612 S.

Рец.: Григорьев Г., Клейн Л. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 275—281.

Schlumberger D. *L'Orient hellénisé. L'art grec et ses héritiers dans l'Asie non-méditerranéenne.* Paris, 1970, 245 p.

Рец.: Лелеков Л. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 292—295.

Vanden Berghe L. *Het Archeologisch Onderzoek naar de Bronskultuur van Luristan.* Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België; Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang XXX, 64. Brüssel, 1968, 177 s.

Рец.: Алексин В., Курочкин Г. — *Советская археология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 290—292.

Philosophy. Sociology

Димитров Л. *Философия на Лао-дзэ.* София, Наука и искусство, 1967, 188 с.

Рец.: Буров В., Ян Хин-шун. — *Народы Азии и Африки.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 203—204.

Приблуджаков Н. *Ленинизм, философия, идеологическая борьба.* София, Наука и искусство, 1970, 426 с.

Рец.: Вид Р. — *Коммунист.* М., 1971, № 17, стр. 125—126.

Неделькович Д. *Ленин и философия.* Београд, 1969, 432 с.

Рец.: Бреминов С. — *Научные доклады высшей школы. Философские науки.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 153—155.

Чендов Б. *Основные идеи на математиката и диалектическият материализъм. Относно предмета и някои методи на математиката.* София, Наука и искусство, 1969, 214 с.

Рец.: Морозов К. — *Научные доклады высшей школы. Философские науки.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 156—158.

Cogniot G. *Présence de Lénine.* T. 1-2. Paris, Editions sociales, 1970, T. 1, 251 p. T. 2, 157 p.

Рец.: Сахарова Т. — *Вопросы философии.* М., 1971, № 11, стр. 146—147.

Dvořák L. *Ideologie neokolonialismu.* Praha, Politická kniznice, 1969, 300 s.

Рец.: Тарабрин Е. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения.* М., 1971, № 12, стр. 139—141.

Leach E. *Lévi-Strauss.* London, 1970, 126 pp.

Рец.: Медникова А. — *Вопросы философии.* М., 1971, № 11, стр. 169—171.

Mumford L. *The Myth of the Machine. The Pentagon of Power.* New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970, 496 pp.

Рец.: Герасимов Г. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения.* М., 1971, № 12, стр. 132—134.

Ničev A. *L'énigme de la catharsis tragique dans l'Aristote.* Sophia, 1970, 250 p.

Рец.: Тахо-Годи А. — *Известия Академии наук СССР. Серия литературы и языка.* М., 1971, т. 30, вып. 6, стр. 560—562.

Law

Попов П. *Критика современных буржуазных теорий государства и права.* София, Наука и искусство, 1970, 689 с.

Рец.: Кененов А. — *Вестник Московского университета. Право.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 89—90.

Łętowska E. *Ustawa o świadczenie przez osobę trzecią.* Warszawa, 1970, 175 s.

Рец.: Маленин Н., Танчук И. — *Советское государство и право.* М., 1971, № 11, стр. 152—154.

Voicu I. *De l'interprétation authentique des traités internationaux.* Paris, 1968, 245 p.

Рец.: Талалаев А. — *Вестник Московского университета. Право.* М., 1971, № 6, стр. 88—89.

Economics

Asher R. E. *Development Assistance in the Seventies: Alternatives for the United States.* Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1970, 248 pp.

Рец.: Новиков В. — *Международная жизнь.* М., 1971, № 12, стр. 124—126.

Le capitalisme monopoliste d'état. Traité marxiste d'économie politique. T. 1-2. Paris, 1971. T. 1, 447 p., T. 2, 448 p.

Рец.: Черников Г. — *Рабочий класс и современный мир.* М., 1971, № 5—6, стр. 243—245.

Cox I. *The Hungry Half. A Study in the Exploitation of the "Third World".* London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1970, 124 pp.

Рец.: Волнянская В. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения.* М., 1971, № 11, стр. 149—150.

Hayter T. *Aid as Imperialism.* Harmondsworth (London), Penguin Books, 1971, 222 pp.

Рец.: Аркадьев Н. — *Международная жизнь.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 148.

Der Imperialismus der FRD. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1971, 678 S.

Рец.: Степанов А. — *Рабочий класс и современный мир.* М., 1971, № 5—6, стр. 251—256.

Okun A. M. *The Political Economy of Prosperity.* Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1970, 152 pp.

Рец.: Кондратьев А. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология.* М., 1972, № 1, стр. 92—93.

Pieske E. *Gold. Devisen. Sonderziehung-srechte.* Bonn, Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft, 1970, 94 S.

Рец.: Федоров В. — *Мировая экономика и международные отношения.* М., 1971, № 11, стр. 142—146.

The Technology Gap: US and Europe, New York — Washington — London, 1970. 158 pp.

Рец.: Громека В. — *США — экономика, политика, идеология*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 75—78.

Vinhas M. *Problemas agrário-componeses do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização brasileira, 1968, 244 p.

Рец.: Коваль Б. — *Латинская Америка*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 143—145.

Zawadzki S. M. *Podstawy planowania regionalnego*. Warszawa, 1969, 274 s.

Рец.: Пробст А. — *Вопросы экономики*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 141—142.

Literary Criticism

Димитров Г. *За литературата, изкуството и културата*. София. Изд. на Българската комунистическа партия, 1971, 373 с.

Рец.: Злыднев В. — *Вопросы литературы*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 246—249.

Димитров-Рудар П. *Современността и детската литература*. София, Български писател, 1971, 171 с.

Рец.: Мотяшов И. — *Вопросы литературы*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 253—256.

Живков Т. Ив. *Български антифашистски песнен фолклор*. София, Изд. на Българската академия на науките, 1970, 293 с.

Рец.: Кирдан Б. — *Вопросы литературы*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 259—261.

Каролев С. *Идеи Изображение*. Стил. София, Български писател, 1971, 512 с.

Рец.: Опульский А. — *Вопросы литературы*. М., 1971, № 12, стр. 256—259.

Historia literatury perskiej i tadżyckiej. Pod red. J. Rypki. Warszawa, PWN, 1970, 400 s.

Рец.: Белан В. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 5, стр. 192—194.

Kailaspathy K. *Tamil Heroic Poetry*. Oxford University Press, 1968, 282 pp.

Рец.: Дубянский А. — *Вестник Московского университета. Востоковедение*. 1971, № 2, стр. 83—85.

Rochow I. *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kasia*. Berlin, 1967, 296 S.

Рец.: Аверьянцев С. — *Византийский вестник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 249—251.

Smaga J. *Antoni Pogorielski, Zycie i twórczość na tle epoki*. Wrocław-Warszawa-

Kraków, Wydawnictwo Polskiej akademii nauk, 1970, 180 s.

Рец.: Тименчик Р. — *Вопросы литературы*. М., 1972, № 1, стр. 224—226.

Vaudevill Ch. *L'invocation. Le Hariṣāth de Dñyandev*. Paris, 1969, VI, 170 p. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. LXXIII).

Рец.: Зорграф Г. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 208—210.

Vandevill Ch. *Soúr-Dás. Pastorales*. Trad. de la langue braj avec introduction, notes et glosaire. Paris, Gallimard, 1971, 208 p.

Рец.: Зорграф Г. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 208—210.

Linguistics

Browning R. *Medieval and Modern Greek*. London, Hutchinson University Library, 1969, 152 pp.

Рец.: Белецкий А. — *Византийский вестник*. М., 1971, т. 32, стр. 266—267.

Lacuesta G. *Filipino ((Manila lingua franca) versus Pilipino (Abakada Tagalog)*. Publ. by National Language Anti-Purism Movement. Quezon City (Philippines), 1967, 171 pp.

Рец.: Макаренко В. — *Народы Азии и Африки*. М., 1971, № 6, стр. 191—193.

Education

Jskola és honvédelem. Budapest, Tankönyvkiado, 1968.

Рец.: Мансфельд Д. — *Советская педагогика*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 146—147.

Klotz G. *Programmierter Unterrichte in Uertahven für morgen*. München, 1969.

Рец.: Юськович В. — *Советская педагогика*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 147—149.

Lowe G. *Adult Education in England and Wales. A Critical Survey*. London, 1970.

Рец.: Антонова Д. — *Советская педагогика*. М., 1971, № 9, стр. 148—149.

Weaver K. D. *Lenin's Grandchildren. Pre-school Education in the Soviet Union*. New York, 1971.

Рец.: Эггольм И. — *Советская педагогика*. М., 1971, № 11, стр. 149—150.

NEW BOOKS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES PUT OUT BY PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Below we publish a list of new books by Soviet authors issued by the Moscow Progress Publishers in English in 1970-1971. (A similar list of books published in 1967-1969 you will find in the quarterly *Social Sciences*, No 2, 1970.)

Books by Progress Publishers are distributed by the firms dealing with V/O "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga", 121200, Moscow, USSR.

1970

U. I. Lenin—the Great Theoretician (Collection of articles edited by M. Iskrov).

304 pp.
Andreyev A. *The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on the Eve of the October Revolution*. 380 pp.

Georgiyev N. *Soviet Union Today*. 190 pp.
Glezerman G. *Socialist Society: Scientific Principles of Development*. 271 pp.

Grigoryan L., Dolgoplov V. *Fundamentals of Soviet State Law*. 328 pp.
History of Soviet Society. 455 pp.

Ivanov Y. *Caution: Zionism! (Essays on the Ideology, Organisation and Practice of Zionism)*. 160 pp.

Kaushik D. *Central Asia in Modern Times (A History from the Early 19th Century)*. 270 pp.

Kosolapov R. *Communism and Freedom*. 130 pp.

Kunetskaya L., Mashtakova K., Subbotina Z. *Lenin—Great and Human*. 162 pp.

Leibson B. *Petty-Bourgeois Revolutionism*. 196 pp.

Menshikov S. *Millionaires and Managers*. 288 pp.

Perfilyev M. *Soviet Democracy and Bourgeois Sovietology*. 160 pp.

Poltorak A. *The Nuremberg Epilogue*. 460 pp.

Porshnev B. *Social Psychology and History*. 120 pp.

Rumyantsev A. *Categories and Laws of the Political Economy of Communism*. 416 pp.

Skvortsov L. *The Ideology and Tactics of Anticommunism (Myths and Realities)*. 128 pp.

Socialism and Capitalism. Results and Prospects of Development. 288 pp.

Spirkin A., Yakhot O. *Fundamentals of Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. 192 pp.

Trukhanovsky V. *British Foreign Policy During World War II (1939-1945)*. 480 pp.

Two Hundred Days of Fire. 250 pp.

Zhilin P. *They Sealed Their Own Doom*. 262 pp.

Zhukov Ye. and others. *The Third World. Problems and Prospects. Current Stage of National-Liberation Struggle*. 280 pp.

1971

Leninism and the World Revolutionary Movement. 497 pp.

Afanasyev V. *The Scientific Management of Society*. 285 pp.

Bogush Y. *Maoism and Its Policy of Splitting the National Liberation Movement*. 128.

Development of Revolutionary Theory by the CPSU. 336 pp.

Elements of Political Knowledge. 288 pp.

Facts About the USSR. 207 pp.

Issraeljan V. *The Anti-Hitler Coalition*. 423 pp.

Krasin Y. *Lenin, Revolution and the World Today*. 288 pp.

Maoism Through the Eyes of Communists. 160 pp.

Military Solidarity and Fraternal Aid. (Soviet Foreign Policy on the Vietnamese Question). 160 pp.

Omarov A. *Organisation of Industry and Construction in the USSR*. 130 pp.

Pereslegin V. *Finance and Credit in the USSR*. 180 pp.

Privalov V. *Foundation of Young Communist League*. 238 pp.

Simush P. *The Soviet Collective Farm*. 160 pp.

The Soviet Army. 240 pp.

Our Authors

- PODGORNY Nikolai** Political Bureau Member, CC CPSU; President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
- NEKRASOV Nikolai** Academician, Chairman of the Council for the Study of Productive Forces under the State Planning Committee of the USSR and Chairman of the Council for International Scientific Ties in Regional Research under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialist in industrial economics, the national economy, distribution of productive forces and regional planning. Author of many works including *Gasification in the Soviet National Economy*, *Economics of the Chemical Industry*, *Development of Natural Resources in the Eastern Regions of the USSR*.
- DUDINSKY Ilya** Professor, D. Sc. (Econ.), Deputy Director of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of works on problems of the development of the world socialist system, economic and political relations between the socialist countries, the struggle and competition of the two world systems.
- AFANASYEV Victor** Professor, D. Sc. (Philos.), First Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*. Author of the monographs *The Problem of Integrity in Philosophy and Biology*, *Scientific Management of Society*, *Scientific Communism*, the textbook *Fundamentals of Philosophical Knowledge*.
- FEDOSEYEV Pyotr** Academician, Vice-President, USSR Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Social Sciences Department of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU. Author of many works on philosophy, sociology, historical materialism and scientific communism (dialectics of contemporary social development, interaction of productive forces and production relations, the role of the masses and the individual in history, problems of humanism), including the monographs *Dialectics of the Present Epoch*, *Communism and Philosophy*, *V. I. Lenin. Biography* (co-author), *Karl Marx. Biography* (head of the group of authors).
- KEDROV Bonifati** Academician, Director of the Institute of the History of the Natural Sciences and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, Head of the group studying the theory of dialectics (jointly with the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences). Member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art, member of the International Academy of the History of Sciences. Author of more than 400 works on philosophy, the history of the natural sciences, logics, dialectics and science of sciences, including the monographs *Lenin and the Revolution in the Natural Sciences of the 20th Century*, *Engels on the Dialectics of the Natural Sciences*, *Classification of Sciences* (Vols. 1-2), *Repetition in the Process of Development*, *Qualitative Changes in Nature*, *Three Aspects of Atomistics* (Vols. 1-3).

VASILCHUK Yuri

Cand. Sc. (Econ.), Docent, Head of the Sector "The Economic Position of the Working Class in the Developed Capitalist Countries", Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of many works, including *Some Theoretical Questions of the Contemporary Development of Capitalist Large-scale Machine Production*, *Industrial Capital and the Industrial Proletariat*, *The Present Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Industrial Proletariat*, *F. Engels and Social Problems of Hired Labour*, *Marx's "Capital" and the Modern Theory of Capitalist Profits and Prices*, *The Basic Laws of the Socio-Economic Development of the Working Class Under Capitalism and Their Analysis in the Works of V. I. Lenin*.

SHCHERBINA Vladimir

Professor, D. Sc. (Philol.), Merited Scientist of the RSFSR, Deputy Director of the Gorky Institute of World Literature, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of the books *V. I. Lenin and Problems of Literature*, *Our Contemporary [Concept of the Individual in Literature of the 20th Century]*, *A. N. Tolstoy*, *Trends in Art* and other works.

TIKHVINSKY Sergei

Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor, Senior Researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, Head of the Modern History of China Group. Specialist in the modern and contemporary history of China and Japan and in the history of international relations in the Far East. Author of the monographs *The Reform Movement in China at the End of the 19th Century* and *K'ang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen. Foreign Policy Views and Practice*, and many other works.

SEREBRENNIKOV Boris

Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Head of the Sector of General Linguistics of the Institute of Linguistics, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of the monographs *Historical Morphology of the Perm Languages*, *The Relative Independence of the Development of the Language System*, *Historical Morphology of the Mordovian Languages* and many articles on general, comparative Finno-Ugric and Turkic linguistics.

SIMONIA Nodarl

Cand. Sc. (Econ.) Head of a Sector of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialist in economic and political problems of the national-liberation movement. Author of many works, including *Overseas Chinese in South-East Asia* (published in the USA in English in 1961), *The Bourgeoisie and the Formation of Nation in Indonesia*, *Features of National-Liberation Revolutions*.

OSIPOV Yuri

Cand. Sc. (Econ.), Head of the Sector of Foreign Currency and Financial Problems of the Developing Countries, Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Finance. Author and editor of the monographs *Financial Methods of Mobilisation of Accumulations in the Developing Countries*, *Financial Relations of the Developing Countries* and of a number of other works on economic and financial problems of foreign states.

TARASOV Konstantin

Cand. Sc. (Econ.), Head of the Territorial and Regional Problems Sector of the Institute of Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialist in the economic development of the Latin American countries, author of more than 50 works some of which were published in the periodical-press of Chile, Uruguay, Cuba and other countries.

In Our Next Issue:

- Development of Soviet Science
- Historic Significance of the Formation of the Soviet Federal State
- The Soviet People, a New Historical Community of People
- Scientific and Technological Progress and the Revolutionary Process
- New Problems and Methods of Management
- Specificity of Determining the Mental Process
- Typological Study of Literature
- Socialist Economic Integration and Cooperation with the Third World Countries



Issued jointly by the "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board and
Novosti Press Agency Publishing House

