

SOCIAL SCIENCES

International Significance
of the Great October Revolution

Socialism and Peace

Human Communication
in Space

The Legacy
of Jawaharlal Nehru

Epigones in Aesthetics

Ethnical Cartography

The Origins
of the Human Race

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Philosophy
History
Economics
Politics
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Philology
Psychology
Ethnography
Archaeology

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To the Reader

This year will see the celebration of a momentous date—the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first revolution in the history of mankind to bring genuine people's sovereignty.

The October Revolution and its impact on social progress is analysed in an article by the eminent Soviet historian *Academician I. Mints*. The Editors plan to publish a series of materials devoted to this anniversary in subsequent issues of the journal.

Socialism and Peace

The peaceful foreign policy of the Land of Soviets which it has pursued from the very first day of its existence is the subject of a selection of articles. *M. Zimyanin*, Secretary of the CC CPSU, discusses outstanding aspects of détente; *Academician A. Narochnitsky*—the foundations of the policy of peaceful coexistence in the historical perspective; *G. Shakhnazarov*—the factors which are essential for an adequate assessment of the state of contemporary international relations; *Yu. Krasin*—the social conditionality of political thinking and its connection with historical action; *V. Kuznetsov*—the struggle of the Soviet Union for the affirmation of the principle of the non-use of force as a universally recognised norm of international law.

This issue also carries the new *Stockholm Peace Appeal* which has received the unanimous support of all sections of the Soviet public.

Philosophy

Further creative enrichment of Marxist-Leninist philosophy presupposes, in the opinion of *V. Lektorsky* and *S. Melyukhin*, extensive research in materialist dialectics. In their article they discuss the aspects of this sphere of knowledge that need to be further developed.

History

The Soviet scholar *R. Ulyanovsky* writes about Jawaharlal Nehru, outstanding political figure and statesman, and original thinker of our times, and about the significance of his ideological legacy.

Economics

Further relaxation of international tension calls for supplementing the political détente by a military détente. Soviet scholars are giving much attention to this theme, as evidenced by the review of the Round Table discussion, *The Social and Economic Aspects of the Arms Race and Disarmament*, sponsored by the journal *The World Economy and International Relations*.

Concentration of Finance Capital, prepared by researchers of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, reflects the growing role of financial-monopoly groups, which occupy the dominant position in the capitalist world today, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

Aesthetics

Analysing the aesthetic concepts of E. Fischer and R. Garaudy, A. Zis shows that they turned to aesthetics not so much for the purpose of giving a scholarly exposition of the nature of art as for speculative purposes.

Psychology

International cooperation in space exploration makes it possible to foresee that various space vehicles will be manned by representatives of different countries. The study of human communication in international space flights is therefore most relevant, stress Soviet cosmonaut A. Leonov and psychologists B. Lomov and V. Lebedev in their article.

Ethnography

S. Bruk devotes his article to the methodology of ethnic cartography, and its development in the USSR on the basis of ethnic data and ethnic demography, with due account of socio-economic, political, natural and other factors.

Archaeology

The problem of the antiquity of man and the earliest stages of his evolution is examined by M. Urysson in the light of the latest discoveries in palaeoanthropology, palaeoprimatology and primitive archaeology.

Following an established tradition the Editors are continuing to expand the information and bibliographical sections of the journal. Beginning with this issue we are adding a new one *Our Glossary* which we hope will help our readers gain a more precise understanding of the writings of Soviet social scientists. We shall be glad to include in this new section any specific terms our readers would care to send in.

The Editors

The Great October and Social Progress

ISAAK MINTS

The history of mankind is a history of its continual, irresistible striving for social progress. In the course of this history one socio-economic formation replaced another, each more progressive than the previous one. The productive forces increased in number and became more diverse. Classes standing at the head of movements came and went. The correlation of classes changed as also did the classes themselves. The forms of exploitation became ever more complex and subtle. One form of struggle gave way to another. New slogans were proclaimed. Many progressive representatives of the working people lost their lives in the liberation struggle, as it happened, e.g., when the Paris Commune was defeated. But new generations of working people joined the process of social progress, dreaming of putting an end to all forms of exploitation. This process has acquired particular scope in our times. Like a gigantic spring flood the great liberation movement, whose ultimate goal is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is coursing across all lands and continents.

The three powerful social forces which are its motive power are becoming ever more clearly defined. The world of socialism is rapidly developing as a society which knows no exploitation, as a society that is more and more actively influencing the course of social progress. The mass working-class movement is shaking the world of capitalism which is experiencing one crisis after another. The collapse of the colonial empires is coming to full circle and the peoples who had been

I. Mints, Academician, Hero of Socialist Labour, the author of numerous works devoted to the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

thrust back from the highroad of historical development by imperialism are taking their place in the general stream of the revolutionary struggle. The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the beginning of this mighty liberation movement.

Revolutions have always been important landmarks in history. It is revolutions that lead to the replacement of one socio-economic formation by another, more progressive one; that put in power new classes designated to carry out the tasks and aims of the revolution.

These are generally known truths but they have to be mentioned again for there are attempts on the part of bourgeois ideologues to call them in question as the 14th International Congress of Historical Sciences held in the United States in August 1975, showed in particular. The "central issue" was the problem of revolution. This is not accidental, for more than 30 revolutions have taken place in the world in the past half century.

Representatives of bourgeois historical sciences—reporters and some of the participants in the discussion—tried to give their definition of revolution. They spoke of such of its features as the use of force; changes in the social structure in a short space of time; participation of the masses, subjective factors, etc. Marxist historians who participated in the discussion showed that the enumerated features can be characteristic of one or another revolution or of a number of revolutions, but none of them is a determining feature, none of them helps to distinguish revolution from counter-revolution or from a palace revolution. They showed that there exists a Marxist and truly scientific definition of revolution: if the contradictions that have accumulated in a country, especially between the productive forces that have grown and the relations of production which fetter their development, are resolved through the transfer of power to a new, more progressive class, then this is a revolution; if however contradictions are resolved through the preservation of political power in the hands of the old ruling class, then we are dealing with a reform, irrespective of whether force is used and whether there are victims. In the Marxist definition of revolution it is not a question of a change of power in general, but of the advent to power of a new class. It is this that distinguishes revolution from counter-revolution which returns the power to the old ruling class, from a palace revolution or from the transfer of power from one general to another, which takes place quite often in the contemporary world.

Reporters at the congress, supported by some who took part in the discussion, alleged that it is possible to avoid revolution, that it is not at all an indispensable condition for social development, that the same results can be achieved without revolution. History, however, convincingly refutes this concept: not a single ruling class has ever given up power voluntarily, and if it has made concessions then only under the pressure of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, only under the threat of a revolution. Even if a revolution has failed and the power remains in the hands of the former classes, they are compelled to make concessions to the people, to settle, at least in

movement and bringing it to a head through the participation of part, some of the problems that called forth the revolution. The grave-diggers of revolution as Marx characterised the counter-revolutionaries who crushed the revolution of 1848 in Germany had no choice but to become its "executors" and take upon themselves fulfilment of the unsolved tasks of the revolution, that of unification of the country in the first place. Tsarism in Russia, after it crushed the revolution of 1905-1907, was compelled to convoke the State Duma, this substitute for a parliament, and to settle the agrarian question which had been the basic issue of the revolution. Tsarism "settled" this question by reducing millions of peasants to ruin, by unleashing a wave of terror and violence, sending thousands of people to the gallows and hundreds of thousands to penal servitude. But all this notwithstanding it could no longer keep the countryside in its former state.

Revolutions are the engines of social progress. They all inevitably lead to its further advance. But the Great October Socialist Revolution differs from all other revolutions in its character, tasks and aims, in its tremendous impact on the whole world and on the social progress of mankind.

The ideologues of imperialism, however, choose to ignore this, they choose to distort the very concept "social progress" or to deny it in general. Some of them reduce it to technical achievements, ignoring their class consequences; others define it as a subjective process, putting into this concept an arbitrary content.

Social progress, Marxists consider, covers all aspects of the life and activity of society, beginning with the place and role of various classes and groups in production and ending with their ideology. All these varied aspects can be reduced to three decisive factors. To begin with, social progress is determined by the development of the productive forces. Lenin always regarded this as the "highest criterion of social progress",¹ and after the victory of the October Revolution never missed the opportunity to stress again and again that productivity of labour "is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system".²

Secondly, when underscoring the development of the productive forces as the decisive criterion of social progress Marxists consider them in their social context. This is where the Marxist world outlook differs fundamentally from that of the bourgeois world outlook. Blind admiration for the development of the productive forces led the "legal Marxist" P. Struve to draw the anti-scientific conclusion that one should go "to capitalism for training". The other essential criterion of social progress Marxists consider the characteristics of the social relations of production: do they correspond to the productive forces, or are they like imperialism a hindrance to the development of the productive forces. Thirdly, social progress is closely bound up with the continuous broadening of its social base, with the participation of ever broader masses in public activities. Lenin noted that Marx was concerned "with extending the scope of the bourgeois-democratic

broader and more 'plebeian' masses, the petty-bourgeoisie in general, the peasantry in particular, and finally of the poor classes as a whole".³

Lenin attached exceptional importance to extending the social base of progress. In 1897 in his article "The Heritage We Renounce", in which he criticises the Narodniks, he called this precept "one of the profoundest and most important" in Marxism: "As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase".⁴ Twenty-three years later, in 1920, three years after the establishment of Soviet power and its victory over the interventionists, Lenin again, at the 8th All-Russia Congress of Soviets stressed that the October Revolution left all other revolutions far behind because it aroused millions of people to take an active part in the work of building up the new society. "The greater the scope and extent of historical events," he said, "the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."⁵

The fulfilment of Marx's behest to extend the social base of progress remains the aim of the Communists of the whole world.

In substantiating the essence of social progress and thereby enriching science, Marxism-Leninism advanced two important criteria. The first is that it demands a historical approach to the question of progress: progress in comparison with what, in respect to what? In respect to feudalism with its snail-like pace of development, with its feudal mode of exploitation capitalism is a progressive phenomenon for it develops the productive forces more quickly and on a broader scale; for in its depths is forged the class that will take upon itself leadership of the further struggle for social progress.

The second criterion is that Marxism-Leninism demands a class approach to social progress: what class advances progress, what classes does it benefit? The bourgeoisie advances progress in the struggle against the feudal lords, but it turns the successes of this struggle to its own advantage, yielding only morsels to the masses. Scientific and technical progress, undoubtedly, rapidly develops the productive forces also in the capitalist countries, but it is the monopolists who profit by the results of these achievements. The proletariat when it comes to power radically changes the entire content of progress: it directs it against the exploiters in the interests of the entire people.

The ideologues of imperialism would have the broad masses believe that communism is saturated with class egoism, that it defends the interests only of the proletariat. A most widespread stratagem in this respect is to contrast the proletarian revolutions of the 20th century to the bourgeois revolutions of the 19th century and the Great October Socialist Revolution to the February bourgeois-democratic revolution (1917). The latter, declare bourgeois historians, was a

national one whereas the revolution in October 1917 was carried out by the proletariat and solely in its own interests. These constructions of the anti-Communists are shown up by the facts of history which confirm the objective law of development of the proletariat's liberatory mission. To begin with, being at the very bottom of the social ladder the proletariat cannot liberate itself without liberating all working people. Secondly, in no country does the proletariat constitute the majority of the people and it cannot achieve complete success in a revolution and in building a new society without the participation of the entire mass of the working people, without an alliance with the broadest masses of the oppressed. Lenin stressed that "the proletariat is the vanguard class of all the oppressed, the focus and centre of all the aspirations of all the oppressed for their emancipation".⁶

* * *

The role and significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in world progress are immeasurable. There is not a single sphere of human life, material or spiritual, that has not felt the influence of the vivifying ideas and inspiring experience of the construction of the new society: beginning with the revolutionary initiative of the working people of Russia, the first to break the chain of imperialism, and ending with the flowering of the creative activity of the Soviet people. Of the many varied forms of the Great October Socialist Revolution's impact on the course of world history we shall touch only upon its influence on social progress, and at that only on some of its directions.

It is first of all the construction of a socialist society. For centuries mankind dreamt of a social system free of all forms of exploitation. Many great people dedicated their lives to elaborating ideas that would serve as the guidelines for building the new society, but only the genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin embodied them in the harmonious theory of scientific socialism, which was put into practice for the first time under the leadership of Lenin. The new system exerts its main influence on world history by its successes in the economy. Socialism revealed all the advantages of public property. Before the world there appeared a system which knows no crises and slumps, no unemployment — this scourge of the working people. The working class became the leading force of society uniting around it the entire people. In the socialist countries the peasantry for the first time in the history of mankind not only realised their dream of land but also occupied an equal position in governing society. Socialism put an end to national oppression and inequality, to the actual inequality between nations, created by the former ruling classes. Socialism gave the backward peoples the possibility to bypass the long and difficult road of capitalism and level up with the advanced nations in their economic and intellectual development. From a privilege of the ruling classes art and science became the privilege of the people.

For the first time in history a system has been created which ensures limitless possibilities for the development of the productive forces, this highest criterion of social progress, to cite Lenin. Foreign military intervention and the Civil War prevented Soviet Russia from immediately turning to the work of developing the productive forces: the country had to concentrate all its resources on defence, on defeating the forces of intervention. Imperialism did not achieve its objective—to destroy the socialist state; but as a result of the intervention the national economy was completely dislocated. One of the active organisers of the intervention, Winston Churchill, declared at the time that it would take more than one generation to raise Russia from the ruins. But he did not take into account the character of the new system, the purposeful activity of the Communists, the heroism of the working people and their selfless work to restore the national economy. The Soviet state set about developing and strengthening the most valuable and decisive part of society's productive forces—the working class. Within a short five years the ruined national economy was restored and the Land of Soviets focused its efforts on industrialisation and collectivisation, on socialist construction.

Churchill miscalculated even more when he predicted in his notorious Fulton speech that the Soviet Union, allegedly weakened by the common struggle against fascism would for a long time not rank among the Great Powers. But under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people, headed by the working class, completed the restoration of the national economy in a very short space of time. Today the Soviet Union holds first place in the world in a number of decisive industries. An essential condition of social progress, that is the constant, unhampered development of the productive forces, is known to be an objective law of socialism.

"The socialist countries' influence on world affairs is becoming ever stronger and deeper," L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed at the 25th Congress of the Party. "That is a great boon to mankind as a whole, to all those who aspire to freedom, equality, independence, peace and progress."⁷

The significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution for social progress also lies in the fact that it gave the world a new type of power, one corresponding to the new society. Still during the revolution of 1905-1907 the working class of Russia formed the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The genius of Lenin saw in them not only a form of organisation of the masses, which in itself was a great achievement, but also a new type of state power. In 1917 the Soviets became the new state power. It was precisely the existence of a ready form of power that was one of the decisive reasons for the rapid victory of the socialist revolution. "Soviet power," Lenin said, "is the road to socialism that was discovered by the masses of the working people, and that is why it is the true road, that is why it is invincible."⁸

This does not necessarily mean that a socialist society in any country will be based on Soviets and governed by them. Suffice it to

recall that Lenin upon receiving news about the socialist revolution in Hungary in 1919 recommended not to copy revolutionary Russia. Future socialist revolutions may possibly advance new forms—the creativity of the working people is inexhaustible. But in all such cases the type of power will be the same as that advanced by the October Revolution and which the entire subsequent development of history has confirmed. The further advances in man's social progress were to a tremendous degree facilitated by the fact that the October Revolution ushered in a new type of state power, which is the continuation and further development in new historical conditions of the experience of the Paris Commune.

The Soviets, as earlier noted, are not only a form of state power but also of the organisation of the masses, the materialisation of the alliance of workers and peasants, of the broad non-proletarian masses. Historical experience has also borne out the correctness of Lenin's doctrine of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry as the decisive social force capable of carrying out a revolution and creating a new society. In his elaboration of this doctrine Lenin defined the various stages in the development of this alliance, the changes in the composition and correlation of class forces in it at different periods of social life: in the bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat acted together with the entire peasantry; in the socialist revolution—together with the peasant poor; after the successful carrying out of the October Revolution—in an alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry. "The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable," Lenin said in 1921 at the 9th All-Russia Congress of Soviets. "Sooner or later it will come—twenty years earlier or twenty years later—and... we are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance between the workers and peasants."⁹ In this was vividly and convincingly manifested the basic criterion of social progress—the development and strengthening of new social relations.

The struggle for peace, made feasible by the October Revolution, is exerting an ever stronger and enduring influence on social progress. Wars are inherent in capitalism just as are crises and unemployment. This applies to imperialism to an even greater degree. In only 20 years, beginning with the turn of the century, mankind experienced eight big wars and a large number of smaller conflicts, all of them a rehearsal, as it were, of a world war: the war against Spain, unleashed by the US monopolists (1898)—the first war for redivision of the world; the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902); the war of the imperialist powers for the division of China (1900-1901), the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905); the Italo-Turkish war (1911-1912); the two Balkan wars (1912-1913) which became the forerunners of a world war and, finally, the First World War (1914-1918). Each of the listed wars took a heavy toll in lives; 10 million killed and 20 million wounded and crippled—such was the "balance sheet" of the imperialist First World War. Already in the first Soviet law, the Decree on Peace, the Great October Socialist Revolution called upon the peoples to put an end to wars. Henceforth the victorious socialist

revolution continued its selfless struggle for peace, at first alone, but afterwards together with other socialist countries, supported by ever larger number of peoples of all lands and continents. Mankind has proved for itself that the fight for peace is not at all a sign of weakness of the new system, as imperialism's advocates claimed. It is an objective law of socialism. Peace and socialism are indivisible. More and more people of our planet are becoming convinced of this.

Among the issues characterising the influence of the October Revolution on social progress of particular significance is that of the new forms of relations between peoples, and specifically of friendship between peoples and proletarian internationalism. The sources of friendly relations between peoples go back to antiquity. Friendship of peoples has always, especially at times of joint struggle against aggressors and enslavers, yielded tangible results and left an indelible imprint in the memories of generations. But under an antagonistic class system friendship of peoples could not become an objective law of social development. The ruling classes saw in it a threat to their rule and by every means fomented national enmity. It was only with the appearance of the proletariat, to whose share fell the historic mission of liberating mankind from capitalist oppression, that internationalism came into being—the supreme manifestation of friendship of peoples.

Contemporary international relations, especially the Soviet Union's many-sided relations with the countries of socialism and the socialist countries' relations with the countries that are gaining their freedom from imperialism, convincingly show how social progress has been enriched by the new relations between peoples. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, July 30-August 1, 1975) showed the whole world that the question of peaceful coexistence, advanced for the first time by the Great October Revolution, is the cardinal issue for mankind. Upon the realisation of this principle depend peace, security and the further development of all nations. Henceforth mankind can devote the greater part of its means to joint efforts to fight hunger and disease, growing pollution of the environment and the exhaustion of raw materials sources. This is a striking instance of the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution on social progress.

The Revolution's influence on human progress is also seen in the fundamental change in science's and art's social role under socialism. Science and art have always and in all societies been important indicators of social progress, but in antagonistic societies it was the ruling classes who enjoyed the fruits of creative achievements. The owners of the means of production, the exploiters stifled creative thought, bought and bribed talent. The ruling classes turned science into a means of getting and increasing profits, leaving the working people only that minimum of knowledge necessary for operating machines, the use of which ever expanded. Characterising the position of science under the exploiter system Lenin at the 3rd All-Russia Congress of Soviets, in January 1918 said: "In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the

benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the bare necessities, education and development." Only with the abolition of the exploiter society does science receive the opportunity to develop unhampered in the interests of the working people. Lenin goes on to say: "From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation."¹⁰ This statement by the great leader of the revolution became one of the guiding principles in building the new society. Suffice it to cite, in confirmation of this, one of the many examples and indicators of the fundamental change in science's role in socialist society—the development of the USSR Academy of Sciences which marked its 250th anniversary in 1975.

The autocratic and serfowning system under which the Academy of Sciences developed fettered the creative initiative of scientists, hampered the progress of science. The idea of training national cadres, leave alone setting up national academies was treated with disdain by Russia's ruling circles. As a result the Academy of Sciences became more and more insular. At the beginning of its activities (right up to the February revolution of 1917 it was called the Imperial Academy of Sciences), the Moscow University was formed on the initiative of M. Lomonosov. Later, however, the Academy collaborated less and less with the university's professors, made no attempt to unite the country's scientific forces to solve vitally important problems, and thus hampered the advance of science. Although it included in its composition many outstanding scientists and scholars the Academy, under the pressure of reactionary groups, did not give the brilliant chemist D. Mendeleev chance to become a full member. The election of Maxim Gorky to the Academy was revoked by Nicholas II. The tsarist government, supporting and encouraging reactionary circles and ignoring the protests of progressive scientists and scholars, did everything it could to turn the Academy into a copy of its system, into an institution divorced from the people and upholding the interests of the ruling classes.

The Great October Socialist Revolution liberated science, broke the fetters that trammelled the activity of the Academy of Sciences. Soviet power had scarcely been established throughout the country when Lenin in January 1918 instructed A. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, to begin talks to enlist the active participation of the Academy of Sciences in building up the national economy. Lenin opened up before the country's scientists vast opportunities in building the new society. In his "Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work", written in April 1918, he put before the Academy the task "to set up a number of expert commissions for the speediest possible compilation of a plan for the reorganisation of industry and the economic progress of Russia".¹¹

The underlying idea of Lenin's draft plan was not only to draw scientists into building the new society but also to change the role and place of science in socialist society: the cooperation of the Academy of Sciences was enlisted in drawing up the Soviet Republic's first

economic development plan. This kind of task, it might be noted, was never put before the Russian Academy of Sciences, leave alone the academies of other countries. Inspired by the scope and prospects of socialist construction the Academy's scientists responded to the call of the people's government. Two years later they took an active part in working out the plan for the electrification of the country, the GOELRO plan, which Lenin described as "a second Party programme".¹² Engaged in combat with world imperialism and compelled to mobilise all its resources for the defence of the socialist motherland the Soviet power was nevertheless able in incredibly difficult conditions to allot funds for the development of science. Lenin's initiative has since then become a principle of socialist construction: the USSR Academy of Sciences always participates in the long-range planning of the national economy. When the country turned to the work of peaceful construction it rendered steadily increasing assistance to the Academy. New research institutes and laboratories were set up, the number of research associates increased. The Academy more and more became an institution closely linked with the people whose interests it represented and defended, more and more began to base its activity on the principle of internationalism.

When power passed into the hands of the working people science received broad opportunities not only to display its essence and realise its aspiration for international contacts, and scientific exchange, but also to turn this aspiration into an objective law of the new system. On the initiative of the Academy of Sciences and with its support branches of the Academy were established in the fraternal republics of the USSR which in due course became republican academies of sciences. Today the 15 academies of sciences constitute a single system of Soviet academic science. Underlying this process is the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The internationalism of the USSR Academy of Sciences is not confined to the establishment of republican science centres and assistance to them. It has rendered assistance to the academies of sciences in socialist countries, has helped to set up new academies where such did not exist before, has shared its experience with them. Soviet scientists and scholars are also helping to advance science in the developing countries that have broken with imperialism. The activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences which is intrinsically international is a great contribution to scientific and technical progress.

In its activity in the fields of education and science, and in socialist construction as a whole the Soviet state displayed that basic feature of social progress, that objective law of development which Lenin characterised as the extension of its social base. This objective law of development cannot be artificially created — it manifests itself in the process of social life. But once it has been revealed and generalised then it is the task of the advanced representatives of the class at the head of society to propagandise and support it, to remove all obstacles standing in its way. The entire activity of the Communist Party furnishes an example of this. Already in his first speech after the

successful uprising in Petrograd Lenin, reporting to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on the Decree on Peace, stressed that it was essential to enlist the support of the masses themselves: "We must therefore help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace."¹³ The Party and the Soviet state made this a principle of their policy, as is borne out by the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and further elaborated at the 25th Congress.

The entire activity of the Communist Party is oriented towards extending the class base of social progress. "In the final analysis," Lenin said, "the reason our revolution has left all other revolutions far behind is that, through the Soviet form of government, it has aroused tens of millions of people, formerly uninterested in state development, to take an active part in the work of building up the state."¹⁴ This Leninist principle is steadfastly, systematically and skilfully put into practice by the Soviet state.

The broader and deeper the irresistible process of mankind's liberation from all forms of imperialist exploitation the more clearly emerges the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, illuminating the further course of social progress.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 13, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 427.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 524.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 270.

⁷ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 10.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 249; see also Vol. 27, pp. 89-90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 177.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-482.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 320.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 515.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 252.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

Socialism and Peace

In the Name of the Strengthening of Peace

MIKHAIL ZIMYANIN

Dear Friends, Esteemed Guests,

I am happy to extend cordial greetings to you on behalf of the Soviet Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces and the Soviet public.

Regular meetings of the Working Organs of the International Continuing Liaison Council undoubtedly render the cooperation of international and national public organisations more effective, businesslike and concrete in realising the various jointly formulated initiatives.

As is evident from the speech of Romesh Chandra, President of the International Committee, a characteristic feature of the activities of organisations which continue to cooperate since the 1973 Moscow Congress is the desire to broaden the dialogue and to further strengthen their contacts. It may be said that the stability of the cooperation of the movements and organisations of the peace forces, of their relations, based on the principles of complete equality, mutual respect and a free exchange of different views, has been tested in practice over a long period of time.

Every credit is due those organisations and political and public personalities who, while holding different political and philosophical views, overcame the momentum of the cold war and entered into an open and constructive dialogue to explore ways of strengthening peace and international security. This without doubt opened a new important chapter in the activities of the peace forces.

The Soviet public highly values the cooperation of international and national organisations which took shape at the Moscow Congress

Speech by M. Zimyanin, Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Soviet Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, at the enlarged meeting of the International Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces.

and in subsequent joint actions in the name of promoting and deepening détente and of improving international relations. This cooperation can and must become an even more powerful factor now, after the new and significant successes achieved in the pursuit of peace and the security of nations. When we gathered in October 1973 at the World Congress, war was still raging in Vietnam, the Middle East was the arena of intensive hostilities, the peoples of Angola and Mozambique were still waging a struggle against the troops of the Portuguese colonialists, and the European states had only begun their deliberations at the European Conference.

The situation has changed radically since then. We welcome the victory of the Vietnamese people and of other peoples of Indochina, the emergence of new free states in Africa, the fruitful completion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and note that all these historic events strengthen the determination of the peaceloving public to redouble their efforts in the name of the peaceful future of nations.

For all the complexity and contradictoriness of present world development it is indisputable that détente, the extension and deepening of constructive cooperation of states and peoples on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, are the dominating trend in international life.

This conclusion is convincingly borne out by the analysis of the international situation made at the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU not only clearly and unequivocally underscored the continuity and stability of the foreign policy of the USSR, the goals of which have remained unchanged ever since Lenin's time — ensuring peaceful conditions for the labour of Soviet people, strengthening world peace, support of the just aspirations of the peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress. The CPSU also outlined new tasks of still greater magnitude for strengthening peace and the security of peoples. They are reflected in the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, which was presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and unanimously approved by our Party and the entire Soviet people.

Thinking back to the World Congress of Peace Forces, its participants will easily recall the complex international problems that were still outstanding and which gave rise to profound concern. Analysing the main points in Comrade Brezhnev's report at the 25th Congress and the Programme of further struggle for peace he put forward, we see which of these problems have been settled and the concrete ways suggested by our Party, by our country for settling the remaining ones.

Our Party has given priority, and this is supported by all Soviet people, to the entire range of problems connected with the materialisation of détente, with the creation of conditions making for steady relaxation and eventually the complete removal of the threat of a world war.

These conditions are, first and foremost, termination of the arms race which is dangerous for the cause of peace, and transition to the reduction of the accumulated stockpiles, to disarmament. The concrete ways of achieving this objective are the completion of the drawing up of another agreement between the USSR and the USA on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms; the conclusion of international agreements on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, on the prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and also other means of influencing the environment for military and other hostile ends.

It is further activation of the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the introduction of a practice of systematic reduction of the military spending of states, the earliest convocation of a World Disarmament Conference. Finally, it is the new initiative of the Soviet Union—the proposal to conclude a World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations.

An unbiased view of the disastrous consequences of the arms race makes it patent that militarisation, which entails an incredible burden of military spending, aggravates the spiralling of inflation, of the cost of living, and economic dislocations which have engulfed the capitalist world and whose first victims are millions of working people. In their turn, these crisis trends, in many respects of unprecedented force and sharpness, have fuelled anti-democratic trends in a number of countries and increased the danger of extreme Right-wing forces stepping up their activities.

It is a matter of particular urgency today to do everything to give détente concrete forms of mutually advantageous cooperation among states. It is necessary to work for the elimination of the remaining hotbeds of tension and in the first place for a just political settlement in the Middle East; to give effect to all the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; to work for security in Asia on the basis of joint efforts by the countries of that continent; to work for the complete elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and racism, the removal of discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade; the abolition of all forms of inequality, *diktat*, and exploitation in international economic relations.

Recent international developments most clearly confirm that the struggle for a lasting and just peace in the world, for the reorganisation of international relations on the sound principles of security and cooperation on an equal basis is indissolubly connected both with the measures taken at government level and with the ability of the broadest masses to influence international developments.

The process of normalisation and reorganisation of international relations calls for continuous movement forward. It does not brook procrastination, marking time, because every delay, every break in its advance is fraught with the danger of rolling back, of cold war relapses. The necessity to further rally public forces, to increase their vigilance in the struggle for peace, national independence and the

security of peoples far from decreasing is increasing because every new success on this road arouses the furious resistance of the still powerful forces of war and militarism, of the proponents of great-power chauvinism and hegemony, of the imperialists and reactionaries of all stripes.

Ask those who today comprise the international bloc of the opponents of the policy of détente what alternative do they propose?

The opponents of détente are deliberately distorting the true meaning and content of the very concept of détente, ascribing to it characteristics that are totally foreign to it, and when reality shatters their artificial notions they stridently allege that “détente has not justified hopes”. In reality their political ambitions are leading to a dangerous impasse from which there is only one way out—back to the cold war.

We emphatically reject the speculative allegations that only one side benefits from détente. Détente is a concrete expression of the policy of peaceful coexistence. And we as a country with a socialist system openly say that we need the possibility of developing in conditions of détente and a lessening of the burden of armaments, that we want a lasting peace. Yes, we benefit from détente. But all nations and all states equally need it and benefit from it since they are interested in putting an end to military rivalry, in putting their relations on a constructive footing, in promoting cooperation.

The policy of détente is not the monopoly of anyone. The very process of détente has revealed a considerable area of common interest, of agreement among states belonging to opposed social systems regarding the main issues of war and peace.

Détente, given a correct understanding of its substance, concerns international relations. It means relaxation of tension in these relations, peaceful means of settling disputes among states. But détente does not mean the repudiation of one's ideological or political beliefs, or of the right of every nation to settle questions of social progress and democratic development freely and without external interference. It goes without saying that it is impermissible to refer to détente for justification of the attempts to suppress the national liberation movement and to prevent nations from exercising their inalienable right to progressive reforms.

Strict implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence is the foundation of détente in international relations. The public has every right to demand that all governments should make a constructive contribution to the consolidation and development of these principles. The need to supplement the political détente with measures of a military détente accordingly acquires paramount importance.

The difficulties on this road are considerable, for the opponents of détente are dead set against real measures of disarmament. They are whipping up the arms race, securing record high military budgets and are spending enormous sums on research and development of still more destructive types of weapons.

We note with satisfaction that the idea of stopping the arms race and of disarmament is gaining ground and is giving an impulse to determined actions by ever broader sections of the public.

The worldwide campaign launched in support of the New Stockholm Appeal has met with wide response in our country. We attach great importance to the results of the last session of the Brussels Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Declaration on Disarmament adopted by it, and also to the Forum for Disarmament held in the English town of York.

We believe that the preparation for and the holding of the World Conference for the Termination of the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente in Helsinki, in September of this year, will focus the attention of the world public on problems of disarmament and détente, will increase the effectiveness of its influence on the settlement of these problems in the sphere of inter-governmental relations.

Dear Friends! The increased influence of the young independent states which only recently were colonies and semi-colonies, has become an important factor of world development. We fully support the legitimate aspirations of the new states, their determination to completely rid themselves of imperialist exploitation and to be the masters of their national wealth.

The Soviet public is fully aware that the problems of development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are an integral part of the changes taking place in the world. The future of world peace, the well-being and prosperity of mankind greatly depend on how these problems will be settled. By combining the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament with the tasks completely to eliminate all vestiges of oppression, all forms of inequality, *diktat* and exploitation in international political and economic relations the peaceloving public forces will make a major contribution to the solution of one of the gravest problems inherited from the times of colonial plunder and imperialist piracy. We believe that the World Development Conference which will be held in Budapest in the autumn of 1976 will be an important landmark on the road to further consolidation of the peace forces on this issue too.

The Congress of Peace Forces, as you remember, devoted special attention to solidarity with the people of Chile, with the patriots and democrats of other countries who are waging a struggle for their ideals in particularly difficult conditions. Soviet people are prepared to cooperate with all democratic anti-fascist forces to render political as well as all kinds of humane assistance to the patriots and democrats languishing in prisons and concentration camps, subjected to the terror and repressions of anti-popular regimes. This idea has found striking expression in the Statement of the 25th Congress of the CPSU "Freedom to the Prisoners of Imperialism and Reaction!". Active measures by public forces who have already done much in support of democrats in Greece, Portugal and Spain and who are protesting against the criminal actions of the fascist regimes in Chile, can lend a

fresh impetus to the movement of solidarity with all the victims of imperialism and reaction.

Dear Friends! As we move farther from the memorable events of the World Congress, it becomes increasingly clear that the work we jointly started three years ago must be continued.

It is our opinion that active involvement of the public in the settlement of cardinal international issues, the promotion of cooperation among various social forces, the search for new forms and areas of such cooperation are of tremendous importance for strengthening peace and confidence among states and peoples, for the protection of such universal human values as freedom, independence, democracy and progress.

Proceeding from all this, the Soviet public highly appreciates the idea of holding at the end of 1976 a Plenary Meeting of the International Continuing Liaison Council. Such a representative meeting will enable different international, regional and national organisations, as well as political and public forces of all countries not only to analyse and summarise the accumulated experience of cooperation but also to again exchange views in an atmosphere of a free and broad dialogue on the most pressing issues of world development, to chart new directions of joint efforts for the benefit of peace and human progress.

Dear Friends! In conclusion I should like to state once again that all who are fighting for peace, for national independence, democracy and social progress may, as always, rest assured of the solidarity and active support of the entire Soviet people.

Lenin on International Relations

ALEXEI NAROCHNITSKY

As is common knowledge, ideas on international relations that were new in principle were brought forward in the 19th century by the founders of scientific socialism.

The class essence of the foreign policies pursued by bourgeois governments and those controlled by the nobility was revealed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In opposition to nationalism and bourgeois cosmopolitanism, they advanced the concept of the international solidarity of the working class, and evolved the theoretical foundations determining the stand of the Communist movement in matters of world politics.

The writings of Lenin marked a new stage in the development of the Marxist interpretation of international relations. On the basis of Marx and Engels's ideas, he created the theory of imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism, delved into the nexus between domestic and foreign policies, and established the degree of the influence exerted by the capitalist monopolies on foreign policies.

In analysing international events, he invariably took due account of social and economic factors, and regarded politics and economics as two inseparably linked spheres of social life that condition and influence each other, economics being the ultimately decisive factor. In 1918, Lenin formulated this proposition in his well-known thesis: "...Politics is a concentrated expression of economics."¹ He emphasised that "...economic interests and the economic position of the classes which rule our state lie at the root of both our home and foreign policies."² Those fundamental trends in foreign policies ultimately stem from the level of economic development were already

revealed in Lenin's early writings as a guiding principle in the methodology of his analysis of international relations.

Lenin showed the need for foreign policies to be analysed in close connection with an examination of internal policies. "It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific to single out 'foreign policy' from policy in general, let alone to contrapose foreign policy to home policy."³ That was how Lenin distinctly formulated this fundamental principle in his later writings, but it was already applied in his very early writings in analysing international relations. The overall and ultimately determining influence of foreign policies on domestic policies should not be confused with the problem of the "primacy" of foreign or home policies in each individual instance in the course of the history of individual states and peoples. The rise and fall of states and nations as a result of conquest, i.e., the "external factor", are well-known facts but in such cases too the outcome of military conflicts was, in the final analysis, decided by the level and nature of the internal development of the countries in question.

Lenin invariably went over from a dialectical analysis of trends and events in capitalist states' foreign policies to a consideration of the entire system of inter-state relations of his times, to research into the nature and content of the period, to research into imperialism.

Full account of all the basic facts of the times was a distinctive feature of Lenin's method in the study of the system of international relations in the early years of the 20th century, especially the years of the First World War. He considered it quite impermissible to extrude individual facts out of the system of international relations and to draw conclusions on the grounds of individual phenomena. To understand the 1914-1918 war, he wrote, "...We must first of all make a general survey of the policies of the European powers as a whole. We must not take this or that example, this or that particular case, which can easily be wrenched out of the context of social phenomena and which is worthless because an opposite example can just as easily be cited. We must take the whole policy of the entire system of European states in their economic and political interrelations if we are to understand how the present war steadily and inevitably grew out of this system."⁴ Lenin's systems approach to the study of international relations is clearly expressed in this passage.

In its very nature, capitalism is linked with the international division of labour and the establishment of a world market; it has developed as a world socio-economic system that has inevitably heightened the role of international relations in the life of society; that role and significance have become particularly marked in the epoch of imperialism, during which relations between states have become universal, forming a specific system of relations.

Imperialism was seen by Lenin as an inevitable stage in the development of capitalism; all the features of imperialism he indicated reveal the various aspects of the monopolies' domination. His analysis of imperialism led him to an understanding of the international relations of the times as a contradictory dynamic system, one of the

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features in whose development is the indissoluble link between any country's foreign and home policies, their dialectical interrelations. Since such policies can be reduced to a struggle for the division and redivision of the world, those aims are achieved by force, he pointed out. However, "... the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the *even* development is impossible under capitalism".⁵ Hence followed the conclusion that wars for the repartitioning of the world are inevitable. In this connection, Lenin unmasked the aggressive nature of military blocs of the period of capitalism. Alliances that are peaceful in their external form, he wrote, actually "...prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, producing alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on *one and the same* basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics".⁶

Lenin dealt in detail with the various types of wars, basing their scientific classification on the principle of the concrete historical class approach. He noted the shortcomings in such criteria as the "offensive", "defensive" and "retaliatory" nature of wars, emphasising that, "War is the continuation, by violent means, of the politics pursued by the ruling classes...long before the outbreak of war."⁷ It is on the basis of an appraisal of such politics, and not of who actually initiated hostilities, that wars should be considered. In dealing with basic types of wars, Lenin spoke of a certain conventionality of their classification and the inapplicability of stereotypes in this question. As is common knowledge, he qualified as unjust and aggressive imperialist wars waged for the division and redivision of the world among capitalist states, and evolved the proletarian tactic of revolutionary defeatism in such wars.

Lenin drew a line of distinction, in the development of bourgeois society, between the period of "the formation of bourgeois democratic society" and states, and the period of "fully-formed capitalist states with...a highly-developed antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie".⁸ The two basic types of wars, he pointed out, correspond to these two periods, namely "national war: to consolidate the national territory as a base for the development of capitalism, to sweep away the pre-capitalist remnants. *Imperialist war...*". To compare these continuations of politics means "comparing chalk and cheese".⁹

"But in the imperialist *epoch* there *may* also be 'just', 'defensive' revolutionary wars," he emphasised,¹⁰ national and civil wars in defence of socialism. In the epoch of imperialism, he pointed out, conditions may arise in which a national war can become an imperialist one, and vice versa. National wars waged by colonies and semi-colonies, far from being probable, are inevitable and progressive; even in Europe such wars cannot be considered impossible.¹¹ We know that Lenin regarded the war conducted by Serbia in 1914 as one for national liberation, which however, did not change the overall imperialist nature of the First World War.

During the First World War, Lenin formulated the law of the uneven development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism; he gave an historical explanation of the causes of that war, which, he emphasised, sprang from the radical features of imperialism, not from any age-old proclivities or "aggressive nature" of man. The conclusion that socialism can triumph first in one capitalist country alone was a logical consequence of Lenin's research into imperialism. Exacerbated in the conditions of capitalism's uneven development, the struggle between the imperialist states for the repartitioning of the world, precludes firm blocs between imperialist states, and makes it possible for the chain of imperialist domination to be broken at its weakest link, i.e., where the objective and subjective preconditions for the socialist revolution have proved most forceful in their totality. The contradictions between imperialist states and the instability of their blocs make it impossible for them to stand shoulder to shoulder against that onslaught of the forces of revolution. From this Lenin drew the conclusion that, under imperialism, "the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone" and that "socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in *all* countries". The socialist revolution, he stressed, should be regarded, not as a single act "...but as a period of turbulent political and economic upheavals, the most intense class struggle, civil war, revolutions, and counter-revolutions".¹² He regarded the triumph of the socialist revolution in a single country as the onset of a new epoch in the world revolutionary process and in world history as a whole. We know that Lenin considered the triumph of the socialist revolution in a single country possible if that country has achieved at least a medium level of capitalist development and possesses sufficient resources and territory (as was the case in Russia) and if revolutionary forces have taken shape in that country which are capable of breaking through the front of imperialism and stand up to the latter.

The conclusion stemming from Lenin's propositions to the effect that a country in which the socialist revolution has triumphed will have to remain within a capitalist encirclement for a certain length of time is important, in principle, to the methodology of the history and theory of international relations. Consequently, it was essential, at the time, to evolve the principles of the relations between the socialist state and its capitalist encirclement. In principle, an understanding of the relations between socialist and capitalist countries as relations of coexistence was already built in Lenin's conclusion that the simultaneous existence of states belonging to two systems is inevitable.

To this day, bourgeois historians are still harping on the wholly untenable thesis that the "export of revolution" is an aim of Soviet foreign policy. Dozens of authors can be named who have advanced this thesis, these including E. R. Goodman and L. Fischer.¹³ M. J. Mackintosh, the British author, has divided Soviet prewar policies into two stages: 1) between 1917 and the 1920s—the policy of the "export of revolution"; 2) from the 1920s till the onset of the Second World War, the policy of "self-defence", i.e., what he terms steps

taken to be able to play a full part in the struggle for power in Europe and the Far East. Edward Carr, his compatriot, has been more cautious but he too groundlessly ascribes to the Soviet Government a line towards the export of revolution between 1917 and the autumn of 1920.¹⁴

Such Leninist principles of socialism's foreign policy as defence of the socialist Motherland, socialist internationalism, and peaceful coexistence have found expression in Soviet foreign policy since the inception of the Soviet state. Of course, Lenin was a supporter of the triumph of the socialist revolution in other countries as well, especially in Germany, but already beginning with 1915, he proceeded from the possibility of the socialist revolution being triumphant first in Russia as an individual country; he firmly adhered to that idea when he was head of the Soviet Government. From the very outset, in rejecting secret treaties with imperialist governments, Lenin took full account of the need to preserve good-neighbourly relations with countries bordering on Soviet Russia. Already in 1917-1919, the Soviet Government did what it could to restore and develop economic links with capitalist countries.

The principle of peaceful coexistence was given further development at the Genoa Conference, at which, on instructions from Lenin, G. Chicherin, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, stressed that, in the period of the parallel existence of the old system and newly emerging socialist system, economic cooperation between states representing the two systems of ownership was necessary for the world's economic revival. However, the idea of peaceful coexistence with a socialist country was alien to the imperialist states. Wilson's well-known Fourteen Points, which were proclaimed after Lenin's Decree on Peace, appeared to be advancing a number of liberal and democratic principles, but these were merely a smoke-screen: Colonel Edward Mandell House,¹⁵ Woodrow Wilson's friend and adviser, interpreted the Fourteen Points as a programme for the dismemberment of Russia, with recognition for the counter-revolutionary governments on its territory. The capitalist states launched a policy of military intervention and blockade; their policy was to encircle the Soviet state with a *cordon sanitaire*, consisting of European countries contiguous to Soviet Russia, with reactionary regimes established in such countries. At the Genoa Conference, the Western powers rejected the Soviet proposals, which were based on the equality of the two opposing systems of ownership,—the socialist and the capitalist—in international relations.

The policy of military intervention against the Soviet state ended in failure; the years 1924-1925 were a period of extensive diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, but the USA continued its policy of non-recognition. In the 30s the ill-famed anti-Comintern Pact and the bloc of fascist states became imperialism's main strike force against the socialist system. Their aggressive and counter-revolutionary aims were pursued against the background of massive slander against what was termed the threat of Soviet aggression.

There are no grounds at all to give credence to claims made by many Western bourgeois historians that the peace policy proclaimed by the young Soviet state was merely a piece of propaganda or an attempt to camouflage its actual aims. The Soviet state needed peace so as to be able to direct all its efforts towards the construction of socialism.

Lenin showed that relations of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist states are possible despite the antagonistic contradictions between them. Here is what he wrote in his polemics with the "Left Communists" in 1918: "Perhaps...the interests of the world revolution forbid making any peace at all with imperialists?... The incorrectness of this view...is as clear as day. A socialist republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from this point of view, conclude any economic treaties, and could not exist at all, without flying to the moon."¹⁶

Of great significance is the principled class oppositeness between the foreign policy of socialism and that of the imperialist powers, the policies of the Soviet Union and those of tsarist imperialist Russia. The adherents of geo-political doctrines and other Western authors sometimes attempt to present Soviet foreign policy as a continuation of the foreign policy pursued by tsarist Russia, but even they cannot deny that it was the Soviet state that denounced the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist government in respect of new conquests, proclaimed the Decree on Peace, rejected all unequal treaties and colonial expansion, and voiced support for national liberation movements. Of course, this did not preclude the Soviet Union being the legal successor to a number of treaty obligations assumed by Russia towards her neighbours, but there can be no talk of any essential continuity between Soviet foreign policy and that of tsarist Russia. A radical class oppositeness exists between them.

A review of international treaties entered into by the tsarist government was one of the most important consequences of Lenin's Decree on Peace. At the same time, Lenin emphasised, in his concluding address on the Decree on Peace, which he delivered at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, that "the predatory governments, you know, not only made agreements between themselves on plunder, but among them they also included economic agreements and various other clauses on good-neighbourly relations.... We reject all clauses on plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all economic agreements; we cannot reject these."¹⁷

The new Soviet state's policy towards the countries of the East was a vivid example of the implementation of that principle. The Soviet Government annulled all the secret shackling treaties the tsarist government had concluded with such countries. However, an exception was made for border agreements and treaties that were not unequal and reflected a situation that had developed historically.

Since then, the theory and practice of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state have reflected the creative application to reality of the Leninist ideas of the defence of the socialist

Motherland, socialist internationalism, peaceful coexistence, and other propositions. Other examples of their implementation and concrete enrichment were such measures taken by the Soviet state as the rebuff given to invaders and aggressors, the defence of peace, and equal and mutually advantageous economic links with capitalist countries, the struggle against the war danger and the arms race, the system of bilateral treaties on cooperation and non-aggression, signed in the 1920s with a number of neighbouring countries and then the struggle between the years 1933-1939 waged by the Soviet Union for collective security and against fascist aggression.

The victory won in the Second World War, and the postwar period brought fresh proofs of the correctness and effectiveness of the Leninist theoretical and methodological foundations in the analysis of international relations, and of the Leninist principles of socialism's foreign policy. The consolidation and the successes of the Soviet state enhanced its influence on international affairs as well as the part played by it on social life all over the world in the process of historical development. The Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the victory over fascism exerted a profound influence on the entire course of world history. The Red Army's mission of liberation enabled the peoples of Central and South-East Europe to cast off the yoke of imperialism, do away with survivals of feudalism, carry out peoples' democratic revolutions, and set about building socialism. The emergence of the world socialist system has fostered the downfall of colonialism and the appearance of new national states. The triumph of socialism in the USSR and other countries has enabled a number of backward countries to choose the socialist orientation in their development.

Though the imperialist countries are sometimes able, by counter-revolutionary intervention, to nullify or reduce the chances of victory for the revolution, or even temporarily crush the revolution, as was the case, for instance, in Guatemala and Chile, the policy of imperialist aggression and the export of counter-revolution has on the whole been greatly paralysed, as has been borne out by events in Europe, Cuba, the Middle East, Vietnam, Angola, and so on. The successes scored by socialism have led to radical changes in international relations, restricted the sphere of action of the forces of war and aggression, and created new possibilities of preventing a world war with the use of atomic weapons. In a number of cases, the socialist countries have been able to cut short the export of counter-revolution and give effective technical, economic and cultural assistance to the success of revolution, as has been shown in respect of socialist Cuba. Socialism has made a major and independent contribution to international law and diplomacy, to their theory and practice.

The historically new form of socialist international relations on the basis of socialist internationalism and mutual aid first appeared in the relations between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution; following the establishment of the world socialist system this new type of

international relations has developed between the states of the socialist community, and is being improved in the course of socialist integration. At the same time, considerable experience has been amassed and theoretical work is being conducted on problems of cooperation between the socialist community and developing countries.

The end of the US nuclear monopoly and of that country's attempt to build international relations on a foundation of atomic *diktat*; the failure of the ill-famed policy of "containing" communism; the aggression against Vietnam, and the growing unpopularity of propaganda for a World State under the US aegis—all this has followed from the mounting strength of socialism and the rapid rise of national liberation movements. At the same time this has led to the bankruptcy of a number of theoretically and methodologically untenable anti-Soviet concepts. Neither has success attended Sovietologists' forecasts regarding the "erosion" of socialism. The "positions of strength" policy has yielded place to a realistic appraisal of the world situation by the more farsighted politicians in such countries as the USA, France, the FRG, Britain and Italy, this finding expression in positive advances in the development of Soviet-US relations, treaties and agreements with the USSR and other socialist countries entered into by the FRG, as well as in other facts of the relaxation of international tension in recent years, especially in the recommendations adopted at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Addressing the latter, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised that "...the sum total of the results of the Conference consists in the fact that international détente is being increasingly invested with concrete material content. It is precisely the materialisation of détente which is the essence of everything that should make peace in Europe truly lasting and unshakable. Therefore, uppermost in our mind is the task of ending the arms race and achieving tangible results in disarmament."¹⁸

The past decade has seen the further development, in the USSR and the other socialist countries, of the theory and practice of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence,¹⁹ the struggle to limit armaments and achieve disarmament, and the principles of socialist internationalism; much work has been done on the problem of blending national and international interests in the policies of the socialist countries; the Comprehensive Programme of the economic integration of CMEA countries is being put into practice, and substantiation has been given to the Peace Programme drawn up by the CPSU's 24th Congress and further developed at its 25th Congress. It may be asked: which features of the Leninist theory and practice in the development of foreign policies and international relations have given the latter such vitality, efficacy and political and scientific potentialities? The answer lies in Lenin having so thoroughly revealed the actual and overall law-governed patterns in the historical process, particularly in the development of international relations, his showing that genuine Marxism-Leninism is marked, not by dogmatism but by the constant enrichment of theory, a creative approach to new

features of the life of society, and his having indicated the real road towards the triumph of socialism, based on the historic role of the working class.

Lenin's theoretical research into imperialism as a contradictory, unstable and shaky system containing within itself the preconditions for socialist, national liberation and anti-colonial revolutions; his analysis of the general crisis of capitalism; his establishment of the fundamental overall law-governed patterns in the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism; his appraisal of the successes scored by socialism as a determinative factor in the development of mankind; his profound insight into the class essence and motivations in the policies of the Western capitalist powers, and the contradictions between those policies; his elaboration of the fundamental principles in the foreign policy of socialism as embodied in the policies of the Soviet Union and then of the other countries of the socialist community—all these meant the further development and enrichment of Marxism, showing its boundless cognitive possibilities and cogency as regards the analysis of new phenomena in the life of society.

Lenin's ideas have become the firm theoretical and methodological foundation in researches into the international relations of recent years, conducted by Soviet scholars. Lenin's dialectico-materialist approach—one can well say systems class approach—to the study of social development have made possible the constant and fruitful application and development of his principles to the theory and practice of Soviet foreign policy and to the interpretation of all processes and phenomena in international life. The Marxist-Leninist approach to international relations provides the firmest and most extensive scientific foundation for the use of all the most up-to-date devices of qualitative and quantitative analysis of such relations in historical and forecasting researches.

All that, however, does not go to say that Soviet scholars lay claim to omniscience or to possession of some "open sesame" for the solution of all problems, or that they do not see the multitude of unresolved or constantly arising new tasks for research, and do not realise the significance of the further development and systematisation of the theory and methodology of studies on international relations. The need for such research is generally recognised both in the capitalist and socialist countries, though there are of course differences in the points of departure borne of the differences in the two social systems.

That need stems from the ever greater complexity and scale of the relations between the nations of the world today, and from the appearance of ever greater masses of information on international relations and the causes of their development; the utilisation of new methods of handling such information, including the most up-to-date ("modernist") methods of systems analysis; statistical and various other methods of mathematising the study of the phenomena of international life, and their quantitative measurement and calculation together with qualitative ("traditional") sociological analysis.

The scientific and technological revolution of the last few decades has underscored the importance of the international division of labour, scientific and technological exchanges, the movement of capital, foreign trade, and economic and political integration of the socialist countries; it has also shown how integration proceeds on the basis of the activities of the capitalist monopolies in Western Europe and America, and new features in the uneven development of present-day monopoly capital and its general crisis as a social structure. The main contradiction of our times—that between capitalism and socialism—is manifested in the conditions of the ever greater involvement of whole continents and other vast regions of the world in inter-nation contacts. The tremendous advances made by national liberation movements, the emergence of new and the development of long-established national states is going hand in hand with trends towards the ever greater internationalisation of economic, political and social life. The ideological struggle in international life, and the links and influences in the field of culture between various peoples and states have become far more complex and broader in extent. The influence of governmental and non-governmental international bodies engaged in the most varied fields of human activities has grown in political and social affairs.

The greater complexity and extent of international relations have enhanced the importance of the timely registration and forecasting of trends in their development and the calculation of the growing risk in international conflicts in view of the stock-piling of super-powerful strategical weapons. In these conditions, naturally, there has been mounting interest in researches that sum up and systematise the theory and methodology of the study of international relations, such that develop and specify the conceptual apparatus and the specialised methods of research into the various aspects and forms of international links and contradictions. Exchanges of opinions on these questions between scientists of countries with differing social systems are necessary, despite the differences in their theoretical points of departure. In a number of cases, such exchanges will promote mutual understanding and the evolution, in varying measure, of agreed approaches to scientific and political problems.

Compared to the "histories of diplomacy", which are nothing but a repeat of conversations and the correspondence of diplomats and heads of state, the methodology employed by the well-known French historian P. Renouvin and his pupils, in the first place J.-B. Duroselle,²⁰ has been a definite step forward. This direction takes account of such things as the influence of the economy, certain social and political pressure groups, social psychology, public opinion and other factors on foreign policies. However, both Renouvin and his followers are far from any systematic analysis of the stands of social classes in international affairs. Thus, the causes of the First World War as dealt with by Renouvin do not include the part played by the capitalist monopolies.

The Soviet school of history, on the contrary, is marked by a striving to examine from every possible angle the stand taken in

foreign policies by ruling and other classes of society, political trends and parties, to ascertain their impact on international affairs, take stock of the general and particular features in the development of any country and its foreign policy, and the like.

Disregard of the way foreign policies and the system of international relations are ultimately determined by socio-economic factors often leads to mystical concepts with no scientific value. Examples are the attempts made by certain highly erudite authors, for instance, G. Ritter,²¹ to ascribe the policies of fascism to "fate", Hitler's "demonic authority" and similar causes that regrettably return us to the least fruitful pre-scientific notions of antiquity and mediaeval times regarding "fate" and the immediate intervention of God and Satan in the course of history. An instance of this divergence from science towards mysticism is provided by the attempt made by so distinguished a Western historiographer as Arnold Toynbee to seek for mankind's salvation in the establishment of a kind of new world religion, in mixed marriages (with the aim of eliminating national distinctions), and even in the abolition of national sovereignty and the formation of a "World Federation".²² This is, in a way, the logical outcome of his previous ideas of the chasm separating various civilisations: if no rational means exist for achieving understanding between them, an appeal to a mystical utopia is quite explicable. At the same time it cannot be denied that the idea advanced by Toynbee on the interaction between various societies and their environment, as well as between themselves, has given impetus to certain fruitful researches. In our opinion, the element of truth contained in such concepts can be best of all utilised within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of history.

Soviet historical literature has subjected to analysis the psycho-physiological neo-Freudist interpretation of history in general, and international relations in particular: the treatment of wars and violence in history as manifestations of man's sub-conscious aggressive instincts, his sadistic or masochistic proclivities, and so on. Marxist historians and Soviet psychologists do not share the concepts of the neo-Freudists, but proceed from the fact that manifestations of man's psycho-physiology are restricted in social life and are conditioned by the socio-economic and political structure of society, through which they are refracted.²³ Like any other purely biological approach, the neo-Freudist merely distracts attention from the class, social and political roots of reactionary regimes and violence in history.

During the past decade, researches into problems of peace and conflicts have assumed a wide scale in a number of countries, especially in the USA. Such researches have been conducted with the aid of a set of theoretical and empirical methods borrowed from applied mathematics and the economic and other sciences, and employ a kind of behaviourist approach to the actions of those involved in international conflicts. This approach first appeared in the 1930s and the 1940s; by the mid-1960s, its adherents had begun to launch bitter attacks against the traditional and purely qualitative

analysis of international relations, which they called speculative and unscientific. They have extended the use of the formalisation and quantification of events in international life, i.e., they build abstract models and seek for quantitative indicators for the components of the international situation under study. Some modernists have proposed as an essential requirement the reproducibility of research procedures, and experimental verification, claiming that anything that does not meet these conditions is unscientific.²⁴ However, it has proved impossible, on the whole, to put these declarative demands into effect: even some theorists of modernism have recognised the inadequacy of account being taken of only the emotional reactions of parties involved in any conflict (individuals, groups, organisations or states). They have begun to call for a quantification of institutional phenomena in the structure of society, in its culture and so on.

The modernists have begun to use their methods, not so much in respect of the past as of the present, the forecasting of international relations and the planning of foreign policies. Nevertheless, historians should not ignore their constructions, since these methods can also be used in analysing the history of international relations. The excessive claims advanced by the modernists seem to stem from the inefficacy of the traditional theoretical foundations of the analysis of international relations as applied by Western scholars, and hence their faulty forecasting. The improved methods employed by the exact sciences in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution have also exerted a certain influence, so one can readily understand the desire to extend them to the phenomena of international affairs. The modernists make extensive use of the various devices of mathematical statistics, factor analysis, imitation models, content analysis, the theory of games, mathematical logic, and sometimes even the formalism of differential equations.

Of course, a detailed analysis of these methods cannot be given here. A tremendous role in their application is played by the quantification of the qualitative features of social phenomena, which cannot be immediately measured, as well as the choice itself of the necessary parameters. Attempts have been made to describe parameters of states as participants in a system of international relations, and to show the influence of such parameters on the correlation within that system. An example of the use of a correlation apparatus is provided by D. Singer's project, which attempts to establish the correlation of the parameters of wars between 1815 and 1945, and the system of diplomatic relations. However, the results of such researches have been very scanty and can hardly satisfy historians. Imitation models are very often made up in respect of international crises and conflicts with the aim even of putting them through computers. Some time ago, considerable significance for analyses of international relations was attached to the mathematical theory of games or rational solutions, which have a wide range of uses in other areas as well. However, the hopes placed on this theory have, on the whole, not been justified.²⁵

The formalisation and quantification of the phenomena of international affairs are employed by Soviet sociologists too; they have tried to make more and more use of the means provided by applied mathematics. Yet they have experienced no desire to contrapose these methods to "the traditional" Marxist analysis, the reason being the high efficacy of the Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology of international relations. Soviet scholars proceed from the principle that the most correct choice of parameters in describing international affairs, their formalisation, quantification and study with the aid of applied mathematics, are possible on the basis of a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the foreign policies of individual states and the entire system of relations between them, with due account of their social structures, political regimes and the like.

Any international conflict arises from economic, political and ideological contradictions; it cannot be correctly formalised and quantified unless an insight is gained into the essence of such contradictions. It is only on the basis of an analysis of the class and social forces involved in a conflict that the latter's character, sources, degrees, the levels of its exacerbation (differences, frictions, tensions, the rupture of diplomatic relations, wars and so on), and the ways towards its solution or its prevention are possible. In general, the problem of the simulation, formalisation and quantification of social phenomena cannot be solved without correct initial philosophical, socio-economic, political and ideological premises. The attempts made by the neo-positivists to call such questions pseudo-problems arising from different interpretations of one and the same words are reminiscent of the way the ostrich hides its head in the sand.

The impossibility of dispensing with an initial traditional sociological analysis is also realised by a number of Western authors. Thus, in certain Western theories on the adoption of foreign policy decisions by the USA, various "upper" élite groups are taken in isolation from the make-up of society, without any due account of the influence of the military-industrial complex of capitalist monopolies—all this making the picture incomplete and distorted.²⁶ The tacit introduction by Western scientists of various kinds of erroneous appraisals and formulas into the initial data for the formulisation of international conflicts has produced negative results. Here are some examples of such erroneous appraisals and formulas: the untenable idea of the totalitarian nature of the socialist system; the erosion of socialism, and its economic inefficiency; their disregard of the capitalist monopolies, their denial of class contradictions; their underestimation of the vital forces and possibilities of the socialist system and the advance of the national liberation movement. Among the erroneous forecasts and the absolute unusable models of conflicts are "games with zero sum", i.e., the annihilation of the enemy without incurring any losses. The bankruptcy of the US hawks' hopes that the enemy can be destroyed in a nuclear war without any return strike has made imperative a search for situations of compromise or balance, i.e., mutually advantageous solutions, even in the games theory of

international relations. We all know of the bankruptcy of Herman Kahn's unsavoury theory of escalation in respect of the Vietnam war, which the US lost because it disregarded the Vietnamese people's patriotic potential and the aid it received from the socialist countries. Nevertheless, numerous corporations and hundreds of scientists have been engaging in such dubious calculations in the USA.

It is to be regretted that attempts have been made to simulate the future development of international relations, with the USSR eliminated from the area of European collective settlement.²⁷ The authors of such attempts patently lack a sense of reality. Would it not be better to jointly engage in the simulation of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, of détente, security and international cooperation for the entire world of today and its various regions? Are not vastly better prospects held out by the road "to a period of a more stable peaceful coexistence, of reasonable peaceful cooperation between socialist and capitalist states on a basis of mutual benefit and equal security".²⁸ Steps in this direction should be greeted. One can take note of useful initiatives taken in recent years, not only by Soviet scientists but also by scientific centres, in the FRG in particular, to establish contacts with Soviet researchers and with the International Peace Institute in Vienna, with the aim of studying problems of peace and conflicts. An exchange of opinions on these questions between scientists of countries with differing social systems is, in our opinion, most useful and fruitful.

NOTES

- ¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 32, p. 83.
- ² *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 365.
- ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 43.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 401.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 295.
- ⁶ *Ibidem.*
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 163.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 401.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 41, pp. 337-338; Vol. 21, p. 220.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 35, p. 229.
- ¹¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 309, 310, 312, 314.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 342; Vol. 23, p. 79; Vol. 21, pp. 339-340.
- ¹³ See W. Welch, *Soviet Foreign Policy. American Images of Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Haven and London, 1970; E. R. Goodman, *The Soviet Design for a World State*, New York, 1960; L. Fischer, *Russia's Road from Peace to War. Soviet Foreign Relations, 1917-1941*, New York, 1969.
- ¹⁴ M. J. Mackintosh, *Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy*, London, 1962, pp. 1-3; E. H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, Vol. III, London, 1953.
- ¹⁵ See: *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, Vol. III, Canada, 1926.
- ¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 71.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 255.
- ¹⁸ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1976, p. 8.
- ¹⁹ For more details, see the article by G. Shakhnazarov in this issue.

- ²⁰ See P. Renouvin and J.-B. Duroselle, *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales*, Paris, 1964.
- ²¹ See, for instance; G. Ritter, *Die Dämonie der Macht*, 5th edition, Stuttgart, 1947; *Europa und die deutsche Frage*, Munich, 1948; *Geschichte als Bildungsmacht. Ein Beitrag zur historisch-politischen Neubestimmung*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1949; and other works.
- ²² See A. Toynbee, *Experiences*, London, 1969, pp. 84, 262-263, 324, 328-333.
- ²³ See V. Salov, "Psychoanalysis and History", *Social Sciences*, No. 2(16), 1974.
- ²⁴ See M. Caplan (editor), *New Approaches to International Relations*, New York, 1968.
- ²⁵ See, for instance, C. Hermann, *Crisis in Foreign Policy*, Princeton, 1969.
- ²⁶ See K. W. Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, 1968.
- ²⁷ See "Alternativen für Europa. Modelle möglicher Entwicklungen in den siebziger Jahren", *Europa-Archiv*, Issue 23, 1968, pp. 851-864.
- ²⁸ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 85.

New Factors in Politics at the Present Stage

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The 1970s have become one of the most dynamic periods in the development of mankind. The social life of individual countries is changing, and at a pace rare even for our energetic age; and the overall picture of international relations is acquiring a new aspect, a new quality. In the chain of events leading to these changes, each has its direct causes, linked with very definite and often unique circumstances of time and place. However, these events considered individually and particularly in the aggregate cannot be understood unless the general correlation of forces in the world is taken into account. For this is, as it were, the historical background against which the dramatic interaction of classes, parties, political movements and states unfolds, and which ultimately determines its outcome.

A scientific approach to the problem of correlation of forces demands that a broad and comprehensive analysis be made of all the factors involved in the shaping of the international situation, which can promote the ripening of certain phenomena and trends, the fading or demise of others, and the triumph of certain political directions over others. It is impossible to make an adequate assessment of the state of international relations, to say nothing of making a reliable prognosis of their development, without making a preliminary objective description and assessment of the following basic factors:

- exactly which forces actively influence the international situation at a given time;
- the class nature of these forces, and their methods of action;
- their potential, or in other words, their ability to achieve their ultimate goals and solve intermediate tasks;
- their form of organisation (national or international, state or social, mixed);

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— the mechanism of their interaction.

The present work expresses some general thoughts without, by any means, laying claim to being a thorough and systematic examination of this vast subject. Primary attention here is focused on new factors in international relations, namely, political forces of an international nature and the basic directions of their interaction.

We cannot understand any new phenomenon or ascertain precisely what its newness consists of without using antecedent phenomena as a point of departure. For centuries right up to most recent times the concept of power was customarily reduced to the military might of states. They say that Kaiser Wilhelm, in studying geography and familiarising himself with a country new to him, always began by asking: "How many divisions does it have?"

In contrast to the Kaiser, "Iron" Chancellor Bismarck saw in divisions only the end product of a country's potential. Hence the famous phrase in use after the Austro-Prussian war: "The battle of Sadowa was won by the Prussian teacher." But even long before Bismarck perspicacious thinkers and politicians well understood that a state's power was determined, along with such factors as geographical positions, size of territory and population, by the level of economic and cultural development, the character of the state structure, the presence or absence of allies, and so forth.

But all these indicators were not considered by themselves but rather from the standpoint of their effect on military might, defence capacity or ability to wage wars of conquest. The monarchs and their chancellors regarded an educated populace as an asset mainly because it heightened the quality of the soldier, his ability to handle weapons and understand manoeuvres. As they encouraged the building of industrial plants, they estimated how many cannon could be cast. In making alliances, they reckoned in terms of reinforcing their own forces or at least in terms of a tranquil rear during the next campaign.

In a word, military strength remained the decisive criterion for assessing the alignment of forces in the international arena, and since such strength was always possessed by a few major states (powers), the world political climate was judged by the state of their relations. Whether it was a question of Persia, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage and Rome, or later England, Spain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States, concord and rivalry among the powers constituted the pivot of world politics, and on it largely depended the fate of other states and nations, and the destinies of war and peace.

The only exception to this general rule was the Church, especially the Catholic Church. In its influence on European affairs in the Middle Ages, the Holy See was perhaps second to none of the powers dominating the continent, and now and again the Popes succeeded in bringing sovereigns, who had entered into conflict with them, to their knees. However, after the Reformation and the bourgeois revolutions, the Roman Church to a considerable extent lost its political power as an international force.

Thus, it may be said that the "great power" conception of international relations held undivided sway in political theory. It was from the positions of this conception that thinkers and statesmen assessed the state of world affairs, explained events, laid their plans, and devised projects (both realistic and utopian) for restructuring international relations. Characteristically, they tried to find a place within its framework even for new phenomena, that did not fit into the customary scheme, to reduce everything to the tried and tested common denominator. Thus, the appearance of the mass media (at first, newspapers), which the politicians were forced to reckon with (or more exactly, they had to reckon with the public opinion the mass media represented), gave cause to christen the press as the sixth great power.

It should be emphasised that the great power theory, while far from embracing the whole breadth and diversity of international ties, basically corresponded to the objective state of affairs. For this reason it more or less successfully fulfilled its applied functions. The situation began to change fundamentally at the beginning of the present century and especially after October 1917, under the combined impact of the social and the scientific and technological revolution.

First, with the division of the world into two opposite social systems, states came to embody not only a national but also a social quality. Accordingly, the struggle in the world arena gradually shifted from the national to the *class* sphere. Whereas at first this class sphere was limited to relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states, with the formation and development of the world system of socialism it came to embrace relations between groups of countries possessing in aggregate the most powerful industrial, scientific, technological and military potential, and for this reason acquired decisive importance for assessing the alignment of forces in the modern world.

Second, the alignment of forces in the world ceased to be reduced only to a balance of military strength. The importance of *political, economic and ideological factors* grew sharply and continues to grow.

With the emergence of real socialism on the international scene there appeared a force that rejected war as a means of attaining political objectives (with the exception of just wars of independence and national liberation). Of course, in days gone by there was no dearth of similar slogans serving as a banner for various kinds of pacifist movements. The point is, however, that the noble goals of excluding war from the life of mankind was for the first time elevated to the rank of state policy and fortified by the international standing of the USSR and other socialist countries.

No less important is the fact that in contrast to the pacifists and their abstract appeals for peaceableness, the Communists linked the goal of peace directly with the idea of social progress. Not a cessation, for the sake of peace, of the global class struggle (which is, generally speaking, utopian), but its transfer to the plane of economic competition and ideological struggle with observance of the principles

of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems — this approach corresponded to the objective processes of social development and therefore had to triumph sooner or later.

This, however, could not happen so long as the imperialist powers retained their overwhelming superiority in military power, which they used without hesitation to resolve international conflicts in their favour and to suppress the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples. Even the tragic results of the two world wars and the shock of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, even the realisation that a new world war could have dire consequences for life on earth, did not bring about any fundamental changes in the strategy of imperialism. Only after losing their absolute military superiority did the ruling circles of the capitalist countries begin to understand the *inevitability* of peaceful coexistence. The so-called “nuclear impasse” (that is, a situation in which each side is capable of wreaking total destruction upon its adversary) set a limit to the use of military power. The sphere of all other forms of struggle in the international arena correspondingly expanded.

Third, the correlation of forces in the world ceased being reduced to a balance of the potentials of the great powers, and is now in large measure shaped under the influence of *all other states*. This is linked above all with the disintegration of imperialism’s colonial system, with the formation of new states or the strengthening of the independence of former semi-colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Possessing considerable material and human resources, the developing countries exert growing influence on the course of international affairs.

The decisive role in this democratisation of international relations belongs to world socialism. It was world socialism that was the champion of the sovereign right of nations to decide their own fate independently, and of equal participation by all states, large and small, in international affairs. It was world socialism that for decades persistently and consistently worked to have these principles put into practice and helped to propagate them by its own example. “We consider it a very important positive phenomenon,” said General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Brezhnev, “that world politics is no longer the monopoly of a few powers, that ever more countries are being drawn into it as active participants.”¹

Evidence of the strength of this trend was given by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was prepared on the basis of compliance with the principle of equality and, in turn, embodied this principle in its Final Act.

Fourth, the advance of the working class to the forestage of history, the upsurge of the struggle for the freedom of peoples oppressed by imperialism, and other social processes of the revolutionary era generated *international* political movements which actively influence international relations. Although these movements are made up of national detachments, each working within the bounds of its particular state, they operate in the world arena as independent factors of power. The direction their actions take may intersect or

coincide with the policies of some states, enter into various degrees of opposition to those of others, but in all circumstances they have their specific ways of bearing upon the international political climate.

Fifth and finally, among the factors presently influencing the international situation mention should be made of *world public opinion*. This factor is different from the others in that it does not always exist: in the vast majority of cases, class, national or other interests impede the formation of a consensus on a given issue and predetermine the degree to which various sections of the public are involved in international affairs. Not infrequently the trouble lies in inadequate information and sometimes in plain misinformation.

But wherever and whenever an international problem is fully revealed to the broad popular masses of the world, an amazingly powerful concentration of public opinion is possible. This provides vivid testimony to the fact that in our era of great social, scientific and technological revolution the peoples increasingly seek to create history without isolating themselves in national bounds and have a sense of involvement in and responsibility for the fate of all mankind.

That is how it was in the last years of the US war against Vietnam, when cessation of aggression became the common demand of divergent political currents including in the United States itself. The world public emphatically condemned the murder of President Allende and the overthrow of the legally elected government in Chile; the isolation of the Pinochet fascist clique is so great that even the reactionaries who sympathise with it prefer to aid and abet it on the quiet. There is every reason for saying that world public opinion condemns the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and favours a just settlement of the Middle East conflict and satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, including the Palestine people.

In all these and many other cases in which a world public opinion takes shape, that opinion, as we can readily see, invariably stands up for progressive goals and just interests. It is a sign of the times. And there is no need to point out that it must be taken into consideration no less than the other factors of power.

* * *

Let us examine in a little more detail the most influential of the new factors of international relations, namely, the political movements of an international character.

Undeniably, *the world communist movement* is the most organised and influential international force of the times. The sources of this influence are rooted in the fundamental laws of social development. The Communists are the vanguard of the class which by the will of history is playing the leading role in the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. The internationalist nature of the workers’ movement predetermines the high degree of cohesion found in its political nucleus. Finally, besides being united

by common basic interests and goals, the Communist and workers' parties are united by their common Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Another major international force is the *national liberation movement*. Unlike the communist movement it does not have a single ideological platform. It is based on a closeness of the interests, and the coincidence of the tasks being solved by different classes and social strata (a young working class, the peasantry, the petty and national bourgeoisie) at the stage of struggling for national self-determination and choosing the road of social development. It would be wrong to fully identify it with the states of the three continents, or as they sometimes say, zones of national liberation. Its complex class basis does not prevent the national liberation movement from acting as a special socio-political force.

Vivid testimony to the ability of the national liberation movement to assume an organised form on a world scale is the movement of the non-aligned states. Everyone knows that it has traversed a rather complex road, seen its ebbs and flows, and run into the conflicting approaches of its participants with regard to its aims and methods of activity. However, the very struggle to solve the concrete tasks of strengthening economic and political independence, and the realisation of the necessity for mutual assistance along this road, have helped the movement to elaborate a set of common policy objectives of an anti-imperialist and antiwar character, and to shape the movement's structure (conferences of heads of state, meetings of foreign ministers, etc.).

One of the major political current of our time is *Social-Democracy*. Its influence is felt mainly in the developed capitalist states (especially in Western Europe). The dual class nature of this current predetermines, on the one hand, its pragmatic character and lack of clear perspective, and on the other, the substantial differences among its separate sections, differences that go beyond the bounds of the usual national specifics.

The constant internal struggle between its Right and Left wings vitiates the ability of Social-Democracy to act as an international force following a fixed course, and makes its actions seem highly contradictory—depending upon which wing has been able at a given moment to impose its position upon the whole movement. This, incidentally, explains why it is sometimes just as hard to predict the reaction of Social-Democracy to one or another major international event as it is to compile a more or less reliable weather forecast.

Along with political currents, certain international movements, which are closely connected with them, based on common goals and professional or occupational interests also have their share of influence. First among these is the *peace movement*, which demonstrated its growing strength at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow. There are the *trade unions*, which have achieved a rather high degree of unity on a regional and world scale. And there are all kinds of international associations of the scientific, technical and creative *intelligentsia*, which do not limit the range of their concerns

to strictly professional interests and take part, with varying degrees of intensity, in the formation of world public opinion.

Churches of various faiths (above all the Christian and Muslim) and the political currents flying their flags continue to function as international political forces. Without going into a description of the substance of these political currents, it is important to emphasise that there is a certain coordination of actions among them. Such is the practice of the Christian-Democratic parties, representing mainly the conservative social strata of the West European countries. Organisational forms also exist for coordinating the actions of Islamic states and political parties.

Nor can the *manifestly reactionary currents* be discounted. The defeat of fascism in the Second World War did not spell its complete eradication: relying on the support of the more aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism, fascists have succeeded in retaining their positions in a number of countries and attempt to coordinate the actions of their organisations. The racists are busy trying to "close ranks", as it were, on an international scale. The Fourth Trotskyite "International" still lays claim, although without success, to being the world revolutionary centre.

As far as they can, all these currents have an effect on the sentiments of various social strata, and influence or at least try to influence the development of the world situation.

In every specific case and at every given moment the courses of social systems, state policies, and lines of action taken by revolutionary, counter-revolutionary and intermediate movements form a complex parallelogram of forces which predetermines the outcome of *current* international events. We purposely stress the word *current*, for it would be highly precipitate to draw general conclusions on the basis of particular factors, as, for example, to assess the victory of the Cuban revolution as a sign of an absolute preponderance of the forces of socialism over imperialism, or the temporary defeat of the Chilean revolution in 1973 as indicating the opposite. Only the aggregate of events in their dynamics can provide the basis for making a sound judgement concerning the alignment of world forces and, most importantly, the pattern of its change.

* * *

To what extent does Western political thought take into account the radical changes that have occurred in international organisations? It needs no proving that a correct assessment of the present international structure and alignment of political forces can act as a guard against making decisions posing risk and danger to the world community.²

The emergence of new factors having a substantial influence on the formation of international relations (or the intensification of

factors which in the past could have been disregarded) has been noted by a number of non-Marxist political scientists. Of the latest major publications, we might mention a book by American theorist S. Brown, called *New Forces in World Politics*. He singles out two sets of factors, the first being on the level of interstate relations ("the erosion of the geopolitical and ideological foundations of the cold war, the rise of new issues"), and the second being "processes below or above the interstate level". These include: the scientific and technological revolution, which "created physical communities irrespective of political borders"; "economic transnationalism, often too dynamic to be controlled by either separate nations-states or regional coalitions"; and the growth of "transnational and subnational social relationships and loyalties".³

In the view of West German economist K. Kaiser, the old international system is breaking up and a new one arising. Among the structural changes taking place the first consists in the "growing importance of multinational politics and transnational relations which supplement traditional interstate relations, integrate with them, and even replace them".⁴ Against this background the author examines the process of relaxation of international tension, the aim of which will be "the complete exclusion of force in Europe as a means of policy".⁵

But if the new factors in international relations have not gone unnoticed (in various interpretations which we do not set as a task to examine here), this by no means holds true for everyone. In the overwhelming majority of works published in the West the above-mentioned great-power concept still holds undivided sway, and efforts are being made to explain all the changes in the international situation by invoking a transition from a bipolar era (USSR-USA) to a tripolar (USSR-USA-China), a pentapolar (the same+Western Europe+Japan) or a multipolar era (+India+Brazil... and so forth).

However, this is the same as trying to apply Newtonian laws of mechanics to phenomena observable in the world of velocities comparable to that of light. The incursion into a new sphere of physical phenomena required a new theory, and this was supplied by Einstein. Such revolutions take place from time to time in all fields of knowledge, and the science of society, specifically that part of it that studies international relations, is no exception.

The adherence of some Western theorists to obsolete dogma (which, incidentally, does not prevent them from mocking at "the Marxists' dogmatism") is so blind that the glaring contradictions between the great-power theory and the real course of international events do not disturb them in the least. Thus, neither the bipolar nor the multipolar variant of this theory explains the victory of the Vietnamese people and the defeat of American aggression. And they cannot explain it, for there is no place in the structure of this theory for many factors that played an outstanding role in the outcome of the Vietnam events, such as the heroism of the people, international solidarity, the impact of public opinion, and so forth. What is even worse, it does not provide a key to ascertaining the true correlation among all the factors, to ranking them, or to reducing them to a

common denominator as, say, Mendeleev's periodic system does with chemical elements.

To solve international problems in our day on the basis of the great-power theory is approximately the same as to reckon the tides on the basis of the Ptolemaic system.

One may say, of course, that this assessment is too harsh. After all, this theory has served politicians very well throughout millennia. It is true. More than that, various models based on the interaction of "power" forces alone may even now prove to be useful in solving limited problems in the sphere of international relations.

For solving global problems, however, they are indeed useless. This task now requires fundamentally different scientific constructs and evaluation methods. For after October 1917 the world was divided into two socio-political systems, and the struggle between them became pivotal to world development as a whole. And although the *dramatis personae* on the international stage are still national states, an adequate assessment of the correlation of world forces and especially a judgement as to the dynamics of international life can only be made on the basis of a "systems" rather than a "great power" approach.

To be sure, the interaction of states, especially between major powers, still plays a big role; for example, the significance of Soviet-American relations for the development of the international situation is obvious. But what underlies the changing correlation of forces is not this, but a much more profound factor, namely, the struggle between the two systems. This struggle is not limited to the interstate sphere; it includes the movement of the most diverse social and political forces, and its line penetrates borders and cuts across social strata.

* * *

Not only has the composition of the political forces operating in the international arena been substantially renewed in our time, but so have the basic directions of their interaction. This is a big and complex subject, so I shall limit myself here to only two of what I consider to be the most important factors.

Until quite recently the chief motive in foreign policy decisions was the national interest of a given state. Let us leave aside whether or not this interest was properly understood by the policy-makers, whether it at least to some degree met the aspirations of the nation, to say nothing of the needs of its labouring majority, or whether it was dictated by the selfish calculations of the ruling class or even those of a single ruler. In the context of the subject under consideration it is important only to stress that it was precisely on the basis of such interest that states shaped their course in international affairs, that they were on friendly terms or quarrelled, traded or vied, entered into alliances or went to war with one another.

Of course, as in any other case, one can find in history many examples of foreign policy decisions having been made with other motives right up to the most romantic. But exceptions, as they say, prove the rule, and this maxim has not become any the less true from frequent use.

With the rise of an international movement guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, with the appearance of a social and state system based on the principles of scientific communism, foreign policy decisions dictated by a system of ideas and moral values rather than by considerations of immediate gain are already becoming not a happenstance, not an exception, but a regular component of international relations.

This does mean that for a Communist party, ruling or not ruling, national interest has slipped to the background and stopped being an object of concern and protection. As long as the political form of society's development remains national statehood, patriotism, devotion to one's country, concern for the well-being of one's people constitute one of the main principles of the communist doctrine. The whole point is simply that characteristic of the working class, of working people, is a fundamentally different understanding of the national or state interest than that characteristic of the bourgeoisie. This interest, if it is correctly and profoundly understood, cannot be secured at the expense or to the detriment of other peoples; moreover, it must include concern for the welfare of all the members of the international community.

It is commonly known that one of the first slogans with which revolutionary Russia addressed the world in 1917 was the demand for self-determination, in other words, respect for the sacred right of every people to free choice of social system, state independence and sovereignty, and dominion over the natural resources of its country. The socialist countries have consistently worked to have this principle become the standard of international life. But most important, they rendered practical support—economic, political and, when necessary, military—to peoples fighting for their liberation and against imperialist aggression, colonialism and neocolonialism.

It was on this basis that there took shape relations of *continuous cooperation between two of the major international forces of our time—the communist and the national liberation movements*. This is not an alliance of groups of states, but a qualitatively new and unique form of interaction born of the objective coincidence of a number of major goals towards which these two mighty social currents of the revolutionary era are working.

Thus, one of the chief new factors in the mechanism of interaction among political forces is continuous cooperation between revolutionary movements in working towards common goals. Another such factor is the *diversification of relations between opposing class forces* in the international arena. These relations cannot be examined only from the standpoint of struggle, for we are dealing here with an historical process wherein competition and cooperation develop simultaneously. Competition in certain areas, cooperation in others.

Competition of ideas and social systems, cooperation between countries and peoples.

The scientific and technological revolution and the related processes of a deepening international division of labour; the new possibilities and requirements for the exchange of scientific and cultural values and for drawing peoples closer together; the urgent need to protect the natural environment and make rational use of energy and food resources; the fight against disease; the exploration of outer space—all these and many other important tasks presently on the agenda can be coped with successfully only on the basis of global cooperation.

Such cooperation is required above all for the cardinal task of preserving and strengthening peace.

It is a distinctive feature of the present historical moment that the interests of survival, the scientific and technological revolution and all the other objective trends of social development operate in such a way as to draw peoples and countries closer together and prompt them to solve the problems of mankind through common efforts, while at the same time the struggle between the two social systems continues to unfold. Here is how the London *Times* put it: "The basic problem, therefore, is how to combine the elements—cooperation and rivalry, stability and change. In any area where the interests of two powers overlap, change is liable to be to the disadvantage of one of them, and will therefore be resisted. But the alternative is to freeze the status quo, which is impossible in the long run since the world continues to evolve."⁶

The crux of the matter is grasped correctly here.⁷ And danger to the cause of peace comes above all from those who ten or fifteen years ago demanded a preventive strike against the socialist states, then advocated a strategy of rolling back or containing communism, and now, foaming at the mouth, seek guarantees that détente will not be accompanied by a revolutionary process. But this is nonsense. Even if someone wanted to issue a certificate of guarantee against revolution, he would be either a dolt or a fraud. Despite the blather of vulgar propaganda, it was not in Moscow that the decision was taken to build barricades in Paris in the spring of 1968 (which was before détente), and it was not from Moscow that came the order for the fall of the dictatorship of the colonels in Greece and the launching of the anti-fascist revolution in Portugal, although, to be sure, Communists, like all democrats, greeted these events with satisfaction and sympathy.

The problem of preserving peace in conditions of growing social revolution is perhaps the most important of all the problems presently facing mankind. Predicting greater instability of international relations as a result of internal social crises, many of today's politologists feel that the only saving alternative is to create a world government. But this is utopian, for a universal form of power can be established only upon a uniform social foundation, and not on any foundation, but only a socialist one; moreover, it requires the highest degree of

maturity of all aspects of social relations and above all a total triumph of the internationalist consciousness.

On the other hand, there are good reasons for expecting events to develop favourably even without a world government. Indeed, recent years have given much evidence of the possibility of preventing a worsening of the international situation. Détente in all of its now numerous expressions, the moves towards curbing the arms race, the strengthening of the regulating role of the United Nations—all this attests to the fact that the correlation of forces in the world arena and the operation of new factors in international relations make it possible to lead mankind away from the danger mark with confidence.

To put it another way, the forces of peace and progress are now strong enough to prevent the old social system from accompanying its exit from the stage of history with a display of nuclear fireworks.

NOTES

- ¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 145.
- ² Of course, it is not always possible to trace a direct connection between the concepts advanced by theorists, on the one hand, and political practice, on the other. But to underestimate their influence, be it even indirect, would be wrong.
- ³ S. Brown, *New Forces in World Politics*, Washington, 1974, p. 185.
- ⁴ K. Kaiser, *Die Europäische Herausforderung und die USA*, Munich, Piper, 1973, p. 19.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- ⁶ *The Times*, June 29, 1974.
- ⁷ In Gerhard Merzyn's view, "the new international system will be a mixed form of cooperation and competition" (*Rissener Auslese, 1973-1974* Haus Rissen Institut für Politik und Wirtschaft, Hamburg, p. 9), and W. von Bredow has proposed the term "antagonistic cooperation" (W. von Bredow, *Vom Antagonismus zur Konvergenz*, Frankfurt, 1972, p. 140).

Political Thinking: Methodological Aspects

YURI KRASIN

Political thinking is an important component of politics, an area which involves the relations between classes in respect of state power. Part of the sphere of ideological relations, these relations are evolved after being "processed", as it were, by social consciousness, a feature which distinguishes them from material relations, which develop independently of men's consciousness. Consequently, the social consciousness of classes, political parties, and their ideologists who mould the principles underlying the political line, plays a vital part in the very shaping of a policy. It is this circumstance that determines the importance that attaches to a study of the specific features of political thinking, its laws and standards.

The scientific foundations of a policy also includes the principles of the methodology of political thinking, a methodology which is the key to an analysis of events, the adoption of correct solutions, the elaboration of an efficacious strategical concept and dynamic tactics, and to reliable political prognostication. Of great importance among the methodological principles of politics are, for example, political realism, the social conditionedness of political thinking, its dialectical nature, and its links with historical actions and practice.¹

Lenin regarded politics both as a science and an art. The area of politics is one in which many components are interwoven, which can never be fully taken into account, with the behaviour of each of them changing together with the behaviour of the rest, so that single-term solutions are, as a rule, impossible in the field of politics. The infinite number of variants in the possible development of events cannot be fully weighed in the mind. That is impossible even in chess, and

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politics is far more complex an area. Obviously, the implementation of even the most carefully prepared plans, their adjustment, the search for the most efficacious means of political action in a fluid situation, and the ability to influence in a definite way the behaviour of all participants in the struggle—all these hinge in many respects on the politician's acumen, his ability to influence the behaviour of all participants in the struggle in the direction desired, the rapidity and timeliness of his reaction to each turn in the course of events, and on his intuition which might be called his condensed experience.²

However, the fundamental trends of political development are quite stable and open to objectively precise scientific study. Any serious policy presupposes, together with political acumen, an integral concept which determines the basic content of that policy, its aims and goals and its general line. The evolution and perfection of that concept, this on the basis of a study of the laws of political life and the generalisation of historical experience, is intimately linked with active thinking. This is the object of study of the political sciences, which are based on the practice of classes, political parties and other political bodies.

A scientifically grounded policy, one that is free of subjectivism and wilful decision-making, is always based on an objective analysis of social life. It is built on facts that are open to precise and objective verification.

Such is the premise of political thinking, which is immediately followed by the problem of an analysis and appraisal of the facts. To fail to see beyond the facts means being captive to creeping empiricism incapable of comprehending realities and grasping the logic of social development. Political thinking calls for a generalisation of the facts, the ascertainment of their inner links, and a determination of the place held by each of them in the chain of political phenomena. "Facts, if we take them in their entirety, in their interconnection," Lenin emphasised, "are not only stubborn things, but undoubtedly proof-bearing things. Minor facts, if taken out of their entirety, out of their interconnection, if they are arbitrarily selected and torn out of context, are merely things for juggling, or even worse."³ Thus, Lenin spoke of the watershed between scientifically grounded policies and a narrow-minded pragmatism that does not go beyond the façade of the facts, reduces political realities to a mere sum of facts, does not penetrate into the deep-lying processes of social development that bring all those facts together into a single whole so as to provide a criterion for an ascertainment of the degree of their significance.

The theory of politics must be dialectical in nature and take due account of the relation between the general and the particular; it must not simply produce statements of individual facts but must study them from the angle of the overall laws of the historical process. The link between politics and actuality follows two fundamental directions—the *immediate*, this through the facts, and the *mediate*, this through theory, which makes a study of the laws of social development. Political thinking should never lose sight of either of

these two directions. This makes it possible, on the one hand, to avoid political doctrinairism, and, on the other, to understand the actualities on the basis of the general principles that give integrity and stability to politics, despite the rapid and sometimes sudden changes in the situation.

Neglect of the facts fetters creative generalisations, and makes for the creation of artificial schemes that are divorced from concrete reality. On the other hand, neglect of theory precludes any correct orientation in the socio-philosophical problems of politics, reducing the latter to the level of unprincipled conformism. "...Anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems," Lenin pointed out, "will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems without himself realising it."⁴ With such an approach, there cannot be any correct political thinking: the area of politics is stripped of political thought and turns into mere time-serving, with the fleeting interest of the moment blocking the fundamental goals from the sight. In this case, both political strategy and the forecasting of policies become impossible.

A concrete analysis of a concrete situation—such is the essence of the Marxist method of the blending of theory and practical experience in political thinking. Such *analysis* includes the theoretical principles of the appraisal of a situation; a *concrete situation* fills analysis with actual content.

From this angle, exceptionally important methodological significance attaches to Lenin's remarks on the approach to the drawing up of political demands, which, he pointed out, must meet a number of conditions:

- a) whether the demand is consistent with the principles of theory and programme, which are the supreme degree in the understanding of reality and therefore determine the outlines of a single approach to it in any particular instance;
- b) whether the demand is reasonable from the viewpoint of political advisability, which presupposes due account of the trend in economic development;
- c) whether the demand is practically feasible from the point of view of the actual alignment of forces in a given country and on a worldwide scale;
- d) whether the demand consistently expresses a task that has become imminent and on the basis of concrete analysis has been recognised as achievable.⁵

Of course, side by side with these specific conditions of political thinking, there exists the need to observe more general world outlook principles and laws that have emerged beyond the bounds of political science proper and can be applied to scientific thinking in general. We are referring to the fundamental principles of dialectical logic, as summed up by Lenin:

first, it is necessary to grasp and study all aspects of an object, all its links and mediations. This makes it possible to appraise the object, not only as an isolated phenomenon but in the system of its links and

relations with other objects. It is only thus that its essence can be revealed;

second, an object should be taken in its development, its "self-movement", in its process of change. This historical approach makes it possible to establish the inception of an object, the phases of its maturing, and the sources and prospects of its development;

third, the definition of an object should include all human practice both as a criterion of truth and as a yardstick of the link between the object and man's needs;

fourth, no abstract truth exists; the truth is always concrete. A theory which reflects and sums up accumulated experience operates not as a dogma but as a guide in the concrete study of any phenomenon in the context of the latter's conditions.

The principles of dialectical logic acquire exclusive importance in the area of politics, since political reality is marked by particular complexity, contradictoriness and dynamism. In this sense, according to Lenin, politics bears a stronger resemblance to algebra than to arithmetic, to higher mathematics than to elementary mathematics.

Equally alien to the dialectical approach are a passively contemplative attitude towards politics, in which it is regarded as a mirror reflection of an objective situation, and a wilful idealism, which considers anything possible despite the condition of the social milieu. Standing in contrast to these extremes is complex object-subject dialectics, which embodies the unity of scientific realism and revolutionary initiative.

The objective and law-governed pattern of history delineates, as it were, the overall design in the logic of political struggle. It does not stand somewhere on the far side of men's historical creativity but, to quote from the language of mathematics, it provides the most important constant magnitudes of political development as conditioned by the presence of really serious and really mass forces whose political aims have not been selected at random but have been engendered by their vital needs. No serious policy can ignore such magnitudes. Of course, political development may include numerous variants, some unexpected interlacement of actions and circumstances which gives rise to impulses along lines that might seem quite improbable. That is why there also exists a possibility of various divergences from the median line that expresses the state and the alignment of the main mass forces. However, such divergencies are like the swing of a pendulum which is always linked with the axis of suspension.

Politics is ultimately determined by the deep-lying needs of social development as expressed in the interests of large groups of the population, classes and social strata. That is why the objective significance of the activities of parties and political leaders lies in a conscious, energetic and skilful defence of the class or social group they represent. One of the main sources of the strength and influence of a Marxist-Leninist party is that its policy is a consistent expression of the basic interests of the working class, which is why the content and the direction of that policy is objectively and primarily

determined by the historic role the advanced class of our times is called upon to play.

That is one aspect of the matter, alongside of which is another aspect expressing the initiative and the activity of the subject of political action. Parties and political leaders do not simply record events; they exert an active influence on their course. The objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution are not synonymous, which is why the role of parties and leaders is not that of mutes on the historical stage; they have before them a wide choice of possibilities, none of which has assumed its final form or can be ultimately appraised in all the details of its outcome. The choice of an optimum solution in the struggle for the implementation of existent possibilities in political creativity is made not from the depth of an armchair but in the process of practical seekings.

The entire history of the CPSU and its activities in the course of three revolutions, in the construction of socialism and on the world scene convincingly show that the Party's political thinking has developed in step with the tasks that had to be tackled and in which the masses were involved. A realistic policy had always been linked with practical action that is guided by theory and at the same time provides material for the evolution of concrete political decisions and methods of their implementation.

It is impossible, in politics, to first make all the necessary calculations, down to the final details, and then to take action. Practical action is an essential component in the search for and the implementation of new possibilities. Such is the demand advanced by the methodology of political thinking, which Lenin contraposed to the doctrinaires. "...To attempt in advance to calculate the chances *with complete accuracy* would be quackery or hopeless pedantry."⁶ Included in objective historical development are the subject's initiative, consciousness and activity in the struggle for the current needs of social progress.

This approach stems, in essence, from the more general principle of the Marxist world outlook—the principle of an active and revolutionary critical attitude towards the objective world. This principle was succinctly formulated by Karl Marx: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."⁷ The entire political theory of Marxism-Leninism is imbued with a creative and transformative attitude towards reality.

Taken by itself, pure political thinking, like consciousness in general, is impotent in respect of the world of real facts and events. To real politics, "pure will", "pure reason", and "pure justice" are empty concepts. At best, they have a naive romanticism concealed behind them in practice; at worst, a refined and cynical apologia for force. As long as they are restricted to the sphere of pure thought, ideal political projects have no impact on reality. If a subject is deep in serene contemplation, he is inactive and unable to exert the least influence on the world of seething political passions, or the maelstrom of dramatic events. It is through practice that the road lies towards effective political thinking, to actual intervention by thought in the

affairs of the world. It is only in action that the critical functions of thought acquire the means of influencing the objective world, the social milieu. It is only the unity of theory and practice that ensures the transition from the "weapons of criticism" to "criticism by weapons," as Marx put it. Political thinking does not merely draw upon the practice of the mass movement as a source of material, but uses it as a channel to influence the course of events, politics.

The force and effectiveness of Marxist theory reveals itself when it blends with the working-class movement, a unity embodied in the political party of the working class, which brings political consciousness into the labour movement and equips it with an understanding of the revolutionary tasks facing it, thereby raising it to the level of a genuinely revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing the system of exploitation and building a socialist society. It was in this connection that Lenin pointed out that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."⁸

With this is linked one of the focal problems of political thinking—that of its social orientation and social conditionedness.

The transition from thought to action presupposes the indispensable participation of definite socio-political forces: classes, social groups, political parties and social organisations. Here, the degree of the influence political thinking exerts on the course of events grows in proportion to the extent and the importance of the forces brought into play. The outcome of political plans and programmes is ultimately determined by major political magnitudes. "It is necessary," Lenin wrote, "to reckon forces in tens of millions; anything less is not taken into account in politics; politics discard anything less as a magnitude of no importance."⁹ Plans and projects will remain on paper if they do not affect the interests and needs—and through them the consciousness and will—of the mass social forces that give political action its social impact. Consequently, engaging in politics is equivalent to analysing a phenomenon in social life from the angle of the masses, not of the individual. Political thinking is always a socially conditioned process, in which the interests of definite classes are given ideological shape.

Of course, the social conditionedness of political ideas and theories is far more complex in reality. Political thinking is affected not only by overall class interests but also by the specific interests of the social strata and groups that belong to such classes, or stand in an intermediate position.

It should be noted that no serious appraisal of a political programme can be restricted to the immanent approach to its ideological composition. Of vital importance is an emergence into the external, into the sphere of the actual political interests of social classes and strata. What has to be ascertained—besides the criterion of the integrity, groundedness and inner consistency of a programme—is the social forces that stand behind it. Scientific methodology calls for the social content of a programme to be determined, i.e., the interests of which social groups and classes that programme formulates. Such a methodology calls for the determination of the

social essence of political parties, i.e., the establishment of the views and aspirations of the social groups and classes they express.

The social significance of a programme, political slogan or political party is not invariably self-evident. Because of the complexity and contradictoriness of social and class relations, as well as the use of the means of social mimicry, the external features and handsomely designed signboards of political parties are often not in keeping with their actual social content. That is why policies are assessed not by the declarations made but according to their actual class content. It is class reality that has to be sought behind the words used.¹⁰

The concept of "social type" is of considerable importance in politics. In terms of personal qualities a politician or ideologist may be a model of integrity, but as the social type of representative of a definite social group, he is invested with that group's innate features and, with all his personal integrity, may conduct a hypocritical and double-standard policy that defends the narrow caste interests of his social group or class. Here, personal moral criteria yield place to the objective logic of the political struggle, which, however, in no way releases the politician from the moral responsibility for decisions and actions made. The contradictions that arise on this basis at times lead to a politician or ideologist breaking with his social milieu and its thinking, and going over to the positions of another class.

The social conditionedness of political thinking, which, in comparison with other forms of social consciousness, is more closely linked with social and class interests, reveals itself in being distinctly oriented towards the needs and interests of social groups and classes that hold a definite and relatively stable place in the historically established system of production relations, a system of social and political nexus.

Lenin was expressing a profound thought when he said that people had always been and would always be the victims of deception and mystification in politics until they learnt "to seek out the *interests* of some class or another behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises."¹¹ This thought gives expression to one of the fundamental conclusions drawn by Marxist political science and confirmed to this day by social and historical practice, which is why it remains a fundamental methodological requirement of political thinking. Its application is a precondition in the free choice of a political stand and in any realistic appraisal of the opportunities that that stand opens up.

The nature, direction, social impact, and ultimately the place in history of any political theory is in the long run determined by the political nature of the social forces standing behind that theory. The measure of the success achieved by a political leader or ideologist depends on how precisely his ideas and decisions reflect the interests and possibilities of those forces. The emergence of political thought from within such borderlines usually leads to a crisis: either programmes are advanced that exceed the possibilities of the forces standing behind them, this leading to defeat, or else political ideas lose contact with the social and class interests, in which case the leaders

that have advanced such ideas become generals without armies, and yield place to others with a more distinct awareness of the immediate tasks of their class or social group. Even more complex variants may be met in real life, for example, the phenomena of Bonapartism, which give a relative independence to a policy of manoeuvring between major social forces that are comparatively evenly matched. On the whole, however, this gambling on class contradictions can only bear out the social determinedness of policies.

The social nature of the forces standing behind any political concept also determines the limits of its progressiveness. A class or social group that is objectively incapable of accomplishing socially progressive tasks, cannot, of course, give its ideologist any inspiring stimulus or trial material for the evolution of theories and programmes aimed at a revolutionary critical attitude towards reality, this with the aim of establishing the most progressive forms of social structure. On the contrary, the broadest possibilities in this respect are provided by a political concept and a concomitant political strategy that are oriented towards progressive social forces whose position in the system of social relations has made them prime movers of progress. The political theory of Marxism-Leninism is unbreakably linked with the interests, the needs, and the struggle of the working class, that most advanced and revolutionary class, whose position in the system of production relations has brought it to the fore as the main force called upon to carry out a most profound social revolution, and lead society towards socialism and communism. That is why Marxist-Leninist political theory has become the instrument of vast social and economic changes in the world, changes that have ushered in a new historical mainstream the prospects of progress for mankind as a whole are linked with. Today that theory, which has come to dominate the consciousness of hundreds of millions of people, is operating as a vast force in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

NOTES

¹ Some of these principles exceed the bounds of politics proper and can be applied to the sphere of the control of social processes as a whole for they are intimately linked with politics. Yu. Tikhomirov was quite right in pointing out, for example, that the scientific foundations in the adoption of managerial decisions do not amount only to concepts pertaining to the techniques of evolving and adopting such decisions but first and foremost comprise a political doctrine. (See Yu. Tikhomirov, *Managerial Decisions*, Moscow, 1972, p. 75, in Russian.)

² "Politics," A. Bovin points out, "deals with a practically infinite variety of facts and events, with highly changeable and contradictory processes, and with the clash of different interests and wills. The tremendous difficulty of grasping all the links and the stormy dynamism of social relations creates a certain instability of the ground on which the politician has to construct all his calculations.... There is always tremendous room here for assumptions and probability appraisals, so that an important role belongs here to the ability to intuitively grasp the overall direction taken by processes." (A. Bovin, *Lenin on Politics and Political Activities*, Moscow, 1971, p. 35, in Russian.)

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 23, p. 272.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, p. 489.

⁵ See *ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 132.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, p. 111.

⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 15.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 369.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 229.

¹⁰ As pointed out by A. Sergiyev, a correct prognostic appraisal in politics requires a study of the objective position of a class in the economic and political system of society, its class interests, and the actual actions and behaviour of its political representatives. (See A. Sergiyev, *Forecasting in Politics*, Moscow, 1974, p. 46-47, in Russian.)

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 28.

International Security and the Non-Use of Force

VALERY KUZNETSOV

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries attach paramount importance to the renunciation of the threat or use of force in relations between states. In the settlement of outstanding issues this principle must become a law of international life.

To this end the Soviet state has launched many foreign policy initiatives from the very first days of its existence. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 laid the beginning for a fundamental restructuring of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

A PRINCIPLED AND UNSWERVING POLICY

Since 1917 the efforts to democratise international relations have been one of the basic elements of the struggle between socialism and imperialism. This struggle began with the adoption of the Decree on Peace, the first law of the then young socialist state, in which the Soviet Government called upon all the belligerent states to conclude a democratic peace in the interests of the peoples of the world.

In this document, for the first time in the history of international relations, the Soviet Government denounced the very essence of the international "legality" of those days, thereby showing that international law had to be converted from an instrument justifying wars to an instrument maintaining and consolidating peace, from a means of enslaving peoples into a means of safeguarding them. The document stated bluntly that a war of aggression was the most heinous crime against mankind.

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The Decree on Peace was not only the first step in the formulation of the principle that wars of aggression must be renounced but also the basis for putting forward new, genuinely democratic principles of international relations, the most important of which is the renunciation of the use or threat of force.

In the course of many years the Soviet Union made every effort to secure universal recognition for this principle as a norm of international law. These efforts resulted in bilateral non-aggression treaties, the first of which was signed by the Soviet Union in 1925. Then followed the signing of the 1933 London Convention defining aggression, and a number of other documents aimed at banning the threat or use of force.

The most significant of these international documents was the 1928 Paris Pact on the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Article 1 of that pact stated: "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

The leaders of the capitalist states, who were hostile towards the Soviet Union, did not invite it to the Paris Conference, but the signing of the Paris Pact became possible only as a result of the Soviet Union's struggle on the international scene for the unconditional prohibition of wars of aggression.

The Paris Pact made the renunciation of wars of aggression an imperative norm of international law mandatory for all countries. The ban on wars of aggression was reaffirmed in the verdicts of the International Military Tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo, set up after the Second World War to try the chief war criminals.

In the judgement of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal the chief nazi war criminals were sentenced for "crimes against peace: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing". (Article 6 (a) of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal.)

Beginning with Lenin's Decree on Peace, first the principle of banning wars of aggression and then the broader principle of banning the use or threat of force took shape in the relations between countries largely under the impact of Soviet foreign policy and under pressure from the struggle waged by the masses.

This principle was recorded for the first time in the UN Charter. Paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter declares: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

Recognition of this principle bracketed it with other principles of modern international law and made it universally mandatory. Article 2 of the UN Charter is binding on all countries of the world because the

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principles of international law recorded in it are universally imperative. Consequently, no country can refuse to abide by the principle of the non-use of force either individually or in agreement with other countries.

Formalisation of the principle of the non-use of force in the UN Charter did not mean that the socialist and other peaceloving states could end their struggle for the further consolidation and development of that principle. After the Charter was adopted this struggle continued in and outside the United Nations.

Of the documents passed by the UN mention may be made of the 12th General Assembly's Resolution on Peaceful and Neighbourly Relations Among States of December 14, 1957 [1236 (XII)], that was adopted through the unflinching efforts of the Soviet Union; the General Assembly's Resolution of November 30, 1966 [2160 (XXI)], on Strict Observance of the Prohibition of the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations and on the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination; the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the UN Charter, adopted at the 25th General Assembly likewise on the initiative of socialist countries.

At the 27th General Assembly the Soviet Union proposed that the agenda should include the important and urgent question of non-use of force in international relations and prohibition of nuclear weapons for all time. This initiative was approved by the majority of the UN member states.

The innumerable proposals made by socialist countries outside the UN at different times have contributed greatly towards strengthening and developing the principle of non-use of force. These include the repeated proposals for a non-aggression treaty between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, the Soviet proposal of 1963 for a treaty on the renunciation of the use of force in the settlement of territorial or frontier disputes, the proposal made by the 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties for a European treaty on the renunciation of the threat or use of force and of interference in each other's internal affairs, as well as a number of other proposals.

A logical outcome of the consistent efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government to secure a ban on the use of force was the conclusion of bilateral and regional treaties in the period after the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Among other things, these treaties contain a provision on the renunciation of the threat or use of force.

A series of vital documents was signed in the period from 1970 to 1975. They have already exercised and will unquestionably exercise a beneficial influence on the development of international relations and contribute to the cause of peace. Among them are the 1970 Treaty between the USSR and the FRG, the 1970 Treaty between Poland and the FRG on the normalisation of relations, the 1971 Principles of Cooperation Between the USSR and France, the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations

Between the USSR and the USA, and the Treaty Between the USSR and the USA on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (1972), the 1972 USSR-USA Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the 1972 Treaty on the Bases of Relations Between the FRG and GDR, the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on Their Destruction, the 1973 Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, the agreements signed by the USSR and the USA during Leonid Brezhnev's visit in the USA in 1973, among which special mention must be made of the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War and the Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

Most of the agreements directly record the commitment of the sides to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations, and others are directed towards the achievement of the same aim.

For instance, Article 2 of the USSR-FRG Treaty declares that the sides will "refrain, as stipulated in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, from the threat or use of force in questions involving security in Europe and international security, as well as in their relations".

The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the USSR and the USA rank among the most important international documents. For the first time in the history of Soviet-US relations an agreement was concluded, bearing the signature of the US President, in which it is stated that "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their [the USSR and the USA.— V. K.] mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence".

In order to supplement the Basic Principles, as it were, the USSR and the USA signed the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, likewise designed to help ease international tension and promote an atmosphere of trust between countries with differing social systems.

In these documents the sides displayed their striving to take realistic steps to reduce the threat or the use of force in the settlement of international problems.

Soviet-US relations and the cause of world peace were powerfully stimulated by the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed by Leonid Brezhnev and the US President, in which the sides reaffirmed their striving to abide strictly by the principle of the non-use of force in their relations.

The results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose convocation had been proposed by the Warsaw Treaty states in their 1966 Bucharest Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, were further evidence of the immutability of the foreign policy pursued by socialist countries.

The principles set forth in that Conference's Final Act included equality, sovereignty, non-use of force, inviolability of frontiers,

territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality of peoples and their inalienable right to self-determination, cooperation among states, and the strict observance of international commitments.

The Draft General Declaration on the Principles of European Security and on the Principles of Relations Between European States, submitted by the Soviet delegation at the Helsinki Conference in July 1973, contained the principle of non-use of force, "in accordance with which the participating states, in keeping with the UN Charter, renounce the threat or use of force in their relations and thereby pledge to exclude war as a means of settling international disputes from the life of the European peoples".¹

In the Decision of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the Results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe it was noted that the purpose of the principles of relations between states agreed upon by the participating nations was "to create a reliable basis for the exclusion of aggression and any kind of violence from European international relations. They reaffirm the already legally valid relevant provisions earlier included in the bilateral interstate treaties and other documents signed in recent years by the Soviet Union with France, the FRG, the USA, Great Britain, Italy and Canada, as well as by a number of other countries."²

INTERNATIONAL-LEGAL ASPECT OF THE TERM "FORCE"

The interpretation of the principle of non-use of force frequently gives rise to sharp arguments, because in this case it affects many aspects of interstate relations, and objective difficulties sometimes loom large.

But the complexity of the principle itself has never been the main obstacle to its formulation. The greatest difficulties usually sprang from the differences in the political attitudes of the participants in negotiations. Differences in the political approach invariably gave rise to differences in the approach to the content of the principle of prohibiting the threat or use of force in international relations.

A vital specificity of the principle of non-use of force is that the UN Charter prohibits the use not only of armed force but also unarmed violence, chiefly economic and political pressure, which is tantamount to an illegal use of force.

This broad understanding of the principle of non-use of force is frequently opposed by representatives of the imperialist states, who, in order to justify their stance, present arguments allegedly linked with concern for a stricter observance of the UN Charter. But the actual reason is to be found elsewhere—in the political interests of the imperialist circles, for whom a broad approach to understanding

the principle of non-use of force is a barrier to the policy of economic and political pressure. It is by no means accidental that lately representatives of the developing nations have been more and more frequently stressing the fact that economic and political pressure from the imperialist states is largely responsible for holding up their advance to complete independence.

In order to substantiate their viewpoint, many bourgeois authors usually refer to the Preamble to the UN Charter, under which members of the UN pledge that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest", and also to Article 44 in which the term "force" is used only in the meaning of armed force.

Further, Western experts on international law recall that by a majority vote the UN Conference in San Francisco rejected Brazil's amendment to Paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the UN Charter, in which it was suggested that economic compulsion should be regarded as illegal, drawing the conclusion from this that by the term "force" in Paragraph 4 of Article 2 the authors of the Charter meant armed force alone.

As regards the UN practice, in the West they usually refer to Resolutions 378/V and 380/V of November 17, 1950, as evidence that by the term "force" the General Assembly allegedly likewise understands solely armed force.

In connection with the interpretation of the term "force", Article 51 of the UN Charter, which gives countries the right to individual and collective self-defence, arouses hypocritical anxiety among Western diplomats. If the term "force" covers economic and political pressure as well, they say, there is the danger that against such pressure countries will invoke their right to armed self-defence, which would torpedo Article 51 of the UN Charter.

In their attempts to justify unarmed violence, some Western theorists have gone so far as to declare that the total prohibition of any form of pressure would make it impossible to maintain normal diplomatic relations, that it would be an infringement on the right of countries to regulate their economic relations with other states and thus increase the danger of international conflicts.

The question of the content of the term "force" is thus not only of theoretical but also of practical interest. The approach to the principle of peaceful coexistence, whose aim is to regulate relations between states with different social systems, likewise depends largely on a correct interpretation of this term.

In Paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the UN Charter, the term "force", like the principle of banning the threat or use of force, cannot be considered in isolation; it must be interpreted in the totality of rights and duties of states as defined in the Charter.

The normative content of the term "force" is directly influenced by the process of the democratisation of general international law, a process that began under the impact of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and was intensified under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Moreover, the prohibition of threat or use of force must be considered in the light of current events. It is important to study the UN practice relative to the prohibition of the threat or use of force, and also the role the UN has been and still is playing in interpreting the norms and principles of international law in each case of the use of force by countries.

Soviet experts on international law comprehensively examine the legal aspects of a number of the principles of peaceful coexistence linked with the threat or non-use of force.³ They make the point that the use of armed force is indeed the great menace to international peace and that Paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the UN Charter concerns mainly the prohibition of armed force.

However, in Chapter VII the Charter lucidly shows the content put into the term "force", applied against violators of international peace. Articles 42-47 and 51 give a detailed interpretation of problems linked with the use of armed force, while articles 41 and 50 speak of the non-use of unarmed force. For instance, they list such means as the "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations".

Lastly, the Charter contains a number of articles (39, 48, 49), which, like Paragraph 4 of Article 2, deal with the use of force, but without indicating its character. It is natural to draw the conclusion that if there is an unquestionably broad understanding of the term "force" in Chapter VII, the same understanding underlies the other articles of the Charter.

Confirmation of this can easily be found by comparing Paragraph 4 of Article 2 with the other provisions of the Charter. The employment of economic and political force in the relations between states is inconsistent with the Preamble to the Charter, which states that the peoples of the United Nations strive "to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". It is incompatible with such purposes of the United Nations as "to bring about by peaceful means... adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace" and "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

The use of economic and political force comes into conflict with the purposes of the United Nations to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", defined in Article 55. The use of economic and political force is meant when in Paragraph 4 of Article 2 it is stated that no force should be used not only against the territorial inviolability and political independence but also "in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

The broad interpretation of the term "force" is recorded in many UN documents. For instance, in Resolution 2160 (XXI) on the Strict Observance of the Prohibition of the Threat or Use of Force in

International Relations and on the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination it is stated plainly that an armed attack by one state against another or *the use of force in any other manner* [my italics.—V.K.] in violation of the UN Charter is "a violation of international law giving rise to international responsibility".

The UN documents recording the broad interpretation of the term "force" include the important Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the UN Charter, and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the 25th General Assembly.

A major step towards the realisation of the Peace Programme was the Soviet proposal, submitted to the 27th General Assembly, on the non-use of force in international relations and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

In a resolution adopted by the General Assembly it is stated that force was still being used in the world in various forms in violation of the UN Charter and solemnly declared, "on behalf of the states members of the Organisation, their renunciation of the use or threat of force *in all its forms* [my italics.—V.K.] and manifestations in international relations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations".

The UN General Assembly thus reaffirmed that Paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter prohibits all forms of force applied against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

The broad interpretation of the term "force" is given in various international legal documents of the non-aligned countries, for instance, in the Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo declarations and in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. "The use of force," it is stated in the Declaration of the Cairo Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, "may take a number of forms, military, political and economic."⁴

The term "economic force" is as legitimate as the term "military force". The fact that the Soviet Union has not only repeatedly proposed pacts of economic non-aggression but included in many non-aggression treaties provisions banning economic pressure alongside the provisions prohibiting armed aggression is eloquent evidence of its consistent policy of peace, which has always been aimed at establishing relations of equality with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Lastly, in the section of the European Conference's Final Act concerning the implementation of agreed principles it is clearly recorded that the participating states would "refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating state to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights" and would also "refrain from any act of economic coercion".

This is unquestionably evidence of the triumph of the viewpoint held by the socialist countries on the international-legal understanding of the term "force".

IS THERE A VACUUM IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM?

The view that a ban on the use of force in international relations will create a vacuum in the legal system and make it impossible to maintain normal international relations is quite widespread among Western legal experts and sociologists.

However, international law, as any other law generally, provides for sanctions protecting its enforcement. The application of sanctions to a state violating law facilitates the observance of international legality.

In particular, in present-day international law there are norms allowing states to use force, including military force, legally in special cases. Among these norms prominence is held by the provisions of the UN Charter dealing with the application of compulsive measures. Legal experts say that the application of such measures is solely within the jurisdiction of the UN Security Council, that only the Security Council or regional security organisations acting on its authority may exercise compulsion relative to a given country.

The UN Charter names two forms of compulsion. Article 41 speaks of measures unconnected with the use of armed forces, and if the Security Council finds this measures inadequate "it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations" (Article 42).

The list of coercive measures in articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter is not exhaustive. The Security Council may decide on other measures that are not specially mentioned in the Charter. Security Council decisions, adopted in keeping with the rule of unanimity, are mandatory for all member states of the United Nations.

Such, in brief, are the general rules concerning the lawful use of force. As regards the essence of these rules, it must be emphasised here and now that they are directed exclusively against the threat or illegal use of force by individual states.

The first feature which is linked with the application of coercive measures is that the participants in international relations are sovereign states, and for that reason coercion in international law cannot be identified with the coercion exercised by a country on its own territory. International law does not know of any supra-state institutions of compulsion. The mechanism of compulsion is in the hands of states which apply it individually or collectively under definite conditions.

In the statutes of all international organisations founded on democratic principles it is stated that force is used exclusively in the common interests of member states. For instance, in the UN Security Council no decision on the use of compulsive measures can be passed if it is opposed by at least one permanent member. In turn, this

ensures the strict observance of the interests of states with different socio-economic systems in decisions on sanctions.

The second feature is that compulsion may only be applied in international situations and disputes. Inner-state situations and disputes may induce the UN to take compulsive measures only in the event they threaten world peace and security.

In response to a call from the Security Council the members of the United Nations undertake to make available to the Security Council "armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security". This must be preceded by a special agreement between the Security Council and the given state which will govern "the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided" (Article 43).

The UN Charter declares that the agreements on providing the Security Council with troops "shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes" (Article 43). This provision, no doubt, reflects the striving of the UN Charter fathers to disallow the use of armed forces contrary to the interests of the member states.

Dealing with the question of the use of armed forces by the United Nations, on July 10, 1964, the Soviet Government declared in its Memorandum on Certain Measures Designed to Enhance the Effectiveness of the UN in Ensuring International Peace and Security: "Decisions of this kind must be made, however, only as an extreme measure and after a thorough analysis of all the relevant circumstances, keeping in mind that the employment of foreign troops, including the UN forces, for the settlement of conflicts, and even their mere presence in foreign territories may, as experience shows, lead to diametrically opposite results—to interference in the internal affairs of states, to serious international complications and to the aggravation of tensions." The Memorandum emphasised that an indispensable condition of such an extreme measure as the employment of UN armed forces must be—always and under all circumstances—the strict observance of all the provisions of the UN Charter concerning questions of the use of force for the maintenance or restoration of international peace. Such are the basic aims and principles underlying the lawful employment of force in international relations.

In addition to the compulsive measures provided for in the UN Charter, there are other cases for the lawful use of force. As we have already noted, the obligation of countries to refrain from the use of force does not mean that they have renounced their inalienable right to individual and collective self-defence. This right is formalised in Article 51 of the UN Charter.

Renunciation of the use of force does not impinge upon the rights of peoples, including the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to fight for freedom and independence, against aggression and for the

removal of its aftermath. In this struggle the peoples may employ any means, including arms.

Those who refuse to recognise the right of colonial peoples to use force in the struggle for liberation have for many years been asserting that the right of colonial peoples to fight for independence, including the use of force, is simply non-existent. Western diplomats and legal experts do not deny the fact of such a struggle, but they categorically refuse to recognise the right to this struggle.

Yet the right of colonial peoples to use arms in the struggle for liberation has been confirmed long ago in many political and legal documents.

First and foremost, history speaks in favour of the right of colonial peoples to wage an armed struggle for liberation. More than half of the UN member states are former colonies. Practically all of them have had to fight for their liberation. The results of the armed struggle of peoples have won wide recognition, including full legal recognition.

If the results of this struggle are recognised as lawful, if these states are today full members of the UN and if they have relations with all other countries of the world, including the former colonial states, this means that their armed struggle was lawful.

Colonial peoples are forced to have recourse to an armed struggle when their right to independence is not recognised. Present-day colonialists have insufficient grounds for their assertion that an armed struggle by colonial peoples is inconsistent with modern international law and is therefore unlawful. The General Assembly has passed many resolutions and declarations recognising the right of peoples to fight for independence, proclaiming this struggle lawful and acknowledging the right of all states to help the colonial peoples in this struggle.

These General Assembly resolutions are a political and legal expression of the aspiration of peoples for independence. From the standpoint of law, as understood by the peoples today, the struggle of colonies is lawful, while colonial wars are a crime against mankind. It is lawful to help the peoples of colonies and unlawful to help a country waging colonial wars.

With the right of peoples to use arms in their struggle for freedom and independence is closely linked the right of states to wage an armed struggle for the return of territories unlawfully occupied by an aggressor. In many of its resolutions the General Assembly has reiterated the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is impermissible and that it is an inalienable right of countries to recover these territories with all the means available to them.

The principle that it is impermissible and unlawful to acquire territory by force took shape in international law long ago and was legalised in innumerable documents, one of which is the UN Charter. The latter is the sole true criterion of the legality of territorial changes. Territorial acquisitions made in contravention of the UN Charter cannot be recognised as lawful.

* * *

The consistent foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, founded on a combination of diplomatic flexibility and firmness in upholding the interests of socialism and peace, has led to major successes in the drive to carry out the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

At the 25th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev noted that the 24th Congress (1971) had set the task of turning the renunciation of the threat or use of force for the settlement of issues into a law of international life.

"To make the danger of war recede still farther and to create favorable conditions for progress towards disarmament," he said, "we now offer to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. Its participants, naturally including the nuclear powers, would undertake to refrain from using all types of weapons, including nuclear, in settling disputes that may arise between them. The Soviet Union is prepared to join other states in examining practical steps leading to the implementation of this proposal."⁵ The USSR has submitted the draft of this treaty to the XXXI General Assembly of the United Nations.

This new initiative of the CPSU and the Soviet Government will help to achieve an unconditional and final renunciation by countries of the threat or use of force in international relations. The positive changes that have already taken place in the world are holding out the hope that further steps will be taken towards détente, and particularly towards resolving the important matter of banning the use of force in international relations. This would accord with the interests of the working majority of the population of all countries and with the humane aims of the policy pursued by the socialist community.

NOTES

¹ *Pravda*, July 5, 1973.

² *Kommunist*, No. 12, 1975, p. 4.

³ See G. V. Sharmazanashvili, *The Principle of Non-Aggression in International Law*, Moscow, 1958; G. V. Sharmazanashvili, *From the Law of War to the Law of Peace*, Moscow, 1967; D. B. Levin, *International Law and the Preservation of Peace*, Moscow, 1971; V. I. Kuznetsov, R. A. Tuzmukhamedov, N. A. Ushakov, *From the Decree on Peace to the Declaration on Peace*, Moscow, 1972 (all in Russian).

⁴ *International Affairs*, No. 4, 1976, p. 82.

⁵ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 42.

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**WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE MEETING**

(Stockholm, 31 May—2 June, 1975)



APPEAL
Stockholm 1975

Victories for peace and détente have created a new international climate, new hopes, new confidence, new optimism among the peoples.

Peace can be defended. A world of peace can be built.

The unity of the peace forces has the power to overcome the obstacles which still remain along the road towards a new world, from which aggression, exploitation and domination, hunger and poverty will be banished for all time.

The principal obstacle to making the process of détente irreversible is the arms race.

The arms race still threatens our planet with nuclear destruction. With détente this threat has begun to recede. The arms race keeps the threat alive and endangers détente itself.

The arms race weighs heavily on the shoulders of vast masses of peoples in many countries of the world—who are faced with an ever-soaring cost of living, inflation and economic crisis. It robs the peoples of a great part of their wealth and resources.

Détente has opened up fresh prospects for victories in the struggles for a new international economic order, for the rights of the peoples to the riches of their own soil. It is a weapon in the fight for ending the plunder by monopolies and multi-national corporations.

The New Stockholm Peace Appeal

On May 27, 1976 the Soviet Peace Committee met in Moscow in connection with the launching of a mass campaign in the USSR to collect signatures under the new Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Opening the meeting the Chairman of the Committee, the prominent Soviet writer N. Tikhonov said that the Appeal, adopted at the session of the Presidium of the World Peace Council in June 1975 in Stockholm was unanimously supported by the World Conference of Representatives of National Peace Movements in November 1975 in Leningrad, which announced the beginning of a worldwide signature campaign.

The scientists and cultural workers who addressed the meeting noted that Soviet people regard the campaign launched by the World Peace Council as a significant public initiative, designed to make still more effective the pressure brought to bear by mass democratic movements for a speedy solution of the key issue of our times—disarmament.

The meeting was attended by Academicians I. Artobolevsky, N. Basov, N. Blokhin, S. Vernov, I. Glushchenko, V. Kovanov, M. Markov, M. Mitin, O. Reutov, A. Rummyantsev, D. Skobeltsyn, P. Fedoseyev, P. Cherenkov, V. Engegardt; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V. Kudryavtsev; Doctors of Science I. Grigulevich, O. Ermolenko, G. Morozov and others.

The signature campaign in the USSR, carried out in June and July 1976, demonstrated the broadest support by all sections of the Soviet people for the new Stockholm Peace Appeal.

The first Stockholm Peace Appeal to ban nuclear weapons (1950) was signed by nearly 500 million people. One of the most massive actions by the partisans of peace, it convincingly showed that public opinion is a powerful factor in international life, that the peoples' will for peace can and must become an effective counteraction to the aggressive plans and intrigues of imperialism. The new campaign has become a weighty contribution by Soviet people to the great cause of strengthening universal peace.

The arms race, the stockpiles of weapons in the hands of the imperialists incite and encourage the forces of aggression, militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism; détente is a vital factor for strengthening the efforts in all lands for national independence, justice and social progress.

Détente creates new possibilities for the solution of the most urgent international problems of the day, for the liquidation of the hotbeds of tension and conflict; the ending of the arms race would open the road to mankind's goal: prohibition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, general and complete disarmament—a world without arms.

World public opinion has greater responsibility and greater power than ever before. It can turn the tide against the armaments profiteers, the cold warriors, the enemies of mankind.

The World Peace Council appeals to all governments and parliaments, all peace and other movements, to political parties, trade unions, women's and youth organisations, to religious, social and cultural bodies which are engaged in endeavours for mankind's advance, to join hands in a great new worldwide offensive against the arms race.

To make détente irreversible—

STOP THE ARMS RACE

To move forward rapidly towards a New International Economic Order—

STOP THE ARMS RACE

To defend the peace and build a new world—

**STOP THE ARMS
RACE**

TOGETHER for Banning All Nuclear and Others Weapons of Mass Destruction!

TOGETHER for General and Complete Disarmament!

TOGETHER for the Calling Without Delay of the United Nations World Disarmament Conference!

* * *

Trends in the Development of Materialist Dialectics

**VLADISLAV LEKTORSKY,
SERAFIM MELYUKHIN**

The continued creative enrichment of Marxist-Leninist philosophy implies, we believe, broad research above all into the problem of materialist dialectics. The main trends of this process are determined not only by the accumulation of practical experience and scientific data, but also by the changing acuteness and meaningfulness of the various problems in social practice and scientific cognition in concrete historical conditions. The study of the *dialectics of social processes* is now undoubtedly one of the most important lines in the elaboration of materialist dialectics.

An analysis of the present, above all, a study of the world revolutionary process and of the scientific and technological revolution, sets before philosophy serious tasks. The radical social transformations taking place in the world and the qualitative changes in the productive forces constitute the most important specific features of our epoch. Examination of their law patterns as a whole and with the individual countries and regions as an example is one of the main lines in the work of Marxist philosophers.

V. Lektorsky, Cand.Sc.(Philos.), Head of the Department of Dialectical Materialism at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of the works: *The Problem of Subject and Object in Classical and Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy; The Principles of Reproduction of the Object in Knowledge; Present-Day Problems in the Theory of Marxist Dialectics (see Social Sciences No. 4 (18), 1974), and a number of other works.*

S. Melyukhin, D.Sc.(Philos.), Dean of the Department of Philosophy at Moscow State University. Author of the works: *Dialectics of Development in Inorganic Nature; Matter in Its Unity, Infinity and Development; The Problem of the Finite and Infinite, and many other works and articles.*

Contemporary social development shows very well the abiding importance of Lenin's doctrine of contradictions as the motive force of progress. An analysis of the nature, character and types of social contradictions is especially meaningful and significant both for concretising the basic principles of dialectics and for solving many practical problems. The main task here is to consider the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch and the law patterns governing the further advance of society.

Thanks to the efforts of the CPSU and the Communist and workers' parties of other countries considerable successes have been achieved in the past few years in the struggle for peace and the security of nations, for international détente and the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. But at the same time the fundamental antagonistic contradictions between the forces of democracy, socialism and progress, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, seeking to slow down the world revolutionary process and to reverse the tide of history, are expressed in new forms. These contradictions are expressed in the contest between the opposite socio-economic systems, in the class battles in the capitalist countries and in the people's struggle against every form of social and national oppression.

The contradictions between the monopoly groupings of the various capitalist countries in their fight for spheres of investment, marketing outlets, sources of raw materials, and maximisation of profits are becoming ever deeper. The periodical economic and financial crises are becoming sharper, the army of unemployed is growing, and the social sores and defects of capitalist society are ever more glaringly exposed. All of this is a consequence of the internal antagonisms of bourgeois society, which have been especially sharpened in the present period of state-monopoly capitalism and which are expressed in the most diverse spheres of social life.

A great many contradictory phenomena and tendencies are being produced by the current scientific and technological revolution. The dialectics of social development is such that progress in one respect may be attendant in certain conditions with regress in another. For instance, the rapid growth of industry and urbanisation has led to the pollution of the environment, which in some capitalist countries has acquired dangerous proportions, giving rise to new contradictions, connected with a disruption of the ecological balance in the environment.

Development of industry and urbanisation has also been taking place in the socialist countries, which are also faced with problems arising from the relationship between nature and society. But the centralised planning of the national economy under socialism and growing appropriations by the state for protection of the environment and renewal of many of its resources make it possible, in principle, to prevent technological progress from having any negative consequences. Socialist society, which is capable of prognosticating and correcting the ways of its growth, can regulate the proportional

balance of all its elements, the dynamics of its relations with the environment and actively influence its development. The role of dialectico-materialist philosophy here is to analyse the contradictions which arise, to examine their structure and dynamics and to help study the possible consequences of human activity, seeking to comprehend and prognosticate the concrete ways of social progress.

One of the cardinal problems of Marxist dialectics, which in our epoch becomes especially meaningful, is comprehensive analysis of the relation between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of social life and complex study of the economic, social and cultural components of social being. This task has a great many aspects: the dialectics of extensive and intensive factors of social production, the relation between the qualitative and quantitative assessment of its efficiency, the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the way of life, and so on. It goes without saying that these processes can be analysed only on the basis of a profound philosophical analysis of the most general questions: quality as a social category, dialectics of social progress, its contradictory nature, progression and so on.

In determining the tendencies of social development, bourgeois sociology frequently lays emphasis on the quantitative aspects (the growth of the population in the world, the growing volume of production, the accelerating pollution of the environment, the depletion of natural resources, and so on), with these changes being presented as going forward in precise correspondence with the laws of exponential growth. That is why any prognostications of the future based on such notions yield a terrifying picture of complete depletion within a few decades of many of the key types of natural raw materials, worldwide starvation as a result of the world's tremendous overpopulation, and so on. On the strength of this "limits to growth" concept is being put forward, arguing the inevitability of regress, which is allegedly bound to supersede the stage of progressive social development.

This kind of metaphysical approach to development, as amounting merely to the quantitative growth of definite indicators of production and consumption, is erroneous. At a definite stage, quantitative changes inevitably lead to fundamental qualitative transformations, while the new quality that emerges is governed by new laws and other rates of quantitative changes. New types of technical systems, technological processes and scientific trends arise. Extrapolation and prognostication based only on quantitative data are inevitably refuted by reality itself. The point is that with the progress of society there constantly arise new potentialities and tendencies which did not exist at earlier stages.

The communist socio-economic formation has virtually boundless potentialities for social development, but the latter should also be seen as a process with intrinsic, non-antagonistic contradictions. Its progress is characterised not only by quantitative growth but also by a succession of qualitative changes, improvement of the productive forces and social relations going to create the conditions for the allround and harmonious development of every individual.

New tasks face scientists specialising in the field of materialist dialectics also in connection with the analysis of the substantial changes being introduced by the scientific and technological revolution into the nature of modern production: mechanisation and the ever more extensive automation, qualitative transformations in its energy basis, changes in the type of technological processes, the quality and character of the objects of labour. Much importance attaches to the transformations taking place in the relations between the basic elements of the productive forces within the "man-science-technology-production" system. The change in the qualitative aspect of human activities confronts science with problems which go beyond the framework of purely technological ones, for they bear on the most vital human and ideological matters.

One of the central problems is the socio-philosophical problem of man. What is the future in store for man under the ongoing scientific and technological revolution: is it to be a depersonalised appendage of a system of machines or a genuine architect of his destiny governing technology in the interests of social progress? Only by showing the real dialectics of the interaction between man and technology, between technology and the system of social relations, and in the broader plane, between the individual and society, is it possible to produce a correct and truly scientific solution of this key problem. Marxist philosophy stresses that it is inadmissible to consider the scientific and technological revolution outside the social context, outside the context of the processes going forward in the various social systems of the modern world.

In analysing the highly complex social processes connected with the scientific and technological revolution, one must not lose sight of any of its essential aspects, and it is important to consider each in real and living connection with all the others. The Marxist dialectical method orients the researcher upon this kind of complex analysis, in which the economic aspect is not isolated from the natural-science and technological aspects, from the socio-political, psychological and other aspects, but is brought out and considered in close connection with these, in their mutual dependence, with economic relations in society playing the definitive role.

The Marxist dialectical method, which implies the unity of analysis and synthesis in scientific research, provides a deep substantiation for the very substance of the complex approach, of which the social sciences are so much in need at the present time. That is not to say, of course, that the existing division of the social sciences into the historical, economic and other sciences is being questioned, or that it is proposed that they should be fused into some single science. What this means is that the existing excessive separation of these sciences now becomes a definite drag on scientific progress and that there is an acute need for their close interaction and the establishment of problem research groups or an institute of social reality to study this or that phenomenon from various angles.

Characterising the principles of dialectical logic, Lenin emphasised: "Firstly, if we are to have a true knowledge of an object we must

look at and examine all its facets, its connections and 'mediacies'. That is something we cannot ever hope to achieve completely, but the rule of comprehensiveness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity."¹ This is, in effect, a formulation of the very basis of complex, systems analysis. This approach turns out to be extremely fruitful not only in analysing the processes of the scientific and technological revolution but also in analysing the problems of the individual, way of life, and so on. Consequently, analysis of social processes has been and remains a key task of materialist dialectics. It is in this field that dialectics must play its highest role, which is to orient the social sciences and to equip them with general ideological and methodological principles of scientific research.

As the role of science in socialist society tends to grow, the study of the structure of science, the laws of its development and the methods and conceptual instruments it uses becomes an ever more meaningful task of materialist dialectics. These problems which have been fairly successfully studied over the past few years by Soviet philosophers (especially on the basis of natural-science data) are covered by the dialectico-materialist *methodology of scientific cognition*. The special interest in the problems of the methodology of science is directly determined by the scientific and technological revolution, whose influence tends to change not only the scale of scientific research and the nature of the scientist's work itself, but also the style of his thinking and the principles of scientific analysis. Accordingly, from the standpoint of dialectics there is need above all for further elaboration of the ideological and epistemological basis of modern science, of Lenin's theory of reflection.

The opponents of Marxism-Leninism and its philosophical doctrine seek to play down and discredit the theory of reflection by identifying it with a dead, mirror-like, immobile replication of the external world, its mere fixation. Its adversaries regard reflection in grossly metaphysical terms and seek to contrast the Marxist-Leninist theory of reflection, and the theory of human activities, of creative activities, as something that is allegedly alien to it. They claim that reflection and creativity are two fundamentally different human attitudes to the material world which do not constitute a dialectical unity. However, the theory of reflection in its dialectical, Marxist-Leninist interpretation precisely implies that the attitude of man's consciousness to objective reality is mediated by his practical, revolutionary transformative activities, which is why it cannot be an autonomous or a purely contemplative act. This is expounded with sufficient clarity in Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach*.

Consciousness springs from man's practical activities as he transforms his surroundings, and so must by its very nature express the purposefulness of human activities. There is need for further analysis of the close and multifaceted connection between consciousness and practical activities, with the necessary element in this work being a detailed study of the structure of practical activities. The latter problem also acquires a fully independent significance in connection with the change of our habitual conceptions of human activities, the

emergence of its new forms, the intellectualisation of its old forms, and their filling with new aesthetic, moral and psychological content. The tasks of materialist dialectics in this field of research go beyond the framework of generalisation, classification and explanation. A number of scientific disciplines which have arisen under the scientific and technological revolution, like engineering psychology, technical aesthetics, the theory of control and ergonomics, require the solution of methodological problems connected with the projection of new types of human activities.

New interesting aspects also arise in this connection in the theory of cognition itself and in the methodology of science. Cognition in general, and scientific cognition in particular, is ever more frequently regarded not only as a form of reflection of reality in human consciousness, but also as a specific form of activities. Such an approach implies closer attention on the part of philosophers to the operational problems of modern scientific cognition, to the modes and means of structuring the laws of science and theories, and their basic conceptions reflecting the objective world.

Every theoretical research in modern science implies the existence of a ramified and complex world of artificial, man-made intermediaries between the subject and the object, ranging from instruments and tools functioning as material bodies, to artificial sign systems appearing as the material embodiment of ideal images. The relation between this artificial world of "intermediaries", which is simultaneously objective in content, to the cognising and the cognised, to the subject and the object, turns out in some instances to be fairly intricate. But at the same time, without an analysis of this relation it is impossible to bring out the criteria which help to characterise this or that system of assertions as "knowledge". Following the emergence of quantum mechanics, this problem has attracted the ever closer attention both of philosophers and of natural scientists.

At present, special importance also attaches to an understanding of the place of sign systems in theoretical scientific research. This task appears to be especially meaningful, considering some key features of modern scientific knowledge: the growing role of theoretical methods, the tendency to elaborate research problems, the planning of scientific experiments, the growing role of philosophical categories and principles in scientific cognition, etc.

Modern methodological analysis is naturally based on the principles and categories of dialectics, because the structuring of a scientific theory is itself a complex dialectical process of transformation of knowledge obtained by means of sensory data into a series of idealised models, or images, the establishment of a flexible logical connection between these idealised models and the diverse and multifaceted substantiation of the authenticity of each of its elements. At every stage in the structuring of theoretical knowledge sensory data and empirical facts are closely interwoven with theoretical conceptions and premises. Empirical knowledge is impossible without theoretical propositions, but theories are also formed, developed and

verified by means of empirical research. The identification of the theoretical and the empirical levels of knowledge is no more than tentative, being distinguished merely as two aspects of the development of scientific knowledge. At the same time, the theoretical level of cognition does not boil down to an accumulation and systematisation of empirical facts, but is a qualitatively new stage in scientific knowledge.

The elaboration of the problem of different levels of scientific cognition is of fundamental importance in the sense that many traditional questions in the theory of cognition and the methodology of science appear to be more differentiated when the distinctions between these levels are taken into account. The methods for verifying theories and assertions about empirical facts, for instance, cannot be the same. From the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, men's practical activity is the general criterion for the correctness of scientific knowledge, but theory being a mediated reflection of objective reality through a series of idealised models must be verified in other ways than through assertions concerning empirical facts or even laws.

Many other methodological problems also require a more differentiated approach, considering the existence of different levels of cognition and the uneven development of science. Thus, the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in scientific cognition, the role of the principles of causality and determinism have been studied in general terms, while the meaning of the categories of space and time, content and form, essence and semblance and others has been analysed. These principles and categories can be further enriched through their concretisation in accordance with new notions about the tendencies and levels in modern scientific knowledge.

This, incidentally, also refers to the role of philosophy in the development of other sciences. Philosophical knowledge evidently exerts a dissimilar influence on the social and the natural sciences and its role is not the same at different levels and stages of cognition. Philosophy is of the greatest importance at the theoretical level of cognition. Accordingly, the question of the place of philosophical principles in the structuring of scientific theory becomes highly important. Philosophical principles, adopted as ideological and methodological foundations of theory, exert a substantial influence on its content and meaning. On the nature of these principles largely depends the future of the given theory, the extent to which it accords with reality, and its place within the overall system of scientific cognition. Being a generalisation of all the achievements of science and socio-historical practice, the principles of materialist dialectics are steadily deepened and improved with the advance of scientific knowledge, reflecting reality ever more precisely and giving an idea of the most important attributive properties and laws of matter.

Consequently, the dialectico-materialist methodology, implying a study of the laws of nature, society and human thinking, is antithetical with the philosophy of neo-positivism, which up until recently was most influential among Western scientists and which reduced

methodological tasks to a formal logical analysis of the relations between the components of the system of "ready-made", "congealed" knowledge, that is, knowledge being analysed in artificial isolation from the processes of its change, from close interaction between the empirical, theoretical and philosophical levels. Materialist dialectics emphasises that it is impossible to produce a profound assessment of theory in terms of its prospects and fruitfulness without establishing its relationship with material reality, outside the historical social context, without a consideration of the genesis and contemporary tendencies of science.

A retrospective view of the history of science will reveal the following important law: fundamental propositions and laws having the significance of ideological and methodological principles were initially formulated as philosophical hypotheses and subsequently elaborated in concrete scientific terms and reasoned on the basis of natural science and social science. Such is the history of the atomistic theory, the law of conservation of energy, the idea of the infinity of the world, the theory of evolution, etc. Marxist-Leninist philosophy put forward the idea of the inexhaustibility of matter, the unity of matter and motion, of space and time, of the qualitative peculiarity of the laws and forms of its motion at various structural levels, of the diversity of forms of interconnection and determination in the world, all of which became the foundation of modern scientific theories.

Dialectical materialism is having a growing influence on contemporary scientific research through the solution of global ideological and epistemological problems posed by science. Through the study of the universal laws of being and thinking, it formulates theoretical principles which enter into the system of the philosophical foundations of science. On the content of these principles substantially depends the general approach to the solution of the problem and the line of scientific research. For its part, dialectical materialism is constantly perfected, as it sums up the most important achievements in the natural and humanitarian sciences. In this connection there arise important tasks in the elaboration of the theory of dialectics through its enrichment with the most important data from science and socio-historical practice.

The elaboration of the *theory of dialectics* implies integral and systematic research into the cardinal problems of dialectical materialism itself on the basis of the latest achievements in the natural and social sciences, bearing in mind the close interconnection between the ideological and methodological aspects of this theory. The basic elements of the theory of dialectics are its laws and categories which are lined up into a coherent system on the basis of the principles of dialectical logic.

In recent years, special attention has been given to research into categories which for various reasons were not adequately elaborated (interaction, substance, connection, structure, system, and so on). At the same time, interesting scientific results were also received in the elaboration of the traditional categories (cause and effect, quantity and quality, form and content, the general, the specific and the

individual, and so on). There has also been fruitful development in the study of the problems of determinism, the objective forms of causal nexus, the laws governing the development of matter, the unity of the finite and the infinite in the world, the general properties and laws of structural relations of various types of material systems, the philosophical content of the systems approach in modern science, and the theory and practice of control. This was a direct consequence of the fact that these studies were undertaken in close connection with an analysis of contemporary scientific and social practice and were accompanied with the identification of a number of new aspects and problems.

One still has to admit that the elaboration of the theory of dialectics through an analysis of individual laws and categories now yields less and less increase in knowledge as compared with the inputs of effort. A more promising way for developing the laws and categories of dialectics implies their analysis on the basis of the integral system of dialectical materialism and with a consideration of the achievements in other sciences. A true system of the categories of dialectics in their most elaborate content is a coherent philosophical theory showing the universal properties and laws of the development of nature, society and thinking, and also the inter-relationship between them.

The solution of such an important problem requires a study not only of one science and social practice, but also of all the aspects of the history of cognition. Let us recall the great importance that Lenin attached to the analysis of the history of cognition as the source for elaborating the theory of dialectics and the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge.

Drawing attention to this aspect of the theory of dialectics, we should like to emphasise that attention should apparently be focused on the research which rests on the latest data, deals with the most acute problems of modern science and promotes their earliest solution. One could note a number of interesting attempts in literature over the past few years to study the logic in the development of scientific conceptions and theories on the basis of the data provided by the history of natural science and the social sciences but being simultaneously geared to modern methodological problems of science, like the developing conception, the role of contradictions in the formation of natural-science theories, the problem of continuity in the development of natural science, the question of the nature and causes of scientific revolutions, and so on.

It is now no longer possible to elaborate the materialist dialectical doctrine of development without a thorough study of the history of human thought. We feel that Soviet scientists have done much to express in concrete terms the Marxist-Leninist concept of development, but one has to admit that a number of highly important problems bearing on the understanding of nature and the general mechanism of the process of development remain inadequately elaborated. This applies above all to its objective criteria; the inter-relationship of development, progress and regress; the condi-

tions, components and elements of the process of development itself; the inter-relationship of the processes of development at various levels of organisation of complex systems, and so on. For the time being, the dialectics of the development of cognition, scientific cognition above all, has been less than adequately studied.

Of course, the elaboration of the problems in the development of cognition is an exceptionally important and responsible matter entailing the pooling of efforts by specialists in various lines: dialectical and historical materialism, the history of philosophy and the history of natural science, historians of science and specialists in logic and the methodology of science, psychologists studying the problems in the development of the psyche, and scientists analysing the scientific and technological revolution. Here, the collection and initial processing of a vast amount of empirical data is merely a part of the immense task which all of us have to tackle. The main thing will apparently consist in structuring the general theory of the development of scientific knowledge, which could assimilate a vast amount of empirical material and serve as the basis for a new stage in the further elaboration and enrichment of the theory of materialist dialectics as an integral system.

Integrity, as a feature of dialectics, does not in any sense contradict its steady renewal. Marxist dialectics is sensitive to the new problems posed by life, social practice and scientific cognition. Theoretically generalised and elaborated, dialectics is not something that is closed in upon itself, for it is in essence constantly aimed at considering and solving real practical and cognitive problems.

The development of social practice and scientific cognition must necessarily lead to an enrichment of the theoretical system of dialectics with new components (principles, conceptions, categories) and the establishment of logical connections between them. That is why the task of elaborating the theory of dialectics as an integral system does not mean a mere summing up of some results and the establishment of a mechanical "synthesis" of the study of individual problems in dialectics which has been carried out over the past two decades. The point is to identify new theoretical problems and approaches, and to find the means to solve them.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 32, p. 94.

Concentration of Finance Capital

(Statistics)

The growing concentration and centralisation of production and banking capital,* and the coalescence of banking and industrial monopolies have led to the formation of powerful financial monopoly groups which have established dominant positions in the capitalist world.

The rapid advance of scientific and technological progress, the development of new branches of production and the growth of world economic ties have created a steady and expanding demand for loan capital among the industrial companies. In the postwar period, the role of insurance companies, investment firms, loan and savings establishments, pension funds, and so on, has grown on the loan-capital market. But the bulk of these institutions are directly subordinate to the major banks and are most closely connected with the activity of financial monopoly groups.

As in the past, the personal link-up continues to be one of the main forms of coalescence between banking capital and the industrial monopolies. In the early 1970s, 200 leading industrial and transport corporations in the United States had common directors with 40 major commercial and 20 investment banks and 30 insurance companies. The personal link-up is explicitly international. Directors of US financial-group corporations—of the Morgans, Rockefellers, Du Ponts, Lazars, and others—frequently also hold directorships in many British, West German and French companies. The West European Rothschild group has extensive family connections.

At present, there are 26 major financial groups in the USA, about 20 in Britain, roughly 10 each in Japan, FRG, and France, and 3 or 4 each in the smaller industrialised countries of Western Europe

* On the concentration of banks in the capitalist countries, see previous issue of our journal.

(Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden). Over one half of all the assets controlled by 90 financial groups in all the capitalist countries is in the hands of US financial groups (\$1,250 billion at the end of 1974).

Morgan, the capitalist world's biggest financial group, has within its sphere of influence at least 20 giant commercial banks, insurance companies, savings funds with assets totalling about \$97 billion (\$30 billion in 1963). Among these are the leading banks, Morgan Guaranty Trust (assets \$26.0 billion) and Bankers Trust (New York) (\$20.4 billion) which are fully owned by the Morgans, and the insurance companies, Prudential Insurance (assets \$35.8 billion) and New York Life Insurance (\$13.0 billion) of which the group owns, respectively, two-thirds and one-third of the assets. In addition, the Morgan group controls a large number of corporations in the oil, metallurgical, automobile, electrical, chemical, energy and other industries in the USA and other capitalist countries. At the end of 1974, the total assets of industrial, transport and other corporations within the Morgan group's sphere of influence came to \$158 billion as compared with \$40 billion in 1963.

At the end of 1974, the assets of banks, insurance companies and savings institutions of the Rockefeller group, the capitalist world's second largest, totalled over \$96 billion. Among its chief institutions are the Chase Manhattan Bank (assets \$42.5 billion, which are fully owned by the group), Chemical Bank New York Trust (\$22.2 billion, two-thirds interest), insurance companies—Metropolitan Life Insurance (\$32.7 billion, two-thirds interest), Equitable Life Assurance (\$17.6 billion, one-third interest). The Rockefeller group controls a large part of the capitalist world's oil industry, with 75 per cent of the assets of giants like Exxon, 40 per cent of Mobil Oil, and 25 per cent of Standard Oil of California and Standard Oil of Indiana. It has strong positions in the chemical, aerospace, radio electronics, rubber and energy industries. The total assets of industrial, transport and energy companies with the sphere of influence of the Rockefeller group come to about \$67 billion.

A characteristic feature of the present stage of competition in the United States is the decline of the importance of the New York financial groups and the growing role of the so-called provincial groups, the Mellons, Du Ponts and the California and Detroit groups (see Table 1). The New York financial groups have about 51 per cent of total assets as compared with the more than 70 per cent they had in the late 1920s. Three California groups—the Bank of America, Crocker-Citizens National Bank (San Francisco) and Wells Fargo Bank (San Francisco)—and the Security Pacific National Bank (Los Angeles) control the assets of banking and industrial companies totalling over \$172 billion.

In Japan, six major financial groups—Dai-ichi-kangin, Mitsubishi, Sanwa, Fuji, Mitsui and Sumitomo—hold about 24 per cent of the country's banking and industrial capital. In bank assets they

rival the leading US financial groups. Thus, according to *Fortune*, at the end of 1974, 15 leading commercial banks in the USA, with the sphere of influence of six chief financial groups, had assets totalling \$375 billion, while 15 Japanese banks controlled by the above-mentioned 6 groups had assets of \$348 billion. The leading financial monopoly groups in Japan have considerably enlarged their field of activity in the postwar period. The clear-cut prewar specialisation among the financial groups in industry (Mitsubishi—heavy industry, Mitsui—light industry) has disappeared. Today, 50-70 per cent of the stock controlled by these groups is in the most diverse industries in mechanical engineering, metallurgy, electronics, chemistry and power engineering.

A characteristic feature of modern financial groups in the capitalist world is that they tend to grow beyond the national framework, with ever more intensive ties among international industrial and banking monopolies, and the emergence of powerful international groups like Orion, European Banks International, and so on.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, there is not only a coalescence of private capital and the establishment of powerful financial monopoly groups, but also a combination of financial capital and the power of the state. The financial oligarchy is broadly represented in the legislative and executive organs of the bourgeois state, including the highest administrative posts. The state has undertaken the burden of supporting the less profitable economic spheres (infrastructure) and the organisation of new lines of production which call for large investments but which do not hold promise of high profits in the near future. Thus, of the total investments the state accounted for the following percentages in the early 1970s: USA—20-21 per cent; Japan and France, from 25 to 35; Britain from 36 to 42; and the FRG from 16 to 18 per cent.

The state has an important role to play in many spheres of the capitalist countries' economy. It buys a sizable part of the industrial products (in the USA, for instance, from 21 to 87 per cent in the various industries) and takes on active part in solving energy problems (France, USA, Britain), sets up powerful industrial complexes (IRI, ENI and ENEL in Italy), and takes over the bulk of the banking capital (Austria, France, Italy, FRG). In the credit and financial sphere, the state controls the following percentages of assets: Italy, 75; France, 60; FRG, 54; and USA, 14.7.

By financing the activity of private capital, helping it in time of crisis, investing large amounts of money into the economy and enlarging the state sector, the bourgeois state promotes the socialisation of production, thereby aggravating the basic contradiction of capitalism, that between social production and private capitalist appropriation. This inevitably generates fresh social conflicts, thereby further weakening capitalism as a social formation.

The data on these pages have been prepared by the Market Research Sector of the Institute of the World Economy and

Table 1 (ctd)

Mellon—First National Bank of Boston (Boston)	Oil, chemicals, autos, aluminium, electrical, radio electronics, energy	15.6	3.4	12.2	52.4	18.6	33.8
Great America, United, Murchisons (Texas)	Oil, chemicals, food, instruments	18.9	9.9	9.0	47.9	19.2	28.7
Hartford	Food, instruments, services	14.2	13.8	0.4	47.0	44.6	2.4
Manufacturers Hannover Trust (NY)	Chemicals, ships, mechanical engineering, food	12.3	8.3	4.0	41.6	28.0	13.6
Minneapolis—St. Paul	Mechanical engineering, electronics, chemicals, textiles	10.2	5.4	4.8	31.0	17.8	13.2
United, Humphrey—Hann, C. Eaton (Cleveland)	Ferrous metallurgy, chemicals, autos, electrical, industrial rubber, farm machinery	18.8	5.4	13.4	30.2	8.9	21.3
Detroit	Autos, electronics	11.6	5.4	6.2	28.7	13.4	15.3
Sullivan & Cromwell, Marine Midland Grace Trust of New York	Autos, engineering	8.9	5.5	3.4	25.5	17.3	8.2
Du Ponts	Oil, chemicals, industrial rubber, aircraft	8.2	6.8	1.4	24.6	8.3	16.3
Ford	Autos	8.9	3.5	5.4	20.7	6.5	14.2
St. Louis	Oil, chemicals, aerospace, electrical, industrial rubber, food	7.8	2.5	5.3	17.0	3.6	13.4
Goldman, Sachs, Lazar Brothers, Leaman (New York)	Metal-working, autos, electrical, radio electronics, food	5.8	0.7	5.1	17.0	1.9	15.1
Newmont Mining—Harriman (New York)	Aircraft, rocketry	5.1	1.8	3.3	9.5	2.8	6.7
Total		428.0	219.9	208.1	1,249.9	643.0	606.9

Table 2

Leading Financial Monopoly Groups (Japan)¹

	Dai-ichi-kangin		Mitsubishi		Sanwa		Fuji		Mitsui		Sumitomo	
	1972/73	1973/74	1972/73	1973/74	1972/73	1973/74	1972/73	1973/74	1972/73	1973/74	1972/73	1973/74
Number of companies	53	53	27	27	36	36	29	29	23	23	16	16
Assets (1,000 billion yen)	19.03	23.50	16.30	20.01	15.44	18.95	15.19	18.47	12.90	15.71	12.30	14.90
Sales (1,000 billion yen)	13.01	17.66	8.93	12.21	8.18	11.03	8.20	10.19	8.64	11.57	4.05	5.98
Profits (billion yen)	159.1	257.7	145.7	163.7	132.7	181.9	189.3	220.9	137.6	200.4	84.4	105.0
Capital (billion yen)	762.6	816.3	632.8	670.3	625.5	668.4	651.1	639.9	451.3	483.3	339.9	369.3
Number employed (thous.)	498	508	284	293	413	415	346	348	267	259	1,587	1,595

¹ Fiscal year from April to March. Financial institutions excluded from "sales": insurance companies from "capital".

Major Financial Monopoly Groups (FRG)
(1974)

Table 4

Spheres of Influence		Sales (DM million)	Number Emp- loyed (thous.)
Thyssen	Metallurgy, mechanical engineering,	22,750	151.5
Reinstahl	Mechanical engineering, metallurgy	8,060	62.0
August Thyssen-Hütte	Ferrous metals	7,338	36.0
Thyssen-Niederrhein	"	2,918	...
Deutsche Edelstahlwerke	"	1,791	...
<i>Group of chemical companies</i>			
BASF	Chemicals, oil	21,947	111.0
including Wintershall	Chemicals, oil	5,300	18.7
Rheinische Olefin	Chemicals	1,999	...
Hoechst	"	20,201	178.7
Bayer	"	18,879	169.2
including Farbenfabriken Bayer	Chemicals	11,399	...
Agfa-Gevaert	"	1,302	...
Metzeler	"	1,300	...
Chemische Werke Hüls	"	2,904	...
Wacker	"	1,290	...
<i>Metallgesellschaft Degussa</i>			
Metallgesellschaft	Non-ferrous metals, chemicals	7,207	...
Degussa	Chemicals, precious metals	4,021	...
Norddeutsche Affinerie	Non-ferrous metals	2,186	...
Siemens	Electrical engineering	17,226	309.0
AEG-Telefunken	"	11,988	170.4
Flick-Gruppe	Chemicals, ferrous metals, mechanical engineering, paper	8,052	62.7
Buderus	Ferrous metals, mechanical engineering	2,788	27.4
Dynamit-Nobel	Chemicals	2,010	17.1
Maximilianshütte	Ferrous metals	1,700	...
Feldmühle	Paper	1,662	10.5

1 Including subsidiaries abroad

Share of Japanese Monopoly Groups in Total Assets, Capital and Sales
(1973/74, per cent)

Table 3

Dai-ichi-kangin	No centre	Name of group coordinating centre and number of companies in group	Chief companies and spheres of influence	Assets	Capital	Sales
Mitsubishi	Kinyokai-23	Kawasaki setsu—ferrous metals, Isuzu jidosha—autos, Kawasaki jukogyo—shipbuilding	Mitsubishi jukogyo—mechanical engineering, shipbuilding, aircraft and autos, Mitsubishi kasei—chemicals, aluminum, Mitsubishi denki—electrical equipment, Mitsubishi sekiyu—oil refining	6.08	6.21	5.90
Sanwa	Sansuikai-33	Maruzen sekiyu—oil refining, Nihon rayon—textiles, Ube kosan—chemicals		4.44	4.31	4.24
Fuji	Fuyukai-25	Nippon kokan—ferrous metals, Nihon semento—cement, Showa denko—electrical equipment, chemicals		4.00	4.65	3.54
Mitsui	Nimokukai-19	Mitsui kinzoku—non-ferrous metals, Mitsui zosen—ships, construction, Mitsui toatsu—chemicals, Mitsui kozan—mining		3.95	4.61	3.54
Sumitomo	Sumitomo-12	Sumitomo kinzoku—ferrous metals, Sumitomo kagaku—chemicals, Nippon denki—electrical equipment, Sumitomo denki—electric wire and cable, metal goods		3.71	3.16	4.02
				2.06	2.07	2.08

Table 5

Major Financial Groups (Britain)

	Spheres of Influence	Assets (\$ billion)
Lloyds Group—Lloyds Bank, National Westminster Bank, Robert Fleming, Kleinwort, Benson, Lonsdale, Hill Samuel, Eagle Star Insurance, and others	Banking, investment, incl. international operations (raw materials trade), consumer credit, ferrous metallurgy, heavy engineering, agriculture and forestry	55-60
Barclays Group—Barclays Bank, Phoenix Insurance, Royal Discount, Alfred Holt, shipcompanies, etc.	Banking and insurance (incl. international operations), shipping, foreign trade and carriage, exploitation of Africa's natural resources, light industry	33-35
Midland Group—Midland Bank, H. and J. Hill Group, Drayton, Prudential, etc.	Banking and credit operations, television, electronics, mechanical engineering, aircraft, metal-working, chemicals, food	27-30
Oil monopoly group—Royal Dutch-Shell, British Petroleum, Burmah Oil	The whole range of operations in oil, including petrochemical industry	48-50
ICI Group—Imperial Chemical Industries and subsidiaries	Chemical industry	7-8

Table 6

Major Financial Monopoly Groups (Italy)
(1974)

	Spheres of Influence (except banking)	Sales (\$ million)	Number Employed (thous)
ENI	Oil, gas, petrochemistry, textiles	7,172.8	92.2
Montedison	Chemicals	6,189.8	153.2
FIAT	Autos, mechanical engineering, ferrous metallurgy	4,358.2	188.7
Pirelli ¹	Industrial rubber	3,731.0	171.6

¹ Data on the joint Anglo-Italian monopoly Dunlop-Pirelli

Human Communication
in International Space Flights

ALEXEI LEONOV,
BORIS LOMOV,
VLADIMIR LEBEDEV

So that outer space should always be an arena of peace and cooperation in the interests of mankind, the Soviet Union maintains extensive international ties in this field. Immediately after the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite in 1957, scientists of many countries began jointly to observe satellites and to study the upper layers of the atmosphere. Following his triumphant flight into space, Yuri Gagarin, at a press conference on April 15, 1961, said: "We intend to fly a great deal and with confidence, and to explore outer space in earnest. We are always glad to hear of the successes of other countries in the development of science and will be happy to see cosmonauts of other countries fly into outer space. We wish them every success in exploring space for peaceful purposes and want to collaborate with them in its peaceful use."¹

- A. Leonov, *Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR, twice Hero of the Soviet Union. Author of Psychological Problems of Interplanetary Flights (in co-authorship with V. Lebedev). (See their article "Psychological Compatibility in Interplanetary Flight", Social Sciences, No. 2, 1973.)*
- B. Lomov, *Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, author of "The Psychological Aspects of Economic Management" (Social Sciences, No. 1, 1973), Man and Technology, The Sense of Touch in the Processes of Cognition and Work and other works.*
- V. Lebedev, *Cand. Sc. (Medicine), author of the monograph Psychology and the Psychopathology of Loneliness (in co-authorship with O. Kuznetsov), Psychological Problems of Interplanetary Flights (in co-authorship with A. Leonov) and other works.*

The signing of an inter-governmental agreement by the two leading space states — the USSR and the USA — was an important step in the development of international cooperation in studying outer space. The director of NASA, James Fletcher, during his visit to the Soviet Union in 1974, said that international cooperation was the only practicable way of realising such massive projects as setting up a large orbital station, a scientific base on the Moon, and sending an expedition of cosmonauts to Mars.² The first stage in implementing this programme was the joint flight of the Soyuz and Apollo spaceships in July 1975.

In his message of greetings to the Soyuz and Apollo crews Leonid Brezhnev said: "Ever since the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite and the first manned flight into outer space the cosmos has become an arena of international cooperation. Détente and positive developments in Soviet-American relations have created the conditions for the first international space flight, opening up new opportunities for the development of broad and fruitful scientific ties between countries and peoples in the interests of peace and the progress of all mankind".³

The international cooperation begun in exploring outer space permits us to expect that planned permanent orbital stations, lunar research bases, interplanetary spaceships, planetary bases, i.e., various space projects, will be staffed by people of different nationalities, representatives of countries with differing social systems. Thus, the question of human communication in international space flights today becomes highly topical.

It is, of course, impossible on the basis of the Soyuz-Apollo Test Project alone to make far-reaching generalisations as regards human communication in international space flights or to draw up any recommendations on this score. However, man has much experience in organising international expeditions, to almost inaccessible regions of the globe. In some respects (a more or less lengthy seclusion from society, the need for people to live together as a small isolated group, joint overcoming of difficulties, the language barrier and so on), the work of such expeditions is similar to that of an international crew of a spaceship. Therefore in posing the problem of human communication during international space flights we can use material concerning the work of Arctic and Antarctic expeditions, groups of people crossing the ocean, etc.

PERSONAL RELATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS

When a group of people work in isolation from society, the question of relations between them acquires particular significance. These relations greatly influence the group's efficiency. Here are a few examples to illustrate this. Many Antarctic expeditions consist of people from various countries speaking different languages. Soviet scientist P. Astapenko spent the winter of 1958/59 at the Little

America-5 station. There were also a number of scientists from other countries besides the USA. He wrote about this expedition as follows: "It must be said that although the group of IGY workers [International Geophysical Year—*Auth.*] did not represent a single whole in the scientific respect, close daily contact, the joint overcoming of difficulties and the fight for survival in the severe weather conditions of the Antarctic united the men and made them friends. I have nothing but the very best recollections of my relations with the American polar scientists who wintered in Little America."⁴

The same can be said about other international expeditions to the Antarctic. The experience of the voyage of the *Ra* sailing vessel deserves particular attention. Its crew consisted of the captain, the Norwegian Thor Heyerdahl, a Russian physician, an American navigator, an Egyptian skin-diver, a Mexican anthropologist, a carpenter from the Republic of Chad (Central Africa) and an Italian mountaineer. One of the aims of the expedition, as Heyerdahl wrote, was to prove that "what unites mankind is natural and should be encouraged, and, conversely, what divides people is artificial and should be surmounted."⁵ Heyerdahl succeeded in his experiment. The international crew of the *Ra* successfully coped with the tasks set before it.

The history of international scientific expeditions, however, knows cases when communication among the participants broke down and conflicts arose. On its return from the North Pole in the dirigible "Italia", the expedition headed by Admiral Umberto Nobile crashed on May 25, 1928. The nine survivors of the crew of 16 set up a camp on a drifting ice-floe. Two Italian officers, Filippo Zappi and Adalberto Mariano, and the Swedish scientist Finn Malmgren decided to leave the camp and head for the nearest islands on foot. Admiral Nobile was ill and was therefore the first to be taken off the ice-floe by a Swedish airplane. The Italian Alfredo Viglieri was left in charge of the camp. Dissension continued amongst those remaining. F. Běhounek, a Czech scientist and a member of the expedition, wrote: "The most unbalanced was Alfredo Viglieri, even though it was he, the leader of the group, who should have had the most self-control and should have served as an example for the others.... He was particularly short-tempered in his relations with the two foreigners. I avoided him and spoke with him only when it was absolutely necessary."⁶

Communication with those of his kind is one of the essential needs of man and a very important condition for his psychological development. It is precisely in the process of communication (both direct and by means of modern technology) that people exchange information and influence each other's behaviour. The entire spectrum of human emotions appears and develops under conditions of communication; these conditions determine the level of emotional tension and emotional relaxation.

Insufficient communication often leads to various emotional disturbances in man. The need for it is particularly great when man finds himself isolated by geographical or other factors.

William Willis, who in 1957 sailed alone from Peru to the Samoa Islands on the raft *Seven Little Sisters* (the voyage lasted 115 days), wrote: "It is easy to see how men who have lived in solitude seek it always. But there are moments of suffering, too; a vague uneasiness which comes when one realises that he lives on the edge of an abyss. Man must talk to someone and hear the sound of human voices."⁷

The need to tell each other something arose in the process of anthropogenesis as a result of joint work activity. But what causes this need when there is no direct joint activity? One of the reasons for the need for communication is the fact that in his conversation with others, man, while relating his thoughts, doubts, experiences and dreams, compares them with the opinions (standards) of the people of the group of which he is a member.

Numerous observations and experimental studies show that a lengthy period of isolation often gives rise to a false, distorted concept of oneself and of the phenomena taking place in the surrounding world. We shall limit ourselves to observations made in a surdo-chamber by O. Kuznetsov and V. Lebedev.

It was noted that while in the surdo-chamber, test-subject B. spent a great deal of time making notes, drawings, and taking measurements the sense of which was incomprehensible to us. After the experiment, B. produced a "scientific work" of 147 pages, containing text, drawings and mathematical calculations. It was devoted to the "dust problem". Loose pile from the strip of carpet in the chamber served as grounds for his research. B. studied both the quantity of dust, the ways it spread and the dependence of its accumulation on the time of day, the fan and other factors. Although this "work" represented a collection of naive generalisations and hasty, illogical conclusions made in a burst of enthusiasm, B. was convinced of its great value, objectivity and importance. On returning to normal conditions and resuming his usual activity, B. adequately evaluated his unusual behaviour: twelve days later he did not even recall the "dust problem" in the surdo-chamber, and when reminded of this he displayed evident annoyance.

The need for communication is especially felt by a person at difficult moments of his life, when he requires the support of other people. Everybody knows that most often a person does not want to be alone in misfortune. It is only natural that the need for advice or compassion can be satisfied in a group of like-minded people, where a person has the opportunity for self-expression. "Individual man, as an entity," wrote Ludwig Feuerbach, "does not contain human essence in himself either as in a moral being or as in a thinking one. Human essence is present only in communication, in the unity of man with man; in a unity based solely on the reality of the distinction I and You."⁸ Man not only begins to realise his own "I" in the process of communication with others. After maturing as an individual he is also in constant need of communication.

In O. Kuznetsov's and V. Lebedev's monograph *The Psychology and Psychopathology of Loneliness* (Moscow, 1972), a great many observations are given which show that changes begin to take place in

the psychic activity of people who, for one reason or another, are forced to be in isolation for a lengthy period of time, and that these changes often lead to emotional disturbances. Mental disorders arise not only as a result of loneliness but also as a result of so-called social isolation. "Social loneliness" is, perhaps, even more frightening than physical loneliness, since here a person is amongst people but cannot satisfy his yearning for communication, just as a thirsty man in the ocean cannot quench his thirst by drinking salt water. Judging by Eric de Bishop's book, for example, one member of the international crew of the raft *Tahiti-Nui I* during its first voyage across the Atlantic turned out to be an "outcast". His only "friend" was a guinea-pig living in a cage on the raft. During the second expedition on the raft *Tahiti-Nui II*, that same crew member refused to stand watch as a result of social isolation and conflicts. One day he even grabbed an axe and tried to chop the lashings of the bowsprit. When another crew member approached him and asked what he intended to do with the chopped logs, he replied that he had decided to build a little raft and continue the voyage alone.

We might add that even if he had succeeded in building a tiny raft he would certainly have perished in the ocean. To his sick mind, however, loneliness among the boundless waves of the ocean seemed preferable to loneliness among people.⁹

THE IMPORTANCE OF A COMMON GOAL FOR SUCCESSFUL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS

The famous Soviet pedagogue A. Makarenko wrote: "I am convinced that if a collective has no goal it is impossible to find the way of organising it."¹⁰ The truth of this is fully confirmed when analysing relations between members of various expeditions working under extreme conditions. Here is what Yu. Senkevich wrote about the importance of a common goal for unifying the crew and for successful communication: "However, even when some of us thought that 'friendship and cooperation' on *Ra-I* were in a bad way, the centripetal forces in our group were nevertheless much more powerful than the centrifugal ones. What united us? Above all, of course, unity of purpose. At first, our aim was quite an elementary one: to complete the sailing and prove to ourselves and to others that we were real men, to become a little famous..."¹¹

For a group's efficiency to be as high as possible each member must clearly realise the social significance of both his own actions and those of his comrades, of the group as a whole. In overcoming unavoidable difficulties and in making inevitable sacrifices, a man must know why he is doing this. And the more prestigious the task, the more the group gives of itself in order to fulfil it.

The crews of the spaceships Soyuz and Apollo had not only the common goal of conducting joint experiments in studying outer space but also the task of demonstrating to the entire world that two great

powers with different social systems can cooperate successfully. CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev wrote to President Gerald Ford: "The flight of the spaceships Soyuz and Apollo is of historic significance as a symbol of the current process of détente and improvement in Soviet-American relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, it is a practical contribution to the further development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the USA in the interests of the peoples of both countries, in the interests of peace on earth."¹²

The joint Soyuz-Apollo flight has demonstrated what possibilities cooperation in the scientific exploration of outer space opens up. It is quite evident that the selection of the members of space expeditions is a task of paramount importance. The international crew of a spacecraft must be a union of like-minded persons united and inspired by their awareness of the importance of the goal they are striving to achieve. The thirst for knowledge is one of the most important goals motivating people in exploring outer space. Man's thirst for knowledge is always linked with definite emotions. Lenin wrote: "There has never been, nor can there be, any human *searching* for truth without 'human emotions'."¹³ With many people the thirst for knowledge becomes a passion. The idea that gives rise to passion begins to dominate the consciousness of the individual, gripping him entirely and subordinating all his thoughts and actions to it. All the capabilities of a man obsessed by passion, all his will, knowledge and thoughts are directed towards achieving the set aim. The long domination of an emotionally-coloured idea prevents, as it were, other ideas and thoughts from penetrating into the mind of a man. It is difficult to imagine Giordano Bruno impassive when in the name of truth he went to his death at the stake of the Inquisition, or Nikolai Kibalchich who, sentenced to death, yet continued to work on his design of a jet-propelled aircraft, or Konstantin Tsiolkovsky who, without a specialised education and funds for research, and mocked at by those around him, laid the foundations of rocketry.

When the crews of international spaceships, orbital stations and planetary bases are selected it will undoubtedly be necessary to take into account the men's make-up and ability to overcome any difficulties which may arise in their way to the set goal. An example of such a man among Soviet cosmonauts was Vladimir Komarov. He dreamed of flying while still a young boy and subsequently became a pilot. Then, as soon as the opportunity presented itself, Komarov handed in a request to join the ranks of the cosmonauts. However, fate was not very kind to him. Soon after, he was sent to hospital for an operation, after which further training for space flight was left in doubt. Exceptional persistence was needed for him not only to be able to resume training six months after the operation and to catch up with his comrades. He still had to convince the doctors that he was fit for duty. Karpov, the head of the group of cosmonauts, wrote the following about Komarov: "He went to see leading army specialists and higher military officials. He argued his case everywhere. They phoned me. I sensed that Vladimir had overwhelmed the officials and

medical specialists by his passionate determination to achieve his goal. His comrades also interceded for him. They pleaded, argued, convinced: Vladimir just had to remain in the group. It was decided to see how he would perform during training."¹⁴

In five months' time Komarov became a full-fledged cosmonaut. He was appointed back-up man for the flights of the Vostok-3 and Vostok-4 spaceships. But here, too, Komarov was unlucky: during training in the centrifuge the recording instrument registered cardiac arrhythmia. He was suspended from training and once again the question of his fitness for space flight arose. However it was eventually established that these disturbances were of a temporary nature. His dream, towards which he persisted with such tenacity and stubbornness, was finally realised. He was appointed commander of the Voskhod spaceship, the first in the world to lift a crew of three into orbit.

There is something similar in the biography of the US astronaut Donald Slayton, who turned 51 just a few months before his flight. During the Second World War he flew 56 combat missions over Europe and 7 over Japan in a B-25 bomber. After the war he decided to study and subsequently became an aviation engineer. Then he worked as a test-pilot. In 1959 he joined the group of the first seven American astronauts. Soon after, he was appointed commander of Aurora-7, the second orbital spaceship. On March 15, 1962, however, just two months before the flight, doctors detected cardiac arrhythmia in him and suspended him from the flight. But he continued to train with the same workload as the other astronauts. Then he noticed that after hard running during workouts his cardiac arrhythmia discontinued. Slayton began to go in for sport in earnest. In Houston, one of the authors of this article (Leonov) was told: "Everyone had given up hope that Donald would ever fly, everyone except him." Well-known aviation firms offered him enviable contracts but he remained with the astronauts. He became head of the department of flight personnel and selected the crews for all American programmes. "I chose the teams," Slayton said, "but I was never empowered to choose myself." In 1969 his cardiac arrhythmia ceased. In the spring of 1972 he was pronounced fit for a space flight. And he made it. Donald Slayton waited for his flight 5,935 days.

The crews of international spaceships require not only people united by a common goal and selflessly devoted to their work, but also those united by friendship and mutual trust. Before the joint Soyuz-Apollo flight, cosmonaut Leonov, in reply to a *Pravda* correspondent's question "What are the relations between the Soviet and American cosmonauts?", said: "When we were leaving the USA after the final training session the astronauts told us: 'It's a pity that the training programme has ended so soon. We have grown accustomed to you and will miss you!' During our joint work we were able to appreciate what fine fellows they were and what a pleasure it was to work with them. They are unquestionably highly capable men. Vance Brand and Donald Slayton, though they had not flown in space before, have done a great deal for the development of space

exploration. Stafford and I, as commanders of the first crews, met more often than the others. And we found a common language even in the most complicated situations. With the entire world watching us, wanting the flight to be a success, we told each other: let's sit down, think things over, throw away the dross and keep only acceptable ideas. We also had good relations with their families. I visited the homes of Tom, Vance and Donald often and consider them my friends."

The good, businesslike and friendly relations that were established between the Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts united by a common noble goal, and their mutual trust made it possible to carry out the entire programme of the joint flight faultlessly. This does not mean, however, that there were no difficulties in our joint work.

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION IN INTERNATIONAL CREWS

It was only natural that as soon as the training for the joint flight of Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts began, first on the agenda was the problem of overcoming the language barrier and technical and administrative difficulties. Without this there could be no question of successful fulfilment of the programme. In outer space, the cosmonauts and astronauts were to find each other, bring their spaceships together and then dock them by hand control. To do this they had to exchange information. The experience of aviation and space navigation has shown that the slightest lack of mutual understanding in carrying out such complex manoeuvres as refuelling aircraft in mid-air and docking spaceships may cost people their lives. Language, as a most important working instrument, was also indispensable for conducting joint scientific experiments in orbit.

The participants in the experiment, fully aware of their responsibility for the success of the mission, approached the study of their partners' language with due seriousness. Each of them spent approximately 1,000 hours attending language lessons. During the joint training of the Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts, Ruston, the common Russian-English language (the combination of the words "Russian" and "Houston"), proved to be the most reliable information channel. In communicating, the Soviet cosmonauts addressed their American colleagues in English, while the latter spoke with their Soviet colleagues in Russian.

In reply to an *Izvestia* correspondent's question "What about the communicability problem?" Thomas Stafford, commander of Apollo, said that he did not immediately see the merit of the idea [Ruston.— *Auth.*]. At first he felt that it would be better to formulate thoughts in one's native language. They would be more precise and laconic. On the other hand, however, it would be difficult to pour information out of a broad-necked vessel through a narrow funnel without spilling some. And who would guarantee that the spilt amount

would not contain the crux of the matter? On the contrary, it would be absolutely certain that the stream from the narrow neck would not escape the broad ears of the information receiver.

The principle of speaking in the language of the listener was fully justified during the space flight. It helped the participants in the test project to understand one another much better and to reduce to zero the possibility of mistakes in joint work because of mutual misunderstanding. Millions of Soviet television viewers could evaluate the American astronauts' knowledge of the Russian language and the American viewers, the Soviet cosmonauts' knowledge of English.

However, while the first international flight lasted less than two days and involved only representatives from two countries, in subsequent space expeditions the length of the flights and number of participating countries will grow considerably. There is no doubt that not only Americans and Russians but also Frenchmen, Poles, Italians, Czechs and people of other nationalities will work at permanent orbital stations and planetary bases. Therefore the problem of communication in international teams participating in prolonged space expeditions is of particular importance.

Returning to the voyage of the *Tahiti-Nui* raft, it can be assumed that the social isolation of one of the crew members was due to his poor knowledge of the language of his partners. During his voyage aboard the *Ra*, Heyerdahl saw to it that none of the members of the multinational crew found himself socially isolated because of lack of knowledge of the language spoken. Particular attention was given to the African, Abdullah Djibrine, who knew only Arabic and was very sensitive to any discrimination because of his black skin. "Thor," Yu. Senkevich wrote, "the most tactful among us, clearly understood Abdullah's complicated position on board the *Ra*. He was very attentive to the African and was always on the alert ready to alleviate the situation and smooth over rough moments. Thor asked George, the only one who knew Arabic, to speak with Abdullah as often as possible so that he did not feel lonely and depressed. George began to teach Abdullah to read, and his pupil was delighted in taking lessons. This relaxed both the pupil and the teacher which was also of no little importance."¹⁵

The prospect of international flights already now confronts science with a number of problems: which language will be the most suitable for multilingual crews and how should people be trained in overcoming the language barrier? Speaking about language, we should like to dwell on the following aspect of communication.

One of the conditions for successful mutual understanding is not only a knowledge of the language used but also the ability to take on the role of partner in communication. "Role-taking is a complex process involving the perception of gestures, vicarious identification with another person, and the projection upon him of one's own behavioral tendencies. Some measure of temporary identification with the other person is essential in all communication, for it is only by placing oneself imaginatively in the position of another that one

can guess his inner feelings. Remembering his own humiliations, bereavements, and triumphs, one can sympathise with others in analogous circumstances. Thus, the inferences that are made about the inner experiences of others constitute the projection of one's own implicit acts. Upon hearing another person speak one can participate in his stream of thought. Men are able to appreciate one another's acts through co-performance."¹⁶

Though it is difficult to agree with the theory of projection as developed by Tamotsu Shibutani, he nevertheless touched upon a very important feature of the process of communication, namely, that in this process people seem mutually to reveal their inner world. This was also noted by the famous figure of Russian and Soviet theatre, Konstantin Stanislavsky. "In communication," he wrote, "one above all looks for a person's soul, his inner world. In order to communicate, one has to possess that which allows one to communicate, i.e., first and foremost, one's own previously experienced feelings and thoughts."¹⁷

A man's ability to comprehend the behaviour of others is determined by his cultural level and personal experience. The wider the choice of a man's roles and the higher his cultural level, the easier it is for him to understand someone else. Though the process of entering into the role of a partner is not always realised by us, it is, in fact, present in practically any communication. When participating in a discussion, before we answer we try, with the help of our imagination, to penetrate into the world of our partner's experiences and to imagine what effect our next phrase will have on him. We evaluate our partner's reactions by the intonation of his voice, his mimicry and pantomime and also by a number of vegetative reactions (the pupils of the eyes, the type of breathing, the rate at which his words are spoken, etc.). On the basis of an analysis of the information, which the speaker is not always aware of, we not only evaluate the inner feelings of our partner but also begin to co-experience in accordance with the mechanism of imitation. In his turn, our partner, joining in the process of communication, foresees which reaction is expected of him. In studying these phenomena, the American researcher George Mead noticed an important feature of the process of communication—the fact that in this process each of the partners *anticipates* the behaviour of the other and determines his own behaviour in accordance with how he understands the "inner world" of the other. (In the USSR, questions of people perceiving and understanding each other are being successfully studied by A. Bodalev and his colleagues. See the collection *People's Perception and Understanding of Each Other*, Leningrad, 1974.)

When people from different countries come into contact with each other, the cultural level and set of roles of those communicating are of great significance, as are their knowledge of history, national customs, traditions, etc. That is why in the course of preparing for the first international flight the American astronauts, whenever they had any spare time during their training sessions in the Soviet Union, familiarised themselves with the historical monuments of our country

(they visited Suzdal, Zagorsk, Vladimir, Leningrad and other cities), went to museums (the Pushkin Museum, the Tretyakov Art Gallery, the Hermitage, the Russian Museum and others), and visited enterprises where they met with Soviet workers. They got acquainted with Russian baths. They were welcomed at the homes of cosmonauts. When journalists asked Thomas Stafford, after the final training session, whether there was any psychological barrier to understanding the Soviet cosmonauts he was simply astonished and said that he liked our country and its people very much. One could not doubt the sincerity of his words.

In their turn, the Soviet cosmonauts, when in the USA, familiarised themselves with the history, culture and people of that country. All this helped the participants in the test project to understand each other during their contacts. Such practice, still further improved upon, can apparently be recommended for future international space crews as well.

COMMUNICATION AND THE INFORMAL STRUCTURE OF A GROUP

The formal structure of a group reflects its members' mutual relations according to the business or functional principle. Here mutual relations are regulated by preset standards laid down in regulations, manuals and instructions. At the same time, an informal structure in the group appears along with the development of the formal structure. Under the informal structure mutual relations are based on principles of personal relations—like or dislike, trust or mistrust, appreciation or negativism, etc. The informal structure of the group is a system of emotionally-coloured bonds between its members. It is directed "inside" the group, at the members themselves and their personal qualities, while the formal structure is oriented towards the "outer environment", that is, the task at hand.

Under the informal structure, the need for communication is an inner basis for personal relations between people. Therefore, in choosing a partner for association, such qualities as physical strength, intellect, moral standards, energy, beauty, and other individual qualities play a substantial part. People in informal relations have an opportunity to display their individuality. As a result, some people gain greater influence than others, depending on their individual qualities. The development of informal mutual relations leads to the appearance of small groups of two or three persons or of coalitions. In each such coalition informal leaders emerge, among whom there may be a formal leader.

This general pattern of any group also finds expression in expeditionary groups. The great American explorer of the Antarctic, Richard Byrd, wrote: "Here, as everywhere, men were clannish. Without conscious stimulation or organisation, a number of groups, possessing a certain inherent solidarity, were slowly evolved.... And

of course there was no actual separation.... Nor was this the intention."¹⁸

We find a vivid description of informal structure in an international crew brought about by the need for communication in Yu. Senkevich's book referred to earlier. Three informal groups sprang up during the *Ra* voyage. The first included Mauri Carlo, Abdullah Djibrine and Thor Heyerdahl. Heyerdahl constantly took care of Abdullah Djibrine. For the African, who did not know English, Thor was not only the commander but a patron as well. In general, Senkevich wrote, Thor was almost "the only source of light for him, and this situation suited both of them. It helped Thor to guide Abdullah, and the carpenter from Lake Chad to brighten up his life during the voyage."¹⁹

The second stable group comprised Norman Baker and Thor Heyerdahl. Norman fulfilled the duties of navigator and radio operator during the voyage. Sitting at the radio in a half-dark shack, Norman had the opportunity to talk to his wife, children and friends once in a while, and this placed him in a somewhat privileged position.

The third group consisted of Santiago Genovés, Yuri Senkevich, George Sourial and Thor Heyerdahl. Telling about this informal group, Senkevich wrote: "Who knows why we were drawn to each other? Possibly age was not the least factor: youth—George was undoubtedly young, I was relatively young, and as to Santiago, despite his 45 years he was young in spirit, expansive and enthusiastic.... We became friends during all sorts of shuffling and reloading of our things and tried to be together every free moment. We would make ourselves comfortable on the roof of the shack or in the bow and talk and joke in eager rivalry."¹⁹

It is noteworthy that there were three informal groups in the *Ra* crew and that Thor Heyerdahl was a member of each of them. The formal and informal structures of the groups made up a unity. It is the balanced nature of this unity that determined the cohesion of the group and its collective psychological ability to solve effectively the task set before it. In well-organised groups the formal structure is the leading factor in regulating informal relations. Where informal relations prevail, the principle of business contacts recedes into the background.

The studies made in the Antarctic warrant the conclusion that informal relations change under conditions of an expedition. V. Boriskin and S. Slevich note: "On the basis of Soviet and foreign experience and sociometric evaluations it can be stated that cohesion in a group as a rule goes through four stages. The first—the group is not yet consolidated; the second—various groupings are formed; the third—consolidation takes place around the nucleus that has taken shape, but lone persons still remain outside the collective; the fourth—a splitting up of the group can be observed, most often into separate age groups not bearing a factional character. On the whole, by the end of the winter the moral state of the group is higher than it was at the very beginning."²⁰

It seems to us that whereas such practice is, to a certain extent, possible and admissible in forming Antarctic and other types of expeditions where there is a possibility of replacing their members, it is inadmissible for prolonged space flights where there is no such opportunity. Experience shows that a group may develop a decentralisation of the formal and informal structures because of a separation into groupings which results in splitting the collective as a single whole.

As can be seen from F. Běhounek's book mentioned above, the split of an expedition is preceded by the separation of an informal group with a leader.

During its second voyage, which ended tragically for E. de Bischoff when the *Tahiti-Nui II* raft gradually began to lose buoyancy, the crew broke up into two groups. Three crew members demanded that the stock of food and water be divided up.

Here it is in place to note that just as the ocean is reflected in a drop of water so the relations of people of the society of which they are citizens are largely reflected in an isolated group. A comparison of the situation on the *Tahiti-Nui* raft and a similar situation on a Soviet self-propelled barge suggests itself. At the beginning of 1960 this barge was driven off the shores of the Kuril Islands into the open sea during a storm. There were four soldiers on board—Astakh Ziganshin, Filip Poplavsky, Anatoli Kryuchkovsky and Ivan Fyodorov. After drifting for 49 days they were picked up by an American aircraft and taken to San Francisco. Their exploit amazed the world. But people in the Western world were perhaps more astounded by the sense of unity displayed by these Soviet soldiers under such conditions.

All these examples once again prompt the idea that the crew of an international spaceship or planetary base should be made up not only by way of careful selection but should long before the flight undergo all stages of training. In the book, *Psychological Problems of Interplanetary Flights* (Moscow, 1975), we outlined some methodological approaches to forming the crews for lengthy space expeditions. Here we shall dwell on one of the aspects of this problem which was not dealt with in the book. It concerns crews made up of people from countries with different social systems.

Yuri Senkevich writes: "The world from which we ran away, as it were, did not want to let us go. It reminded us of itself regularly, not only through George's idle stories but also through Carlo's concern about possible photo-competitors and Thor's doubts about whether or not my reports for *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Izvestia* would affect his contract with UPI."²¹ During the voyage various discussions concerning the social structure of different countries, ideology, etc., took place.

The Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts often discussed similar subjects during the training period. In our opinion, these discussions were best summed up by Eugene Cernan, an American astronaut from the ASTP back-up crew and the last of the men to step onto the surface of the Moon. In an interview for *Komsomolskaya*

Pravda published on May 12, 1975, he spoke of the essential differences between the political systems of the USSR and the USA and their ideologies. He said that he did not think that any one of the participants in the programme would change his political views in the course of their contacts. The cosmonauts realised, however, that the accent had to be placed not on what separated them but rather on their striving to understand, respect and trust each other. Eugene Cernan expressed the conviction that this was the most important thing in the fulfilment of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, which was only the beginning of a great road to strengthening peace and to promoting mutual understanding among all nations.

If we take into account that the crews of space projects will consist of people of different specialities, age and nationalities and from countries with different social systems, it is difficult to imagine that they will have absolutely common interests in informal communication. It seems to us that if it is practically impossible to select people with common views, interests, ideals, mutual attachments, etc., for the crews of planetary bases or interplanetary spaceships, then it is at least necessary to ensure that they include small groups bound by close, comradely relations, common national traditions, world outlook, and so on. We have already shown that if we do not take this into consideration, people may find themselves "isolated" in expeditionary conditions. Of course, these informal groups must in no way form factions splitting the group participating in an expedition.

* * *

There is not the slightest doubt that the problem of communication in international space crews will be of enormous importance. Unfortunately, however, we have to admit that this problem has not yet been sufficiently worked out in the light of general and social psychology and philosophy. There has been little research done on this problem. That is why this article is open to discussion and we hope that it will give food for thought and impetus to research in the outlined direction.

NOTES

- ¹ *Pravda*, April 16, 1961.
- ² See *Literaturnaya gazeta*, September 18, 1974.
- ³ The collection *Handshake in Space*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 10-11 (in Russian).
- ⁴ P. Astapenko, *A Journey to the Other End of the World*, Leningrad, 1962, pp. 81-82 (in Russian).
- ⁵ Quoted from Yu. Senkevich's *Across the Atlantic on Board the "Ra" Vessel*, Leningrad, 1973, p. 6. (in Russian).
- ⁶ F. Běhounek, *Tragedy in the Arctic Ocean*, Moscow, 1962, p. 212 (Russian translation from the Czech).
- ⁷ William Willis, *The Epic Voyage of the "Seven Little Sisters"*, London, p. 130.
- ⁸ Ludwig Feuerbach, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1846, p. 344.

- ⁹ Eric de Bishop, *Cap à l'Est. Première expédition du "Tahiti-Nui"*, Paris, 1958, pp. 227-228; B. Danielsson, *Det stora vdgspelet. Tahiti-Nui-expeditionen*, Stockholm, 1959, pp. 163-164.
- ¹⁰ A. S. Makarenko, *A Collective and the Development of Individual*, Moscow, 1972, p. 84.
- ¹¹ Yu. Senkevich, op. cit., p. 102.
- ¹² The collection *Handshake in Space*, p. 22.
- ¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 20, p. 260.
- ¹⁴ Quoted from Yu. Gagarin's and V. Lebedev's book *Psychology and Space*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 125-126 (in Russian).
- ¹⁵ Yu. Senkevich, op. cit., p. 95.
- ¹⁶ Tamotsu Shibusani, *Society and Personality*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962, p. 144.
- ¹⁷ K. S. Stanislavsky, *An Actor's Work on Himself*, Moscow, 1951, p. 271 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ Richard Byrd, *Little America. Aerial Exploration in the Antarctic. The Flight to the South Pole*, New York-London, 1930, p. 208.
- ¹⁹ Yu. Senkevich, op. cit., pp. 96, 97, 98.
- ²⁰ V. V. Boriskin and S. B. Slevich, "Man in the Antarctic", *Priroda*, No. 12, 1968, p. 36.
- ²¹ Yu. Senkevich, op. cit., p. 102.

Development of Ethnic Cartography in the USSR

(Methodology and Method)

SOLOMON BRUK

In our age of rapid social development the political history of many countries is determined largely by the relationships among the peoples inhabiting them. Thus, the non-coincidence of political and ethnic boundaries, the existence of so-called disputed territories and the aggravation of the problems linked with migration frequently lead to complications, to internal and international conflicts. This gives rise to the important tasks of establishing ethnic boundaries, determining the numerical strength of peoples and the dynamics of this strength and studying the impact of various socio-economic and other factors on the changes of a population's national composition and on the distribution of peoples. To resolve these problems, the territorial interaction of peoples must be studied in its historical, geographical and other aspects.

An essential specific of present-day scientific progress is the strengthening of the links between the natural and humanitarian sciences, the emergence of new intermediate scientific disciplines and the reciprocal influence and enrichment of various sciences. For instance, ethnic geography is developing successfully on the basis of ethnography, on the one hand, and major branches of geography—regional geography, demographic geography and cartography—on the other.

S. Bruk, D. Sc. (Geogr.), Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is the author of 150 works on ethnical geography, cartography and demography. They include the Atlas of the Peoples of the World (Editor-in-Chief and author of some of the articles), Map of the Peoples of the World (author of the accompanying book and co-author of the map) and Problems of Ethnical Geography.

The importance of ethnogeographical study is accentuated by the growing importance of national (and also religious, racial and other) factors in the socio-political life of all countries. The ethnopolitical situation in many countries is undergoing essential changes. As a result of socio-economic reforms, ethnical consolidation is proceeding apace in most of the countries that have won liberation from colonialism: scores of recently isolated tribes and numerically small nationalities are forming into large nationalities and nations. With the support of the neocolonialists, the local reactionaries frequently whip up inter-ethnic hostility, utilising the unresolved problems left over from the colonial epoch, including ethnoterritorial disputes. During the past few decades the national question has grown acute in some developed capitalist states as well (Belgium, the United Kingdom, and others), where the reactionaries are endeavouring to steer socio-class contradictions into the channel of inter-ethnic and religious conflicts. It is the mission of ethnogeography to help people understand these complex phenomena of the times.

As a scientific discipline at the junction between ethnography and geography, ethnogeography's main task is to study the geographical distribution of ethnic communities, the specifics of their distribution and their territorial interrelation with other peoples, depending on socio-economic, political, natural and other factors. This study takes into account the character of settlement (for instance, sedentary or nomadic), the given territory's development level, map of population density, and the character and extent of the territorial fusion of peoples. One of ethnogeography's prime tasks, in which it cooperates with ethnic statistics and ethnic demography, is to determine the national composition of all countries and establish the numerical strength of individual peoples (as well as of racial, lingual, religious, ethnographic and other groups) in and outside the countries of their main settlement.

One of the volumes of the *Peoples of the World* series—*Numerical Strength and Settlement of the Peoples of the World*¹—is the first summarised ethnogeographical work giving a detailed characteristic of the national composition of the population of all countries and parts of the world, the numerical strength of individual peoples and their distribution, and analysing theoretical questions linked with the basic principles of differentiating, classifying and determining the numerical strength of peoples.

Ethnic cartography is one of the cardinal areas of ethnic geography. During the past few decades it has gained in prominence in ethnography. To ethnogeography, as a largely historical discipline, it is of utmost importance to show the changes taking place in various phenomena in time and bring to light the dynamics of processes developing on vast territories. The territorial-spatial aspect of research is also important for ethnogeography. Each people is characterised by a definite territory of settlement; the geographical location of this territory and its natural conditions exercise a considerable influence on the development of that people's material and spiritual culture, while to a large extent its territorial relations

with other peoples determine many features of its ethnic history. The method of cartographic representation, which uses statistics and other mass data, allows showing the changes occurring in different phenomena in time and space.

The mapping of ethnographic objects and phenomena has a long history, but for many years ethnographic maps served solely as illustrations to show the results of studies of various problems. This has become a special method of ethnographic and ethnogeographic study only since the mid-19th century, when considerable material had been accumulated characterising various elements of material and spiritual culture and when in many countries censuses began containing indicators making it possible to determine the ethnic composition of the population. We can distinguish two basic types of ethnographic maps: 1) *ethnic maps* characterising the distribution of peoples (in the past or present); 2) *ethnographic maps*, showing various aspects of the life of peoples in one period or another, and features of their traditional material and spiritual culture. This is a conditional division because the boundaries of the distribution of peoples are frequently shown on ethnographic maps, while ethnic maps sometimes show the spread of various elements of culture.

Not having the possibility of considering the entire range of ethnographic maps, we shall concentrate mainly on a characteristic of *ethnic maps* of the present-day distribution of peoples.

Ethnic maps are among one of the most ancient sciences. One of the chief elements of the content of the very first geographical maps known to us consisted of peoples indicated by inscriptions in their areas of settlement. Generally speaking, it would be hard to recall a map by ancient or mediaeval geographers that did not have an ethnic element. In the course of many subsequent centuries ethnic elements (geographical distribution of peoples, some information about their life, and so on) were a noteworthy aspect of almost all geographical maps.

However, it was only since the mid-19th and particularly since the beginning of the 20th century, with the development of capitalism and the rapid growth of national movements, that special ethnic maps began to appear. Nationality or the native language began to figure in the censuses taken in a number of countries and this made it possible to compile detailed demographic maps. This was a period that witnessed the publication of ethnic maps of many European countries, particularly of the multinational states of Eastern Europe where the national movements acquired an especially large scale. Many regional ethnic maps, mainly of disputed territories (Transylvania, Macedonia, Dobruja and others), appeared after the First World War and the accompanying recarving of political boundaries.

Inasmuch as ethnic maps began to be used to establish or specify political boundaries (this concerns chiefly the period of the Balkan wars, the First World War and the subsequent period), their compilers endeavoured to substantiate the "historical rights" of their countries to various territories and, in many cases, distorted the actual picture of the distribution of peoples. For this purpose they had recourse to,

for instance, a method showing only majority groups, with the result that it became possible to exaggerate the significance of one or another nationality in the given region. As regards ethnic statistics providing the basic material for the compilation of ethnic maps, they and other forms of social statistics were compiled tendentiously in the conditions obtaining in capitalist society. Karl Marx, it will be recalled, wrote about the use of false statistics (in particular, the inclusion among Germans of German-speaking Jews) by Germany's ruling circles to provide grounds for their claims to Poznan.² This manipulation of many indicators (language, national self-awareness, religious community, affinity of various forms of material and spiritual culture and so forth) for the purpose of attributing individual groups of the population to various nationalities and, sometimes, directly falsifying facts led to sharp distinctions in the ethnic maps of one and the same territory compiled in different countries.

During the first half of the 20th century the ethnic maps compiled by Western scholars showed mainly colonial and dependent countries, the reason for this being the striving of the imperialist states to make a detailed study of the peoples of their possessions in order to maintain and intensify the exploitation of these peoples. Quite detailed maps were compiled of former French Indochina and of many African states that were colonies in those years. Regrettably, although these maps embraced relatively large territories and were drawn to a large scale, most of them were a far cry from objective reality. By ignoring the laws of the historical development of peoples and the ethnical processes that were taking place, artificially fragmenting nationalities that had taken shape or were in the process of formation, and showing the ethnic composition of the population of many Asian and African countries as a conglomerate of a multitude of unrelated tribes,³ some authors endeavoured to substantiate the theory that these countries were unprepared for independent political development. These maps showed essentially not the contemporary state of peoples but their remote past: for instance, in many cases they showed not all the peoples inhabiting a given country but only the indigenous population.

Moreover, to this day Western scholars have not compiled maps of the distribution of peoples in the large capitalist countries (in particular, in such nationally complex countries as the USA and Canada). Many ethnographers evidently believe that backward "exotic" peoples are the sole object of study. Until lately there have been no maps of the distribution of modern peoples in such vast regions as Western and South Asia, Thailand, Burma and almost all the Latin American states.

In Russia ethnic mapping has a long history due mainly to the country's multinational character and the considerable interest taken by scholars in the life of her peoples.

The first coloured ethnic map of European Russia showing the areas of different nationalities in detail was compiled in 1851 by P. Keppen for the Russian Geographic Society. An ethnic map of European Russia, which was very detailed for its day, was compiled

in 1875 by A. Rittikh. It differed from the Keppen map by its larger scale and by the fact that it embraced a much larger territory (giving, among other areas, Russia's western gubernias and the Caucasus). For more than half a century the Rittikh map was the basic aid for studying the distribution of peoples in Russia. It was valuable also because it was perhaps the first map in world practice to be based on meticulously detailed ethnostatistical data.

In early 1917, acting on the recommendation of some eminent scientists, the Academy of Sciences set up a Commission to Study the Tribal Composition of Russia (from 1925 onwards—of the USSR) (CSTC) and of neighbouring countries. In 1928 this commission was used as the nucleus for the establishment of the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of the USSR, which existed until 1941. This commission and then the institute directed the compilation of ethnic maps for more than two decades. The main purpose of this work was to "determine and map the regions of the distribution of the nationalities inhabiting the Russian state, chiefly on the basis of data on language and partly on religion, manners and customs, objective self-consciousness or self-determination of individual nationalities, and also the specific features of their physical type (anthropological data)".⁴ Among others, Academicians S. Oldenburg, A. Shakhmatov, M. Dyakonov, N. Marr, V. Bartold, E. Karsky and V. Peretz took an active part in this work.

The practical importance of ethnic maps grew immensely after the October Revolution, when the Soviet Government began implementing its nationalities policy—the policy of national self-determination, of granting various forms of autonomy to many peoples and helping them to promote their national culture. After considering a project prepared by the Turkestan Commission for the Abolition of National Friction, Lenin wrote that it was necessary to compile a map (an ethnographic one and others) of Turkestan with subdivision into Uzbekia, Kirghizia and Turkmenia and to define in greater detail the conditions for their fusion or separation into three parts.⁵

The maps compiled by the above-mentioned CSTC were of enormous assistance to the directive bodies in national development. Ethnic maps were compiled and published of the peoples of Byelorussia, the Samarkand region, the Urals territory, the Volga area, Murmansk Gubernia, the North-Western region and Karelia, and Leningrad, Pskov, Cherepovets and Novgorod gubernias. Special note must be made of the minutely detailed ethnic maps of Bessarabia, Siberia and the Caucasus. A large-scale map of the peoples of the Ukraine was published without the Commission's participation. A detailed map of the distribution of the nationalities of the Far North, compiled on the principle of population density (in which the nationality composition of each inhabited locality is indicated), was published in 1933.

Considerable impetus was received by ethnic mapping after the Second World War. Whereas formerly Soviet ethnographers have been concerned mainly with the peoples of the USSR and some

neighbouring countries, they now substantially widened the territorial bounds of their research. Special interest was centred on the multinational states of Asia and Africa that had won independence after the war: many of the political developments in these countries could be correctly understood only with the aid of a detailed analysis of the national relationships and a knowledge of the distribution of their peoples.

Most of the ethnic mapping since the war has been done at the Laboratory of Ethnic Statistics and Cartography of the Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences.

A school map of the peoples of the USSR was published in 1951;⁶ it was then republished almost annually, while in 1961 and 1972 it was completely revised in accordance with the censuses taken in the USSR in 1959 and 1970. Maps of the peoples in large regions of Asia (Western, South and Southeast Asia, Indochina, Indonesia and the Philippines) and Africa, and, lastly, a generalising map of the peoples of the world (scale 1:5 000 000), showing nearly 800 peoples, have been brought out consecutively since 1956.⁷ Prior to this, no attempts had been made either in the USSR or abroad to compile a world map of peoples on such a large scale. Such maps were brought out in various countries on a small scale (of the order of 1:12 000 000 to 1:80 000 000), for which reason even numerically large peoples could not be indicated on them; as a rule, they indicated groups of peoples. It must be noted that maps of this series were compiled by a new method under which the distribution of peoples and the population density were indicated simultaneously, i.e., an element of a numerical characteristic of peoples was introduced. A summary work generalising the results of many years of research at the Laboratory of Ethnic Statistics and Cartography was brought out in 1964. This was the *Atlas of the Peoples of the World* showing 1,500 peoples (the larger-scale maps of this *Atlas* allowed showing the ethnic composition of many regions of the world in much greater detail than on a map of the peoples of the world).⁸

Some years ago the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences completed the compilation of a summary work, *Atlas of the Population of the World*, which, in addition to an ethnic characteristic of populations, gives a demographic characteristic (birth-rate, death-rate, natural increment, sex and age composition, family and marriage relations). Moreover, this *Atlas* contains maps of the distribution of population, migrational processes, and so forth.

This radical extension of ethnic mapping required the solution of some theoretical questions. First and foremost, it was necessary to work out the principles of distinguishing and classifying ethnic communities; improve the methods of determining ethnic territories and establishing ethnic boundaries; substantiate the method of compiling ethnic maps; determine the possibility of utilising various materials and indicators (including indirect) to ascertain ethnic areas; work out the symbols (in particular, depicting numerical indicators, showing the ethnic composition of towns, using colour scales and various signs, and so on).

Quite detailed ethnic maps have been compiled in different countries, but they only embrace relatively small regions (compared with the world as a whole). Many of them are based on detailed field material and pursue the purpose of drawing more accurate boundaries between individual tribes and nationalities. However, their compilers gave little attention to the principle of distinguishing and classifying peoples, and also to some methodological questions. In the USSR ethnic mapping not only embraces the entire globe but strives to make maps a scientific source of knowing the new objective laws of the distribution of peoples.

* * *

In compiling ethnic maps, in which the objects of study must be clearly delimited, we usually use peoples (or ethnoses)⁹ as the basic unit of mapping—historically shaped groups of people with a common language, culture, self-awareness and some other common indicators, on a given territory.

The present national composition of the population of the world is the result of a long historical process of the formation of various ethnoses. The earliest types were tribes under the primitive community system; then a new type of ethnic community, nationality, appeared in slave-owning and feudal societies. Ethnic communities of a higher level of development, nations, emerged with the development of capitalist relations and the expansion of economic links. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the USSR led to the appearance in the Soviet Union, and later in some other countries, of nations of a new type, of socialist nations.

The terms used in Soviet science to designate historically shaped ethnic communities—nation, nationality and so forth—have their equivalents in the terminology used in other countries. In many West European countries the term *nation* is identified with the term *state*, while its formation is linked solely with the operation of political factors. Some Western sociologists endeavour to attribute the emergence of nations to biological causes (racial community, common origin and so forth), and for that reason confuse national and racial communities. The term *race*, encountered most frequently in English and French literature, is used to designate racial types and the ethnic affinity of population (sometimes only tribal affinity); the terms *minority* and *minorité* (or *national minority*) designate national, religious and, sometimes, ethnic and other minorities; the terms *nationality* and *nationalité* are usually used to designate only citizenship (although sometimes they are used in a broader but very vague sense). The term *ethnic nationality*, used in some publications of international organisations to designate citizenship along with the term *legal nationality*, is close to the Russian understanding of the term *ethnic community*.

It is extremely difficult to determine the affinity of many modern peoples with a definite ethnic community because there is usually no

clearly defined boundary between nations and nationalities, between nationalities and groups of tribes, and so on. Ethnic communities are in the process of continuous development. This compels us to confine ourselves, for the present at least, to showing on maps peoples without their subdivisions into stadial types. Nonetheless, it remains an extremely complicated matter to determine the national composition of the population of different countries of the world and draw up lists of peoples for ethnical mapping. It is necessary, above all, to define each group of the population: in world literature there is a huge number of cases when ethnoses are identified with racial, caste or religious communities. Also frequent are cases when a people is taken to mean a group of kindred ethnoses or, on the contrary, some part of an ethnos. Complications arise even when there are detailed statistical data on the national composition of a population, because due to the processes of assimilation and consolidation there are in many countries quite large population groups with transitional forms of culture and national self-awareness. But the greatest difficulties arise when peoples are distinguished in multinational states where statistics either completely ignore ethnic categories or are confined to taking religious, racial or some other groups into account.

Specific difficulties arise in distinguishing the most backward ethnic communities (tribes) in inland, isolated regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The boundaries between such communities are frequently indefinite and it is always not easy to establish how far the process of consolidation has gone.

It is possible to resolve the question of the ethnic structure of one country or another correctly only on the basis of the most diverse general ethnic data on the lingual affinity, the character of distribution, cultural and economic links, way of life, historical destinies and the national traditions of various groups of the population.

In drawing up a list of peoples the specifics of mapping must be taken into account: the possibility of showing one people or another on maps of a given scale and the need for similarly designating peoples so that different sections of the map are not superfluously fragmented or superfluously generalised. In Europe, the same peoples are usually designated on maps of all scales. On the other hand, the regional maps of Africa, Southeast Asia and some other regions of the world, compiled to a larger scale, show a much larger number of peoples than world maps, in which due to the ethnic processes taking place in these regions not only individual tribes but also similar nationalities are united in groups. For instance, maps of the peoples of Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines (scale 1:5 000 000) distinguish about 200 peoples, while in the *Map of the Peoples of the World* (scale 1:15 000 000) less than 50 peoples are shown in this region. As we have already noted, due to the diversity of scales the *Map of the Peoples of the World* distinguishes some 800 peoples, while the *Atlas of the Peoples of the World* shows nearly 1,500 peoples. However, it must be borne in mind that an excessive increase of the number of peoples (even on very large-scale maps) may distort the present ethnic picture:

it will not reflect the unification of ethnic groups, a process now taking place in many parts of the globe.

Peoples are characterised by a number of indications, the chief of which are language and national (ethnic) self-awareness. These indicators must be regarded as the main ethnic determinants. Other factors (religious, racial and so on) played a subordinate role in the formation of nations.

Language community is one of the fundamental conditions for the formation of ethnoses: the name of the nation and the language usually coincide. Replacement of the native language is usually an indication of developed assimilation—and this is commonly followed by a change of ethnic self-awareness. Nevertheless, the terms *ethnic community* and *language community* are far from being identical.

Each nation usually speaks one language (true, in some cases the dialect distinctions are so great that intercourse proves to be impossible between separate groups without a knowledge of an accepted literary language; the Chinese are the most striking example). In only a few cases individual groups of a people speak different languages. Various groups of Mordvinians speak two quite different languages: Mokshan and Erzyan. One-fourth of the Irish speak their primordial native language (Celtic group), the rest speak English. There are quite many cases of bilingualism, when groups of a nation or even entire nations (Paraguayans, Alsations) speak two languages. A considerable proportion of the population of such multinational countries as Belgium and Switzerland is bilingual or even trilingual. Bilingualism is frequently observed in multinational countries, where along with their native language the ethnic minorities speak the language of the most numerous or dominating nation. Large bilingual groups are taking shape in the new Asian and African states, where alongside local languages the official languages of the given state become increasingly more widespread (Hindi and English in India, Urdu in Pakistan, Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, and English in some African countries and French in others). Bilingual groups are frequently distributed in a more or less wide zone along ethnic boundaries. This fact is in evidence also in countries where immigrants settle *en masse*. Bilingualism is to be observed more and more frequently today.

Cases where a number of nations speak one and the same language are very frequent. For example, English (with inconsiderable local variations) is spoken by the English, the Anglo-Australians, the Anglo-Canadians, the Americans of the USA and some other peoples. Spanish is the native language not only of Spaniards but also of the majority of the Latin American peoples. Germans, Austrians and German-Swiss speak one and the same language, with the dialects of the people of Austria being closer to High German than that to Low German. In such cases nations are distinguished by other indications that are mirrored in the national self-awareness.

National (or ethnic) self-awareness is a generalised reflection of all the elements forming the ethnic community, an expression of a given person's ethnic links with other persons of his nation. The elements

forming the ethnic community include a common language and territory, affinity of culture and the way of life, common historical destiny, affiliation to one state, and so forth. National self-awareness takes shape in the course of a long period, and the ethnos-forming significance of each of these elements may change with time.

After acquiring a certain independence, ethnic self-awareness may be preserved even when individual groups of a nation are territorially separated from the main ethnic core and even if they have lost their native language. This self-awareness may exercise a reverse influence on the factors that had once given shape to it: they may give rise to a movement for the reunification of national territories or, for example, a movement for the revival of the native language.

Self-awareness is clearly expressed among large nations that have reached a high level of national consolidation. In the world there are large numbers of peoples who do not have a clear-cut national self-awareness. These are, notably, groups of tribes and also nationalities with survivals of clan-tribal divisions, where the low level of socio-economic development and the absence of centres of national consolidation make intercourse and cultural links difficult between individual groups that in some cases have their own dialects. Among these groups tribal self-awareness is still predominant (sometimes together with an awareness of affiliation to a definite nationality). Vague (and sometimes dual) national self-awareness is frequent also among many "transitional" groups (immigrants, bilingual population, groups living along ethnic boundaries and so forth) that are at different levels of ethnic interaction with other nations.

Religion played an important role in the formation of many modern nations. In the primitive community epoch, ethnic and religious boundaries usually coincided. With the emergence of world religions this coincidence vanished; during the slave-owning and, in particular, the feudal epochs ethnic self-awareness was very frequently superseded by religious self-awareness. In some cases religious distinctions, which greatly influenced the development of political and economic relations, played a major part also in the national demarcation of population groups speaking very similar languages.

In subsequent epochs religion gradually lost its significance as an ethnos-forming factor. Many modern nations include groups professing different religions, while one and the same religion is very frequently professed by many nations. National religions have been preserved in only isolated cases.

The situation is somewhat different in Moslem countries, where national self-awareness is to this day frequently superseded by religious community self-awareness. Statistics groups the population of these countries by religious indications—groups which do not profess Islam are included among ethnic minorities. For example, in Iran not only Armenians, Jews and Assyrians but also Gabars (Zoroastrians) are regarded as ethnic minorities, although the latter are partly Iranians. In some Arab states all non-Moslems are regarded as minorities.

The correlation between ethnic and racial communities is similarly complex.

In antiquity racial types took shape on the basis of the same territorial groups of mankind as ethnic communities. Tribes were initially racially homogeneous. Gradually, with socio-economic development and as a result of settlement throughout the world, groups of different tribes and races began to mix. National formations are social in character, while racial groups have mainly a biological foundation. On account of the different nature of ethnic and racial groups, the coincidence of their boundaries became increasingly rare—today there are only a few of such coincidences. Nations may be homogeneous on the level of numerically large races, but are almost always heterogeneous relative to the subdivisions of these races. In most cases, the European peoples belong to the large European race, but almost each of them includes people of two or all three branches of that race (Northern, intermediate and Southern).

The formation of ethnic communities was accompanied by an intensive mixing of racial types in most of the American states as well. As distinct from the Old World, where these processes took place in antiquity and the Middle Ages, there they took place during the past two or three centuries. These processes continue on a large scale to this day. Almost all the modern nations of America took shape as a result of the mixing of two or even three racial components. After they settled in America the ancestors of the modern American Negroes, who belong to Negroid tribes speaking different language, mixed with whites and quickly changed their tribal languages for the language predominant in the given country (English, Spanish, Portuguese, French). Mixing with the surrounding population, the Negroes became in some cases one of the main ethnic components of the nations that were taking shape (for instance, Brazilian and Cuban). In other countries, particularly the USA, their fusion with the white population was, on the contrary, slowed down by the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the ruling circles.

From this the conclusion may be drawn that when we distinguish peoples we have to take into account the entire sum of ethnic indicators characterising the given group of people. Various ethnic indicators receive prominence under different historical conditions. Nevertheless, national self-awareness and the native tongue are the basic ethnic determinants.

To distinguish peoples is only the first stage of studying them; it is similarly important to evolve a system of classification. A classification based on objective essential attributes and shown by conventional signs (here a similarity of attributes is accentuated by the affinity of colour, shades and other designations) gives the impression of affinity between peoples of different regions of the globe. In the absence of an adequate classification a map loses much of its scientific value, while the observed similarity or dissimilarity of colour will not show any logical link between the depicted objects.

As distinct from a text, where several classification systems may figure and any number of attributes may be used, a map requires a uniform system of classification.

A mixed anthropologico-linguistic classification predominates in Western literature, particularly in the world ethnographic maps given in different geographical atlases. On these maps mankind is usually divided into from three to five races, while the races are subdivided into language groups. We feel that this combination of anthropological and linguistic attributes is methodologically inaccurate: racial affinity is not an attribute of ethnic community, while anthropological groups do not coincide with language groups. Due to the absence of fundamental methodological principles, scientists of different countries do not group peoples when they compile ethnic maps, considering that this is a matter for the future. In the captions to maps they arrange peoples in the order of diminishing numerical strength or in alphabetic order.

In Soviet science classification according to lingual affinity is the most widespread. Language is one of the key attributes of an ethnos. True, alone it does not always make it possible to run the necessary demarcation line between peoples and recourse has to be had to other ethnic attributes. Digressions of this nature are inevitable under any system of classification. In cases when the language criterion proves to be inadequate to demarcate peoples, use is made of other ethnic attributes. In Soviet science this system of classification is known as ethnolinguistic.

In order to group peoples, use is made of genealogical classification of languages, in accordance with which languages are united in kindred families based on a comparison of their vocabulary and grammar. A family is divided into branches, groups and subgroups. On ethnic maps families are divided into groups (which in most cases coincide with the linguistic division into branches). Little has yet been done in the way of classifying languages within many families, much less within branches.

The geographical boundaries of the distribution of linguistic families and groups change continuously. The formation of linguistic families is closely linked with mankind's distribution throughout the world. Languages with the closest affinities are usually encountered among neighbouring peoples, linked by a common origin or long joint habitation in one state. In some cases similar languages are spoken by peoples living far apart (for instance, the Malays and the Malagasy, the Hungarians and the Mansi, the Yakuts and the Turks, and so on). This is due to intensive migrational processes: in the remote past these peoples lived on common or adjacent territories or had common origins.

Over the course of many years, Soviet scientists have evolved a system of ethnolinguistic classification, in accordance with which all the peoples of the world are classified in definite families (this classification is continuously specified, but all the captions to ethnic maps conform to it): Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic (Afroasian), Caucasian, Dravidian, Ural, Altaic, Korean, Japanese, Chukchi-

Amchatkan, Basque, Burushaski, Keta, Congo-Kordofanian, (Niger-Kordofanian) Nilo-Saharan, Khoisan, Chinese-Tibetan, Thai, Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian, Andaman, Papuan, Australian-aborigine, Aini, Ukagir, Nivhi, Eskimo-Aleut and Indian.

The ethnolinguistic system of classifying peoples is still imperfect and requires further elaboration. In particular, methods have to be evolved that would help it to mirror major ethnic processes, an indicator of which is bilingualism, and also the gradual transition of individual peoples from one language to another. In many cases the ethnolinguistic classification creates the impression that there are sharp ethnic contrasts where they are in fact non-existent and, conversely, that there is an affinity between peoples who have long ago separated from each other. For example, India is divided into two markedly different parts: Dravidian and Indo-Aryan—despite the ethnographic and cultural affinity of the peoples of these groups living as neighbours (such as Telugu and Kannarese, on the one hand, and Oriya and Marathi, on the other). Moreover, the peoples of North India are distinguished as being close to the European peoples of the same Indo-European linguistic family, although their ethnic and cultural development had proceeded separately for many centuries.

In cartography these shortcomings of the ethnolinguistic classification are smoothed over by a special selection of similar colours for peoples of different linguistic groups but having ethnographic affinities.

In determining the national composition of the population of different countries and in ethnic mapping, the researcher finds a shortage of sources. The different level of ethnogeographic study of different countries and, in some cases, the almost complete lack of direct data on the distribution of peoples had for a long time hindered the compilation of anything close to detailed ethnic maps of many regions. This induced many scholars to believe that it was impossible to compile scientific ethnic maps of many Asian, African and Latin American countries. This view has been refuted by Soviet scholars, who have compiled ethnic maps of all the regions of the world without exception. Here the point is not only that during the past twenty-five years the ethnostatistic investigation of many countries has been deepened (although this factor, too, can under no circumstances be discounted) but also that many other materials have been used for compiling maps of peoples. Experience has shown that it is possible to determine the boundaries of the distribution of peoples with an adequate degree of authenticity even in the absence of direct ethnostatistic data, by studying mutually complementing and correcting sources containing various information about peoples and indirect data.

Censuses are the basic and most reliable source for determining the composition of the population of different countries and establishing ethnic boundaries. However, the questions directly aimed at ascertaining ethnical affiliation, i.e., relating to the self-awareness and self-determination of the people questioned or to their ethnic origin are encountered very rarely; most frequently the

census questionnaires contain the question about the native or spoken tongue. Many other indicators—tribal, caste, racial and religious affiliation, country of birth, citizenship, and so forth—help to correct the data received from the use of basic ethnic determinants, while in the absence of the latter they may be used not as ancillary but as the principal elements to determine the national composition of the population of one country or another.

For example, data on religion may be used to distinguish individual peoples professing so-called national religions (Armenians, Jews, Assyrians, Japanese) and also to divide peoples speaking a common language (English Anglicans and Scotch Presbyterians; Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croatsians, and so on).

Racial statistics, widespread chiefly in American countries, sometimes makes it possible to determine the number of people of Asian (Japanese, Chinese) and African extraction, who differ substantially anthropologically from the indigenous population of these countries.

Data on citizenship or the country of birth, if they concern people from mono-national countries, are easily translated into indications of national affiliation. If immigrants come from multinational countries, this requires much additional work to divide them into ethnic groups (it is ascertained from what part of a given country emigrants come, the extent various peoples participate in immigration, and so forth).

The various reference material published in many countries is closest to census data. In addition to census data, this material contains data on current population counts and of special field studies. Very detailed information is given, for instance, in the gazetteers on individual provinces and districts of India, Pakistan and Burma. Geographical dictionaries of Iran, Afghanistan and some other countries contain data on the ethnic composition of each inhabited locality. Data on the distribution of different Indian tribes are given in reference books on South American Indians.

Works on linguistics are a valuable source for the study of the ethnic composition of the peoples of the world. The descriptions given in them of the distribution of various languages and dialects help ethnographers to specify the numerical strength and distribution boundaries of individual peoples. There are particularly valuable linguistic data on Africa based on materials of field studies. To a large extent these data compensate for the absence in censuses of information on the ethnic composition of this region.

In many travelogues and studies there are detailed characteristics of nationalities and tribes with data on their distribution by populated localities and small administrative units; data on the percentage correlation of individual peoples are given for a number of localities with a mixed population. Descriptions of routes frequently indicate the ethnic composition of the population centres situated near roads.

In the most diverse monographs on individual regions one can frequently find valuable information on the distribution of peoples or the ethnic composition of the population. There is a particularly large number of such monographs on Asia and Africa.

It is quite evident that in ethnic mapping use is made of all available ethnic and linguistic maps compiled in different countries. For some regions they are even the basic source. However, in most cases they may be used only as supplementary material, because the method by which they are compiled and their content do not make it possible to accurately determine the modern boundaries between peoples. Sometimes these maps do not show regions inhabited by a nationally mixed population, indicate only the distribution of indigenous peoples or only of ethnic minorities, distinguish as peoples tiny tribes, ethnographic, religious or racial groups, and so on. In these maps different principles are frequently used to distinguish and classify peoples. The use of such sources requires painstaking efforts to dovetail even the names of peoples, establish their identity and so on.

When direct data (statistical, literary and cartographic) on the boundaries of the distribution of peoples are lacking, an important role in the compilation of ethnic maps may be played, as we have already noted, by indirect data to be found in materials on physical and economic geography and also in diverse geographical and special maps.

Let us consider the utilisation of such indirect data on the example of the Asian region.

Agricultural specialisation is in some cases an important indicator characterising individual peoples and distinguishing them from their neighbours. Maps of the distribution of crop areas in Southwestern Afghanistan have helped to specify the regions of the distribution of agricultural Tajiks living amidst Afghan herdsmen. In Northwestern China, Uigur farmers live in oases and the valleys of some rivers, while the surrounding mountainous and semi-desert regions are inhabited by Kazakh, Kirghiz and Mongol herdsmen.

In towns the national composition of the population is usually more complex than in rural areas. In the towns of Southeast Asia there is usually, in addition to people belonging to indigenous nationalities, a large proportion (larger than in rural localities) of Chinese and Indians. There they are engaged in trade, handicrafts and industry. In North Afghanistan, where Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen and Afghans are distributed, mainly Tajiks are concentrated in the towns: they comprise a high proportion of the population of towns situated in purely Afghan regions in the south of the country, including Kabul. In multinational states people belonging to the largest and economically most developed nationality usually comprise the bulk of the urban population. In some cases towns are foreign bodies in a different national environment.

The following are some examples of the use of physico-geographical elements for specifying the boundaries of the distribution of peoples. In many regions of Southeast Asia the boundary between a population engaged in non-irrigated agriculture in mountainous areas and a population engaged in irrigated agriculture in river valleys serves as an ethnic boundary. For instance, the boundary between the Burmese and the Chin mountain tribes passes along the

slopes of the Arakan Mountains. With the aid of hypsometric maps it is possible to specify the ethnic territory of the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, because it is known that in that country the Kurds live in the mountains and do not descend into the plain. In Laos the distribution of different peoples is likewise observed along a vertical zonality: the river valleys are inhabited by the Lao, the Mon-Khmers live on higher ground, and still higher there are the Miao and the Yao. Sometimes undeveloped tribes are forcibly moved into barren regions (deserts, mountains, marshland), and then their distribution coincides with definite natural boundaries.

To some extent toponymic data can be used to specify the boundaries between peoples. However, it must be remembered that toponymics is linked chiefly with the history of the settlement of a given region and does not always conform to the modern distribution of peoples.

An analysis of territorial relationships between peoples has made it possible to distinguish some common regularities of ethnic distribution. A mixed population is to be observed mainly in areas along ethnic boundaries, with this mixing usually more pronounced among peoples speaking kindred languages. As a rule, the ethnic composition becomes more complex as one moves from a rural to an urban locality, from economically backward to developed regions. Large cities are inhabited by people belonging to many nationalities; this is particularly the case in countries with heavy immigration, where most of the newly-arrived population settles in the towns. Among urban inhabitants people belonging to nations with a high degree of socio-economic development are predominant. In individual cases, when concrete data on the ethnic composition of one region or another were inadequate these regularities were used for ethnic mapping, for specifying ethnical boundaries and distinguishing mixed regions.

* * *

As a result of many centuries of development, the distribution of peoples has become quite complex. In many parts of the world peoples have mixed and formed territories with a complex ethnic composition, where one and the same region and, frequently, population centre, is inhabited by people of two, three or more nationalities. It is the task of ethnic maps to show the complexity of this distribution.

In the USSR ethnic maps are compiled by different methods. The least exact is the method of inscriptions, which can show only the presence of people in a given locality. Today this method is chiefly used for maps of the smallest scale; charts appended to travelogues and also to show ethnic communities whose boundaries are not known exactly (for instance, nomadic peoples, various tribes of gatherers and hunters, and so forth). The inscription method is also justified in the compilation of historical maps of peoples, when a shortage of data does not permit using better methods of mapping.

Until recently the method of delimiting areas or coloured surfaces was the most widespread (in ethnic mapping it is known as the method of showing only majority groups). This method was used, in particular, for the well-known Keppen and Rittikh maps of the peoples of pre-revolutionary Russia. Its essential shortcoming is that in regions with a mixed national composition the map shows only the numerically largest nationality or that of special ethnographic interest; it does not show other nationalities and thus gives a distorted picture of the distribution boundaries of one or another people and its territorial relations with other peoples. In small-scale maps the use of this method greatly distorts reality. The territories inhabited by the most numerous peoples are considerably enlarged, while small peoples, especially those mixed with other peoples, frequently disappear altogether.

Due to the lengthy processes of ethnic development and the constant interaction between peoples ethnic boundaries can rarely be depicted in the form of lines. The nature of these boundaries is influenced by many factors: peoples with kindred languages and cultures form boundaries of one type, and non-kindred peoples—of another. National and economic relations, urbanisation, and political status likewise influence the distribution of peoples in the zone of ethnic boundaries. This zone is in many cases a wide belt with a nationally mixed population. For that reason, the method of coloured surfaces developed along the line of evolving a special symbol for mixed distribution, while the resulting new way of mapping became known as the method of ethnic territories.

To this day this is the basic and most widespread method of compiling medium and small-scale ethnic maps. In addition to showing territory with a homogeneous population, these maps give regions with a mixed distribution and the percentage of individual nationalities in all such regions. Each people is designated by a coloured surface, characterising its basic territory, while mixed distribution is shown by combining coloured surfaces—their location in stripes or a chessboard pattern, with the size of the area given in one or another colour and mirroring the numerical strength of each people. Maps usually show the joint distribution of two basic nationalities in a given region, but on maps drawn to a larger scale it is quite easy to show a mixture of three or more peoples.

However, maps compiled by this method likewise have shortcomings. On them ethnic territories are shown as surfaces of even colourations, although actually in such territories peoples are distributed unevenly—they concentrate in given areas and leave others sparsely inhabited. Inasmuch as the population density fluctuates considerably, the maps compiled by the method of ethnic territories give an inexact idea of the numerical strength and importance of one people or another. Some numerically small peoples occupy a much bigger territory than numerically large peoples. For instance, the ethnic territory of the Indians in Brazil is almost twice as large as the territory inhabited by Brazilians proper, although the numerical strength of the latter is several hundred times greater than

that of the Indians. On the basis of an ethnic map of Canada compiled by the ethnic territory method one can draw the conclusion that the bulk of the population consists of English and French Canadians, while small groups of Indians and Eskimo inhabit the huge Arctic and sub-Arctic regions.

In order somehow to smooth over this shortcoming, the ethnic maps of numerically large peoples are designated with brighter colours. Moreover, attempts are made to show numerical indicators. For instance, on the colour maps in the *Peoples of the World* volumes, the *Peoples of the USSR* wall maps and in all the maps of the *Atlas of the Peoples of the World* compiled by the ethnic territory method use is made of a sparse population symbol: sparsely populated regions (usually with a population density of less than one person per square kilometre) are shown not in one colour, but with symbols on a white or grey background; unpopulated areas are left uncoloured.

Yet another improvement has been introduced in the compilation of these maps. A mixed distribution of two or three peoples is usually shown only in cases when each of these peoples comprises not less than 10 per cent of the entire population. If in the given region or centre it is necessary to show numerically small ethnic minorities comprising less than 10 per cent of the population this is designated in the form of a colour symbol (such as is used to mark sparsely populated territories) against the background of the basic people; there is usually a particularly large number of such interspersions in the areas of large cities and along ethnic boundaries. In this way it is possible to show not two or three but a larger number of peoples in even a small area.

The striving to give numerical indicators (typical not only for ethnic but also for any mapping) made it necessary to use some other methods.

For ethnic maps use is frequently made of an old mapping showing the size of population. Symbols show all or at least most of the population centres, with the size of the symbol indicating the number of inhabitants in a given centre while an internal colour giving their national composition. This method allows showing essential specifics of the distribution of peoples (linked with the geographical location of the centre) and, in addition, gives an idea of their numerical strength; it allows separating cases of actual mixing of peoples, i.e., mixing within the boundaries of population centres, from cases of their distribution in the neighbouring population centres of some given region. However, in practice this method has limited uses, because it requires, on the one hand, large-scale maps and, on the other, detailed statistical data on the ethnic composition and number of inhabitants in each population centre.

The dot method has some outward similarities with the above-mentioned methods (the distribution of a people is designated by dots, whose size give a definite number, for instance, 100, 500 and 1,000 persons). This method is convenient only in cases when in a region being mapped there is a small number of peoples, each of which occupies a definite, separate territory (the colour of the dots

may be distinguished only if a limited number of contrasting colours is used). However, the scale of such maps may be smaller than the maps compiled by the method showing the size of population.

Ethnogeographers have long been attracted by the idea of showing on one map both the boundaries of the distribution of peoples and the population density. Such a map would characterise not only the ethnic affinity of the population of each region but also give an idea of the relative numerical strength of individual peoples and some specifics of their distribution, notably the concentration of large masses of people in some regions and the sparsity of settlement in others. A radical solution of this problem — showing the distribution of peoples and the population density on one and the same map — was suggested only in the early 1950s when a new method of ethnic mapping (the combination method) was evolved at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This method has become widespread. In particular, it has been used for the compilation of regional wall maps of the peoples of Asia and Africa and also the *Maps of the Peoples of the World*.

In ethnic maps compiled by the combination method the population density is shown in the following way. An unbroken colour background is used to designate regions with a high density, while for the highest densities this map is complemented with black lines of various thickness. In low density areas the unbroken background is replaced with lines of different thickness of a definite colour adopted for one people or another to indicate ethnic territories. There is thus a gradual transition from colouring with large blank spaces to an unbroken colour background with increasingly thicker lines.

The combination method unquestionably enriches the content of maps and increases their cognitive value. However, note must be made of the method's shortcomings springing from the desire to combine two indicators with a similar degree of detail on one and the same map. This makes for a poor reading of maps, for the ethnic boundaries (particularly in sparsely populated regions) are not clearly distinguished, and the regions with a mixed population are shown with a lesser degree of accuracy.

But by and large, the two basic methods of ethnic mapping — ethnic territory and combination — are being worked out in growing detail and they satisfy the basic requirements for medium-scale maps of peoples. The use of some quantitative indicators in the former method gradually brings it closer to the latter.

Some aspects of ethnic mapping have as yet not been studied with adequate thoroughness. These include mainly the mapping of towns, of nomadic populations, of migrations (in their ethnic aspect) and also of languages, races and religions which are closely linked with ethnoses. Also there has as yet been an inadequate elaboration of the question linked with the study and mapping of ethnically intermediate (chiefly between two basic ethnic areas) territories. Many unresolved methodological problems arise in cases when ethnic processes are the subject of ethnic mapping. Even understood in the narrow sense, such as changes of a population's ethnic structure (as a result of the

transformation of the ethnic self-awareness of a part of the population), these processes are still in effect not mapped.

The solution of all the above-mentioned problems is the principal task of Soviet ethnographers in the immediate future.

NOTES

- ¹ See *Peoples of the World. Ethnographical Essays*, ed. by S. P. Tolstov, Moscow, 1954-1968; *Numerical Strength and Settlement of the Peoples of the World*, ed. by S. I. Bruk, Moscow, 1962 (both in Russian).
- ² See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Moscow, Vol. 5, pp. 340, 388 (in Russian).
- ³ For example, in the Cameroun alone Tessmann distinguished the settlement areas of 225 tribal groups (G. Tessmann, "Volksstämme Kameruns", *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1932, No. 78). The map of the peoples of tropical Africa published by the American Museum of Natural History, distinguishes over 1,000 tribes, while their classification is replaced with an alphabetic list (C. Hunter Bruce, *Tribal Map of Negro Africa*, New York, 1956).
- ⁴ D. A. Zolotarev, "The 10th Anniversary of the Commission for the Study of the Tribal Composition of the USSR and Neighbouring Countries, USSR Academy of Sciences," *Chelovek*, 1928, No. 1, p. 74.
- ⁵ See V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Moscow, Vol. 41, p. 436 (in Russian).
- ⁶ *The Peoples of the USSR*, a map for secondary schools, Moscow, 1951, scale 1:5 000 000 (latest edition—1975), (in Russian).
- ⁷ M. Ya. Berzina, *Map of the People of Indostan*, Moscow, 1956, scale 1:5 000 000; S. I. Bruk, *Map of the Peoples of China, the Mongolian People's Republic and Korea*, Moscow, 1959, Scale 1:5 000 000; S. I. Bruk, *Map of the Peoples of Indochina*, Moscow, 1959, scale 1:5 000 000; S. I. Bruk, *Peoples of Western Asia*, Moscow, 1961, scale 1:5 000 000; B. V. Andrianov, *Peoples of Africa*, Moscow, 1961, scale 1:8 000 000; M. Ya. Berzina, S. I. Bruk, *Peoples of Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines*, Moscow, 1962, scale 1:5 000 000; B. V. Andrianov, M. Ya. Berzina, et al., *Map of the Peoples of the World* (text by S. I. Bruk; Consulting Editor—P. E. Tarletsky), Moscow, 1961, scale 1:15 000 000 (each map is supplied with a book of ethnodemographic information, all in Russian).
- ⁸ *Atlas of the Peoples of the World*, ed. by S. I. Bruk and V. S. Apenchenko, Moscow, 1964 (in Russian).
- ⁹ The term is used here in its ethnographic meaning.

The Origins of the Human Race in the Light of Up-to-Date Information

MIKHAIL URYSSON

In recent years, there has been a considerable reappraisal of values in palaeoanthropology, palaeprimatology and primitive archaeology as a result of major discoveries made in these sciences. Many concepts, ideas and hypotheses stand in need of revision as a result of the emergence of new data and facts. This refers in particular to the problem of the age of mankind and the very earliest stages of its evolution.

During the past seventeen years, public attention has been focussed on discoveries made in East Africa, which have shed completely new light on the sources of palaeolithic culture and its carriers—the most ancient representatives of the human race. These discoveries have given rise to acute and emotionally charged arguments between scholars, bearing upon a discussion of the cardinal problems of anthropogenesis. It will be no exaggeration to say that since the Pithecanthropus finds in Java (1891) and the Australopithecine finds in Taung (1924), no event in this area has excited anthropologists as greatly as the discoveries made by L. Leakey in the Olduvai Gorge (Tanzania) in 1959-1963, by C. Arambourg, F. C. Howell and I. Coppens in the River Omo valley (Ethiopia) in 1967-1971, and by Richard Leakey in the Lake Rudolf area (Kenya) in 1968-1974.

In 1959, L. Leakey, the British archaeologist, palaeontologist and anthropologist discovered, in a horizon (Layer I), whose absolute age was shown to be 1,750,000 years according to potassium-argon analysis, an accumulation of pebble-tools with traces of human workmanship (the Oldovan culture). Besides these tools he also found a skull of a fossil hominid resembling the massive forms of the South

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African Australopithecines. Leakey gave the creature the name of Zinjanthropus (from Ar Zinj, the Arabic mediaeval name for East Africa) on the initial surmise that he was the first to make stone tools, and consequently the most ancient man. However, a number of researchers were puzzled by the small cranial capacity of the Zinjanthropus, which was only 530 cm³, a size characteristic of the South African Australopithecines, those highly developed biped fossil apes, and did not greatly exceed the average cranial capacity of present-day African anthropoids (the chimpanzee and the gorilla). The question naturally arose whether a creature with such a comparatively small brain could have made stone implements. These doubts were not groundless, but in that case the question arises: who made the tools discovered by Leakey?

The reply to this question was not long in coming. Already in the following field season (1960), Leakey, continuing his excavation of Layer I in the Olduvai Gorge, came upon—sixty centimetres below the spot he had discovered the Zinjanthropus skull—the parietal bones, lower jaw, teeth, hand and foot bones, a collar bone and other remains of a creature to which he gave name of Praezinjanthropus. Its absolute age was about two million years. As was the case with Zinjanthropus, the skeletal remains were found together with a considerable number of pebble tools of the Oldovan culture. When these bones had been studied in detail, it was unexpectedly found that they belonged to a creature as a whole more progressive than both the Zinjanthropus and the Australopithecines. Thus the cranial capacity proved equal to 650-680 cm³—150 cm³ greater than the average cranial capacity of the South African Australopithecines. The foot bones testified to a well-developed erect posture, while the hand bones contained both primitive (ape) features and progressive features of the hand of present-day man.

This circumstance gave Leakey and his colleagues occasion to consider the Praezinjanthropus as the maker of the pebble tools found together with his bones, and consequently to regard him as the most ancient representative of the human race, in which connection the creature was given a new systematic name: *homo habilis*. The Zinjanthropus was recognised as representing the Australopithecines, who lived either at the same time or somewhat later than *homo habilis*. Some time later, other remains of *homo habilis* were found in the same horizon as the Zinjanthropus remains, but the former had no connection with the making of tools of the pebble culture. The surmise was made that Zinjanthropus may have been hunted by *homo habilis*.¹ Though the latter was not so far removed morphologically from the Australopithecines, this creator of the most primitive palaeolithic culture had crossed the threshold separating the fossil ape from the most ancient man.

Hardly had the discussion on the Olduvai Gorge finds subsided when the scientific world witnessed a number of discoveries in the River Omo valley (Ethiopia). Early in the 20th century, a French geographical expedition had discovered, in the south of Ethiopia, a site of animal fossil remains. In 1932-1933, the French geologist and

palaeontologist C. Arambourg organised the first international expedition to the Omo valley. Following eight months of work, the expedition returned to Paris with four tons of fossil bones, none of which pertained to the higher primates. A second international expedition went to the valley in 1967 and in the course of four field seasons (1967-1971) scored some amazing successes: a great number of bones of Australopithecines, including an incomplete skull, several lower jaws, numerous bones of limbs and 150 separate teeth were found in 600-metre-deep deposits containing horizons between 4,500,000 and 1,500,000 years old. The Australopithecine remains were found in horizons between two and four million years old, the earliest of which were twice as old as the hominids found in the Olduvai Gorge. Of great importance was the discovery of an accumulation of Olduvai tools dating back 2,100,000 years.

During the same years, expeditionary work was carried on near Lake Rudolf in Kenya, to the south of which, namely in the Kanapoi area, the discovery was made, in 1965, of part of the humerus of an Australopithecine creature 4,500,000 years old. Then, parts of the lower jaw of an Australopithecine creature dating back 5,500,000 years were found in 1970 south-west of Lake Rudolf, in the Lotaham locality. To date, this is the most ancient Australopithecine find in the world. The most systematic excavations were begun on a large scale in 1968 east of Lake Rudolf by an expedition led by the Leakey's son Richard. This expedition, which is carrying on to this day, has enriched science with discoveries of prime importance.

During the 1968-1972 field seasons numerous skeletal material of fossil homonids were discovered in deposits between 2,800,000 and 1,500,000 years old, at the Koobi-Fora and Ileret sites. By the beginning of 1973, the number of finds was in excess of 100, and included several skulls, lower jaws, teeth and limb bones. In Richard Leakey's opinion, part of the skeletal material pertains to Australopithecines and another part to man (*homo*). Most noteworthy was the find of tools pertaining to the Oldovan culture, whose absolute age is 2,600,000 years, the most ancient palaeolithic find in the world. These tools were made by men living a million years earlier than *homo habilis* and two million years earlier than the Java Pithecanthropi. However, Richard Leakey's most sensational find was the discovery, in 1972, east of Lake Rudolf, of an almost intact skull of a fossil homonid in deposits whose absolute age was 2,800,000 years. The most amazing feature of this skull was the cranial capacity—over 800 cm³, exceptionally large for so ancient a homonid, and 150 cm³ greater than the cranial capacity of *homo habilis* living almost a million years later; it was roughly the equal of the average cranial capacity of the Java Pithecanthropi living over two million years later.

This homonid was probably capable of making tools of the Olduvan culture, though no such tools were unearthed near the skull. However, as mentioned above, a site of tools pertaining to that culture and the most ancient in the world was found in horizons of a somewhat later period. It may be supposed that these homonids, who

stood close to the one whose skull was found in 1972, were indeed creators of the very earliest Stone Age culture, and were consequently the most ancient and possibly even the first men on earth. Another amazing feature of this skull is the absence of the supraorbital ridge so characteristic of fossil homonids, as well as of any marked external osteal relief. Richard Leakey did not decide to give this skull any definite systematic (generic and specific) name; in his opinion this could be done only after a detailed comparative-morphological study, so for the time being it is known under the name of Skull 1470, which is its registration number in the inventory list of the National Museum in Nairobi, Kenya.

This skull was not the only discovery of 1972. Shortly afterwards, the expedition unearthed two almost complete femurs, as well as parts of the tibia and fibula of a fossil homonid. The find was made in layers close in absolute age to the horizon where Skull 1470 was found. This discovery also bordered on the sensational, because complete bones of the lower limbs are very rare in collections of fossil homonid remains, because carrion-eating beasts of prey feed first and foremost on the extremities of dead creatures. But did these bones belong to Man 1470, it may be asked? Scientists have not yet made up their minds on this score, though the possibility does exist since, according to preliminary studies, the femurs were quite distinct from similar Australopithecine bones and were marked by progressive features of structure bringing them close to the femurs of present-day man. This means that their owner was better adapted to walking upright than were the Australopithecines. Finally, towards the end of 1972 season, some teeth and parts of the skull of a six-year-old child were discovered eight miles from the place where Skull 1470 had been found. When the second skull was reconstructed, its configuration proved close to that of Skull 1470.

The attention of scientists all over the world was again attracted by the new material provided by the latest discoveries in East Africa. Excavations conducted in 1973 by a US-French-Ethiopian expedition in the Hadar area (Wollo Province, North-East Ethiopia) at a distance of six hundred kilometers from Addis Ababa resulted in the discovery, in lake and river deposits, of bones belonging to fossil homonids: these included three incomplete femurs, a tibia and part of a left temporal bone. Preliminary descriptions show that these probably belonged to Australopithecines,² radio-isotope analysis setting their absolute age at 4,000,000 years. In 1974, members of the same expedition, continuing their excavations to the North between the towns of Dessai and Assab, found three jaws (a complete upper jaw, part of another upper jaw and a lower jaw) also four million years old. In the opinion of US anthropologist C. Johanson, these bone remains differ from the 1973 finds in belonging to a representative of the human race—*homo*. We have no information as to finds of any tools in the area. If further investigations confirm that these remains are human, their age will be million years greater than that of Skull 1470, i.e., will stand at four million years.

Such are the major discoveries of the remains of ancient man and

traces of his culture, as well as of his immediate predecessors, made in East Africa during the last fifteen years. To appraise the significance of these discoveries to the theory of anthropogenesis, one should recall the ideas held in the past regarding the various stages of man's evolution. According to this idea, which took shape under the influence of Charles Darwin's "monkey" theory of anthropogenesis, man went through at least four stages in the process of his development: his direct ape-like ancestor; the first ancient man (archanthropus); ancient man (palaeanthropus or Neanderthal); fossil man with a modern exterior (neoanthropus). Inasmuch as recent discoveries refer to the stages in man's evolution, let us focus our attention on the first two stages, and begin with archanthropi.

For many decades, science was influenced by two palaeoanthropological discoveries in Asia: the Pithecanthropus in Java and the Sinanthropus in China. The conviction gradually took shape that these creatures were the most ancient men and ushered in the history of the human race (*homo*) on our planet. This opinion was based in the main on their ape-like skulls, with their heavy supraorbital ridges, receding foreheads, and low vaults.

At the same time arguments immediately arose when E. Dubois discovered a Pithecanthropus calvaria and femur at Trinil, Java in 1891-1892. The discussion went on for decades, and has been resumed in recent years. The prime reason is that the find was an incomprehensible combination of an ape-like calvaria skull cap and a femur which, had it been found separately, could be ascribed to modern man. The second cause of differences was the vague geological dating of the find. Finally, the fact that no tools were found together with the bone remains in the Trinil deposits evoke doubt whether the Pithecanthropus pertained to humans.

The relative morphological incompatibility of the skull and the femur gave rise to various assumptions. One of these claim that the calvaria belonged to a fossil ape while the femur belonged to modern man. This was flatly rejected by E. Dubois, who considered the creature in question as transitional between ape and man. However, E. Dubois radically revised his views in the 1930s, and adopted the appraisal of the find once given by R. Virchow who thought that the Trinil calvaria was that of a giant gibbon.

Another assumption was that the combination of primitive and progressive features was a consequence of the uneven development of individual systems of organs in hominids: the appearance of features linked with adaptation to erect carriage (the structure of the pelvis and the lower extremities) was ahead of the evolution of the skull and the brain. This idea was supported by researches conducted by R. Bergman and P. Karsten, who found that the calvaria and all five femurs had roughly the same fluorine content. Thus the synchronousness of the Pithecanthropus' calvaria and femur seemed to have proved. However, later studies by M. Day and T. Molleson, conducted on a high scientific and methodological level, have again put the contemporaneousness of the finds in great doubt.

As for the geological age of the Trinil finds (as well of the

following finds of the Java Pithecanthropi at Sangiran in 1936-1939 as well as later Pithecanthropus skulls unearthed in 1961-1969), this still remains unclear. At first, E. Dubois thought that the Trinil finds were Pliocene, i.e., belonged to the final phase of the Tertiary Period, but this was later found to be erroneous. Of great importance in specifying this geological date was the Java expedition conducted by E. Zelenka in 1907-1908. Though no new remains of the Pithecanthropus were found, the fauna excavated, which corresponded to the layers these remains had been found in, left no doubts that it pertained to the Pleistocene (Quaternary) Period. Since then, a large number of geologists, palaeontologists and archaeologists have made a detailed study of Java's Pleistocene geology and stratigraphy, their findings showing beyond doubt that the Java Pithecanthropi are Pleistocene in age. The determination of their absolute age by potassium-argon analysis has shown that the Pithecanthropus remains from the Trinil layers are about 550,000 years old, the most ancient of their representatives from the Jetis layer being not more 700,000 years old.³ Until recently that age had been set at one million years. Thus the Java Pithecanthropi have become considerably younger.

The third cause of differences around the find was the problem of material culture. No stone tools were found at any of the 10 Java Pithecanthropus finds, this giving rise to grave doubts as to whether Pithecanthropus could be considered human, despite his cranial capacity of 775-900 cm³ and other morphological features (skull and teeth structure) which brought him close to man. True, those who stand for recognition of Pithecanthropus as the most ancient human make reference to von Koenigswald's discovery of lower Palaeolithic implements in 1936 near Patjiton in Central Java, but this find dates from the very close of the middle Ice Age (the Mindel-Riss interglacial epoch), i.e., later than the Trinil and the more so the Sangiran Pithecanthropus finds. This makes it highly doubtful whether the Sangiran culture can be attributed to Pithecanthropus. In the light of all these facts, the formerly bold opinion of the latter as the first ancient man calls for serious reconsideration.

Also considered referring to the most ancient humans are the Sinanthropi, numerous bone relics of which were found in 1927-1937 in the Choukoutien Cave near Peking, these consisting of skulls, lower jaws, separate teeth, and limb bones. No doubt arose as to this creature's being human: besides the bone remains, the digs uncovered a large number of stone implements and traces of the use of fire. These Peking men stood higher morphologically than Pithecanthropus: their skull capacity was greater (915-1,225 cm³), their cranial structure was closer to the primitive Palaeoanthropos. However, their geological and absolute dating has called for specification. According to the latest data, deposits containing Sinanthropic relics correspond to the Mindel-Riss interglacial epoch, their absolute age not exceeding 500,000-400,000 years. Consequently, Sinanthropus was younger than the Java Pithecanthropus by 180,000 to 200,000 years.

Another find made in China was that of the remains of Lantian man, who was more primitive than his Choukoutien counterpart. His

absolute age, however, stands at 700,000 years, which is not greater than that of the very earliest Pithecanthropus finds. Hence, the Java Pithecanthropus and the Chinese Sinanthropus, who were until recently considered humans standing at the very sources of mankind, are actually later hominid forms. Just as late, or perhaps even later, are the following forms: the Olduvai Pithecanthropus from Tanzania (490,000 years old); Heidelberg man (about 450,000 years old); Casablanca man (Morocco, 450,000 years old); Vertesszöllös man (Hungary, 400,000 years old); Ternifine man or Atlanthropus (Algeria, 360,000 years old), and some other forms until quite recently considered representatives of the Archanthropus stage.

It was with the latter that most researchers linked the Chellean culture of bifacial hand axes, until recently regarded as the most ancient Palaeolithic culture. The first implements of this type were found in the first half of the last century in River Somme deposits (France). It was in the 1860s that the French archaeologist G. de Mortillet, on the basis of finds near the village of Chelle, proposed that the Chellean culture be considered the most ancient in the Palaeolithic period. The absolute age of this culture has been estimated at between 550,000 and 425,000 years. It is noteworthy that tools pertaining to this culture—hand axes—were not discovered either in the Java Pithecanthropus or in the Peking Sinanthropus finds. Neither were they unearthed together with the Heidelberg jaw. The first tools approximating the Chellean (or rather the later Acheulean) were found in Ternifine in 1954-1955, together with Atlanthropus remains, while the "classical" Chellean culture was found together with the Olduvai Pithecanthropus in 1960 (in the Olduvai II layer, with an absolute age of 490,000 years). In the past, most experts were sceptical about pre-Chellean culture: some considered them eoliths—rude stones whose resemblance to implements was created by natural causes, while others rejected the idea that it had ever existed.

Thus, for over fifty years the opinion was dominant in anthropology that the Pithecanthropi, Sinanthropi and other forms close to them were the most ancient, perhaps even first humans on earth, while the Chellean culture created by them was the earliest and most primitive culture in human history. It may well be asked: in that case, who, in conformity with these ideas, were the ancestors of the Pithecanthropi, the Sinanthropi and other ancient men? They must have been highly developed fossil apes. We are now approaching the first stage of man's evolution—that of his immediate animal forebear. The systematic excavations conducted in South African caves and stone quarries from 1924 till the early fifties by R. Dart, R. Brum, D. Robison and other anthropologists and archaeologists yielded numerous skeletal remains, including skulls, lower jaws, teeth and limb bones of fossil higher primates which have been given the name of Australopithecines ("southern apes"). A study of the morphological features and skeletal remains have enabled experts to arrive at the conclusion that the South African Australopithecines were highly organised primates whose main features was that they walked erect,

so that their forelimbs were relieved of the functions of supporting the body or taking part in walking or running. It was also established that these creatures inhabited savanna-type open spaces and made systematic use of various natural articles such as stones, sticks and animal bones for self-defence, attack and obtaining food. There are also indications that they actively hunted antelopes and other animals, whose flesh they ate. Thus, these bipedal primates were omnivorous.

Despite the comparatively high level of their behaviour, their cranial capacity averaged only 520 cm³, a little in excess of the average gorilla and chimpanzee cranial capacity. However since their body size was smaller than that of present-day apes (their body length probably not exceeding 120-130 cm) the relative weight of their brains was considerably greater. The South African Australopithecines were of gracile and robust forms, the former being marked by smaller bodies, comparatively smooth skulls without bony prominences, and larger front and small molar teeth. These features have given scientists reason to consider that the gracile forms were omnivorous. The robust variants were marked by larger bodies, massive skulls and bone ridges, small canines and incisors, and large molars. These forms were probably herbivorous. The differences between gracile and robust Australopithecines seemed so considerable that at first some researchers even thought they belonged to different genera—the gracile to the Australopithecines proper, and the more robust forms to the genus of Paranthropus. In recent years, however, most scientists have forgone so clear-cut a distinction, and think that the distinctions between them do not go beyond the generic, which is why both forms are regarded as Australopithecines of two species. There also exists the opinion that they refer to a single species, their distinctions being connected with sex—the gracile forms being female and the robust forms—male.

The factual material on the South African Australopithecines accumulated by the late forties and early fifties showed that these highly organised bipedal primates had already closely approached the human borderline and that science had obtained the bone relics of the first man's immediate ancestors. However, unexpected obstacles sometimes arose along the road of scientific research: to these belonged the geological age and the habitat of these creatures, the former giving rise to differences. Precise dating did not yet exist at that time, and most geologists and palaeontologists presumed that the indirect data pointed to comparatively late forms hardly 1,000,000 to 700,000 years old. At the time, the same age was attributed to Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus. Consequently the South African Australopithecines proved contemporaries of ancient man so they could not possibly be his ancestors. Besides, their peripheral location caused perplexity, for it was far removed from those areas of the world where remains of the first man had been unearthed. Thus, obstacles arose to the South African Australopithecine being recognised as the ancient man's immediate forerunner.

The advances in the development of precise physico-chemical methods of determining the absolute age of rocks and the bone

remains of fossil men embedded in geological strata made it more and more evident that Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus could not have been either the first or in general the most ancient man on earth; besides, the Chellean culture they were ascribed to cannot be regarded as the early Palaeolithic culture. In the late forties and especially in the early fifties, archaeologists working in different parts of the world discovered primitive tools in the form of split and chipped pebbles with traces of workmanship. Particular large finds of such tools were made by L. Leakey in Tanzania in 1951, when he first embarked on Olduvai excavations. These tools were geologically far older than the Pithecanthropi and Sinanthropi, so they were obviously earlier than the Chellean. Most archaeologists doubted whether the tools had been made by hand.

Who were the creators and bearers of this culture, the most ancient in human history? No reply to this question was forthcoming at the time, since bone remains of the corresponding creatures had not been found. Towards the end of the fifties, researchers came up against a tangle of problems. On the one hand, Archanthropi of the Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus type with a geological and absolute ages of between 700,000 and 360,000 years had been thoroughly studied. On the other hand, scientists now possessed the South African Australopithecines, the level of whose morphological organisation and tool-making brought them up very closely to the human borderline but, in view of their habitat and geological age, could not have been the precursors of ancient man. Finally there was knowledge of the Oldovan pebble culture—far older than the Chellean—whose creators, who preceded the Pithecanthropi and Sinanthropi, were quite unknown.

As a result of the outstanding finds made in 1959-1972, this tangle of intricate theoretical questions was largely unravelled, while the problem of the early stages of man's evolution was now seen in a considerably new light. It became clear that, long before the Pithecanthropi and Sinanthropi, there existed homonids who can for the time being be regarded as the creators of the earliest Palaeolithic culture. The overwhelming majority of archaeologists now regard the Oldovan culture as the initial phase in the evolution of human society. Remains of bearers of that culture have been found, together with tools dating to that time. Since the ability to make artificial implements of labour, i.e., the creation of a culture, is the main distinction between man and animal, the creature who created the Oldovan culture must be considered human, so that his being named *homo habilis* seems well grounded.

Homo habilis existed about two million years ago, i.e., almost 1,500,000 years earlier than Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus, but, as revealed by discoveries made east of Lake Rudolf, the Oldovan culture is more ancient still, its absolute age in this area being 2,600,000 years. It was here that the skull of a fossil hominid with a cranial capacity of 800 cm³ was found in 1972 in a more ancient layer—2,800,000 years old. This gave reason to suppose that the creators of the Oldovan culture—the most ancient of men—existed

in East Africa almost three million years ago. Thus, the East Africa finds have radically changed our ideas of man's age on our planet, moving it back by another two million years into the depths of time.

The importance of the East Africa finds goes far beyond the problem of the age of mankind, for it sheds new light on the problem of anthropogenesis—the transition from animal to man, which is of significance in principle. We now have far greater reason to believe that, in the level of their anatomic-morphological organisation, the creatures that first set about making artificial tools stood close to the Australopithecines. Consequently, there are sufficient grounds to believe that the progressive Australopithecine creatures of the Villafranchien epoch (the final phase of the Tertiary period which geologists now refer to the most ancient phase of the Quaternary period) made systematic use of nature-made articles as implements of labour. Then they began to make them artificially, without any substantial change in their anatomic-morphological structure, since they already possessed the complex of features necessary for the transition to labour activities. This leads up to an important theoretical conclusion: in the level of their biological organisation the ancient men who created the Oldovan culture were progressive Australopithecines who had begun to make stone tools. That is why it is impossible to draw a clear morphological-biological distinction between the progressive Australopithecines (who in principle were as yet higher apes, i.e., animals) and ancient man. The only indisputable line of social character between them is the making of man-made tools—the inception of labour activities, of culture, so there are hardly any grounds to regard the appearance of man as the emergence of a new family. Biologically speaking, ancient man refers to the same family as his immediate predecessors—the homonid family, whose sources should be sought much farther back in time than the appearance of the human genus.

The time when the first ancestors of man and the apes of today first began to walk erect, this referring to far more ancient epochs than the appearance of the first man, can be regarded as the initial stage in the emergence of homonids. Erect-walking higher primates, those ancestors of the Australopithecines, existed as far back as the Upper Miocene, between twelve and fourteen million years ago, the Rhamapithecines (Northern India) and the Kenyapithecines (East Africa) being their representatives today. These are the most ancient homonid representatives, though the possibility cannot be precluded that they episodically used nature-made articles as tools. The roots of the homonid family go deep into the Miocene, perhaps even to the end of the Oligocene (the middle of the Tertiary period).

The latest discoveries in East Africa have also led the Australopithecine problem of the mid-fifties out of the former impasse. These discoveries have essentially modified the former concept about the Australopithecines as a comparatively late and peripheral group of higher primates with no direct bearing to man's genealogy. It is now clear that their habitat was far more extensive and included not only

the south of Africa but also its eastern and central areas. Also greatly extended is the chronological framework of the life of this primates, whose most ancient representatives lived over five million years ago, so that the period of their existence covers a span of about four million years. It can now be considered established that the first stage of man's evolution is represented by the Australopithecines in the East African variant, between 5,500,000 and 1,500,000 years ago. The second stage (the first ancient men) were the creators of the Oldovan culture (between 2,800,000 and 1,200,000 years ago).

It may be asked whether the Archanthropi (i.e., Pithecanthropi, Sinanthropi and cognate forms that lived later) can be included in the second stage. There is no final answer as yet. It is no less difficult, in the light of the latest discoveries, to determine their place in the philogenetic chain of man's ancestors: Skull 1470 had a cranial capacity almost equal to that of the Java Pithecanthropi, but had no supraorbital ridge or any noticeable external relief in general, i.e., those indispensable features not only of the robust Australopithecines but of practically all fossil homonids, including the Pithecanthropi, Sinanthropi and Neanderthals.

We thus have a paradoxical situation: in many respects, the most ancient men on our planet have proved closer to *homo sapiens* than homonids that lived two million years later, and have till now been considered modern man's ancestors. How is this to be explained? Richard Leakey has advanced a bold hypothesis; the homonid from the east coast of Lake Rudolf is the direct ancestor of *homo sapiens*, with whom he is linked by *homo habilis*, the Olduvai Pithecanthropus from Layer II, and the late-Palaeolithic man from the River Omo valley. In this structure, all Australopithecines, as well as other fossil homonids, including the Archanthropi and the Palaeoanthropi are practically excluded from the history of mankind and are nothing more than evolutionary dead-ends.

We are not obligated to accept Richard Leakey's version but the new facts call imperatively for theoretical interpretation. Is it possible, from the positions of present-day evolutionary theory, to explain how the first man on our planet, who did not possess supraorbital ridges, osteal relief and other primitive features, acquired them two million years later and then lost them again with the appearance of *homo sapiens*? Can the process of evolution be accompanied by such zigzags? It will thus be seen that the latest discovery on the east bank of Lake Rudolf provides much food for thought and that there is no haste for final conclusions to be arrived at.

Finally, the latest discoveries have shed new light on the problem of man's most ancient habitat. Until recently, most researchers preferred to see the continent of Asia as that area, since this argument seemed to be borne out by the Pithecanthropi and Sinanthropi, who were considered the most ancient people on earth, since more ancient homonids had not been met earlier on other continents. Besides, remains of fossil primates of the Rhamapithecine type had been found in Northern India, in the Miocene deposits of the Sivalik Hills. It was

also pointed out that South-East Asia is the habitat of present-day anthropomorphous apes as the orangutan.

This "Asian hypothesis" came up against serious opposition, in the 1930s, from those who held that Africa was the first human habitat. The latter hypothesis was expressed as far back as 1871 by Charles Darwin in his *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*. The basic arguments in favour of this hypothesis were, on the one hand, the anthropomorphous apes most cognate with man—the chimpanzee and gorilla, who live in Africa, and, on the other hand, the Australopithecines of South Africa. In those years, however, fossil men more ancient than Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus had not yet been found in Africa, which is why there were far fewer adherents of the Africa hypothesis at the time.

The latest discoveries in East Africa have radically changed the relations between these two hypotheses: Africa has been the venue of the finds of the very earliest Palaeolithic culture (the Oldovan), the remains of the first ancient man, who created that culture (2,800,000 years ago)—and of the Australopithecines, his immediate ancestors. Besides, bone relics of the most ancient representatives of the homonid family—the Kenyapithecines (12-14 million years ago) have been found there. On the other hand, Palaeolithic cultures and human remains as old as those found in Africa have not been unearthed in Asia, which, besides, had not yet produced any traces of the existence of Australopithecines. All these facts have tipped the balance in favour of Africa as man's most ancient habitat.

The present-day science of mankind's most distant past and the initial stages of his evolution is now at a turning point. The discoveries of recent years have brought much that is new into the understanding of the very sources of man's evolution and have essentially changed the existing ideas both about his antiquity and about the process of the transition from animal to man. Not only has most important factual material been obtained but an invaluable contribution has been made to the theoretical treasure-house of the science of man. Excavation work is continuing and it is to be hoped that it will lead to many discoveries that will shed new light on mankind's distant past.

NOTES

¹ See L. S. Leakey, P. V. Tobias, J. Napier, "A New Species of the Genus *Homo* from Olduvai Gorge", *Nature*, Vol. 202, 1964.

² See "Ethiopia Yields Oldest Human Fossils", *Science News*, Vol. 106, 1974, No. 18.

³ See G. H. Koenigswald, "Das absolute Alter des *Pithecanthropus erectus*" (in: G. Kurth, *Evolution und Hominisation*, Stuttgart, 1962).

Developing Countries: New Researches

The Legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru

ROSTISLAV ULYANOVSKY

From the Editors: Progress Publishers of Moscow brought out a Russian translation of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Glimpses of World History* in 1975. In a foreword to this book addressed to Soviet readers, Indira Gandhi calls it a classical work of modern Indian thought showing the way of thinking of a man who sincerely strove to assimilate the heritage of world culture.

Below we publish an article by Professor R. Ulyanovsky, D.Sc.(Econ.), a leading Soviet expert on problems of the developing countries and the national liberation and working-class movements, to mark the publication of the Russian language edition of *Glimpses of World History*.

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In the eyes of his contemporaries Jawaharlal Nehru was an eminent political personality, one of the outstanding leaders of the national liberation movement, a fighter for peace, democracy and social progress, a convinced opponent of social injustice and national oppression and a sincere friend of the Soviet Union, and as such he has entered history.

For a number of decades his name was inseparably associated with the struggle for India's liberation from colonial bondage, for her rejuvenation and formation as a great sovereign state in Asia. For nearly 17 years, beginning from August 15, 1947, when he raised the tricolour national flag over the historical Red Fort in Delhi, Nehru stood at the helm of independent India, guiding her along the road of rejuvenation and the abolition of colonialism, the heritage of feudalism and age-old backwardness.

Under Nehru's leadership the state system was reorganised through the creation of states on a national-ethnic and lingual basis. This put an end to the British administrative system founded on the principle of divide and rule and did away with feudal dismemberment. The first agrarian reforms that undermined big landed proprietorship were put into effect. Nehru headed the restructuring of the economy on the basis of planning and laid the foundations of the policy of

industrialising India as the cardinal condition of her economic growth. A large public sector of the economy, a sector that continues to grow, was built up on Nehru's initiative. He was a consistent democrat, a fighter for equality, against caste survivals and religious-communal reaction, for India's lasting national unity founded on a combination of the principles of democracy and centralism.

Nehru did not confine his work to politics. He was a man of great intellectual power, encyclopaedic erudition and a profoundly philosophical mentality. He left a huge literary heritage in which a versatile education, breadth of interests and originality and sharpness of thought combine with great inner warmth, passion and dramatism, a live approach of a man who searched, fought, sometimes doubted and retreated but never lost his faith in progress. He was a poet and thinker. Even had he not been an outstanding political leader, his writings alone would have earned him the attention and interest of posterity. But Nehru's literary legacy cannot be separated from his political biography. "The more action and thought are allied and integrated," he said, "the more effective they become... The happiest man is he whose thinking and action are coordinated."¹ For Nehru historical and philosophical reflection was not an end in itself but a quest for the answer to the most vital problems worrying his homeland and all mankind. Nehru studied the past in order to understand the present and foresee the future.

These were the positions from which were written *The Discovery of India* and *An Autobiography*, the first two books by Nehru to be put out in the Russian language. Twenty years ago, when these books were published in the USSR, they attracted considerable attention and played a large part in acquainting Soviet readers with India's history and problems at a time when friendly relations between the two countries were being actively strengthened. Such also is *Glimpses of World History*, which is now being presented to the reader. This book covers a wider range. Nehru tracks human society's development on a global scale, dealing with major events in world history, and giving prominence and generalising the fundamental aspects of the historical process. India's history is recounted alongside events in other countries and parts of the world, in comparison with these events. This is a profound and original work by an historian, but it is not an academic research. As in *The Discovery of India* Nehru endeavours to comprehend his country's past, in the given case through the prism of world history, in order to see its present more clearly and map out the ways of its transformation. The past interested Nehru chiefly as a guideline for the future. For him history was a school of life, experience and struggle, and a basis for moulding a world outlook. He approached it as an active political leader impelled to undertake research by the requirements of practice. "My fascination for history," he said, "was not in reading about odd events that happened in the past but rather in its relation to the things that led up to the present. Only then did it become alive to me. Otherwise it would have been an odd thing unconnected with my life or the world."²

Close attention is attracted by the view on history of a man who was one of the recognised leaders of the national liberation movement, a man who headed the independent Indian state and influenced its present and future more than anybody else during the past quarter of a century.

One can approach Nehru's views on history in the same way as he approached history, in other words, to look in them for what is particularly topical today and what he had planned for the future.

He adopted the approach of a rationalist to the history of mankind and of his own country. He sought in it its innermost meaning, its logic of development; he did not apply *a priori*, extra-historical categories to it. Such was Nehru's attitude to his country's past, an attitude devoid of an uncritical admiration of the past, of any idea that India's path was exceptional and exclusive, that this road was dependent on the intellectual law inherent only in that country. Another noteworthy point is that Nehru's views are free from religious or moral mysticism, which is fairly widespread in India. The traditions of European rationalism, of European intellectual culture, which were critically apprehended by Nehru, who had gone through a school of European upbringing, influenced his ideas about history, particularly where they concerned India, and helped him to rid himself of bias and idealisation and see his country as it is in comparison with other countries. "India was in my blood," he wrote, "and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent I came to her via the West, and looked at her as a friendly Westerner might have done."³

Finding that it was useless looking for the meaning of history outside of history itself, Nehru came round to recognising that history was governed by inner laws and thereby made a fundamental step towards a realistic, one can say almost materialistic, interpretation of the historical process. "In Asia," he said, "many historical forces have been at work for many years past and many things have happened which are good and many things which are not so good, as always happens when impersonal historical forces are in action. They are still in action. We try to mould them a little, to divert them here and there, but essentially they will carry on till they fulfil their purpose and their historical destiny."⁴ Recognition of objective laws enabled Nehru to understand that the historical process follows an upward spiral path, to see it as an objective and progressive course of events, as an ascent from the lower to the higher. These elements of philosophy exercised a positive influence on Nehru's political activity as well. He approached it not voluntaristically, moralistically, or from the standpoint of religious requirements, but rather from a scientific angle, endeavouring to bring it into harmony with the general, objectively essential course of history, to subordinate it to progressive tendencies. He saw the justification and realism of a political guideline, of a political struggle precisely in harmony with the requirements of the times, requirements foreordained by all of

mankind's preceding development. That was his approach to working out a political course. A point he made was that an ideal and an aim should not come into conflict with historical trends.⁵ He adhered consistently to the progressive scientific conception that the people were the true makers of history and that political leaders had to contribute to the struggle to meet the hopes and aspirations of the people. He stressed: "The people were the principal actors, and behind them, pushing them on, were great historical urges.... But for that historical setting and political and social urges, no leaders or agitators could have inspired them to action."⁶

The impact of scientific socialism could be seen distinctly in Nehru's views on the history as a law-governed process and on the role of the people. His world outlook took shape under the influence of many schools. It may be thought that Nehru was not original, that he was an eclectic, and left at that. But this would be primitive. Nehru was much more complex, and in studying his views it would be wrong to adopt a simplified approach. He was eager to know and assimilate much of what was accumulated by mankind and select what was finest in that experience. In politics he sometimes used individual tenets of various philosophical systems and this, of course, hid their irreconcilability and antagonism from his view. This inevitably led to eclecticism, which he did his best to avoid. He preferred "a mental or spiritual attitude which synthesises differences and contradictions, tries to understand and accommodate different religions, ideologies, political, social and economic systems, and refuses to think in terms of conflict or military solutions."⁷

Nobody has succeeded in creating a "synthesis of ideologies". Nehru knew this. Conflicting elements were not united and reconciled in his world outlook. It is not given to anybody to unite what is not unifiable, what is antagonistic and class antipodal. As an honest researcher, Nehru often self-critically reconsidered his initial philosophical propositions, aspiring to move forward and perfect his views. The orientation of his political and social quests and the trends of its development were fruitful and retain their significance to this day. In his quest for an answer to the most pressing problems of the anti-imperialist struggle and the future of formerly colonial countries Nehru strove to keep abreast with the times.

He assimilated the traditions of ancient Indian culture and the rich history of the national liberation movement in that country, in particular the philosophy and practice of Gandhism. He mastered everything that could be offered by West European bourgeois liberalism, having received his education in its cradle—Great Britain—and having experienced disappointment he turned to socialist ideas, initially in their Fabian interpretation. But once having turned to the ideals of equality and social justice Nehru, by force of his keen, critical mind approached the acceptance of many propositions of scientific socialism. He did not oppose this process. On the contrary, he eagerly studied the theory and practice of scientific socialism and found much in them that was suitable for India. He was one of the first leaders of the national liberation movement who was

not afraid to speak of the significance of Marxism-Leninism, seeing in that science the logic of historical development and the command of the times.

Time and again he underscored the positive influence of scientific socialism on his philosophy. He wrote: "The theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it, and it became an unfolding drama with some order and purpose, howsoever unconscious, behind it. In spite of the appalling waste and misery of the past and the present, the future was bright with hope, though many dangers intervened. It was essentially freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me."⁸ Elsewhere he noted: "A study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light. The long chain of history and of social development appeared to have some meaning, some sequence, and the future lost some of its obscurity."⁹

Scientific socialism attracted Nehru not only as a theory. Its influence was made particularly strong by the fact that Nehru was lost in admiration of and attracted by the colossal and unprecedented experiment of reshaping the old world that was being conducted before his eyes in Soviet Russia. "While the rest of the world was in the grip of the depression and going backward in some ways, in the Soviet country a great new world was being built up before our eyes," he wrote. "Russia, following the great Lenin, looked into the future and thought only of what was to be, while other countries lay numbed under the dead hand of the past and spent their energy in preserving the useless relics of a bygone age. In particular, I was impressed by the rapports of the great progress made by the backward regions of Central Asia under the Soviet regime. In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviet Union was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."¹⁰

He followed the social reforms in Soviet Russia with keen interest. He made his first visit to the Soviet Union together with his father, Motilal Nehru, a leading personality in the Indian National Congress, as early as 1927, when the Soviet power was marking its tenth anniversary. What he saw induced him to draw the conclusion that "the Soviet Revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and that it had laid the foundations for that new civilisation towards which the world could advance."¹¹

Nehru's profound interest in Lenin, in his personality and theoretical and practical work was indicative. In assessing Lenin's role in history, he wrote that "millions have considered him as a saviour and the greatest man of the age."¹² He called Lenin "a master mind and a genius in revolution."¹³

Nehru's ideal was unity between thought and action, between theory and practice. The influence of scientific socialism and a high evaluation of the Soviet Union's services to history naturally led him

to recognising the need for fundamental socio-economic reforms in India, for proclaiming socialism first as an ideal of a social system, and subsequently as the end goal of political activity.

In an address to the Indian National Congress in Lucknow in 1936, he said: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense.... I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation, and the subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry.... That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperating service.... In short, it means a new civilisation, radically different from the present capitalist order."¹⁴

Nehru regarded society's socialist restructuring as the normal result of mankind's development. He underscored that capitalism was not consonant with our age, that the "world has outgrown that stage". He noted that the scientific and technological revolution was making the need for socialism quite obvious, that the modern scientific approach was the socialist approach.¹⁵

Moreover, Nehru was one of the first leaders of the anti-colonial movement who pointed out with intense clarity, force and perspicacity that the movement towards socialism was a specific need for developing countries, an objectively predetermined road of progress for countries, including India, that had shaken off imperialist domination. In this thesis and in his arguments in support of it, Nehru anticipated many propositions that were later put forward by a number of Asian and African political leaders. He lucidly showed that capitalism was unacceptable for the Third World, pointing out that the latter did not have the time to achieve progress by the same methods and rates as in the West. "Are we to follow the English, French and the American way? Have we time of 100 to 150 years to reach our destination? This is impossible. We will perish in the process."¹⁶

The idea that only socialism could enable the former colonial peoples to extricate themselves from the vice of backwardness was put by Nehru also in his article "The Basic Approach": "It has to be remembered that it is not by some magic adoption of socialist or capitalist method that poverty suddenly leads to riches. The only way is through hard work and increasing the productivity of the nation and organising an equitable distribution of its products. It is a lengthy and difficult process. In a poorly developed country, the capitalist method offers no chance. It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained, though even that will take time."¹⁷

Nehru's sympathy for socialism mirrored a large and significant change in the development of democratic social thought in India, a change that took place first under the impact of the Great October Revolution and the achievements of socialist construction in the

USSR, and then under the influence of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War that opened for India the road to success in the national liberation struggle and to independence.

In his pronouncements on the ruling INC's socio-economic programme after India had achieved independence, Nehru accentuated the need for industrialisation and the introduction of planning as the means of ensuring independent national development and promoting the economy and the welfare of the people. He said: "Broadly our objective is to establish a Welfare State with a socialist pattern of society, with no great disparities of income and offering an equal opportunity to all."¹⁸

Nehru recognised that Indian society's restructuring in a socialist orientation was an objective need, although his understanding of the process itself, of the forms and methods of this reorganisation was specific, mainly subjective-idealistic. This understanding sprang exclusively from the intricate intertwining of the class contradictions inherent in modern India, the innumerable social structures and, most important, from Nehru's underestimation of the special historical role of the working class as the proponent of the ideology of scientific socialism. The alignment of class forces in the national liberation movement against British colonial rule, and subsequently in independent India, too, limited Nehru's possibilities of translating his subjective ideals into reality.

The numerous unresolved democratic problems confronting India and creating the basis for the broad unification of the national forces were inevitably reflected in his thoughts and especially in his practical politics. Often he absolutised, as it were, the temporary alignment of classes that was determined by the level of the democratic movement and conformed to the aims at a definite stage but could not be maintained as soon as the matter came to socialist reorganisation. In his analysis of Indian society he was reluctant, so to speak, to go beyond the general democratic stage of the revolution and to acknowledge that the struggle for socialism required a radically different class orientation, that in the transition from democratic aims to socialist aims the content, composition and correlation of the components of the united national front of the period of the anti-imperialist movement had ultimately to undergo a substantial change.

Nehru recognised the existence of classes and of the class struggle, but his basic thesis was that class contradictions could be settled by compromise and reforms based on class cooperation. He believed that the growth of the economic and political influence of the propertied and exploiting class could be prevented by persuasion alone.

Here note must be made of the burden of liberal bourgeois views and the influence of the utopian moralistic conceptions expounded by Gandhi.

These notions and conceptions were the point of departure of a groundless subjective criticism of individual moments of the Soviet

Union's history, of some propositions of scientific socialism and of the communist movement in India. In this lay the profound contradiction in Nehru's philosophy, which he did not entirely surmount although he strove to do so. The long relative isolation of India, of her social thought and of Nehru himself from the achievements of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of building socialism in the USSR and other countries likewise restricted his possibilities of arriving at a consummate understanding of the processes of the formation of the new, socialist world, an understanding that Nehru approached gradually, with considerable subjectivism and reservations, particularly with regard to the class struggle and the leading role of the working class.

On the one hand, in *Glimpses of World History* Nehru acknowledges the scientific veracity of the Marxist interpretation of history, an interpretation based on the disclosure of class antagonisms. "Marx constantly talks of exploitation and class struggles... But, according to Marx, this is not a matter for anger or good virtuous advice. The exploitation is not the fault of the person exploiting. The dominance of one class over another has been the natural result of historical progress.... Marx did not preach class conflict. He showed that in fact it existed, and had always existed in some form or other."¹⁹

In his criticism of Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence, Nehru wrote: "If there is one thing that history shows it is this: that economic interests shape the political views of groups and classes. Neither reason nor moral considerations override these interests. Individuals may be converted, they may surrender their special privileges, although this is rare enough, but classes and groups do not do so. The attempt to convert a governing and privileged class into forsaking power and giving up its unjust privileges has therefore always so far failed, and there seems to be no reason whatever to hold that it will succeed in the future."²⁰

But, on the other hand, the Nehru of the 1950s and the 1960s vainly endeavoured to reconcile the recognition of the class struggle with Gandhi's doctrine of class harmony, coming into collision with his own realistic assessments of past years. "So while not denying or repudiating class contradictions, we want to deal with the problem in a peaceful and cooperative way by lessening rather than increasing these conflicts and trying to win over people instead of threatening to fight them or destroy them.... Hence... the concept of class struggles or wars has been out-dated as too dangerous."²¹

While leaving aside the identification of the class struggle with war, the absolute counterposing of non-violence to violence, the peaceful and non-peaceful way of resolving class contradictions, it seems that these words are a reflection not so much of the evolution of Nehru's views towards the close of his life as of a pragmatic need stemming from a policy in whose formulation a large role was played by the Right-wing elements in the leadership of the multi-class and extremely heterogeneous ruling party, the Indian National Congress, by the Right-wing forces whose influence mounted in that period, a factor that later split and then strengthened the INC.

But the practice of the political struggle and of India's socio-economic development inexorably influenced Nehru's thinking. It did not confirm the concept of class cooperation, the concept that it was possible to "re-educate" the Indian landowners and capitalists. On the contrary, it was replete with acute social conflicts, in the course of which the privileged classes—the landowners, the usurers and the monopolists—had recourse to every means of suppressing the protests of the people, having recourse to undisguised violence in order to safeguard their interests.

The tension of the class struggle, the sincere compassion for the oppressed, the desire to alleviate their lot and the unchanging subjective devotion to socialist ideals again returned Jawaharlal Nehru to a sober assessment of the depth and objective character of the class contradictions in Indian society.

Ultimately, he acknowledged that in India there were privileged groups and classes opposing radical reforms. He noted that in order to protect their selfish interests these social strata (among them he bracketed not only the semi-feudal landowners but, above all, the monopoly élite of the national bourgeoisie) were inclined to come to terms with imperialism and neocolonialism and could go against the interests of national and social progress. The socialist slogans proclaimed by the National Congress did not bring Nehru to a superficial idealisation of Indian society. In his assessments he remained a realist, saying that these slogans implied a capitalist economy with considerable state control or a capitalist economy plus a public sector directly controlled by the state, but that this essentially meant a capitalist economy.²²

He saw a threat to India's socialist course, a threat to progress and democracy not only in the feudal or religious-communal reaction, which was traditional in Indian society, but also in the expanding monopolies. In the autumn of 1963, shortly before his death, he wrote that the stronger the monopolies had grown in recent years the farther had India departed from socialism, for the monopolies were the enemies of socialism.²³

The years that have passed since Nehru's death have fully borne out his apprehensions about the reactionary role of Indian monopoly capital and of the feudal and semi-feudal landowners. India's Left-wing, democratic forces, and all the proponents of Nehru's policy are waging a determined struggle against the anti-people's aspirations of monopoly capital and its allies.

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Nehru's foreign policy views were consistently progressive.²⁴ In this area he was not troubled by the conflict that permeated his notions about socialism and internal policy. As a thinker and statesman he made an outstanding contribution to the struggle against imperialism, towards ensuring international peace and changing the postwar alignment of strength in the world in favour of the forces of national liberation, progress and socialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a staunch fighter for peace and international security. He advocated peaceful coexistence, energetically urging the easing of international tension and the containment of the arms race, and propounding general disarmament. He was one of the principal architects of the policy of non-alignment, which underlay India's foreign policy of peace. As Nehru saw it, non-alignment by no means signified passive neutrality. He said: "When freedom and justice are in jeopardy, when aggression is committed, we cannot and will not be neutral."²⁵

Nehru organically combined positive neutrality with a consistent struggle against colonialism, the urgency of which he invariably emphasised. "Imperialism or colonialism," he wrote, "suppressed and suppresses the progressive groups or classes because it is interested in preserving the social and economic status quo. Even after a country has become independent, it may continue to be economically dependent on other countries."²⁶ Nehru's warning about economic dependence on imperialism is still fully valid for India and other developing countries.

Nehru was one of the leaders who put forward the five principles of peaceful coexistence (the concept of Panchashila), which received wide recognition as the foundation of relations between Asian countries. He was one of the initiators of the Bandung Conference, which was an important milestone in the process of uniting the liberated Asian and African countries in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism, for peace, freedom and socio-economic progress.

One of his great services to history was his steadfast striving for unity and alliance with all the progressive forces in the world. As early as 1927 this striving led him to active participation in the Anti-Imperialist Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels. "Ideas of some common action between oppressed nations *inter se*, as well as between them and the Labour Left wing, were very much in the air," he wrote. "It was felt more and more that the struggle for freedom was a common one against the thing that was imperialism, and joint deliberation and, where possible, joint action were desirable."²⁷ This was a major step towards recognising the unity of the national liberation movement with the revolutionary, including working-class, movement throughout the world. In the person of Nehru, revolutionary nationalism responded to the call for broad cooperation, for unity in the struggle against imperialism, made by Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution. The Indians, he said, inevitably adopted a stand side by side with the progressive forces of the whole world against fascism and imperialism. Socialism in the West and the awakening nationalism in Eastern and other dependent countries were opposed to this alliance of fascism and imperialism.²⁸

One of the most eloquent and fruitful manifestations of this attitude was Nehru's constant striving for understanding with the Soviet Union. The establishment and successful development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and India are inseparable from Nehru's policy. The friendly relations between these two countries,

the foundation for which was laid by his policy, have long ago become, to use the words of Leonid Brezhnev, one of the "most convincing manifestations of the alliance of the world of socialism with the world brought into being by the national liberation movement".²⁹ These relations are a model of peaceful coexistence and beneficial cooperation between countries which, despite their different socio-economic systems, are linked together by their common interests in the struggle for peace and international security.

The steady expansion of relations between the Soviet Union and India throughout the period following India's attainment of independence is eloquently expressed in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August 1971. The friendly official visit paid to India in November 1973 by the CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev consolidated all the positive developments in the relations between the two countries and was a further large contribution to the promotion of these friendly relations and to the strengthening of détente, peace and security in Asia and the whole world. Signed during that visit, the Soviet-Indian Declaration and other documents enlarging upon the basic principles of relations between the USSR and India and defining the principal orientation of the cooperation between the two countries were hailed in both the Soviet Union and India and highly assessed by world democratic opinion.

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The main achievements of the Indian people, of India's democratic forces in economic development and on the world scene are justifiably associated with Nehru's name and policy.

During his lifetime and especially after his death this policy was and continues to be viciously attacked by the reactionary forces seeking to hinder India's socio-economic renewal, revise that country's positive foreign policy of peace and undermine its friendship with the Soviet Union. Frequently, to gain their aims, these forces misrepresent the essence of Nehru's socio-philosophical and political views and use his name as a cover for selfish aims alien to the interests of the Indian people. However, these are futile efforts.

Jawaharlal Nehru's humanistic, democratic and socialist ideals have not been buried in oblivion after his death. An acute struggle rages over them. The reactionary forces would like to use them as a screen for a policy benefiting the propertied élite. But the supporters of Nehru's policy are working to further the country's economic and social progress and put the finest ideals of that outstanding Indian leader into effect. The progressive forces in and outside the Indian National Congress are repulsing the Right-wing elements in and outside the INC, and for this purpose they are reaching agreement for a joint struggle against the reactionaries. Indira Gandhi, who heads the Government and the INC, is continuing Nehru's policy in the new conditions.

The past few years have been a complex and difficult period for India. They witnessed important events in the country's political and economic life and an aggravation of the struggle between classes, between the forces of progress and reaction. Following the split in the INC in 1969 and the expulsion of the conservative Syndicate group, this party headed by Indira Gandhi and her supporters has put forward a far-reaching, realistic programme of socio-economic reforms in the interests of the people. This programme gained a nationwide approval. The Left and democratic forces have given the INC active support and united around it. The progressive character of the INC programme brought that party a landslide victory at the parliamentary elections in 1971 and at the elections to the legislatures of most of the Indian states in 1972, thereby inflicting a serious defeat on the reactionaries.

In the period 1971-1974 the Gandhi Government gave effect to measures in fulfilment of the INC's election commitments. These measures included the nationalisation of the largest private banks, insurance companies, coal mines, copper and gold mines, and more than a hundred textile mills, the enlargement of the public sector and the consolidation of the state's position in foreign trade. The pensions and privileges of the former feudal princes were annulled and a law was passed empowering the parliament to amend any section of the Constitution and confiscate private property for public requirements.

New laws placing a limit on ownership in land have been passed in most of the states. In order to combat the rising cost of living a decision was adopted subordinating wholesale trade in grain to state control. In the economic development plans the accent has been placed on strengthening the public sector.

These measures have introduced positive changes into the country's economic structure, but due to the rapid growth of prices, unemployment, inflation and profiteering, the living standard of the majority of India's population did not improve during the above-mentioned period.

The Indian economy was beset by serious difficulties on account of the drought that hit most of the country in 1972 and 1973, with the result that the output of farm produce and electric power decreased. This led to a decline in industrial production. To this day the economy is burdened by the considerable expenditures that were incurred by the military conflict with Pakistan in 1971. India is sharply feeling the consequences of the energy crisis and the higher price on oil.

These difficulties are made harder by the propertied élite, who are subverting the progressive measures. Reactionary elements in the localities, the landowners, the rich farmers and the usurers continue to disrupt the consistent enforcement of the land reforms. An important measure such as state control of wholesale trade in wheat, introduced by the Government in early 1973, was wrecked by the profiteers and reactionaries and it had to be abrogated.

In the mid-1930s Jawaharlal Nehru showed that it was necessary to form a public sector in India's economy and that economic development had to be planned. This was one of the boldest projects

proposed by him more than ten years before British rule was abolished in India. There is little doubt that he linked his socialist ideals closely with the formation of a public sector and a policy of economic planning. He did not see any realistic possibilities for India's rejuvenation outside this concept, and he was well aware that it would be difficult to put it into effect, that it would give rise to many contradictions and that it would cause new and extremely complex problems for a backward country with a population of 600 million that was striving for socialist modernisation.

It is not surprising that the quarter of a century since the adoption of the new economic policy—planning and the building up of a public sector—witnessed a bitter struggle. The establishment of a public sector as the decisive element of India's economic development was fiercely attacked by the big and monopoly capitalists, the feudal reactionaries and the external reactionary forces closely linked with them.

Moreover, it is not surprising that the democratic forces, beginning with notably the Communist Party, which consistently champions the public sector as the means of safeguarding the country's independence, and the creation of a national economy as the means of promoting social progress and putting an end to age-old backwardness, and ending with the other democratic organisations, including the patriotic segment of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie, are making every effort to protect the development of the public sector and the application of the principle of planning.

The polarisation of social forces on all these issues has greatly intensified. The main goal of the internal and external reaction is to disrupt the growth of the public sector and the development of state economic planning. On the other hand, one of the goals of the class struggle that is now raging in almost all areas of India's economic life, is to consolidate the public sector as an immutable law of India's economic development and to secure the transition from indicative (non-mandatory) to mandatory planning. A signal result of this struggle is by and large that the attempts of the reactionaries to debunk the idea that the public sector and state planning play the key economic role have failed. In this respect Nehru's policy has withstood the test of time and proved its indisputable viability, despite the practical shortcomings in implementing it. In recent years the public sector has become stronger and begun to operate at a profit although some individual state enterprises are still working unsatisfactorily. This is unquestionably a matter of experience and time.

A point to be noted is that the struggle of the reactionary monopoly and pro-imperialist forces against the public sector and planning have two specifics which show the new methods employed to resist Nehru's policy in economic development:

first, the broad recourse to "industrial sabotage": economic disproportions, disruption of the economic links between branches of industry and transport, partial strikes under the leadership of persons of dubious reputation or hostile to progress with the purpose of undermining the public sector's integration with its individual

branches and sowing chaos in the ports and railways in order to paralyse the delivery of materials, semi-finished goods and spare parts for factories;

second, because the state has a relatively small network of sales outlets for goods of the public sector in the commodity-money circulation system, much of which is still in the hands of private trade capital and the monopolies. This enables the latter to hold a large proportion of the goods manufactured by the public sector and disrupt their distribution to sectors of the economy that are vital to the whole country. This form of opposing state planning is used by the monopolies also for purposes of profit and as a means of obstructing material and technical supplies which is detrimental to consumers and producers alike.

Despite the appreciable improvement of the work of public sector enterprises (this sector began operating without a deficit for the first time in 1972-1973, yielding a profit of Rs. 165 million, in 1973-1974 the figure was Rs. 644 million, and in 1974-1975 it exceeded Rs. 1.5 thousand million) their economic efficiency is still inadequate, while the monopolies and the big capitalists artificially hold up the expansion of output at their own enterprises on the hypocritical allegation that the Government's license policy does not give them a proper incentive for development.

Stagnation in industry in 1973-1974 (estimated at 0.5 per cent) exacerbated the unemployment problem. The number of unemployed officially registered at the labour exchanges grew by more than 3 million reaching 8,600,000 in April 1975. Wholesale prices on non-food stuffs rose sharply—in June 1975 they were 35 per cent higher than in 1974, when they had risen by an average of 23 per cent over the 1973 level.³⁰ This created an unprecedented situation in the market. Recently, we have in mind 1975, this situation, thanks to the steps taken by the Government, has become more stable, the inflation rate has dropped, the growth rate of industrial output has increased perceptibly and the price rise has been slowed down. These are good indications against the background of the past two or three years.

The situation is acute in the supply of food for the population. Subversion by landowners, capitalist farmers and private merchants, who are buying up and hoarding grain and other prime necessities, has led in 1974-1975 to an artificial shortage of these commodities in the market, to a food crisis, profiteering, the devaluation of the rupee, inflation and the disorganisation of large and important sectors of economic life.

In this situation, naturally, there is mounting mass action by the working people, who are demanding the consistent implementation of the social and economic reforms proclaimed by the ruling party in the interests of the nation. On the other hand, reactionary elements, who had suffered a catastrophic setback at the elections in 1971 and 1972, have become more active. The Right-wing parties—Jan Sangh, Swatantra, the Syndicate and others—all those who had from the very outset been opposed to the progressive measures instituted by the Indira Gandhi Government and tried to make capital out of the

country's economic difficulties, have assumed the role of critics of the Government from the "Left" and endeavour to pose as almost the sole champions of the interests of the working people and to direct their dissatisfaction against the INC.

The Right-wing parties attempted to give battle to the ruling party at the elections in February 1974 to the legislatures of a number of states, including such politically important states as Uttar Pradesh and Orissa, in order to seize power in the localities and prepare the foundation for a nationwide offensive, with their sights set on the presidential elections in August 1974.

After they were defeated at the elections in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa, these reactionary parties, as they had themselves openly declared, decided to take the struggle against the Government to the streets. The developments in Gujarat and Bihar showed that the reactionaries were determined to incite the masses, discontented with the conditions of life, to take violent action—seize and pillage food shops and warehouses, set fire to administrative buildings, fight the police and precipitate bloodshed.

The reactionaries endeavoured to depict these actions as a manifestation of the population's conscious protest against the Government's policy. Their objective was to plunge the country into chaos and anarchy, discredit the existing democratic institutions, depose the Government and ultimately set up a reactionary dictatorship in India.

The reports carried by the Indian press indicate that in their actions against the Government the reactionary Jan Sangh, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Shiv Sena and Anand Marg parties and organisations and also the "uncommitted" reactionaries and unprincipled but experienced politicians and demagogues of the Jay Prakash Narayan type have the broad support not only of the monopolists, landowners, rich farmers and black marketeers but also of certain foreign circles and subversive imperialist agencies and organisations.

The reactionary forces clamorously and bellicosely demanded a fundamental reconsideration of the basic guidelines of India's internal and foreign policy, the foundations for which had been laid by Nehru. They are demanding the lifting of all restrictions on the operation of private capital, the abandonment of the agrarian reforms and of the development of the public sector, the sale of the shares of state enterprises to private capital and the broad enlistment of multinational monopolies. They want India to renounce her policy of non-alignment and endeavour to undermine her friendship with the Soviet Union and reorientate her foreign policy.

In its documents the Working Committee of the ruling Indian National Congress has repeatedly appealed to the Indian people to unite against the intrigues of the reactionaries who are threatening democracy in India. These appeals have had their effect.

Indian progressive circles hold that unity of all Left and democratic forces in and outside the ruling National Congress is essential for completely defeating the reactionaries. It will be recalled that INC

cooperation with the Communist Party of India at the elections to the legislatures of Uttar Pradesh and Orissa in 1974 served as an effective means of foiling the attempts of the reactionaries to come to power in these states. At the meeting of representatives of Left-wing parties in Delhi in April 1974 the Communist Party charted concrete measures to unite the democratic forces against the threat from the Right. But the "blind anti-Congress" attitude adopted by some Left-wing parties, in particular by the so-called Parallel Communist Party and the United Socialist Party, is preventing Left-wing unity against the reactionaries and, in effect, frequently plays into the hands of the Right.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev noted that "A complicated process of class differentiation is under way in many liberated countries, with the class struggle gaining in intensity. It is taking different forms.... Some regimes and political organisations that have proclaimed socialist aims and are carrying out progressive changes have come under strong pressure from home and foreign reaction. The recent Rightist campaign against the government of Indira Gandhi, and the attempts to undermine the social and political gains of the Egyptian revolution are examples of such developments."³¹

In January 1975 the Minister of Railways L. N. Mishra, a prominent political figure of India, was killed by a bomb explosion. An attempt was made on the life of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, A. N. Ray. Terrorist threats were made against Indira Gandhi. The leaders of the Right openly called on the police and armed forces not to obey government orders.

In practice using methods of violence, terror and assassinations these leaders in words tried in every way to represent themselves as the champions of democracy, of law and social justice. To this end they picked as their mouthpiece the aged opportunist Jayaprakash Narayan who advocates "non-party democracy" and "total revolution". Seeking to win as many supporters as possible Narayan actively capitalised on his past participation in the national liberation movement and on his friendship with Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The most diverse forces united under the reactionary slogans of the Narayan movement—from the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, the semi-fascist para-military organisation of the Hindu chauvinists, guilty of the assassination of Gandhi in 1948, and the Anand Marg sects of religious fanatics to the vociferous extremist groups. The religious communal Jan Sangh and the united party of the Rights the Bharatiya Lok Dal formed the principal organisational force of the movement, mainly in the State of Bihar. Despite the sharp differences between the participants of this movement they were united in their hatred of progressive transformations of the Left and democratic forces, in their desire to prevent by every means India's advance along the path of democracy and peace, of social and economic progress. The Indian press noted that the Narayan movement enjoyed the broad financial support of major Indian and foreign monopolies, of the village rich and profiteers. It also

maintained contact with certain foreign subversive organisations. It is not accidental that the reactionaries stridently demanded that India renounce her consistent anti-imperialist policy, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the progressive regimes of the Third World.

Having failed again in 1975 to win over the broad masses of the country, the forces of reaction decided to mount an anti-government campaign. To this end they got the High Court of Allahabad to pass a judicial decision at the beginning of June 1975 that Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, be deprived of her rights as a deputy of parliament for alleged electoral violations during the 1971 election campaign. Although such a court order could be obtained only by a brazen juggling with the facts and by specious legal casuistry, the reactionary forces demanded the immediate resignation of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister.

After the High Court decision the reactionaries stepped up their anti-government movement. Acts of individual and group terrorism, violence and subversion became more frequent, the reactionaries hoping in this way to weaken and discredit the government and to force it to resign. The main fire was directed against Indira Gandhi. They reckoned that by removing her from power they would succeed in overthrowing to entire government of the National Congress and in reorientating India's home and foreign policy along lines that suited them. The reactionaries thus made the question of power a public issue and openly began to engineer its seizure. This was a qualitatively new element in the strategy of the reactionary forces.

As might have been expected, their leaders decided on Delhi, the capital of India, as the main arena of action. It was there that they planned to begin on July 29, 1975, the so-called civil disobedience movement which was to paralyse life in the capital and create a favourable situation for the seizure of power. The monopolist press whipped up anti-government sentiments and openly supported the reactionaries. The statements of the Rights were repeated by some in the ruling party, for instance, by the Chandra Sekhar group which formed a bloc with Jayaprakash Narayan. There was a real threat of a reactionary coup in the country.

In these circumstances the Government of India took a step, unprecedented in the history of the country, but one that was fully justified. On June 26, 1975, by a decree of the President of the Republic, a state of emergency was proclaimed, twenty-six Right- and Left-extremist organisations were banned, press censorship was imposed, and the political ringleaders of the anti-government movement, as well as a large group of profiteers and corrupt officials in the state apparatus were arrested.

In the West an anti-India propaganda campaign was started bewailing the "end of democracy" in the country, the establishment of a "regime of personal dictatorship", and much else in this vein. But the Indian people knew quite well on whose side justice was, who were their friends and who their enemies. Mass demonstrations were

held throughout the country in support of the government and of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The decision to proclaim a state of emergency and the Government's measures to foil reaction's plot received the approval of both Houses of the Indian Parliament. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India noted in its special resolution that the immediate and strict measures taken by the Prime Minister and the Government of India against the Right reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces were necessary and justified, that the slightest display of weakness at this crucial stage would have fatal consequences.

The Left and democratic forces of India stressed that the Right danger in the country could be completely eliminated only by carrying out strict and energetic measures aimed at weakening and undermining reaction's social and economic basis, only by resolutely curbing the exploiter hierarchy.

Simultaneously with the proclamation of a state of emergency and the ensuing rigid measures restricting the activities of the reactionary forces, the Government created more favourable conditions for implementing a programme of social and economic transformations in the interests of the poor and landless. Indira Gandhi's Government announced its "20-Point Programme" of economic reforms. To cite the most important of them:

to implement further measures to reduce prices on prime necessities;

to implement a programme establishing a "ceiling" on land-ownership and to accelerate the distribution of land surpluses;

to speed up the apportioning of land plots for house-sites for the landless and poor sections of the rural population;

bonded labour on promisory notes, no matter where it exists, is declared illegal;

to implement a plan cancelling peasant indebtedness, to draw up a law on deferment of debt payments by agricultural labourers, small farmers and artisans;

to revise the laws on the minimum wage in agriculture;

to socialise urban land and land suitable for urban construction. To establish a "ceiling" on property in unused land in the towns and on house sites;

to institute proceedings against persons guilty of economic crimes and severely punish them;

to draw up a special law on confiscation of the property of smugglers;

to ease the burden of income tax for the middle strata of the population by exempting from taxation persons with an annual income of up to 8,000 rupees;

to draw up a new vocational training programme aimed at increasing employment and raising skills, especially from among the poor sections of the population.

In the conditions of India the bulk of whose population live in rural areas, the implementation as soon as possible of agrarian reforms is of particular importance as is also the cancellation of peasant indebted-

ness to the landowners and money-lenders and the allotment of house sites for the poor peasants. The Indian Government also planned to take vigorous measures to fight corruption in the state apparatus.

The Government's economic programme met with wide approval in the country. Joint committees made up of representatives of the ruling National Congress Party and the Communist Party of India were established in a number of states to put the programme into effect. It was noted that some of the Government's measures to stabilise the economy, undertaken before and after the state of emergency was proclaimed, had yielded positive results. The anti-inflationary steps taken made for a lowering of wholesale and retail prices on consumer goods. Particularly notable was the headway made by the enterprises of the state sector. Their output increased by 14 per cent compared with 1974. The production of steel, pig iron and coal rose substantially.

Further advance along the path of social progress is an objective necessity for the 600-million people of India. Unmasking the designs of the reactionaries, isolating them from the population and undermining their influence in the country—all this is essential for the success of the transforming activities of the Indian people.

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The community of aims of the Soviet Union and India in the struggle for universal peace and the security of peoples and against imperialism and colonialism, oppression and exploitation laid the firm foundation of the development of Soviet-Indian ties, of the active political and economic cooperation between the two countries over the past few decades. "Soviet-Indian friendship," said L. I. Brezhnev, "has now become a factor of great importance in the lives of the peoples of both countries and its role, we are confident, will be increasing with every year."³²

The close and friendly relations between the two countries were embodied in the Soviet-Indian Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, signed in 1971. This document, as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi noted, is the logical outcome of the strengthening friendship and growing cooperation that have always existed between our countries, and of our consistent efforts in the name of peace. This Treaty cements the friendship between us, which is not directed against anybody. It is a friendship which does not increase but, on the contrary, lessens tension.

Soviet people are proud that they were able to make their contribution to building up the national economy of independent India, and to helping her overcome the consequences of colonial exploitation. Today dozens of large industrial enterprises are operating on the territory of India as a result of Soviet-Indian cooperation. This cooperation also enables India to render economic assistance to other developing countries (to Iran in steel production, to Iraq in oil extraction, to Malaysia in power production), which makes for the development of broad international economic ties, and

promotes an atmosphere of mutual confidence and goodneighbourliness among the Asian countries.

The Soviet Union and India are now cooperating in such new spheres as application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, development of electronics and space exploration. In May 1975 India's first artificial earth satellite "Ariabata" was launched with the help of a Soviet rocket.

The active development of Soviet-Indian relations meets with the unanimous approval of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, and of democratic public opinion in all parts of the world. Being an important factor in international détente, in strengthening the forces of peace, democracy and national independence, the friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India meet the vital interests of progressive humanity.

In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the CPSU L. I. Brezhnev, speaking of India said: "We attach special importance to friendship with that great country. In the past five years Soviet-Indian relations have risen to a new level. Our countries have concluded a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. And even this short period has clearly shown its tremendous significance for our bilateral ties, and its role as a stabilising factor in South Asia and the continent as a whole.

"Close political and economic cooperation with the Republic of India is our constant policy. Soviet people appreciate and, more, are in solidarity with India's peaceloving foreign policy and the courageous effort of her progressive forces to solve the country's difficult socio-economic problems. We wish the people and government of India complete success in this effort."³³

The visit of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the Soviet Union in June 1976 and her talks in the course of this visit with Soviet statesmen were a new contribution to the further development of friendship and allround cooperation between the two countries. They will continue to promote the consolidation of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

History has justified "Nehru's course". India is passing through a period of new challenges and new hopes. Continuation of "Nehru's course" is the earnest of social progress and the deepening of this course in the interests of the people will bring them the merited and long-awaited well-being and will weaken the Indian reaction. The realisation of the Government's socio-economic projects will decide all. And this means class struggle of the working people against the forces of reaction.

The Soviet people who have always followed the struggle of the Indian people for independence and social progress with deep sympathy, fully appreciate the significance of the deep-going processes India is today experiencing. They express the firm hope that that great people will successfully overcome, under the leadership of truly democratic and progressive forces, the difficulties that have arisen in their path and clear the way to new major accomplishments in the building of a more just society.

In the turbulence of political passions and social conflicts Jawaharlal Nehru's ideological legacy, his prestige as the head of India's first Government and as one of the most outstanding leaders of the liberation movement continue to exercise an enormous positive influence.

Although Nehru's views on socialism were contradictory, it may safely be said in assessing his work by the historical yardstick of his time that he was always on the side of progress, that his eyes were turned to the future, that he worked for the future and was an implacable enemy of reaction. The change in India's political life and in the platform of the ruling party and the Government of Indira Gandhi after 1969 was the continuation of the democratic and socialist tendencies implicit in the world outlook and policy of Jawaharlal Nehru.

In looking back over Nehru's career as a political and public leader, philosopher and historian, we should like to stress that he owes all that is finest in his legacy — and we are profoundly convinced of this — to his gravitation towards socialism, progress and socialist theory, which considerably influenced his world outlook and policy.

This gravitation towards socialism brought Nehru round to the idea of an alliance with the forces of progress, with the international working-class movement, and to cooperation with the USSR.

This gravitation towards socialism was at the root of the INC's proclamation of its aim of building a society after the socialist model.

Despite a certain vagueness in Nehru's socialist ideal, it is an indisputable fact that he was one of the first leaders of the national liberation movement to see the narrowness of anti-imperialist nationalism and the need for its transformation in a socialist direction. In this lies Nehru's great service to history, and in this is the explanation of the warm sympathy and deep respect that Jawaharlal Nehru, great son of India, enjoys among Soviet people.

NOTES

¹ J. Nehru's *Speeches*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1958, p. 472.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1954, p. 383.

³ J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Bombay, 1964, p. 51.

⁴ J. Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy*, Bombay, 1961, p. 256.

⁵ See J. Nehru on *Socialism. Selected Speeches and Writings*, New Delhi, 1954, p. 26.

⁶ J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 282.

⁷ *The Mind of Mr. Nehru. An Interview by R. K. Karanja*, London, 1961, p. 89.

⁸ J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp. 362-363.

⁹ J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 29.

¹⁰ J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp. 361-362.

¹¹ J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹³ J. Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Bombay, 1964, p. 661.

¹⁴ J. Nehru, *India's Freedom*, London, 1962, p. 35.

¹⁵ See J. Nehru, *India Today and Tomorrow*, New Delhi, 1959, p. 28.

¹⁶ J. Nehru, *Towards a Socialistic Order*, New Delhi, 1956, p. 64.

¹⁷ *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1958, p. 42.

¹⁸ J. Nehru's *Speeches, 1957-1963*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1964, p. 151.

¹⁹ J. Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, p. 565.

²⁰ J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 544.

²¹ *The Mind of Mr. Nehru*, pp. 76-77.

²² See *Economic Review*, Delhi, September 15, 1957, pp. 6-7.

²³ See *Congress Bulletin*, 1963, No. 9-11, p. 55.

²⁴ J. Nehru, *Foreign Policy of India. Selected Speeches and Essays, 1946-1964*, Moscow, 1966 (in Russian).

²⁵ *Jawaharlal Nehru: His life and Work*, Moscow, 1965, p. 12 (in Russian)

²⁶ *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1958, p. 42.

²⁷ J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 161.

²⁸ See J. Nehru, *Presidential Address*, Indian National Congress, 49th Session, April 1936, Lucknow, Allahabad, 1936, p. 5.

²⁹ *Pravda*, November 28, 1973.

³⁰ *Link*, January 13, 1974, *Reserve Bank Bulletin*, June 1975.

³¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 20.

³² L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 200.

³³ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 25.

Socio-Economic Aspects of the Arms Race and Disarmament

In order to promote international détente—and this is appreciated by large segments of public opinion—it is essential to supplement political détente with military détente. This is today more important than ever before because the dangerous arms race whipped up by imperialism's aggressive circles is continuing.

The Soviet-US treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes is a useful practical step towards checking the stockpiling of armaments. The aim of this treaty is that the energy of the atom should be used for peaceful creative work; to this end it contains the necessary guarantees, including a provision on control.

One of the important points of the foreign policy programme approved by the 25th Congress of the CPSU is that an international treaty should be signed on the general and complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests. This Soviet initiative has been welcomed by the majority of the UN member states but it is encountering resistance from a number of Western powers. Large sections of the people and realistically thinking leaders in the West are convinced that the new Soviet-US treaty will help to achieve a worldwide total ban on dangerous experiments with nuclear weapons.

In cooperation with other countries the Soviet Union is prepared to move along a wide front towards ending the arms race, towards disarmament. The realisation of the measures mapped out in the foreign policy programme of the 25th CPSU Congress would not only put an end to the continuing dangerous build-up of armaments but would ensure a transition to physical reduction of the accumulated stockpiles of arms and to actual disarmament.

Below we give the abridged pronouncements of a number of Soviet scientists, chiefly associates of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences at a round table sponsored by the journal *The World Economy and International Relations* (No. 2, 1976) devoted to some socio-economic aspects of the arms race and the possibilities for disarmament.

TO CURB THE ARMS RACE IS THE IMPERATIVE OF THE DAY

V. Aboltin: Militarisation of the economy has become a feature of many capitalist countries, whose governments are channelling the lion's share of state budgets into the arms race and the payment of the debts incurred for its sake during the past decades. The heavy burden of military expenditures devolves on the shoulders of the people.

The arms race is headed by the United States of America. Despite the positive changes that have taken place in the world in recent years, the Pentagon has asked for the record sum of 104,700 million dollars for military spending in 1976 (in 1949 the US military budget totalled 13,500 million dollars). An even larger sum is planned for 1977. A high level has been reached by direct military allocations in the West European countries as well: in 1974 the FRG spent 10,800 million dollars, Britain 8,700 million dollars, France 7,900 million dollars. Italy's military budget totalled 3,700 million dollars, Holland's—2,300 million dollars, Belgium's—1,100 million dollars and Turkey's—1,000 million dollars. Military spending in all these countries is growing at an extraordinarily high rate. In particular, in the FRG it increased from 4,300 million to 27,500 million marks between 1950 and 1974 (See *The Military Balance*, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London). Some quarters name even higher figures. Allocations for military purposes are being increased by South African Republic, Israel, Japan and other capitalist countries.

The NATO leaders have never made a secret of the fact that they are arming against the USSR and other socialist countries. In face of imperialism's aggressive intrigues the Soviet Union and its allies are compelled to strengthen their defence capacity. At the same time, attention is drawn by the following characteristic tendency: in 1970-1973 the Soviet Union's defence expenditures remained at one and the same level (17,900 million rubles), while in 1975 they dropped to 17,400 million rubles; the same sum is planned for 1976. With the systematic growth of general expenditures in the Soviet budget during these years this means that the share of expenses on defence dropped from 10.3 to 8.4 and 7.8 per cent respectively.

The Soviet Union considers that it would be much better to spend most of the money allocated for defence for the further acceleration of economic growth and raising the people's standard of living. There is little doubt that for the broad strata of the population of the capitalist countries it would be a greater boon if the resources (or at least a part of them) now squandered on the arms race were to be used for the solution of economic and social problems. It will be recalled that it was the Soviet Union that took the initiative in proposing a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the UN Security Council's permanent members and that a portion of the saved money be used for aid to the developing nations.

Many Keynesian economists have argued for years that a high level of military spending is the principal means of averting economic

crises. S. Slichter, S. Harris, E. Lerner, F. Hayek and other American theorists asserted that large military allocations could ensure stable prosperity. Back in 1958 W. Foster, then the director of United Nuclear Corp. (in September 1961 he was appointed Director of US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), suggested increasing military spending from 10 to 20 per cent of the GNP, which would bring it up to over 100,000 million dollars. Schlesinger, for instance, has always insisted on the increase of military expenditures and advocated the further arms race in spite of the growing tendency among nations to improving international situation and limiting armaments.

However, despite the efforts of the inspirers of the arms race, a new phase in the development of world politics is now unfolding. The might of the peace forces is growing, realistic tendencies are gaining ground in the capitalist countries, and it is becoming increasingly more difficult for the advocates of militarism who tried, and are still trying, to prove that it is economically expedient to increase military expenditures.

It is seen today more clearly than ever that military production, which has reached a gigantic scale, is prejudicial to the development of the productive forces and still further tightens the knot of economic, financial and social contradictions.

How does the arms race affect reproduction in the capitalist countries, particularly during cyclical crises? To answer this question we must study the interaction of the military and civilian markets in the capitalist economy and tie in this study with an analysis of the movement of surplus value and the impact of surplus capital on the development of the crisis and the economic cycle as a whole.

Many bourgeois economists confine themselves to the declarative statement that the military market allegedly plays the role of a stabiliser. But the overall solvent demand does not grow with the military market remaining unchanged or even if it somewhat increases: under conditions of a crisis the surplus capital from the civilian divisions of the economy cannot move into the military sector. For that reason a certain increment in the output of military production cannot influence impending or existing overproduction or the lag of the solvent demand in civilian branches.

The general capacity of the market can increase only in the event military industry is considerably enlarged or built anew. This takes place either in war-time or in periods (as is observed at present) when new types of armaments are introduced and military production is sharply stepped up in the leading capitalist countries.

However, on the scale of the whole of social reproduction this is a temporary phenomenon, while from the standpoint of extending reproduction it is only an outward impression. Indeed, what are the production of armaments and the expenditures on the maintenance of armed forces from the economic point of view? They signify a systematic withdrawal from the process of reproduction, from the

economic turnover of that part of output that is used neither for consumption nor for production. The greater the proportion of the output withdrawal in this manner, the narrower becomes the scale of extended reproduction and the lower become the rates of economic growth. As Marx said about wars, military expenditures "in the direct economic sense are the same as a nation throwing part of its capital down the drain".¹

In the longer term the expenditures on the arms race compound economic difficulties and reduce the rates of growth. The negative effect of militarisation is seen clearly by a comparison of the economic indicators of the USA and Japan. For a long time Japan's military expenditures were less than 1 per cent of her GNP. As a result, the annual investments in fixed capital amounted to one-third of the GNP, while the Japanese economy developed at a high rate. During the past few decades the USA squandered from 7 to 11 per cent of its GNP on direct military expenditures. It is no accident that in that country the investments in fixed capital averaged half of that portion of the GNP that was channelled into fixed capital in Japan, while the US rate of economic growth was much lower than the Japanese. In the period from 1960 to 1971 industrial output grew by 322 per cent in Japan, while in the US it grew by only 74 per cent. The enormous rise of taxes, the state budget deficit, the inflation, the devaluation of the dollar and the monetary crisis are all due to the arms race.

Needless to say, the illusion should not be harboured that it is easy to achieve disarmament and strengthen peace. The road to success lies through a consistent and unremitting struggle against the forces embodying the madness of the military-industrial complex in the capitalist countries.

What can disarmament bring the peoples of the capitalist countries? A radical cutback of military spending, to say nothing of complete disarmament, would make it possible to reduce taxes considerably. This in turn, would facilitate the surmounting of the temporary difficulties of the transition from a militarised to a peaceful economy. A reduction of taxes would augment the real incomes of large segments of the population. This money could be spent, in particular, on the purchase of consumer goods and on the needed services.

At the very first phase of disarmament, as a result of a reduction of military expenditures the growth of the state debt would be halted in all countries and, moreover, the possibility would arise of reducing it. There would be no need for any inflationary issue of paper money. The private consumer and mortgage debt, which in some countries has reached colossal proportions and is impairing the entire economy, would be diminished. All this would contribute to stopping the inflation, stabilising the monetary systems and to promoting international trade.

In many countries there is a housing shortage and a need for improving roads and means of communication, for larger allocations for education, medicare, old age and invalid pensions, for projects to

prevent soil erosion and the flooding of valleys and halt the pollution of fresh water, seas, the atmosphere and the land surface, and for the building of recreation and sports zones. A large number of universities, schools, hospitals and children's institutions could be built. What more worthy way for using the funds released by the reduction or abolition of military expenditures!

Disarmament would benefit the socio-economic condition of the peoples of the developing countries as well. Although most of these states allocate much smaller funds for military purposes than the industrialised nations, a comparison of their military expenditures and resources will show that these expenditures are huge. The annual military allocations of all the developing nations amount to a total of nearly 25,000 million dollars, and in recent years they have continued to grow. The use of this money for peaceful requirements would help to accelerate the economic and social advancement of these nations.

Disarmament would be accompanied by the dismantling of foreign military bases in the developing countries and the evacuation of foreign troops. Once the threat of imperialist military attack and military pressure is removed the Asian, African and Latin American nations could consolidate their political independence and strengthen their economic sovereignty.

In 1974 the military allocations throughout the world topped 250,000 million dollars. If annual military budgets were to be reduced, say, by 150,000 million dollars it would be possible to cut taxes in countries today bearing the heavy burden of the arms race by between 30,000 and 40,000 million dollars. Governments would have the possibility of allocating more than 100,000 million dollars for pressing economic, social and cultural requirements, which are far from being satisfied even in the richest countries.

Disarmament and détente would unquestionably make for still greater trust between states and the further development of mutually beneficial cooperation notably in the economic, scientific and technical spheres. It would become possible to launch grand economic projects such as, for instance, the utilisation of the wealth of the seas and oceans and the earth's resources for the common good.

RECONVERSION IS POSSIBLE

V. Yemelyanov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: The negative effects of the arms race are felt in many areas. Military preparations, to say nothing of wars, divert an enormous number of able-bodied people from peaceful production. According to UN statistics, there were between 23 and 24 million men in the armed forces throughout the world in 1970.

Further, there has been a steep increase of the number of people directly employed in military production and at military institutions. In 1962, according to an estimate by UN experts, they numbered 30 million, today they number nearly 50 million.

The stockpiling and further improvement of weapons continues and absorbs huge resources. The circles interested in the production of armaments, would have people believe that it is in human nature to fight, that human civilisation cannot develop without wars and preparations for them. According to this kind of reasoning wars are allegedly a necessary stimulus to progress; in other words, no scientific discoveries, no inventions are possible without wars. Indeed, many industries emerged as military industries. In particular, metallurgy first began to develop with the production of arrowheads, spears and then swords, daggers, shields and armour, and later gun barrels and other military equipment.

However, most of the outstanding discoveries and inventions have no connection at all with military requirements. On the contrary, some armaments were developed as a result of the utilisation of exclusively peaceful ideas, discoveries and projects.

When the UN Disarmament and Development Report, submitted to the 26th General Assembly in 1972, was drawn up, some of the experts who took part in that work asserted that disarmament had not only a positive but also a negative aspect, arguing that it would cause a waning of economic activity and bring unemployment and socio-economic difficulties in areas where military industries are sited.

Similar arguments had been presented earlier by the opponents of disarmament. They have no foundation whatever.

Arguments of this kind, needless to say, can easily lead to the absurd conclusion that in order to promote the pharmaceutical industry it is necessary to facilitate the development of epidemic diseases, for this would considerably increase the demand for medicines and invigorate this branch of industry.

In some countries the opponents of disarmament urge the continuation of military production. They intimidate factory and office workers with the prospect of unemployment and the necessity of moving out of their present places of residence, maintaining that the factories at which their fathers and grandfathers worked and at which they are now employed would be not only closed down but dismantled. But they say nothing of the fact that military production can be converted to the manufacture of useful civilian output.

It is quite possible to reconvert the military industry. To back up this statement one can offer many considerations founded not only on a theoretical analysis of the problem but also on existing experience. In some countries factories are in operation at which such processes were successfully put into effect after the First and Second World wars.

Most of the equipment of military factories is analogous to the equipment used at civilian enterprises; there are not many units of specific equipment designed specially for the production of war material. At these factories it is much easier to organise civilian production than to start the manufacture of military equipment at civilian factories, because the former are much better equipped and usually have excellent research and control laboratories and adequate production space for the installation of additional equipment.

In the early 1930s I worked for a number of years at the Krupp military factories in Essen and observed the reconversion of some military industries in Germany which was forbidden, under the Versailles Peace Treaty, to manufacture armaments. The possibility for reconversion is quite obvious, and if difficulties arise they are in any case not technical.

In recent years the question of switching military industry over to peaceful uses has been discussed time and again in scientific circles. An exceedingly important problem is that of reconverting scientific research, of rechannelling the work of scientists from the military to the civilian sphere. In the UN Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly in 1972 it was noted that "probably at least a quarter of the world total of scientists and engineers who are engaged in research and development are in fact still employed on military work".²

According to UN estimates, 4,000 million dollars are annually spent on medical research, while the allocations for military research and development add up to 25,000 million dollars. The British scientist R. Clarke gives even larger figures for the expenditures on military research. According to his figures, they are at least 12 times greater than the expenditures on civilian research.

The question of reconverting scientific research intertwines with the problem of the moral responsibility of scientists, which has been repeatedly noted in the Pugwash Movement and discussed in many papers.

The great efforts that are now directed towards settling the problems of disarmament may be considerably undermined by the appearance of new types of armaments, which have not been touched upon at the negotiations now proceeding because it is difficult to forecast what new scientific ideas may be utilised to develop such armaments. To avert such a situation the Soviet Union has proposed the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; this proposal has received the support of the overwhelming majority of UN member states.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people are unanimous in their view that atomic energy must be used exclusively in the cause of peace and progress. It should be remembered that the first atomic power station and the first civilian nuclear-powered vessel, the icebreaker *Lenin*, were built in the Soviet Union.

Considerable attention was given to atomic power engineering at the 7th World Power Conference that was held in Moscow in August 1968. Its development was dealt with by 26 delegates from 12 countries. They declared that atomic power stations had proved their efficacy and shown that they were safe and more reliable than power stations using organic fuel.

At that conference Academician A. Alexandrov, the present President of the USSR Academy of Sciences who was director of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Power Engineering at the time, noted

that it was economically expedient to use nuclear energy in more than two-thirds of the world's populated territory.

Many atomic power stations have been built in the USSR and the USA. There are such stations in Britain, France, Italy, Japan and India. New and larger stations are under construction and far-reaching plans have been drawn up for the future.

However, in some countries the development of atomic power engineering is evoking sharp discussions and protests. What is behind this? On what are the objections based? This can be answered with one word: Fear! It is not to be ruled out that this fear is sustained artificially by the circles that are not interested in the utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and have determined its sphere of military use.

During the past few years a vigorous campaign has been conducted against the building of atomic power stations. In the spate of books and articles in support of this campaign the authors are not sparing words about the possible calamities that may ensue with the appearance of these stations.

This campaign evidently induced 32 prominent scientists in the USA, of whom one-third are Nobel Prize Laureates, to come out in defence of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In its issue of March 1975 the journal of American atomic scientists carried a collective article under the heading "No Alternative to Nuclear Energy". The authors noted many of the difficult problems linked with atomic power engineering still awaiting their reasonable solution, but wrote that they see no way out of the energy crisis without the use of nuclear processes. Their conclusions are cautious but quite plain.

In its next issue this journal printed a letter to US President Gerald Ford over the signatures of many physicists, chemists and biologists, among whom there also are Nobel Prize Laureates. They warned that with the completion of the atomic power station programme there would be a large quantity of radioactive waste. As a consequence of the rapid building of these stations, they wrote, the tendency was mounting to turn a blind eye to the necessary precautionary measures. Further they noted that there were many facts to show that the enterprises oriented on receiving profits were placing the safety of people below all other considerations.³ That is where all the trouble lies. From the technical angle it is quite possible to create absolutely safe conditions for the operation of atomic power stations and for the people working at them or living in their vicinity. But this is realisable only when those who own the stations show a concern for people and stop their drive for maximum profits.

Favourable conditions now exist for achieving substantial progress in the field of disarmament. The pernicious effect of the build-up of armaments is so self-evident that it is becoming harder for the proponents of a further build up to justify it. The legend about the "Soviet menace", created during the cold war years, has now been totally discredited. But attempts are being made by diehard militarists and the opponents of peace and the progress of civilisation, to revive this legend.

THE MONOPOLIES AND THE ARMS RACE

T. Belous: The corporations producing armaments, ammunition, and equipment and serving the armed forces are one of the main driving forces of the arms race. They constitute a major element of the present-day military-industrial complexes. The economic might of these giants enables them to influence the policy of governments. The executives of the big corporations, writes R. Barber, former counsel for the Senate Anti-Trust Subcommittee, "are deeply involved on a continuing, though usually informal basis in the highest decision-making levels of the Executive Branch".⁴

Through their participation in military production these corporations seek to renew government military contracts and to increase their volume. In the USA the leading corporations have guaranteed contracts for the manufacture of 116 systems of armaments valued at a total of 153,000 million dollars.

Attention is attracted by the high concentration of military contracts in the hands of a few of the largest military-industrial concerns. Although the Pentagon is served by about 20,000 contractors and 100,000 subcontractors, in the 1973/74 fiscal year 100 largest corporations received 68.6 per cent of the total contracted sum while five of them got 20.1 per cent.

In France the production of armaments is in the hands of private, government and mixed enterprises. In the 1972 White Book on questions of defence one finds the following statistics: in 1969 of the total military contracts worth 15,000 million francs, 12 per cent went to state companies, 13 per cent to mixed concerns and 75 per cent to private corporations. The concentration level of military contracts is extremely high: in 1970 of the total military contracts worth 5,507 million francs received by the French aircraft industry, 2,756 million francs, i. e., 50 per cent, went to only one firm, Dassault.

In Britain 90 per cent of the War Office's contracts are given to private companies. The backbone of the military-industrial complex consists of Vickers, British Aircraft (which belongs on a parity basis to Vickers and General Electric), the Hawker-Siddeley Group, Plessey and some other corporations. In Britain and France the concentration of military contracts among a handful of corporations is even higher than in the USA.

The military-industrial complexes of different countries fight among themselves for NATO contracts, for the acceptance of their systems of armaments as the standard and for a larger share of the capitalist world market.

Indicative in this respect is the present battle over the huge military contract for 350 aircraft for four NATO member states. Initially, this contract for the air forces of Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway was disputed by seven corporations in the USA, France and Sweden. In June 1975 it became known that in the battle for the "contract of the century" the upper hand had been gained by the US General Dynamics, which received the contract for the manufacture of 350 aircraft valued at 2,000 million dollars.

Naturally, the rivalry between the military-industrial complexes will not end at this. Contracts are expected from other countries, and experts estimate their total value at 20,000 million dollars (for between 3,000 and 4,000 aircraft). As regards the more distant future, the *World Aircraft Forecast* reports that within the next eight years the air forces will receive 29,000 aircraft worth the fabulous sum of 400,000 million dollars.

NATO military-industrial circles deliberately inflame passions over this "big pie". They thereby seek to impose on the peoples of the world new militarist programmes and spur another round of the arms race, which they are bent on despite the relaxation of international tension, despite the spreading anti-militarist feeling in the NATO member states and the popular opposition to any increase of military budgets.

The military industry gives a mass of additional possibilities for, to use Lenin's words, "systematic and legalised plunder"⁵ of state property, which is ensured by overstated costs, the concealment of profits, price manipulation and so forth. While working to get profitable contracts, the monopolies understate the expected production costs. After getting these contracts the initial estimates are usually reconsidered in the direction of increasing them. Thus, British firms promised to supply their government with a new multi-purpose combat aircraft at the price of 1,500,000 pounds per plane; today its price has reached 9,000,000 pounds.

But even if we discount direct manipulations, the higher profit rate in military production has its own objective causes. The military industry is technologically one of the most advanced in capitalist production because it gets the lion's share of government allocations for research and development. Moreover, the profits under military contracts do not depend on production costs. As S. Melman points out, "for the military-industrial enterprise higher costs mean more activity, more facilities, more employers, more cash flow and a larger cost base for calculating profits".⁶

The development of the tendency, traditional to the capitalist mode of production, towards levelling out the conditions for investments and the profit rate in different industries and geographical zones is hindered in the military industry by the extremely high level of monopolisation. Moreover, monopoly exercises control over production and marketing, for the state is the sole purchaser of military output. Supplies of armaments to the state guarantee profits that do not depend on fluctuations of the general economic situation and on the inflationary process. They ensure a saving on advertisements. Considerable advantages accrue from the priority in the supply of strategic and critical materials.

Bourgeois economists and state agencies estimate on the basis of the most diverse methods that the profit rate of the military-industrial concerns is almost always higher than that of the monopolies manufacturing civilian goods. For instance, according to a study conducted in 1970-1971 by the central financial control agency in the USA, the 1969 profit rate (calculated as the ratio of the gross

profit to advance capital) was 20.1 per cent in the US manufacturing industry and 56.1 per cent in the military industry. This high profit rate and stability of military production explains the interest of the military-industrial concerns in the arms race.

A FACTOR OF STRUCTURAL DEFORMATION

M. Portnoi: Militarisation of the economy is a feature of the capitalist economy. Military expenditures are one of the key levers of state-monopoly regulation. Since the war state consumption of goods and services in the capitalist countries has been increasing rapidly and its role in the economy has been growing. Moreover, wide use is made of military allocations, which occupy a sizable place in state expenditures, for the purchase of goods and services. Besides their direct designation as the means of increasing the military potential, military appropriations are a sort of doping of the private sector by the state. But this is an unhealthy development fraught with innumerable negative consequences to the economy and society. By their very nature these expenditures are unproductive: they are realised within the redistribution of the national product and income. Military expenditures must be compensated by tax revenues. For that reason the growth of military allocations is usually accompanied by a growth of taxes.

In 1974 the expenditures for military purposes totalled 31 per cent of the federal budget expenditures in the USA, 17.4 per cent of all budget expenditures in France, 21.6 per cent in the FRG and 20.1 per cent in Britain. Experts estimate that in 1974 military expenditures added up to 6.8 per cent of the GNP in the USA, 4.5 per cent in Britain, 3 per cent in the FRG and 3 per cent in France.

Since 1974 the capitalist world has been in the grip of an economic crisis, which has laid bare many acute contradictions that had accumulated through the years. The energy and currency crises, the economic recession, the inflation and unemployment are only the most harassing of the problems now besetting the Western countries. A specific feature of the present economic crisis is the widespread inflation. In 1974 alone prices rose by 11.2 per cent in the USA, 18.4 per cent in Britain, 7 per cent in the FRG, 13.6 per cent in France and 18.2 per cent in Japan. In other capitalist countries, too, inflation is measured by two-digit figures.

In this situation it would be logical to expect a cutback of military spending, which is one of the principal causes of inflation. However, in the imperialist countries the appropriations for armaments continue to grow.

The unremitting arms race over the past few years has generated serious difficulties in balancing the budget revenues and expenditures of the capitalist countries belonging to militarist blocs. In the USA the growth of military spending is one of the principal reasons for the chronic deficit in the federal budget. The growing deficit of the state

budget leads to a steady increase of the public debt (in the USA it totalled 538,500 million dollars in April 1975), the burden of which falls squarely on the economy.

Military production, an industry with one of the highest capital-output ratios in the USA, constantly requires huge investments. Armaments and military equipment are used up or become obsolete quickly. A switch to new types of armaments means the development of new technological processes, the renewal of equipment and the re-equipment of production, i.e., further large investments.

Another reason for the growth of expenditures and the accompanying negative consequences is the extraordinarily rapid rise of the cost of military equipment, not only as a result of the overall price growth but also as a result of the sophistication of that equipment. This forms a vicious circle: military spending pushes up prices, while the rise of prices is used to justify an increase of military expenditures. Disarmament is the only way out of this situation.

The expenditures on up-to-date armaments are spiralling. During the last 10 years the USA's expenditures on 51 new systems of weapons, beginning with the supersonic strategic B-1 bomber and the Trident nuclear submarine and ending with tactical missiles for land forces have increased from 94,000 million to 133,000 million dollars over the original estimate.

Labour resources are expended on the arms race. A large proportion of the most able-bodied population is diverted into the armed forces or military production. For instance, during the 1974/75 fiscal year 5.2 per cent of the USA's total manpower were in the armed forces. In the mid-1960s the proportion of the economically active population diverted into the armed forces and the military industries was estimated at 4.2-6.2 per cent in Britain, 5.1-7.0 per cent in the FRG and 9.5-12.7 per cent in France.

The arms race deforms the orientation and trends of scientific and technological progress. Moreover, the results of research are painstakingly classified and turned over to the private sector only after the lapse of many years. This considerably holds up scientific and technological progress in the economy.

The alliance of the monopolies, the military and reactionary political circles, now known as the military-industrial complex, arose on the foundation of the arms race. It is a direct creation of contemporary imperialism. The militarisation of the economy is one of the ways of sustaining the capitalist mode of production. Military contracts help to intensify the concentration of production and capital and increase the power of the modern corporations. In the USA, for example, concentration is higher in the military industry than in the country's economy as a whole.

By involving small and medium enterprises and firms in military production, the giant concerns bind them to a mutual guarantee of the interests of the military-industrial complex. The spread of military production thus aggravates the imbalances in the economy, intensifies

its general instability and makes the contradictions implicit in it more acute.

Appropriations for the development of the civilian sector, chiefly for social requirements, are the alternative to military expenditures. However, as is noted by many bourgeois scientists, the expenditures for military purposes are consistent with capitalist society's social nature. They are a source of profit and a means of strengthening the power of a handful of big corporations. These are the forces that are interested in maintaining the further spiralling of armaments which constitutes a threat to peace and is prejudicial to economic development.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE THREAT OF WAR

V. Vaneyev: Today science has become a direct productive force. On the other hand, it may become a huge destructive force. In this possibility lies the greatest threat to mankind's very existence. Fortunately, this threat is today seen not only by progressives throughout the world but also by realistically-thinking elements among the ruling circles of the capitalist countries. The build-up of nuclear armaments of different power, which exceeds all reasonable limits, constantly demonstrates the suicidal senselessness of a nuclear war.

The fact that there are two opposing gigantic military machines is by no means a guarantee against nuclear war, despite the assurances to the contrary by many Western experts. The trouble is that such an explosion may take place spontaneously, as it were, as a result of a concurrence of circumstances, of uncontrollable processes. Hence the urgency of the task of ruling out such "accidents". The scientific and technological revolution is giving mankind quite satisfactory means of carrying out that task. The global network of communications using man-made earth satellites has made it possible to set up a reliable system of hot lines for direct communication between the heads of the world's leading states. The modern technology of collecting and processing information drastically reduces the element of error in assessing information. The enhanced reliability of the equipment diminishes the probability of unpredictable breakdowns and an accidental activation of armaments.

The striving of the aggressive circles to "save" war as a means of achieving political aims has led to the appearance of the strategic conceptions of small or local wars. But imperialism's crushing defeat in Southeast Asia, the collapse of the attempts to force oil-producing and other developing nations to become objects of exploitation by the oil monopolies and the crumbling of the last colonial empire in Africa have cast doubt on the strategy of local and other "limited" wars.

Scientific and technological progress itself has indirectly contri-

buted to the shaping of one of the fundamental conditions for ending the arms race, for limiting armaments, for disarmament. Highly important is the fact that the scientific and technological revolution has resulted in the appearance of a spectrum of scientific methods and technical devices making for reliable control of the realisation of any disarmament agreements with the aid of national means. Such means of control can record from a distance signs indicating the existence or absence of military activity banned by agreements. Among these means there are technical devices spotting, recording and analysing radiation. They include various systems of radar detecting and watching activity in outer space. The national means of control also include instruments recording radioactive radiation and a large set of seismological instruments keeping a check on the state of the earth's crust. In addition there are instruments making it possible to observe objects in the depth of seas and oceans by acoustic and thermal radiation.

These prerequisites are augmented with changes in the international political climate and by the expansion and intensification of economic, scientific and technical cooperation. The logic of the scientific and technological revolution has required increasingly complicated research. The scale of some areas of modern science ranges beyond the boundaries of individual countries. Space, oceanic, climatic and other research can be conducted effectively only through the joint efforts of scientists on an international level. This has made essential the continuous expansion of international scientific cooperation, of scientific ties of all types. The latter have become a cardinal form of international intercourse. These and similar processes are giving shape to favourable conditions for deepening détente and, in particular, for disarmament.

The ecological factor should not be ignored. Its significance is growing swiftly. At the present stage the scientific and technological revolution is accompanied by a sharp increase in the output of production waste polluting the air, rivers, lakes, seas, oceans, and the land surface, while the removal of these harmful effects is encountering, under capitalist conditions, the resistance of the monopolies, who refuse to forgo their profits. Irreplaceable natural resources are being quickly exhausted. Large sums of money are needed in order to fight the threat of an ecological catastrophe. Yet this money is swallowed by the continuing arms race. Small wonder that today even in the upper echelons of the ruling classes, among bourgeois circles, more and more people are demanding the rechanneling of at least part of the money now being spent on armaments; they are demanding measures to protect nature.

From the aforesaid it follows that in the course of scientific and technological progress conditions are taking shape which for the first time in the history of man are making it possible to count on the successful implementation of a series of far-going disarmament measures up to the settlement of the problem of banning nuclear weapons and achieving general and complete disarmament.

NEW TRENDS IN THE ARMS RACE MUST BE BLOCKED

A. Kalyadin: The scientific and technological revolution not only opens up boundless prospects for mankind's progress but, regrettably, also increases the material possibilities for developing new types of armaments capable of inflicting colossal losses on civilisation. The danger has appeared that a fundamentally new weapon may be created—a gene weapon whose destructive power will be greater than all hitherto known weapons. There are other areas (for instance, influence on the environment) in which the threat of the development of new monstrous types of weapons of mass destruction may arise. This makes the problem of blocking new orientations of the arms race particularly acute. An urgent task is that of giving practical effect to the proposal made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that countries, particularly the major powers, should sign an agreement banning the development of new types of mass destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons.

The draft of the appropriate agreement was submitted to the 30th UN General Assembly by the Soviet Union in September 1975. The Soviet draft is based on the obligation of states not to develop or manufacture new types of mass destruction weapons and new systems, including those with the use of the latest scientific and technical achievements, and not to help or encourage any orientation of such activity. At the General Assembly the overwhelming majority of delegations (112) voted for the Soviet initiative. The adoption of urgent and effective measures to ban the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction would be a major contribution towards curbing the arms race.

The realisation of the Soviet proposal would be a barrier to the forces striving to develop and manufacture new means of mass destruction, in circumvention of existing disarmament agreements. The conclusion of an international agreement by a large number of countries would strengthen international security and create a more solid foundation for the further struggle for disarmament. Such an agreement would allow constructive cooperation between states to include joint efforts in scientific and technological progress with the purpose of restricting potential threats to mankind. Scientists and scientific organisations could play an important role in giving effect to such cooperation. It is the duty of scientists to help identify those areas of scientific and technological progress where it is vital to stop and ban the development of new types of weapons.

The present balance of strength in strategic armaments and the level achieved by détente make practicable the renunciation by states of the use of scientific achievements for the development of more formidable means of mass destruction. The vital interests of all mankind insistently demand that further scientific and technological progress should not be accompanied by an intensification of military rivalry.

On the attitude of world public opinion, on the activity of the peoples of all continents, greatly depends whether an insuperable barrier is erected to the creation of qualitatively new means of warfare, whether those who for the sake of military or other anti-humane purposes are prepared to risk the destruction of the very foundation of human existence can be stopped in good time.

WILL ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS BECOME REDUNDANT?

N. Ivanov cited official US data showing that the transfer of investments from military to civilian spheres (particularly housing construction, environmental protection, larger pensions, scholarship grants and so on) would unquestionably lead to greater employment and a considerable growth of the population's solvent demand. However, in the American press and specialised literature one frequently finds the assertion that a limitation of military expenditures and the implementation of disarmament measures will lead to unemployment among the scientists and engineers employed in military production.

The assertion that civilian industries do not require a large number of specialists does not hold water. The need for such cadres is bound to grow steeply, for instance, with an increase of appropriations for environmental protection and other measures.

An assessment of the impact of the transfer of investments from military to civilian industry on the employment level cannot be confined to taking account only of the existing level of labour intensity and production in individual industries. It is necessary to bear in mind also the structural effect, the changes in inter-branch links, the appearance of new industries and spheres of investment of labour and capital and of the possibility of concentrating resources for the solution of pressing problems.

The basic shortcoming of the present assessments is that, essentially, they rule out the scientific and technological development of industries not connected with military contracts and that they do not take into account the unresolved and exceedingly acute socio-economic problems that are now coming to the fore.

The struggle against environmental pollution will not be successful if it is confined to the development of systems of filters and purifying installations. In speaking of the problem of environmental protection under conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, one cannot but come to the conclusion that it can be resolved cardinally only in combination with other pivotal problems—raw materials, energy, transport and town building.

Research into the reconversion of basic technologies in closed cycle processes would be another major sphere for the application of the efforts of trained experts. This would help to reduce the pollution of the environment by industrial wastes and cut down shipments and the outlay of raw materials. All this requires large allocations for

research; the source of such allocations can only be found through a considerable reduction of military expenditures.

New spheres for the application of the labour of engineers, scientists and researchers could include problems of the biosphere and the function of the "economy-nature" system with a view to preventing irreversible changes in the natural environment and the climate, and also the world food problem.

Even in the leading industrialised capitalist states all these areas of research and development do not have the adequate number of scientists and engineers. This concerns not only laboratory experimentation and work but also the speedy implementation of their results for the purpose of resolving specific practical problems. Such programmes require not only a large network of research laboratories but also a large production base. Such a base would evidently be provided by enterprises of the electronics, instrument-making, missile, chemical and precision machines industries, i.e., the most science-intensive industries a considerable proportion of whose capacities are now engaged in fulfilling military contracts.

If these industries, which form the backbone of the military-industrial complex, are reoriented on peaceful purposes many trained specialists will get a new field of work even in the firms and industries presently employing them.

MILITARISM AND SCIENCE

V. *Borisov* spoke about the effects of the militarisation of science that lead to the deformation of scientific development, to the diversion of scientists from important theoretical research in view of the steep expansion of the practical, purely military application of new discoveries.

DISARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Yu. Andreyev: The close interconnection between disarmament and international economic cooperation is well known. It has been repeatedly and justifiably pointed out that an easing of political tension reinforced by the implementation of an international disarmament programme could help to achieve a just restructuring of international economic relations.

But conversely international economic cooperation could exercise a beneficial influence on the implementation of a disarmament programme.

First and foremost, the promotion of diverse forms of such cooperation would help to improve the political climate in the world and thereby create favourable conditions for curbing and ending the arms race. Experience convincingly shows that the consolidation of economic relations is an effective way of stimulating and solidifying

the positive changes in the political sphere and a key inducement to further the progress of political and military détente.

Besides, international economic cooperation would also become a specific means of resolving problems.

It should not be entirely ruled out that at some stage the process of disarmament could, in individual capitalist countries, give rise to a certain drop in commercial activity and in employment and create some structural problems arising out of the reconversion of military production and the transfer of persons working in military industries and scientific institutions to the civilian sector.

Concretely, this concerns the participation of the capitalist states, for whom the problem of reconversion may be particularly painful (reference is to countries with a developed military-industrial complex), in large-scale projects, mainly in the field of energy and raw material resources, that have been started in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Already today, and in the future even more so, these projects will require considerable material and financial resources, which makes them a major sphere for the employment of the funds and specialists released in the process of disarmament.

Huge investments will be needed to resolve the world's energy problems, which have now become particularly acute in the industrialised capitalist states. International cooperation in this area is unquestionably of mutual benefit, this having been proved by the practice of recent years.

Much remains to be done, for instance, in the sphere of joint exploration of outer space. Some programmes of this nature are being successfully carried out; this area could easily employ a much larger number of scientists and engineers and utilise considerable additional material resources.

Progress in disarmament and in reducing military budgets creates the possibility of sharply increasing aid to the developing countries. In the early 1970s total world military expenditures were some 30 times the level of such aid, which amounted to about 7,000 million dollars (0.33 per cent of the GNP of the donor countries, or 10 per cent of the investments in the developing countries).⁷ Many scientists believe that it would be easier to use the capacities of military production for these purposes than even to reconverse these capacities for internal consumption.

THE THIRD WORLD AND THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS

B. Sapozhnikov (Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences): In pursuing a policy of militarisation, of spurring armaments the reactionary circles of the industrialised capitalist countries are seeking to compel the states that have liberated themselves from colonialism to spend large sums on military preparations, on the purchase and manufacture of expensive modern armaments and military equipment. These states are thereby forced to

make unproductive use of funds and resources vital to their industrial development, the intensification of their agriculture and the satisfaction of basic social and cultural requirements. The purpose of this imperialist policy is obvious: to preserve and deepen the economic dependence of the young states on the former colonial powers, to create springboards for neocolonialist activities and split the ranks of the liberated states, of the non-alignment movement.

One of the methods of whipping up tension in Asia is the policy pursued by the imperialist states of maintaining discredited military groups (such as CENTO and SEATO). The accompanying anti-communist and chauvinistic propaganda is directed not only against socialist countries but also against the Asian and African states and peoples of the national liberation zone. This propaganda is designed to divert attention from the fact that the actual threat to the independence of the Third World countries comes from neocolonialism and imperialism, from their puppets and accomplices.

The growth of expenditures on non-productive aims is painfully affecting the economic structure of these states. The diversion of large contingents of the most educated and able-bodied citizens into military service slows down the build-up, development and technical re-equipment of civilian branches of the economy. In most Asian and African countries the cost of maintaining one serviceman is at least triple the per capita income of the population. In 1973 there were about 5,300,000 men in the armed forces of the countries of East and Southeast Asia and of North Africa. For military purposes these countries spent 5 per cent of their GNP in 1970 and 5.4 per cent in 1974.

The purchases by the developing countries of costly armaments and military equipment abroad are used by the imperialist powers for political pressure, for interference in the internal affairs of these countries. According to rough estimates, the armaments and military equipment (including those presented as a "gift") purchased by Asian and African countries in 1963-1973 cost 128,600 million dollars, i.e., 9,820 million dollars annually (in fixed prices). The statistics put out by UNESCO show that in 1960-1970 the annual investments made by the developing countries of this region in economic development averaged 16,300 million dollars. The deliverance of these countries from at least part of the burden of expenditures on armaments could greatly accelerate their development.

* * *

The participants in the discussion were unanimous on the point that today there are many new aspects to the socio-economic problems of disarmament. The negative effects of the arms race, spurred by aggressive militarist circles, have become much sharper and widespread. They include not only the increasing scale on which material resources are annually expended for non-productive pur-

poses but also the aggravation of the food, raw materials and energy problems, the deterioration of the world ecological situation, and the growing non-satisfaction of the vital social and economic requirements of most of the world's population.

On the other hand, the far-reaching positive changes in the world situation and the first steps that have been taken to curb the arms race are substantially facilitating the approach to the solution of the major problems of ending the arms race. With the deepening of détente and with the supplementing of political détente with military détente real possibilities are opening up for progress towards new agreements limiting armaments and leading to disarmament.

NOTES

- ¹ *Archives of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Moscow, Vol. IV, p. 29 (in Russian).
- ² *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures*, Report of the Secretary-General, United Nations, New York, 1972, p. 16.
- ³ See *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1975, p. 3.
- ⁴ R. J. Barber, *The American Corporation. Its Power, Its Money, Its Politics*, New York, 1970, p. 186.
- ⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 25, p. 340.
- ⁶ S. Melman, *The Permanent War Economy. American Capitalism in Decline*, New York, 1974, p. 32.
- ⁷ See *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures*, New York, 1972.

Camp-Followers of Bourgeois Aesthetics

AVNER ZIS

Present-day revisionism in aesthetics is the totality of views that have developed on literature and art, the nature of artistic creativity, and the place of art in the life of society. Any analysis and criticism of the revisionists' aesthetic concepts calls for at least two demands to be met: first, it should be remembered that revisionism in aesthetics is inseparable from revisionism in politics; moreover, it is the immediate outcome of revisionism and should be regarded as a component of social recreancy in general. Secondly, just like the King in Andersen's tale, present-day revisionism despite its pretentious verbosity, is in essence "naked", its concept being tantamount to capitulation to bourgeois ideology and bourgeois aesthetics, whose camp-followers the revisionists are.

Revisionism in aesthetics is a relatively new phenomenon. Up to a certain period, revisionism as a political phenomenon did not envisage any direct address to aesthetic problems. When Kautsky or Bernstein, in dealing with art for their own political ends, tried to empty it of all social content, they did so in the main with the purpose of illustrating or bringing out certain points: they drew upon art to bolster the political views they were voicing; in other instances they appealed with that purpose to the realm of morals or to other phenomena in society's spiritual life.

The situation has now changed substantially. True, in dealing with aesthetics, the present-day revisionists too are interested, not so much in ascertaining the nature of artistic creativity as in utilising art problems for the purpose of political chicanery. Alfred Kosing was right in mentioning this in dealing with the writings of Ernst Fischer.

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In particular, writing on the latter's book, *Kunst und Koexistenz*, Kosing observed that it dealt least of all with art, its author being interested, not so much in aesthetics as in justification of political recreancy.¹ That is a fact, one that is true, not only of Fischer but, as a rule, of any revisionist statement on matters of art. However, in comparison with the past, present-day revisionism's attitude to questions of art possesses a new quality: when it deals with problems of aesthetics, it is not because of the personal considerations of the various authors concerned the cause being the deep-lying social patterns reflected in such writings. We have before us a range of established revisionist concepts on aesthetics. The relation between such concepts and political revisionism is a complex one: in some cases, they stem from political recreancy; in others they lead up to the latter. As a rule, however, they are closely interlinked.

The emergence of so specific a phenomenon as revisionism in aesthetics has been the result of two causes: first, the exacerbation of the ideological struggle which has involved all areas of society's spiritual life; second, the mounting role of literature and art in society. In greater measure certain other forms of social consciousness, literature and art are in immediate conjunction with the problem of man, which has become one of the focal ideological issues of our times. That is why aesthetics has become a kind of touchstone, not only for the artistic stand of individual authors or literary trends but also for the ideological and political positions they hold. Just as revisionism in politics means a retreat from the principles of revolutionary Marxism, idealisation of bourgeois democracy and kow-towing to bourgeois ideology—i.e., revisionism in aesthetics—are expressed in a rejection of the fundamental ideas of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on art and of the principles of the aesthetics of socialist realism. In essence, present-day revisionism has turned away from realism, and gives backing to the slanderous fabrications of bourgeois experts in aesthetics and art. Its capitulationist essence has found the strongest expression in the struggle against the Leninist theory of reflection and the principle of partisanship of art. In this, revisionism has joined forces with bourgeois art ideology, particularly in the aesthetics of modernism.

Criticism of revisionist concepts in art, and the struggle against them are of vast practical importance. Already in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, the Soviet press published material containing serious and convincing criticism of revisionism in aesthetics, coming from A. Yegorov, V. Ozerov, M. Ovsyannikov, A. Myasnikov, M. Livshits, Yu. Borev, B. Suchkov, A. Dymshits, V. Shcherbina, Ya. Elvsberg, and a number of other writers on problems of philosophy, art and literature. In the course of today's ideological struggle, we do not only come up against anti-Marxist ideas of a purely theoretical nature, but have to counteract the influence of those ideas on people working in various branches of art. In the conditions of bourgeois society, even democratic and humanistic art workers are not always immune to the impact of bourgeois ideas, this of course enhancing the danger of revisionism.

During the last decade, revisionist views on art have found their most complete expression in the writings of Ernst Fischer and Roger Garaudy, former "Marxists" and former communists, who stand in the van of anti-Marxism and anti-Sovietism in aesthetics. True, both continue to call themselves Marxists, moreover, they both claim that their writings express a creative development of Marxism. In actual fact, however, the revisionists in aesthetics are merely papering over the cracks in outworn concepts, utilising reactionary aesthetics in their struggle against realistic art. Before going over to an analysis of the aesthetic views of Fischer and Garaudy, we shall note, at least in a general form, the coincidence of their positions and those of bourgeois ideologists already in their attitudes to the aesthetic heritage of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Bourgeois literature has meted the same treatment to the literary aesthetic heritage of our classics as it has to the entire doctrine of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. True even in the camp of Marxism's enemies, it would be hard to name any expert in the realm of aesthetics or literature who has not addressed himself in some measure to Marx, Engels and Lenin to draw upon their understanding of art and the nature of artistic creativity. That does not mean, of course, that our ideological enemies have thereby recognised the fundamental significance of Marxist-Leninist aesthetic ideas for the present-day science of art and of the artistic reflection of reality in the broader sense. Neither can the inference be drawn that these people, or most of them, recognise the role played by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics in the development of art and literary studies throughout the world. On the contrary, such people often express doubt and even negation of the very existence of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

A special role in this connection is performed by the revisionists of today. True, in his book, *Marxisme du XX^e siècle*, Garaudy writes that Marxism provides answers to questions raised by the development of present-day art, yet he returns to old and long-rejected ideas that claim that Marxism-Leninism does not yet exist as a complete aesthetic doctrine. He thinks that the classics of Marxism-Leninism have expressed important propositions, which, however, pertain to an appraisal of individual works of art or characterise certain phenomena in art, without having created any aesthetic theory, a task today's Marxists have yet to accomplish. Similar views have also been voiced by Ernst Fischer.

Marxist aesthetics cannot be considered in isolation from Marxist philosophy and sociology, dialectical and historical materialism being the theoretical and methodological foundation of Marxist aesthetics. True, the classics of Marxism-Leninism have dealt with aesthetic theory in lesser degree than with their philosophical or economic doctrine. It does not follow, however, that classical Marxist literature contains no complete and fundamental aesthetic doctrine. When we come up against Garaudy's distortions of theory, we cannot but recall Lenin's ironical remark in respect of Mikhailovsky. The latter had been poring through Marx's works in search of logic with a capital L, but had failed to discern the logic of *Capital*. Are not the latter-day

fighters against dogmatism poring through the writings of our classics in search of Aesthetics with a capital A, while failing to discern the rich content of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics? In the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin we find not only a most profound substantiation of the theory of reflection and of the materialist understanding of history, whose significance to the moulding of genuinely scientific aesthetics is generally recognised, but also the posing and theoretical elaboration of the fundamental problems of the science of aesthetics itself.

In the revisionists' writings, the rejection of the fundamental ideas of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics is camouflaged with the threadbare device of "criticism of dogmatic views" and a demand for freedom of polemics in science. It goes without saying that among Marxist scholars, polemics on aesthetics is not only permissible but essential. Today's art practice, the penetration of the artistic into the most various spheres of human activities, as well as the nature and place of art in the life of society in the age of science are presenting new and complex questions to aesthetic theory which call for a comprehensive account to be taken of the specificity and significance of the various facets of art and, in a number of cases, for a new look at many problems already dealt with in the history of aesthetic thought of the past. The summation of present-day artistic experience cannot but be influenced by various approaches; neither can different viewpoints fail to reveal themselves when the essence of various questions of art is delved into. A careful study and comparison of different views, their mutual enrichment, cannot but benefit the development of our aesthetic theory. In this, certain differences may arise between us on problems awaiting solution, but the limits of such differences are not boundless: all adherents of Marxism-Leninism are united in their understanding of the fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism, including the ascertainment of its aesthetic doctrine. The stand of such people as Fischer and Garaudy is marked by treatment and appraisal of the aesthetic theory of Marxism that are erroneous in principle.

In 1967, parodying the title of Garaudy's well-known book, the German Marxist philosopher Robert Steigerwald said Fischer's book *Kunst und Koexistenz* was an attempt to boundlessly extend the borders of Marxism. He entitled his review of the book *Marxismus ohne Ufer*. Just as Garaudy "extends" the bounds of realism so much that the latter has been ousted by modernism, Fischer has interpreted (or, to be more exact, distorted) Marxism so broadly that, in his writings, the latter yields place to bourgeois ideology. Fischer's and Garaudy's departure from the fundamental ideas of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and then their complete rupture with Marxism-Leninism are most instructive. These erstwhile members of the communist movement did not begin their ideological retreat with a direct rejection of their parties' political line. On the contrary, in the 1960s the two first criticised what they called the dogmatic assertions, mostly in the area of literature and art, contraposing their stand to the line pursued by the communist parties mainly in the sphere of policies

in art. However, step by step, the logic of their ideological struggle led them to political treachery.

Garaudy's well-known book *D'un réalisme sans rivages*, which came out in 1963, confined itself to aesthetic problems. The author did not deal directly with questions of ideology in the broader sense of the word, and seemed to avoid any direct criticism of the CPSU's policy in the field of art, and the theory of socialist realism. However, in his following work *Karl Marx* (1964) and then in his *Marxisme du XX^e siècle* (1966), *Le problème chinois* (1968), *Lénine* (1968), and *Pour un modèle français du socialisme* (1969), Garaudy devoted ever more space to a broader range of questions: though problems of aesthetics come in for sufficient attention in this book, they stand in the background, pride of place going to questions of politics and ideology. This is all the more true of Garaudy's publications in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia and following his expulsion from the French Communist Party. In them a revisionism which has turned into an undisguised anti-Marxism has found complete expression.

A similar path was travelled by Ernst Fischer. *Von der Notwendigkeit der Kunst* (1959) in some way anticipated Garaudy's concept of "boundless realism", standing very close to that concept in nature. In the same way as Garaudy, the Austrian author in his following publications, and, in the first place, his article "Marxismus und Ideologie" (1965), which had formerly come out under the title "Closer to the Truth" and especially in his book *Kunst und Koexistenz* (1966), extended the scope of the problems under examination, from problems of art to overall problems of politics. In books he wrote jointly with Franz Marek—*Was Marx wirklich sagte* (1968) and *Was Lenin wirklich sagte* (1969)—questions of art came in for limited attention, being subordinated to other matters even more than in Garaudy's writings. The books the two authors published after their expulsion from the Communist Party of Austria, namely, *Die Revolution ist anders* and *Reflections on the Position of Art and Two Other Essays* are flagrantly anti-Marxist even in form. Up to a certain time, Fischer's and Garaudy's revisionist writings displayed, in a certain sense, a kind of "division of labour": the former dealt in the main with social problems, the latter with purely aesthetic ones. This distinction later disappeared.

In his positive appraisal of Fischer's book, *Von der Notwendigkeit der Kunst*, the British critic Kenneth Tynan alleged that Marxism had long stood in need of its "own" Aristotle; he felt that Fischer could well perform the mission of reformer of Marxist theory. It may well be asked: why did Tynan have such praise for Fischer? Fischer is one of the most furious propagandists of the concepts of the expulsion of ideology from various spheres of society's spiritual life, and especially art. Both in the above-mentioned article "Marxismus und Ideologie" and in his book *Kunst und Koexistenz*, the author resolutely contrasts such notions as ideology and ideas: ideas are alleged to express the actual movement of life, while the ideology is made up of spiritual stereotype which serves the interests of the ruling classes. That is why ideologies are "fortresses", while ideas are "free

territories". To be the Marxist one should not isolate oneself in ideology, Fischer asserted; one should eschew such evaluative terms as "revisionism", "dogmatism", "decadence", "bourgeoisdom", and the like. Only the alternative "true" or "false" is permissible. In explaining the meaning of that alternative, Fischer claimed that ideology always operates as false and mystified consciousness while Marxism is a science whose aim is achievement of the truth. The blending of the concepts "Marxism" and "ideology", the author goes on to assert, is equivalent to uniting such things as "science" and "utopia". That was why this latter-day "Aristotle" found it necessary to free Marxism of its utopian accretions, i. e., ideology.

Fischer was well aware that Marx and Engels did not give a single interpretation to the concept of ideology; in his writings, he himself pointed out that the classics of Marxism-Leninism used that concept in different respects. Nevertheless, he kept on asserting that any ideology is a mystified form of consciousness. True, Marx and Engels, in some of their writings, did regard ideology as false and vague consciousness, this referring to bourgeois thinking and speculative constructions, for example, the young-Hegelian philosophy. However, this has nothing in common with socialist ideology, which is a scientific expression of the fundamental interests of the working class. The irreconcilability of bourgeois and socialist ideologies, their complete oppositeness can in a certain sense be expressed as a manifestation of the oppositeness in principle between illusory and genuine consciousness. That is why only Fischer's conscious rejection of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of ideology, and his revisionist stand can explain his concept of the de-ideologisation of spiritual culture, a concept which is in essence an expression of ideological capitulation. It is this stand that has conditioned the entire range of ideas propagated by Fischer in the field of aesthetics.

As Fischer sees it, art, like science and philosophy, experiences in certain measure the influence of ideology, that influence being, as a rule, negative, damaging and destructive to artistic and scientific values. He sees the actual content of art and science in their being, not ideological forms but, on the contrary, a rebellion of reality against false consciousness. Any genuine artist, Fischer claims, is always ruled by partisanship, which comes out against the existent reality towards which it holds a critical stand. These general and, it might seem, abstract ideas go hand in hand with highly concrete statements of an undisguised anti-socialist and anti-Soviet nature. In his book *Kunst und Koexistenz*, Fischer frequently expressed admiration of our country, the October Revolution and its impact on the entire course of world history. At the same time, however, the author spared no effort in defending the threadbare idea that the Russian revolution infringed upon the law-governed pattern of history, and that it took place, not because of any objective necessity but in consequence of subjective and fortuitous motivations. For that reason, the socialist revolution in Russia, the author asserted, accomplished none of the tasks proper of socialist changes, first and foremost, the problem of

man, the creation of decent conditions of human life. An alienation uncanceled by revolution is claimed to exist in the socialist countries. That determines the task of art, which in essence is one and the same both in the capitalist and the socialist countries, viz., the revelation of that alienation and a struggle against inhuman conditions of life. That was why Fischer regarded as great those artists who came out against alienation, not only in the capitalist world but also in the socialist.

Hence his non-acceptance of socialist realism as a doctrine that is allegedly regimented from above and is therefore not in keeping with the nature of art, which has always been critical and oppositional. So resolute a defence of the idea of the "partisanship" of artistic creativity cannot but lead to attacks on the Leninist principle of the party spirit in art. Like many others of our ideological opponents, Fischer insists that Lenin's article "The Party Organisation and Party Literature" deals not with the party spirit of art and literature, but solely with publicist writings, the Party press. At best, he is inclined to agree that the idea of the party spirit in literature is present in Lenin's article as a desideratum, but in no way as a basic proposition.

Both in Fischer's writings and in what has been said and written by Garaudy, much space has been devoted to declarations on the role of art in the ideological conflicts of our times, but all these assertions become meaningless because in them art itself is "liberated" from all ideological content. Unlike the ideological factors, which disunite people and nations, art, like science, helps to bring them together, Fischer claims. Their aim is the integration of various social forces, not their contraposition. Addressing himself to concrete manifestations of art, Fischer notes that Bertolt Brecht won prominence, not as bearer of a definite ideology but as an excellent poet. In Fischer's opinion, Picasso's art failed to reflect either the ideas of the decadent bourgeoisie or those of the working class. Art's participation in solving the vast problems of our times should—as pointed out in *Kunst und Koexistenz* in respect of Picasso—present a something that is the outcome of the interaction of all classes, nations and social systems. This stand of Fischer's rubs shoulders with concepts characteristic of anti-Marxist literary and art studies.

Garaudy, who fully shares Fischer's stand, has approached a rejection of the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics from a somewhat different angle. Garaudy is opposed to the aesthetics of socialist realism, which he is constantly disparaging as "idyllic irrealism", pseudo-orthodoxy. Neither does he accept the traditions of Renaissance art, or 19th century critical realism, which he considers old-fashioned and contemplative. However, Garaudy did not introduce his attacks against realism and the Marxist-Leninist understanding of art with a rejection of the socialist ideology, which was something he was to achieve later, or with a denial of the principles of the Leninist theory of reflection. It was not fortuitous that, as far back as 1963, Fischer had high words of praise for Garaudy's book *D'un réalisme sans rivages* for the author having rejected the theory of reflection, this, according to the Austrian revisionist, being of "decisive importance for the development and for

the prospects of art".² In exactly the same way, it is not by chance that, in his later writings, Garaudy expressed opposition, not only to the application of the theory of reflection to art but even to its overall significance to philosophy. Thus, in his booklet *Lénine* (1968), he wrote that the proposition elaborated by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* that our knowledge is an approximately faithful copy of objective reality was "obsolete" and provided grounds for "dogmatic speculations".³ As we all know, this proposition of Lenin's expresses the very essence of the materialist world outlook and formulates the materialist solution of the fundamental question of philosophy. In this case too, Garaudy has not shown any originality in coming out against this proposition: he has gone over to the stand of those bourgeois philosophers who consider the distinction between materialism and idealism "outmoded" and incapable of expressing the fundamental trends in development of philosophical thought in the 20th century. He has thereby come out against the main ideas in materialism; in fact, he has broken with them in particular when he goes over from questions of philosophy to those of aesthetics.

Garaudy's rejection of the fundamental ideas of the theory of reflection goes hand in hand with his struggle against realism, his denial of the cognitive content of art.

The bourgeois and revisionist concepts of the de-ideologisation of art have frequently come in for criticism in our theoretical literature. However, insufficient light has been shed on a characteristic feature of such concepts: de-ideologisation is intimately linked with the de-epistemologisation of art, with a denial or at least with a belittlement of its cognitive significance. It is quite logical for the adherents of the de-ideologisation of art to deny the significance of the theory of reflection for an understanding of the nature of art, the significance of the application of its principles to any analysis of concrete phenomena in art. A wide range of "arguments" are brought forward in this connection: the theory of reflection, it is asserted, is of importance only for an understanding of scientific cognition; the application of the principles of the theory of reflection to research into art invariably leads to a denial of the specific nature of art, to an erasure of the distinction between art and science; the theory of reflection, it is claimed, almost serves the concept of a naturalist depiction of reality; it is an obstacle to any penetration into the underlying significance of phenomena, and limits the means of expression at the disposal of art; observance of the demands presented by the theory of reflection allegedly hampers any insight into the future, any prevision of the course of events, any attempt to create pictures of life, by hobbling the artist's imagination, depriving art of the possibilities of carrying out its "prophetic" mission, and so on and so forth. In this article, we have not set ourselves the task of any special analysis of all these inventions, which are either based on an absolutely false understanding of the theory of reflection or are linked with concepts directed against the realistic essence of art. The de-epistemologisation and de-ideologisation of art are two sides of one and the same medal.

One should also take note of a curious paradox. Until recently, all Marxists always held—and, of course, quite correctly—that one of the most essential features of the Marxist understanding of art consists in a recognition of its cognitive significance. Today, some “Marxists” have come out against this most important proposition, which they claim is an alien accretion in Marxism and is alien to its nature. In this connection, Garaudy has produced, in his book *Marxisme du XX^e siècle*, a most original argument: Marx and Engels borrowed their epistemological ideas on art from Hegel’s aesthetics, these ideas being an uneliminated rudiment of Hegelianism in Marxism. From the Marxist point of view, its elaboration of the epistemological concept is an expression, not of the weaker aspect of Hegel’s aesthetics but of its stronger aspects, although that concept is not identical with the Marxist understanding of the problem. The weaker aspect of Hegel’s aesthetics found expression, not in a recognition of the cognitive nature of art but in its regarding art as a degree of cognition standing lower than the scientific and theoretical achievement of truth. That was why Hegel failed to elaborate in sufficient measure and on the plane of theory the question of the specific nature of artistic cognition and its essential distinction from scientific cognition. As for concrete judgements on various phenomena in art and its essential features, Hegel’s aesthetics contains an inexhaustible wealth of surmises, ideas and propositions, which deal with the specifics of artistic cognition with deep insight. Far from rejecting these propositions of the Hegelian aesthetics, Marxism naturally adopted them in a creative spirit, giving them a materialist reconsideration and development. In particular, this was expressed in Marxism substantiating art and science as something that does not repeat itself in the other, therefore being necessary forms of cognition that cannot replace each other.

It is in different ways that the revisionists approach a consideration (or, more precisely their revision) of Marxist aesthetics; some of them criticise it for its containing a recognition of the cognitive content of art; on the contrary, others, whose mouthpiece Garaudy is, consider that in its essence the Marxist approach to art and epistemological concept are different and hardly compatible. With Garaudy, criticism of the epistemological approach thus operates as a means of “defending” Marxism from dogmatism.

Garaudy’s first incursions into aesthetics in the 1960s were already directed against the epistemological aspects of aesthetics. His writings patently presented an artificial alternative; what is art—a form of social consciousness or creative activity; a reflection of life or the creation of a new reality; a kind of cognition or a kind of labour?

There is something logical in this anti-dialectical posing of the question of the essence of art in Garaudy’s concept. By disregarding the multiform nature of art and by stressing an understanding of art only as creative activity, the author has freed himself from the need to establish the deep-lying social essence and significance of artistic creativity. As he wrote, art “is a form of work, and not in the first place a form of knowledge”.⁴ Art, in his opinion, includes a definite

cognitive element as a form of labour or, in other words, it has a certain cognitive content only in the measure in which that is demanded by artistic activities as a form of work. In Garaudy’s concept, an inclination towards the labour essence of art, this together with a rejection of the principles of Lenin’s theory of reflection in respect of an analysis of the nature of artistic creativity, has most patently led to an anti-Marxist concept of art as a whole. Here he has most frankly revealed himself as a camp-follower of bourgeois aesthetics.

It is not simply in a denial of the cognitive significance of art that bourgeois aesthetics has revealed its radical methodological shortcoming. It contains two trends: one that consists in a frank rejection of the epistemological understanding of art, and another which, on the contrary, regards art almost as the sole form of a cognition of life. On the methodological plane, their oppositeness is quite illusory.

For instance, the French neo-Thomist philosopher Jacques Maritain considers that the trend towards any enhancement of the cognitive principle in art leads to its destruction: “It is clear,” he has written, “that if art were a means of cognition, it would stand far lower than geometry.”⁵ In the opinion of another bourgeois expert on aesthetics Nicolai Hartmann, the fatal error made by aesthetics has found expression in a view on aesthetic contemplation (including art) as a kind of cognition. However, a special brand of epistemologism, which I would call negative, “co-exists” quite peacefully with this anti-epistemologism in principle. This stand has found expression in the philosophy and aesthetics of irrationalism. Beginning with Schopenhauer and Nietzsche and continuing with Bergson and the existentialists Heidegger and Jaspers, idealistic aesthetics has denied the cognitive possibilities not of art but, on the contrary, of science. The intuitivists have declared that rationalist thinking is untenable, reason is bankrupt, while science is incapable of penetrating into the nature of the world about us and into the essence of man. To this “bankrupt” science intuitivist philosophy has contraposed art which, thanks to the artist’s special mystical vision, is called upon to become the genuine means of gaining an understanding of life. In the intuitivist concept, artistic intuition enjoys tremendous advantages as compared with scientific abstraction. It strives, not to penetrate into overall law-governed patterns but to express what is individual, this, the intuitivists assert, being the ultimate aim of cognition. One might express the intuitivist viewpoint in the following words, somewhat rephrasing Maritain: “If science were a means of cognition, it would stand far lower than painting (or any other kind of art).”

It is quite obvious that in both cases a metaphysical methodology is to be seen: science and art are not regarded as two qualitatively distinct and non-interchangeable forms of cognitive activities, while, as an alternative, only one of these two types of thinking is advanced as having cognitive significance.

Garaudy’s concept is obviously marked by an eclectic hash of these trends. In his defence of his anti-epistemological stand, he

writes that the most ordinary historian provides much more for an understanding of events than the greatest artist can. From this point of view, it can be said, for instance, that for an understanding of the Renaissance we should address ourselves, not to Shakespeare's tragedies but to a textbook on history, and that even the most masterly of his tragedies cannot provide the knowledge to be found in an historical treatise. Of course, the knowledge provided in a textbook is not contained in Shakespeare's tragedies, but Garaudy gives no reply to another question, namely, whether one can find in a textbook that which is given in Shakespeare's works? His silence on this matter is no accident, since a correct answer to this question will destroy all his concept and will reveal the untenability of his understanding of art as myth-making. In contraposing myths to knowledge, Garaudy has returned to the theory of self-expression in its worst variants. That is why he considers that "art pursues the mission, not of reproducing the world but of expressing man's aspirations".⁶ He goes on to assert that there can be only one reply to the question of the subject of any picture: "It represents him who has made it." In this interpretation, the subject of a picture "is not something seen in nature, but the artist himself in an act of creation by which he expresses his intimate jubilation".⁷ We do not in any way deny the significance of the artist's self-expression, but when the latter is seen as the gist of content in art and is contrasted to a truthful reproduction of reality itself, the door is flung wide open to subjectivist arbitrariness, this signifying a break with realism.

The concept that art consists in myth-creating does not belong to Garaudy and has not even been given any original elaboration in his writings. Attempts to prove that art consists in myth-making have been made for many decades by numerous bourgeois philosophers and aestheticians. With Garaudy himself, there is a special chapter entitled "Le marxisme et l'art" in his book *Marxisme du XX^e siècle*, in which the author's understanding of myths is contrasted with the views of many philosophers of the past and present, including those of Berkley, Freud, Jung, and Cassirer. However, Garaudy's departure from these views lacks any convincingness. In reality, the views of Garaudy and those of Ernst Cassirer or Susanne K. Langer, for instance, are not so far removed from each other. In essence, the French author has, in many respects, returned to their theoretical constructions. In regarding any great work of art as a myth and in seeing its significance in its ability to symbolically penetrate into the future, Garaudy has merely repeated the well-known judgements of Cassirer and Langer. Thus, for instance, Garaudy regards symbols, which are the language of myths, as a kind of third signal system, by analogy with the famous first and second signal systems advanced by Ivan Pavlov. With Garaudy, the symbolical form of culture differs from forms which operate with notional means of expression in it being directed, not to actually existing reality but to that reality which that symbolical form has prophetically foreseen but which does not yet exist. According to the author its main feature is the moment of absence, not that of presence. However, it was Cassirer who, long

before Garaudy, suggested reducing the mythological forms of culture to three spheres: art, language and science.

Garaudy does not employ Cassirer's term "mythological forms of culture", but in fact he adheres to the same stand. In his well-known report on "Mythischer, ästhetischer und theoretischer Raum", Cassirer developed the idea of aesthetic creativity as activities on the foundation of pure feelings and fantasy (this reminding us of Garaudy's moment of absence, not of presence) in which he saw the essence of myth-creating. "Aesthetic space is genuine *Lebensraum* which, as distinct from theoretical space, which comes from the power of pure thinking, is built on pure feelings and fantasy."⁸

Of course there are certain distinctions between the views of Cassirer and Garaudy but the sources and the character of the latter's myth-making constructions are easily to be seen in Cassirer's ideas. Here is another example. According to Langer, any conscious act is the outcome of symbolically achieved experience.⁹ Consequently she says that it is the function of symbolical forms to create objects of knowledge, "to articulate perceived experience".¹⁰ In this instance, these words have come, not from Garaudy but from Langer, but if we did not name their author they might well be taken as coming from Garaudy. Of course, the establishing of similarity in quotations is not a method of scientific proof, but in this instance we are dealing, not with similarity of expression but with a coincidence of stands.

Of course, as very correctly pointed out by T. Pavlov, myths have not only been of negative importance in the history of knowledge; they have also had a definitely positive significance. However, we are in full agreement with the Bulgarian Marxist philosopher: the substitution of myth-creating for artistic ideas as a kind of subjective images of the objective world leads to phenomenologism and other idealistic trends which reduce cognition to self-contemplation in the subject, to an act of "pure" consciousness.

It was Fischer, who in an article "Die Mystifikation der Wirklichkeit" (1958) described as "shoddy terminology" attempts to designate as a myth the extraction of the features of the universal from the particular. "If one takes this road," he wrote, "one can designate as myths *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Faust*, *Comédie humaine*, Tolstoy's *Resurrection* and Gorky's *The Mother* and only arrive at the idea of the mythical losing all and any definiteness and merging with the idea of the essential."¹¹ But it is literally just that which Garaudy has done by conferring the appellation of mythical heroes, not only on Hector and Ulysses but also on Pantagruel, Don Quixote, Faust, and Jean-Christophe. Thus, what seemed impermissible to Fischer in 1958 was proclaimed by Garaudy in his *Marxisme du XX^e siècle* (1966) as an antithesis of the "dogmatic" interpretation of art, and that, not as a polemic with his Austrian fellow-thinker. Several years before the appearance of *Marxisme du XX^e siècle*, Fischer also radically reviewed his attitude to the concept of art as myth-making. In the early 1960s he too began to see an important and, in some periods, even a decisive function of artistic creativity in the creation of myths.

It is easy to see what accounts for this metamorphosis. This has been well done by Fischer himself, who wrote in 1963: "This question of myths—so decisive for the development and prospects of art, i.e., the relation between a critical stand and the force of myth-making, and a thorough break with the 'theory of reflection'—will call for a wide range of efforts, reflections and discussions."¹² It is quite obvious that the real meaning and content of Fischer's and Garaudy's efforts to spread their concepts of myth-making consist in their rupture with the theory of reflection, and consequently with realism in art.

It is not easy to establish whether it was from myth-making concepts that Fischer and Garaudy arrived at the negation of realism or, on the contrary whether it was the rejection of the theory of reflection and realism that brought them to a recognition and propaganda of myth-making. One thing is indisputable: in revisionist concepts, the rejection of realism and the preaching of myth-making are logically intertwined. It is quite in order to regard the concept of myth-making as a theoretical expression of the practice of modernism. "The realism of our time is the creator of myths, an epical realism, a Promethean realism"¹³—this is how Garaudy concluded his book. In the 1960s, he brought out about a dozen of books as well as numerous articles but his *D'un réalisme sans rivages* remains his most "popular" work, for it advances a kind of "programme". This book has been exhaustively dealt with in Soviet literature and in the press of the other socialist countries, which has described it as a writing in which modernism has struck root as the "realism" of our times.¹⁴

Garaudy and Fischer have based their concept of "boundless realism" on the need for a struggle against a narrow-minded understanding of its essence. Of course, all the radical changes made in reality bring new artistic traditions in their train, raise artistic problems, and give rise to new means of artistic expression. With all its sweep, realism is not boundless, its boundaries being determined, not by the specific features of the language of art but by the nature and content of the ideological and aesthetic perception of reality. The Programme of the CPSU, the decisions of its 24th and 25th congresses emphasise the range of opportunities for artistic creativity in socialist society, this finding expression in a broad variety of styles, genres, and the like, all of which have been evolved on the basis of a single artistic method.

It is most characteristic that the banner-bearers of "boundless realism", who recognise no restrictions for present-day bourgeois art, have refused to recognise the rights of socialist realism. Thus, the concept of "boundlessness" has proved hemmed in within a rigid framework. A sheer non-acceptance of socialist realism; denigration of art and literature in socialist society; a striving to impose the creative principles of modernism on artists of the socialist countries and progressive artists in capitalist society—such are the characteristic features of Garaudy's and Fischer's activities in the realm of aesthetics.

It was quite recently that the two men, in advancing and erecting their aesthetic constructions, made reference to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, whose principles, they claimed, were being distorted in the practice of cultural work in the socialist countries. However, the slogan of "Back to Marx!" is merely a means of political speculation and it is quite natural for the present-day revisionists not only to come out ever more frequently against the communist parties' policies in the sphere of art but also to revise the most important propositions of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Moreover, the significance of the classics of Marxism-Leninism is belittled, and their role is distorted. In their book, *Was Lenin wirklich sagte*, Franz Marek and Ernst Fischer have rejected the philosophical heritage of Leninism; they have contraposed Lenin to Marx and have returned to the old legend that Marx was primarily a man of theory, and Lenin, of practice. Fischer has come out against Lenin as a philosopher; Garaudy has "criticised" Lenin for his having failed to discern the significance of 20th-century artistic seekings, and so on and so forth.

Fischer's and Garaudy's books and articles published in recent years after their expulsion from their respective communist parties, have added nothing essential to their anti-Marxist concepts. However, the evolution of these authors, as noted above, and their going over to the stand of bourgeois ideology have patently been consummated. All their writings during this period, as for instance Fischer's *Die Revolution ist anders* (1972) and Garaudy's *Garaudy par Garaudy* and *L'alternative* present an open break with the theory and practice of the communist movement, one that had been completed in the previous decade.

The gist of the matter does not lie, for instance, in the book *Garaudy par Garaudy* refusing to regard not only art but all cognition as a whole as a reflection of reality and not only in proclaiming art but even mathematics as forms of myth-making. In his book, scientific analysis yields place to a subjectivist toying with metaphors and mankind's actual history is called a "mixture of mathematics and poetry".¹⁵ Garaudy and Fischer have done that dozens of times in the past, both directly and indirectly. Fischer's and Garaudy's latest publications do not belong to the realm of epistemology or aesthetics, though both frequently touch upon questions both of the theory of knowledge and the theory of art. These books pertain to politics, and nothing but politics. There cannot be the least doubt as to the kind of politics they deal with. In an interview with Fischer published in November 1969 by the West German *Spiegel*, the Austrian "theorist of communism", as the editor described Fischer, called Marxism-Leninism a theological notion; as for his own political creed, he described it in no ambiguous terms: "I am no prodigal son who returns home. I have left my homeland and I am going farther. I am not returning either to Social-Democracy or to my father's house. But, as a Communist I am going farther into the unknown."¹⁶ To find out what Fischer means by this "unknown", one has only to read his *Die Revolution ist anders*, in which, replying to questions put to him by "critically-minded students" the author characterised the world's

future as follows, fully in keeping with Marcuse: "Neither the American way of life, nor the methods of the Soviet Union."¹⁷ As for Garaudy, he has renounced his past in the Conclusion of *L'alternative*, one of his latest books, in the following words: "This book...represents in my life at once a break and an accomplishment, a tearing up and a striking of new roots."¹⁸ This "striking of new roots" as the author himself admits, consists in the atheism he professed for so many years yielding place to a discovery of Christianity, and in his rejecting the very concept of the Communist Party he belonged to for 37 years.

The circuit has been completed, beginning with a "defence" of Marxism-Leninism from dogmatic distortions, and ending with shameful attacks on Marxism—its theory and practice, its aesthetics and policies.

In the report made by the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Congress of the Party, Leonid Brezhnev paid special attention to the way the nationalists and revisionists make use of bourgeois propaganda in the struggle against the communist movement. The bourgeois ideologists, he pointed out, seemed to say: "Just give us proof that you are anti-Soviet, and we shall be prepared to proclaim that you are the true 'Marxists', and that you are taking completely 'independent attitudes'. The course of events has shown, incidentally, that such men also take the way of struggle against the Communist parties in their own countries. Examples of this are renegades of the types of Garaudy in France, Fischer in Austria, Petkov in Venezuela, and the 'Manifesto' group leaders in Italy. The fraternal parties regard the fight against such elements as an important condition for strengthening their ranks. Consequently, even these examples—and their number could easily be multiplied—testify that the struggle against revisionism continues to be an important task of the Communist parties."¹⁹

Soviet scholars consider a criticism of revisionism in aesthetics an essential component of the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

NOTES

- ¹ See A. Kosing, *Ernst Fischer—ein moderner Marxist?* Berlin, 1970.
- ² *Weg und Ziel*, 1963, No. 11, p. 736.
- ³ R. Garaudy, *Lénine*, Paris, 1968, p. 112.
- ⁴ *Les lettres françaises*, 1969, January 1-February 5, p. 13.
- ⁵ *Modern Aesthetics*, Moscow, 1957, p. 90 (in Russian).
- ⁶ R. Garaudy, *D'un réalisme sans rivages*, Paris, 1963, p. 58.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ⁸ E. Cassirer, "Mythischer, ästhetischer und theoretischer Raum", *Vierter Kongress für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunst, Wissenschaft, Hamburg, October 7-9, 1930*, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 31.
- ⁹ See S. K. Langer, *Mind: an Essay on Human Feeling*, 1967, No. 1, p. 100.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

- ¹¹ E. Fischer, "Die Mystifikation der Wirklichkeit", *Sinn und Form*, 1958, Issue 11, p. 84.
- ¹² E. Fischer, "Realismus ohne Ufer", *Weg und Ziel*, Wien, 1963, No. 11, p. 736.
- ¹³ R. Garaudy, *D'un réalisme sans rivages*, Paris, 1963, p. 250.
- ¹⁴ In the above quoted *D'un réalisme sans rivages*, Garaudy asserts that in the Soviet interpretation Claude Monet and Van Gogh, Renoir and Gauguin, Cézanne, Picasso, Matisse, Léger and other artists were all modernists. It is true that our literature did once contain certain erroneous judgements on the work of these painters, but it would be a distortion of the truth to link these names with the Soviet criticism of modernism.
- ¹⁵ R. Garaudy, *Garaudy par Garaudy*, Paris, 1970, p. 202.
- ¹⁶ *Der Spiegel*, November 11, 1969, No. 47, p. 152.
- ¹⁷ E. Fischer, *Die Revolution ist anders, Ernst Fischer stellt sich zehn Fragen kritischer Schüler*, Reinbek, Rowohlt, 1971, p. 34.
- ¹⁸ R. Garaudy, *L'alternative*, Paris, 1972.
- ¹⁹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 27-28.

GENERAL MEETING OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which took place on May 31-June 1, 1976, in Moscow discussed the Academy's tasks with regard to carrying out the historic decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and enhancing the role of science in communist construction.

The main report on this theme was made by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who stressed the dialectical correlation of science, the scientific and technological revolution and social progress.

The Party's and people's high appreciation of the importance of science in our society and of the Academy of Sciences as the headquarters and centre of all fundamental researches, the reporter noted, inspires scientists and scholars to further raise the role of science in the building of the new society and to strengthen its ties with practice. He then dwelt on the concrete tasks facing scientists in the sphere of creating the material and technical basis of communism, accelerating scientific and technical progress and

raising the effectiveness of production, improving the well-being of the people, shaping a communist world outlook in the working people.

The general direction of the Academy's activities is continued researches into the laws of nature and social development, the substantiation of fundamentally new ways and possibilities for transforming the productive forces and creating the technology of the future. In the field of the social sciences the main efforts are directed towards gaining a thorough theoretical understanding of the present in all its aspects, towards further elaborating the scientific foundations of the home and foreign policies of the Party and the State.

Fedoseyev stressed the need to improve the forms of work that make for a creative atmosphere in research institutions. Exchange of views, scientific debates and discussion, he said, are the best soil for the growth of scientific cadres, it prevents conservatism and the stagnation of thought. Discussions must be centred on questions that are of vital importance. However, he noted, a creative

atmosphere must by no means allow for moderating the principled assessment of the ideological struggle, irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology or to any kind of ideological deviations.

Fedoseyev dwelt at length on questions of international scientific cooperation. He noted that many trends of science are now being developed by the collective efforts of the scientists of the socialist countries. The Academy has extended its ties with the research centres of a number of capitalist and developing countries. Cooperation in the international arena, the reporter said in conclusion, makes for a growing contribution by scientists to the relaxation of international tension and the advancement of world science and human progress.

The meeting was addressed by Academicians A. Bayev, S. Vonsovsky, V. Ginzburg, A. Yegorov, N. Inozemtsev, A. Ishlinsky, M. Keldysh, G. Marchuk, E. Mishustin, N. Nekrasov, I. Obratsov, B. Paton, A. Sidorenko, V. Timakov, V. Tuchkevich, N. Fedorenko and by Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Alikhanyan, A. Kapitsa and G. Skryabin.

M. Zimyanin, Secretary of the CC CPSU, took part in the work of the General Meeting.

* * *

At its closing session the General Meeting elected foreign members to the USSR Academy of Sciences. This honour has been conferred on 35 outstanding scientists from 17 countries.

The new foreign members of the USSR Academy of Sciences are:

Sune Bergström—biochemistry, medicine, Sweden; Arthur Birch—organic chemistry, Australia; Elkan E. Blout—biochemistry, USA; Victor Frederick Weisskopf—nuclear physics, USA; Krishnasami Venkateraman—organic chemistry, India; Zoilo Marinello Vidaurreta—medicine, Cuba; Robert Woodward—bio-organic chemistry, USA; Trygve Gustafson—embriology, Sweden; Helge Gyllenberg—microbiology, Finland; Christo Stefanov Daskalov—genetics, Bulgaria; Leonidas Zervas—chemistry of peptones and proteins, Greece; Vladimir Zoubek—geology, Czechoslovakia; Lubomir Georgiyev Iliyev—mathematics, Bulgaria; Stig Claesson—physical chemistry, Sweden; D. S. Kothari—astrophysics, India; Jurgen Kuczynski—economics, German Democratic Republic; Yevgeni Georgiev Mateyev—economics, Bulgaria; Maciej Nafecz—cybernetics, Poland; Nguyen Khanh Toan—history, Vietnam; Jean Aubouin—geology, tectonics, France; Lénard Pál—physics, Hungary; Otto Reinhold—economics, German Democratic Republic; John Rogers—geology, USA; Imre Szabó—law, Hungary; János Szentágothai—physiology, Hungary; Andrej Sirácky—philosophy, Czechoslovakia; Henry Stommel—oceanology, USA; Włodzimierz Trzebiatowski—chemistry, Poland; Paul Hagenmuller—solid-state chemistry, France; Nural Hasen—history, India; Alan Hodgkin—physiology, Great Britain; Dorothy M. C. Hodgkin—molecular biology, Great Britain; Sir Ernest Chain—biochemistry, Great Britain; Vaso Cubrilović—history, Yugoslavia; Manfred Eigen—physical chemistry, Federal Republic of Germany.

SOVIET-INDIAN COOPERATION IN ANTHROPOLOGY

A group of Soviet anthropologists and ethnographers went to India in November 1974 to take part in joint Soviet-Indian anthropological research. Soviet-Indian cooperation in anthropology was inaugurated by late Professor P. Mahalonobis, founder and head of the Indian Statistical Institute, who proposed that the Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences should join in studying India's anthropological composition.

The first Soviet-Indian expedition was organised in 1971, when research was carried out among some groups of the Hindi-speaking population in North-West India.

In 1974, as in 1971, the basic task of joint Soviet-Indian research was a study of endogamous groups of large peoples in that great country of the East.

From time immemorial, India's social structure has been characterised by the existence of castes, which are professional and hereditary groups with a definite niche in the social hierarchy. One of the features of the caste is endogamy, a practice which allows members of the caste to marry only among themselves.

The Constitution of the Republic of India abolished the division of society into castes and put an end to the privileges of some and the discrimination against others. The government has worked out a number of measures designed to raise the economic and social standard of the once debased castes called the untouchables. However, the division of society into castes is still practised in everyday life, notably in family and marriage relations. Endogamy,

which has been practised for a long time, has exerted some influence on the genetic structure of individual castes.

During the expeditions of 1971-1975, a study was made of the population of the state of Maharashtra, which lies on the Western coast of the Indian subcontinent. In two cities of the state, Bombay and Poona, studies were made of members of several castes which had once been at different social levels: two high Brahmin castes: the Deshastha Brahmins and the Konkanastha Brahmins; the Marathis, the biggest caste group comprising the farming population of the state; the Chandrasenia Kayastha Prabhu, a highly placed caste of hereditary scribes and clerks; and the Maharas, a once untouchable caste in Maharashtra.

In addition, our group travelled to the north of the state into the Satpura Mountains to study the Bhils, an ethnic group of tribal origin, and an endogamous subdivision of the Bhils, the Paoras. Another tribal group, the Katkari, was studied in the mountains of Sahyadri (Western Ghats). Both groups are among the so-called registered tribes, which means that they are of ancient indigenous origin.

In Bombay, we had occasion to study the Parsis, the descendants of the followers of Zoroaster who had come from Persia. In India, the Parsis made up a special ethnic and confessional group with the status of a caste.

In the Calcutta area, we studied the Santals, one of the numerous peoples speaking the Munda language. Thus, in the 1974-1975 season

studies were made of 10 endogamous groups.

The study programme was extensive and included anthropometry and anthroposcopy of the face and head, somatometry, a dermatoglyphic programme (prints of the palms and fingers), an odontological programme, and serology, which involves the identification of blood group factors, and of the albumen and enzyme content of the blood serum.

A study was made of conspicuous traits (genetic markers) like the pilosity of ear-shells and the middle phalanx of fingers, webbed fingers and toes, plication of arms, pigmentation of the tongue, colour blindness and phenylthiocarbamide taste sensitivity (PTS).

In addition, an ethnosociological programme was carried out, involving the collection of information concerning the regime and character of nutrition, marriage rules and interethnic relations. A part of the data was collected by Soviet and a part by Indian scientists, both groups being mainly based at the Decca College in Poona, which is one of the most famous research establishments in India.

The data that have been obtained are important above all for an overall anthropological characteristic of the country's present-day population. A study of the relationship between the racial and caste structures of the peoples of India makes it possible to establish the morphological "distance" between the castes of various regional groups. It is also important to exchange experience in field and laboratory work done by Soviet and Indian specialists.

There have been anthropological studies of India's population before, but these have frequently been car-

ried out under limited programmes. It is the unanimous opinion of our Indian colleagues that never before has research been undertaken under such diverse programmes with a study of each object in the context of all systems simultaneously. This will make it possible to integrate the results obtained under the various programmes.

The data that have been collected are now being processed, but some conclusions on the physico-anthropological characteristics of the groups studied can already be drawn.

Most of these groups are characterised by a whole complex of morphological traits characteristic of the Southern Europeoids. This applies above all to the Parsis, the Chandrasenia Kayastha Prabhu, the Chitpavan Brahmins and the Deshastha Brahmins.

The Katkari tribal group is characterised by the prevalence of the features of the Equatorial race. The Bhils and the Paora Bhils have a characteristic combination of the traits of the Equatorial race and of the Asian-American (Mongoloid) race.

The present-day population of Maharashtra has been made up of autochthonous elements, represented by the ancestors of the present-day "registered" tribes and of later arrived Europeoids, from the North and North-West. The Asian-American (Mongoloid) traits could have been brought from the East by the ancestors of the present-day Munda-speaking tribes.

M. Abdushelishvili,
D. Sc. (Hist.)
I. Semashko,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

A Scientific Coordinating Council on Problems of American Studies has been set up under the auspices of Moscow State University to provide general guidance and coordination in the field of American studies. The Council is to unite the efforts of numerous MSU lecturers and scholars engaged in the study of American economics, history, philosophy, philology, journalism, etc. The Council consists of experts and is headed by N. Sivachev, D. Sc. (Hist.), professor in the Department of History.

The Council's plans for 1976 included the holding of a scientific conference to mark the Bicentennial of the United States of America. It was attended by representatives of the MSU humanities departments and other scientific institutions in Moscow.

"American Discourses", a forum

of various specialists including professors and post-graduate students from the United States, will be held regularly to promote coordination of scientific research. It is also planned to publish a yearbook *Problems of American Studies*, which will carry most interesting works produced, not only in Moscow University but also in other scientific centres. To better combine research and instruction, a series of special integrated courses on US economics, geography, history, law and culture have been organised for MSU students.

The MSU Scientific Coordinating Centre cooperates with other institutions engaged in American studies, and, in the first place, with the sections of the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences dealing with economic, political and ideological aspects of life in the United States.

Congresses · Conferences · Symposiums

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE FOUNDING OF THE USA

This was the subject of the Second All-Union Symposium of Soviet Americanists, held in Moscow. Because of diversity of viewpoints on American history of the 18th century and the voluminous literature on the theme the Symposium attracted particular interest. More than 70 historians from different cities of the Soviet Union, as well as from the GDR and Poland, participated in its work.

The discussion centred on a wide range of questions: research into various aspects of the American Revolution; study of the class relations in American society in the second half of the 18th century; comparative analysis of the English, French and American revolutions showing the common and typological features of each.

The American Revolution has always held the interest of researchers, and particularly so in connection with the Bicentennial of the United States of America. Many monographs, collective works, articles, documents and materials of political and public figures have appeared in various countries including the USSR. Noting the deep differences among American historians on the basic problems of the Revolution, G. Sevostyanov in his

report "On the Study of the American Revolution of the 18th Century and Some Problems" dwelt on the causes and driving forces of the Revolution; on the political demarcation of forces in the War of Independence; on the periodisation and significance of the revolutionary struggle of the American people. Their participation in the Revolution, he noted, was a question of great scholarly interest. John Adams, one of the founding fathers, considered it a revolution of the "minority" since, according to him, it was supported only by one-third of the population. The American historian H. Aptheker, on the contrary, considered the Revolution an expression of the will of the majority of the population.

N. Bolkhovitinov in his report stressed that well-informed historians no longer doubt that the American Revolution was a movement of the majority. That is precisely why the colonists were able to defeat the strongest world power of that time. Many reports dealt with problems of social relations in the British colonies on the eve of the Revolution and the participation of the masses in it; several were devoted specifically to the Black movement and the struggle against slavery

which assumed wide scope with the outbreak of the War of Independence. The reporters noted the active participation in this struggle of the slaves themselves, particularly in South Carolina. Despite the fact that the slave-owning economies were no longer profitable and that the slave trade had practically ceased to exist, slavery was not abolished. M. Zakharova in her report noted that slavery was preserved by the American Revolution in the interests of capitalist development, it becoming an obstacle to this development only later. I. Geyevsky in his communication showed that the Black problem in contemporary America can be traced back to the times of the American Revolution and that it is still far from being solved.

The communications by the Polish historians aroused great interest. The participations of Poles in the War of Independence and the attitude of the Polish public to the American Revolution were the themes of reports by L. Pastusiak and Z. Libiszowska respectively. M. Drozdowski and B. Grzelonski dealt with Polish historiography of the War of Independence.

The agrarian problem came in for wide discussion. In his report G. Kuropyatnikov drew particular attention to the fact that in the solution of the agrarian problem the American Revolution went much further than all previous bourgeois revolutions in Europe: it abolished Britain's feudal landownership. Discussing G. Kuropyatnikov's analysis of the role of the western territories M. Demikhovskiy noted that the colonists' discontent with Britain's policy in respect to these territories was not one of the main causes of the War of Independence as some American historians assert. Concerning the question of nationalisation of the land B.

Kosarev noted that since it was still non-existent in the 1880s this term cannot be applied to that period.

The economic problems of the War of Independence were analysed in a report by S. Dalin who noted that the issue of paper money in the colonies led to the first inflation in the history of capitalism.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Shlepakov in his report dwelt on a number of social and national policy issues. Concerning the problems connected with the formation of the American nation he stressed that the War of Independence played a decisive role in the cohesion of the nation, but that already then this process did not involve either the Blacks or the American Indians.

The Symposium devoted considerable attention to ideology. In his report "Liberty and the Human Rights in the American Revolution", A. Fursenko noted that democracy in New England served as a means of maintaining the domination of the propertied classes over the mass of the population, and of preserving the property rights.

The reports connecting the problems of the Revolution with present-day issues evoked much interest. N. Yakovlev discussed the evolution of political thought in the USA, showing that the War of Independence laid the foundation of the policy which subsequently came to be known as the "balance of forces" policy. V. Zolotukhin dealt with the formation of the two-party system in the United States, and V. Petrovskiy—with the evolution of US current foreign political thought.

The communications by the GDR historians F. Klein, K. Drechsler and L. Kramer-Kaske were devoted to contemporary American historiog-

raphy and to some questions of current US history.

The political scene in the USA today was the subject of the report made by N. Mostovets. While stressing the great significance of the American Revolution of the 18th century the reporter noted the tendency of certain circles in the West to advance the US as a model for the developing countries, notwithstanding the different epochs and different national traditions. If in the 18th

century America in many respects served as a beacon for the European bourgeoisie, contemporary America, on the contrary, has become a bulwark of reaction, aggression and militarism. The history of the USA is a history of class struggle. Today the American people are continuing the struggle for the ideals proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence 200 years ago.

G. Agafonova,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In April 1976 the Soviet Political Sciences Association, jointly with the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, held a symposium in Moscow on the theme "Peaceful Coexistence and Social and Political Development". Some 150 scholars participated in its work, their number including the Association members, associates of several institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU, as well as representatives of the law faculties of Moscow, Leningrad, Tomsk, Voronezh and Tbilisi universities. It was also attended by representatives of the political sciences associations of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and of Canada, Finland, and the FRG.

The main report was made by the President of the Association, G. Shakhnazarov, D. Sc. (Law).

Despite the fact, noted the reporter, that the problem of the mutual influence of the system of international relations and of the internal situations of countries has existed ever since the emergence of states it

has never been as crucial as it is today. This is explained, in part, by the fact that during the last half century the political space of the planet has sharply contracted, that the international division of labour is deepening and expanding, and that the creation of weapons of mass destruction has posed the problems of international relations in a new way. The affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the only judicious basis of relations between states in the present age is embodied in the process of international détente. There are no alternatives to this process, the only other would be further intensification of the arms race and the edging towards a thermonuclear holocaust. The question of peaceful coexistence is an objective law of our times. Once this historically indisputable fact has been recognised one can envisage just what it should be like, what should be its political, legal and all other aspects.

The reporter noted that the most important and fundamental question in the context of this theme is that of the correlation of peaceful coexistence and social progress. The key to

understanding this question is that peaceful coexistence as a matter of relations between states should be clearly delineated from the class struggle as a matter of internal social development. This does not mean, however, that there is no objective connection between them, although this manifests itself differently, depending on the specific features of the social and political system. Peaceful coexistence has as its purpose, first and foremost, the preservation of peace but it also seeks to promote international cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The problem of peaceful coexistence and the battle of ideas is an important issue. Closely linked with it is a problem which could be described as the diversification of the relations between the opposite class forces operating in the international arena. Reference is to a historical process when ideas and social systems are contending in rivalry simultaneously with cooperation of countries and peoples.

The problem of peaceful coexistence and social and political development is also of great methodological importance. The solution of this problem will make it possible to understand the nature of various social forces, which most fully reveals itself in their attitude to the dialectical unity of peace and social progress. It will also help to evolve a relatively reliable forecast of international relations and of social development in each of the main groups of countries in the contemporary world.

In conclusion the reporter stressed that today the preservation of peace is the responsibility of one and all. Seeing that political organisations and their leaders decisively affect the international climate, science,

too, especially political science, bears its share of responsibility since its assessments, conclusions and doctrines substantially influence the policy-making. It is science's duty to help by recommendations, influence on the minds to facilitate the establishment of a just and reasonable order of things in the world.

In the discussion that followed the report by G. Shakhnazarov, in which 23 people participated, a wide range of questions were touched upon. Much of the discussion dealt with the main theme of the report—the correlation of peaceful coexistence and social and political development. It was noted in this respect that the connection between the two manifests itself in different ways, depending not only on the type of social system but also on the stage the process of détente itself has reached. A view was expressed that with the further deepening and development of this process, which is taking place in a complicated struggle, the possibilities of social and political progress stemming from favourable international conditions will grow.

A subject that aroused great interest was that of the feasibility of making reliable forecasts of international relations. It was noted that the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples contained in the CC CPSU Report to the 25th CPSU Congress were splendid examples and proof that in the present epoch it is possible, given an exact estimation of the correlation of world forces, not only to forecast but also to plan international politics. In the course of the discussion there was an exchange of views on the following questions: how forecasting

differs from planning; what the methodology of the forecasting of international relations should consist in, with due account of the extreme complexity of this phenomenon, shaped in the final analysis by a welter of diverse factors that do not always lend themselves to exact assessment. The general view was expressed that this problem calls for further in-depth study in Soviet science.

Many of the symposium participants dealt with the organisation of international cooperation and the related tasks. It was noted in this respect that such cooperation is, on the one hand, one of the fruitful consequences of the process of international détente and, on the other, creates a material basis and political atmosphere essential for deepening this process and extending it to other spheres of social life and activity. Considerable attention was centred in this connection also on tasks of

further improving the system of the international legal regulation of economic, cultural, scientific and other relations between states; the need to democratise the entire system of international-legal norms was underscored.

Questions of immediate social and political development came in for less attention, which once again was indicative of the magnitude of the theme, of the need to discuss it at scientific forums, and of the fact that Marxist scholars should unite their efforts in making a deep study of it.

Noting the great interest of scholars of all countries in cooperation and exchange of views on problems of peaceful coexistence and social and political development, the symposium participants suggested that this subject be brought up for discussion within the framework of the International Political Science Association.

E. Vasilyeva

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND ECOLOGY

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union devoted much attention to the problems of ecology. L. I. Brezhnev's Report said: "Soviet scientists should not lose sight of the recently exacerbated problems of the environment and population growth. Improvement of the socialist use of natural resources and the formulation of an effective demographic policy are an important task facing a whole complex of natural and social sciences" (L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976*, pp. 128-129).

It is hard to designate another five-year period in which there has been such broad consideration of the problems arising from the protection of nature and the rational use of its resources as in the present five-year period. For the first time the *Guidelines for the Economic Development of the USSR in 1976-1980* has brought out the use of nature as an independent line of society's production activity. Protection of the environment has been reflected in all the sections of this document. Appropriations for measures in this field come to 11,000 million rubles, and are bound to grow. All of this calls for research into the ecological problem.

In view of the growing importance of ecological problems in connection with the ongoing scientific and technological revolution and the need to extend and coordinate research in this complex inter-disciplinary set of problems, the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the complex problem, "Socio-Economic and Ideological Problems under the Scientific and Technological Revolution", and the Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences held an all-Union conference in Moscow in April 1976 on "The Role of the Scientific and Technological Revolution in Solving the Ecological Problem". It was attended by 120 scholars and specialists from scientific, academic and governmental institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Alma Ata, Erevan, Odessa, Ordzhonikidze, Perm, Voroshilovgrad, Kirov, Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo and Tomsk, among other cities.

The conference was opened by S. Mikulinsky, Director of the Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology and Deputy Chairman of the Scientific Council, who emphasised the influence exerted by the scientific and technological revolution on the changing views concerning the relationship between society and nature. He dealt with the new philosophico-methodological aspects of the ecological problem which have arisen in connection with the scientific and technological revolution, and the possibilities it opened up for elaborating concrete measures for protecting the environment and rational use of natural resources, as mapped out for the Tenth Five-Year Plan period.

Plenary meetings heard the following reports: "The State of Research

of the Role of the Scientific and Technological Revolution in Solving the Ecological Problem in the USSR" by S. Shukhardin and L. Obukhova, "The Problem of Mediating the Biological by the Social in Modern Ecology" by Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences A. Ado, "Interconnection Between Scientific and Technical and Social Progress as a Necessary Condition for Solving the Ecological Problem" by M. Vilensky and "Critical Analysis of Bourgeois Conceptions of the Man of the Future" by A. Zvorykin.

Shukhardin and Obukhova pointed to the need to intensify research into this problem, and analysed the scientific literature on ecology published in the USSR. It was said, in particular, that the scientific and technological revolution and the ecological problem were a field of knowledge where the efforts of the social, natural and technical sciences could be pooled most effectively.

Evaluating the Soviet publications over the past few years, they said that these works considered many aspects of the problem of the interaction between society and nature, but that most of them did not analyse the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on this problem. Meanwhile, the present level of research showed very well that the scientific and technological revolution had not only had its specific negative consequences, but had also brought out the possibility of eliminating the undesirable consequences of man's technological activity.

Vilensky stressed that with the advance of the scientific and technological revolution ever more significance is attached to the problems arising from the interaction of society and nature. The solution of

ecological problems, he said, was organically linked with the historical contest between socialism and capitalism, the two opposite socio-economic systems, with socialism having as one of its radical advantages the ability to create conditions for harmonising the interaction of man and nature.

Zvorykin offered a critical analysis of a large number of Western publications containing views and theories hostile to progress and the revolutionary process, and examined the diverse myths about the future man in the light of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social conditions and general regularities of man's life under the scientific and technological revolution.

The four sections of the conference heard 70 reports and communications devoted to the problem of realising the instructions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU concerning the protection of the environment and the rational use of natural resources, giving a full picture of the advantages of the planned socialist system of economy over the capitalist approach to the problem of the interaction of society and nature.

The reports and communications emphasised the need for a complex approach to environmental problems, and said that the scientific and technological revolution under socialism provided all the opportunities and facilities for overcoming its negative influence on the environment and for the rational use and renewal of natural resources. Special emphasis was made on the role of the economic factors in revolutionising technological methods of production, which are designed to reduce waste and make the utmost use of it. Speakers at the conference drew attention to the need to improve the ecological education of the rising generation by including the whole complex of these questions in the curricula of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, and also to the need to improve the ecological training of economic personnel.

The conference produced an information letter containing recommendations on further research into this problem.

L. Obukhova,
Cand. Sc. (Biology)

CHINA'S CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

A scientific conference on China's contemporary history, organised by the Institute of the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was held in Moscow in April 1976. It was attended by more than 150 scientists from academic institutes and higher schools in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Vladivostok and Ufa, and by Sinologists from a number of socialist countries.

In his opening speech, Corresponding Member of the USSR

Academy of Sciences, M. Sladkovsky, Director of the Institute of the Far East, emphasised that the work of Sinologists in the countries of the socialist community was a direct reflection of the programme for developing the social sciences elaborated in the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and in the decisions adopted by the congresses of other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The conference received more than 40 reports, including four by

foreign scientists. Its plenary sessions and sections heard 26 reports.

The reports presented at the conference ranged over a wide field of topics. The conference concentrated on producing an objective account of the history of the revolutionary movement in China, and the role of international solidarity and internationalist assistance to the Chinese people from the world communist movement, notably, the Soviet Union, in the achievement of the victory of the popular revolution and the construction of the foundations of socialism in the first decade of the PRC.

These matters were considered in the main report given by M. Sladkovsky—"The Historical Experience of the Chinese Revolution and the Destiny of Socialism in China"—who emphasised that its anti-imperialist tenor made that revolution international and determined the involvement in it both of the imperialist forces on the side of Chinese reaction, and of the progressive forces on the Chinese people's side. The experience of socialist construction in the PRC in the first decade (1949-1958) showed that the CPC, relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, and the fraternal assistance of the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement, had been able to overcome the bourgeois nationalistic tendencies and build up initial industrial-agrarian basis for subsequent advance towards socialism and to transform the people's democratic power set up under the leadership of the working class into a form of the political system of the proletarian dictatorship.

Having traced the development of the Chinese revolution and the first decade of the PRC's existence, Sladkovsky reached the conclusion that

the experience of the Chinese revolution bore out the regularities of social development which were common to all countries, including the possibility of economically backward countries moving towards socialism and bypassing the capitalist stage.

A number of reports, e. g., V. Glunin's, "On the Question of Evaluating the Results of the 1925-1927 Revolution", T. Akatova's "On the Question of the Relationship of Forces within the Revolutionary Camp after the 1925-1927 Revolution" and M. Yuryev's "On the Chronological Divide between the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 and the Period of the Formation of the Kuomintang Regime, the Soviet Movement and the Agrarian Revolution", contained a conceptual elaboration of the key problems of the 1925-1927 revolution in China.

The subject of international solidarity and the internationalist assistance given by the Soviet people to the Chinese revolution was dealt with in R. Mirovitskaya's report, "The Soviet Union and the Chinese People's National Liberation Movement. 1923-1937. Periodisation. Problems". The author gave an extensive analysis of the main forms of Soviet assistance, which had a great influence on the advance of the national liberation movement in the country.

In his report, K. Kukushkin gave a high appreciation of the activity of Wang Ming (1904-1974). He showed that in close cooperation with Georgi Dimitrov and other leaders of the international communist and working-class movement, Wang Ming took part in the Comintern's collective theoretical and practical work and the scientific summing-up of international revolutionary experi-

ence. Wang Ming's whole life and activity were dedicated to the struggle for the Chinese people's liberation, the country's socialist development and friendship between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples:

The participants in the conference heard with great interest a report by S. Indorzh (Mongolia) on the 20-year heroic revolutionary struggle of Inner Mongolia's Revolutionary People's Party, whose activity has yet to be fully studied.

A prominent aspect of the conference was the discussion of various problems of China's socio-economic development throughout the whole of its recent history. Alongside theoretical, summing-up reports—G. Astafyev's "On the Question of the Substance of the Conception of China's Semifeudal, Semicolonial Economy," A. Mugruzin's "On the Place of Landlord (Rent) Exploitation of the Peasantry in Old China", A. Meliksetov's "On the Question of the Social and Class Nature of the Kuomintang Regime", and Y. Berger's "Social Structure

and Social Consciousness of the Peasantry in Present-day China", which were the subject of a lively discussion, the attention of the participants in the conference was also drawn to reports containing solid illustrative material on individual concrete aspects of the PRC's socio-economic history, which were presented by young Soviet Sinologists.

Considerable attention was also given to various aspects of the development of Chinese culture in the recent period (V. Sorokin, N. Borevskaya, A. Valitova and T. Postrelova).

The conference summed up the results of research into China's contemporary history carried out by scientists in the socialist countries over the past few years, discussed a number of unelaborated and controversial problems and mapped out the main lines and problems for further research into this most complicated period of China's history.

A. Ipatova,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

CHRONICLE

* Delegations from nine socialist states attended an *international meeting of the directors of the institutes of philosophy of the academies of sciences of socialist countries* devoted to the theoretical elaboration of the problems of the socialist way of life and the coordination of scientific cooperation of Marxist philosophers. Opening the meeting, Professor B. Ukraintsev, Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the

USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasised the significance of the theoretical elaboration of the philosophical aspects of the socialist way of life in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The reports delivered at the meeting generalised the theory and practice of the development of the new way of life in the countries of the socialist community.

This review covers events of February-May 1976 in Moscow (unless stated otherwise).

* *The Tenth Regular Session of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of Scholars of Socialist Countries "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process"* was held in Berlin. The central theme was the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress. Nearly 20 reports were heard. These included: "The Working Class and Social Progress" by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; "Pressing Issues of the Struggle of the Working People in Europe for Peace and Social Progress in the Light of the Documents of the 25th CPSU Congress" by T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and "The Aggravation of the Crisis of Capitalism and the Development of the Class Struggle" by Professor O. Reinhold, Director of the Institute of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

* *The First Session of the Soviet-Hungarian Commission on Cooperation in the Social Sciences* discussed the results of the cooperation of social scientists of the USSR and Hungary, exchanged views on the basic lines of future joint studies of theoretical problems in the light of the decisions adopted at the 25th Congress of the CPSU and at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The Co-chairmen of the Commission, set up by the academies of the two countries, Academician P. Fedoseyev and Academician I. Friss, signed a plan of cooperation between the scientific institutions of the USSR and Hungary in the social sciences for 1976-1980.

* *A Soviet-Polish Symposium "Interdependence of Organisation and Development in Biology"* was held at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. It was the concluding stage in the discussion of this problem which first began to be elaborated in February 1974. The symposium discussed the articles prepared by Soviet and Polish scholars for joint publication, the methodological aspects of the study of prebiological evolution, and outlined plans for further Soviet-Polish cooperation in the elaboration of the philosophical problems of modern biology.

* *A scientific conference "The 25th CPSU Congress and Current Problems of World History"* was sponsored by the Department of History and the Institute of World History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The opening speech by Academician E. Zhukov was followed by a number of reports, among them "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Present-Day Development of International Relations" by A. Chubaryan, D. Sc. (Hist.), "The Correlation of Social and International Factors in Socialist and Communist Construction Within the Framework of the World Socialist System" by J. Šmeral, D. Sc. (Hist.), "Historical Science and the Ideological Struggle Today" by B. Marushkin, D. Sc. (Hist.), "Problems of the Study of the Class Struggle at the Present Stage in the USA" by V. Malkov, D. Sc. (Hist.), and "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Problem of the Revolutionary Process in Latin America" by N. Lavrov, D. Sc. (Hist.).

* *The 25th Jubilee Conference of Historians of the GDR and the Soviet Union in Leipzig* was devoted to the

30th anniversary of the close cooperation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The conference was attended by more than 250 prominent historians of the two countries.

* *A symposium of Soviet and Swedish historians* was held in Stockholm. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician E. Zhukov, the Swedish delegation—by Professor S. Palme. Soviet scholars made the following reports: "The Peasant Movement in Russia in the Period of Feudalism" (V. Buganov), "On the Question of the Typology and Quantitative Study of the Peasant Movement in Russia" (J. Kahk), "Russia's Alliance with Sweden in 1812" (V. Roginsky), "State-Monopoly Capitalism in Sweden During the Second World War" (O. Chernysheva), and "The History of Sweden in the Works of Russian Pre-revolutionary and Soviet Historians" (G. Nekrasov). The Swedish side presented the following papers: "On the Peasantry. The Social Status of Swedish Peasants in the Middle Ages" (S. Palme), "Swedish Prisoners of War in Siberia in the First Half of the 18th Century" (G. Jarring), "The Origins of the Naval Regulations of Peter the Great" (C. Peterson), "The Orientation of Swedish Policy from 1812 to the Crimean War" (M. Metcalf), "Some Questions of Economic Planning in the Soviet Union in the 1920s" (L. Samuelsson) and "Marxist Periodisation in Practice on the Example of Sweden" (K. Gerner).

* Warsaw played host to the participants attending the *Third Session of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Scientific Cooperation* of the Academies of Sciences of Socialist

Countries "Questions of the Improvement of Planning and Economic Management in the CMEA Countries". The session discussed fulfilment of the Commission's thematic plan and coordinated the plan of scientific and organisational measures for 1976-1977. These provide for the holding of international seminars, symposiums and working meetings as well as for the publication of a number of joint monographs by economists from socialist countries on questions related to the improvement of planning and management.

* *The International Symposium "Simulation of the National-Economic Process of Reproduction"* organised by the Central Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR in Berlin was attended by economists and mathematicians from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the USSR, and the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Eighteen papers were presented dealing mainly with problems of the use of the national income and the quantitative determination of the aims of socialist production. To achieve the optional solution of these problems, the papers suggested a number of economic-mathematical models and calculations based on them. The symposium registered certain progress in the researches carried on in this field on the way to their practical embodiment in national economies with due regard for socialist integration.

* The delegations to the *Regular Session of the Soviet-Polish Commission of Economists* were headed by

Academician T. Khachaturov (USSR) and Henryk Cholaj, Corresponding Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Soviet scholars made the following reports: "Questions of the Periodisation of Socialist Construction and the Main Economic Features of Developed Socialism", "The Material and Technical Basis of Socialism and Scientific and Technological Progress", "Structural Changes in the National Economy in the Period of Developed Socialism", "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of the Building of a Developed Socialist Society", and "The Development of the System of Economic and Social Planning in the USSR". The Polish scholars presented the following reports: "The General Law Patterns and Specific Features of the Building of a Developed Socialist Society in Poland", "The Creation of a Material and Technical Basis and the Process of Building a Developed Socialist Society in Poland", "The Process of Building a Developed Socialist Society in Poland and Socio-Economic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Polish United Workers' Party", "The Improvement of the System of the National Economy and Its Importance for Building a Developed Socialist Society in Poland", "The Building of a Developed Socialist Society and the Promotion of the Economic Sciences in People's Poland", and "Polish-Soviet Economic Cooperation as a Factor in the Building of a Developed Socialist Society in Poland".

* *An all-Union scientific conference on the problem of putting the economy of a developed socialist society on a self-supporting basis* was held in the town of Zvenigorod, Moscow Region. It was sponsored

by the Department of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Councils on the integrated problems "Optional Planning and Economic Management" and "The Scientific Principles of a Self-Supporting Economy", and the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Suggestions and recommendations for the creation of an integral mechanism of a fully self-supporting economy were elaborated on the basis of the generalised experience of the economic reforms in the USSR and other CMEA countries, the analysis of the results of economic experiments and of the task of achieving intensified economic growth. The conference examined the economic levers in the management of socialist production, i.e., planned indicators for evaluating the results of self-supporting economic activity, price-formation, supplies of materials and machinery wages, crediting, payments, wages, material incentive funds, etc. This set of questions was discussed in connection with the preparations for the transition to a two- or three-stage system of production management on the basis of creating production, industrial and scientific-production amalgamations and forming agro-industrial and other complexes in the national economy.

* *A theoretical seminar devoted to problems of the programme and objective approach to improvement of management of social production* took place in the town of Narofominsk, Moscow Region. It was sponsored by the Theory and Organisation of Management Sector of the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences "Socio-Economic and Ideological Problems of the Scientific and Technological

Revolution", the Social Production Management Problem Centre of the Department of Economics of Moscow University, and the Scientific Council of the State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR Council of Ministers. The seminar discussed questions related to the essence of the programme and objective approach, its role in the improvement of the national-economic management system; the organisation and technology of programme and objective management; large-scale inter-branch and inter-regional national-economic programmes; the programme and objective management of scientific and technological progress; branch and regional programmes of programme and objective management in amalgamations; the experience of programme and objective management abroad.

* *A scientific conference "The Effectiveness of the Reconstruction of Industrial Enterprises (Theoretical Aspects and Experience)"* sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council on Problems of "Economic Effectiveness of Fixed Assets, Capital Investments and New Technology", by the Institute of Economics of the Urals Science Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Sverdlovsk Communist Party Regional Committee, was held in Sverdlovsk. The conference discussed the efficiency of social production and the reconstruction of enterprises in service, prospective problems of fixed production assets, current economic problems of reconstruction, the effectiveness of socialist accumulation and the reconstruction of enterprises, the specialisation of production and introduction of advanced technology as the basis of reconstruction, the integrated plan of the development

and reconstruction of the city of Sverdlovsk, the effectiveness and experience of the reconstruction of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works.

* *The Third USSR-Japan Symposium on Peace and Security in Asia* was held in Kyoto on the initiative of the Council on National Security Problems, Japan (Chairman—T. Kusumi, General Secretary—I. Suetsugu), the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of US and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The USSR delegation was headed by Academician N. Inozemtsev. The symposium concentrated on the main changes in Asia and in the world arena since the Second USSR-Japan Symposium held in 1975 in Moscow. The Soviet delegation expounded the programme of the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and the independence of peoples, adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress. The symposium also discussed current international issues, security in Asia, the present state and prospects of the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

* *The Second International Conference on Water Law and Management* in Caracas attracted more than 200 experts. The more than 50 reports presented at plenary and section meetings examined the present state and further development of water law and management in various countries with a view to generalising the rational use and protection of continent waters (rivers, lakes, reservoirs and subterranean waters). Soviet experts analysed water law as an instrument of a universal water policy. They noted that the water

policy of the world as a whole should objectively contain a series of inter-related measures such as the satisfaction of the people's every-day requirements in water, as well as those of industries, water protection, and ultimately the achievement of a harmony between the developing society and the environment. The speakers emphasised that these measures are most fully realised in socialist countries thanks to the state socialist ownership of water and a planned economy that meets the interests of all.

* *The international colloquium "Days of Jean Dabin's Juridical Studies" devoted to the problem "The Family, Law and Social Changes in Contemporary Societies"* and sponsored by the Louvain Catholic University (Belgium) attracted nearly 300 participants from various countries. V. Tadevosyan, D. Sc. (Law), who represented the USSR, addressed the Plenary Session with a report "The Family, Law and Social Development in the European Socialist Countries". Respective commissions discussed questions concerning the place of a spouse in family law, alimony after divorce, women's labour conditions and equal pay, etc.

* Lawyers and experts from various research and educational institutions of the Soviet Union participated in the *All-Union Scientific Conference "Legal Aspects of Employment in the USSR in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress"*. The opening address was made by V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of the State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences. Nearly 100 reports and communications on problems of labour and collective-

farm law and social security were heard and discussed at the plenary session and section meetings.

* *At the International Symposium "The Russian Novel of the 19th Century and Its Influence on Western Literature"* in Rome, Soviet literary critics delivered the following reports: "Turgenev and the Development of Russian Realism", "Leo Tolstoy's Novels", "Works by Gogol", and "Dostoyevsky as Soviet Critics See Him".

* *An international symposium devoted to the great Russian writer Nikolai Gogol*, was held in Venice. Sponsored by the G. Cini Foundation it was attended by delegations from a number of countries, including the USSR. The members of the Soviet delegation headed by N. Fedorenko, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented the reports: "Gogol and Russian Prose of the 20th Century", "Gogol's Grotesque", "Gogol and His Life", "Re-reading Gogol", "Gogol and the Ukraine", and "Gogol in China". Two earlier symposiums were devoted to Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoyevsky.

* Nearly 100 experts took part in the *Conference "The State and Tasks of the Study of the Languages and Ethnography of the National Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East, and the Prospects for Training Specialists in Studies of the North"* held in Leningrad. It was organised by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The conference heard reports on the following topics: the development of

the economy and culture of the peoples of the Far North; the study of the languages of the peoples of the Far North and language formation; present ethnic processes in the Far North; the history of the peoples of the Amur Area according to archaeological data; results and prospects of the study of the folklore of the Siberian peoples; problems of the study of the epic literature of the peoples of the North; the literature of the national minorities of Siberia and the Far East; the state and tasks of the study of the Palaeoasiatic, Tungus-Manchurian, Ugric and other languages and of the languages which have newly acquired or lack a written form, of the Turkic of Siberia; the state and prospects of studies of the North in Novosibirsk, Vladivostok, Tomsk, Yakutsk and Petrozavodsk; the state and prospects of training specialists in the languages and ethnography of the peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. Among the speakers were Academician A. Okladnikov, and Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Avrorin, Yu. Bromley and B. Serebrennikov.

* *A scientific conference on the problems of bilingualism of instruction at national schools of the Russian Federation* was held in Nalchik (Kabardino-Balkaria Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council on the Integrated Problem "Regularities of the Development of National Languages in Connection with the Development of Socialist Nations", the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the ministries of education of the RSFSR and the Kabardino-Balkaria ASSR. The Plenary Session heard reports by the ministers of

education and also the following papers: "National Relations in Developed Socialist Society and the Development of Bilingualism at National Schools", "Russian Linguodidactics and Questions of Structural and Typological Analysis of the Russian and National Languages", and "The Main Problems of Forming and Developing Bilingualism Among the Pupils of National Schools". Nearly 100 reports were presented at the sections "The Socio-Linguistic Aspect of the Study of National-Russian Bilingualism", "The Linguistic Aspect of the Study of National-Russian Bilingualism", "Methodological Problems of Teaching the Mother Tongue and the Russian Language at School", and "The Psycholinguistic Aspect of the Study of National-Russian Bilingualism".

* *An international conference to discuss the research project "Direction and Tendencies of Cultural Changes in Modern Society, Interaction of National Cultures"* was held on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Commission for Affairs of the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences (Vienna Centre). Besides representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the GDR, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Rumania, the United Kingdom, the USSR, and Yugoslavia, the conference was attended by the President of the Vienna Centre Professor A. Shaff (Poland) and by the Co-Directors of the Centre; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Vinogradov, Professor H. Friis (Denmark) and Professor J. Stoetzel (France). The research project was presented by Professor Yu. Arutyunyan (USSR). The sessions, chaired by Corresponding Member

of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Bromley, Director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, discussed problems related to the preservation and changing of national (ethnic) traditions. The conference noted the urgency of the proposed project and decided to start research on the theme "Consumption of Culture in a Family under Conditions of the Scientific and Technological Revolution". A working group representing six countries was authorised to prepare a programme for this research which is to begin in 1977.

* At a conference of heads of psychological institutions of the European countries of the socialist community directors of the institutes of psychology of the academies of sciences, academies of pedagogical sciences and ministries of education, as well as directors of various institutes and deans of the departments of psychology of a number of universities discussed problems connected with the state and prospects of the development of psychology in each country, questions of the coordination of and cooperation in the research carried on in the countries represented.

* Soviet scholars participated in the international colloquium "The Iranian Plateau and Central Asia from Origin to the Islamic Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Data" held in Paris. Corresponding Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences G. Pugachenkova made a report "The Culture of Northern Bactria in the Light of Archaeological Research in

the Surkhan-Darya Valley". The other reports by Soviet scholars were: "Ancient Horasan and Bactria" by V. Sarianidi, D. Sc. (Hist.); "Mongolia in the Scythian Period 7th-3rd centuries B. C." by V. Volkov, Cand. Sc. (Hist.); and "The Relations Between Bactria and Iran from the 7th to the 4th Century B. C." by E. Kuzmina, Cand. Sc. (Hist.).

* The regular annual international methodological social sciences seminars in Havana were attended by representatives of a number of the humanities institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. They spoke on the following topics: "The Main Trends in Modern Science", "The Improvement of the Organisation and Management of Science Is a Major Factor in Increasing Its Efficiency", "Mathematical Methods in Modern Social Sciences", "The Semiotic Method", and "The Cybernetic Method (Including Methods of Simulation)".

* A conference of representatives of information centres of socialist countries on the social sciences worked out a draft agreement on setting up an International Information System on the Social Sciences (IISSS). The decision to establish such a system was adopted at the conference of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries on multilateral cooperation in 1975 in Berlin.

* Warsaw was the venue of a conference of representatives of the academies of sciences of socialist countries to discuss problems of publishing and distributing scientific publications in the social sciences.

BOOK REVIEWS

FOLLOWING LENIN'S COURSE

Publication of the Fifth Volume of Speeches and Articles by Leonid BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Four volumes of speeches and articles by Leonid Brezhnev appeared in 1970-1974 (see *Social Sciences* Nos. 1 and 3, 1973, and No. 2, 1976). In 1976, Politizdat Publishers brought out the fifth volume which contains speeches and statements made in 1974-1976 and which closes with Leonid Brezhnev's report and speeches at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Below we publish a summary of the *Pravda* leading article of May 16, 1976, reviewing the volume.

* * *

The fifth volume shows the dynamic development of Soviet society in the sphere of mature socialist social relations, the economy and culture. It contains an analysis of what has been achieved by the Party and the people in implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The speeches and articles reflect the continuity and consistency of the CPSU's Leninist policy in all spheres of social life. Generalising the activity of the Party and its Central Committee in the main directions of building the new society, Leonid Brezhnev shows the organic connection between all the stages of the path traversed, between all the socialist five-year plan periods.

The volume shows the results of the implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan which is unequaled in absolute increase of industrial production and capital investments as

well as in the scope of the social programme to further raise the people's living standard, which was the main task of the Plan.

Much space is devoted to the problem of increasing the efficiency of production and the quality of work as also to the conclusion that today alongside quantitative factors of economic growth there must be increasing emphasis on qualitative factors. This makes fresh high demands of Party guidance of the economy. The essence of the demands are expounded in a number of the speeches and articles in the volume. The author points out that the practical implementation of the policy aimed at raising the efficiency and improving the qualitative indicators presupposes overcoming inertia and searching for new approaches and new solutions.

Efficiency and quality bear a direct relation on agriculture. Life

itself has shown that the Party's agrarian policy, outlined at the March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, is correct.

In improving its guidance of the economy and of all the elements of the Soviet social organism, the CPSU attaches much importance to science whose task is to creatively elaborate the problems, in the solution of which the Party, the State and the people are engaged. The objective law governing the steady growth of science's role in building communism is comprehensively substantiated in Leonid Brezhnev's speech on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences (see *Social Sciences*, No. 2, 1976).

The idea of the decisive role of the workers in realising our plans runs all through the volume. The General Secretary's numerous messages of greetings and congratulations to the best factory collectives and individual workers are imbued with the Party's concern for the development of the creative initiative, for giving the utmost encouragement of progressive methods and valuable innovations. The profoundly humane documents give a well-deserved appreciation of the feats of labour of the front-rank workers, of their patriotic initiatives and innovations.

The high political and productive activity of Soviet people is the foundation of communist consciousness, vivid proof of the fact that the Party's policy is supported by the whole people.

Wide coverage is given to the ideological education of the working people, to their allround development. It is noted that in conditions of developed socialism an active process is under way to mould the best human qualities, the qualities of the

man of communist society. The Party attaches special importance to the ideological education of young people, as is evidenced by Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 17th Congress of the Young Communist League, and by other statements. The importance of educating Soviet people in a spirit of ideological integrity is profoundly shown in the speech at the meeting on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

* * *

The 25th Congress of the CPSU is a major political event of recent years and one that is of truly historic significance. It is therefore only natural that Leonid Brezhnev's report made at the Congress occupies the central place in the volume under review. The report gives a detailed characteristic of the economy and political system, of social relations and spiritual life of developed socialist society in their close dialectical unity. It shows the role of socialism in the historical progress of mankind. The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the objective laws of building communism and their use in the work of the Party and the people is raised to a new level.

Lenin's words about the unity of the scientific character and practical purposefulness of Marxist theory and policy raising questions "not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 72) fully apply to the report of the CPSU Central Committee. This report organically combines an analysis of concrete current tasks with the mapping out of the roads of

the further advance towards communism.

The economic policy of the CPSU, comprehensively substantiated in the report, which is inseparably linked with its social policy and whose supreme aim is to secure a steady rise in the people's material and cultural standards can serve as an example of such a creative, Leninist approach to the solution of the basic problems of communist construction (see the article "The Soviet Union in the Tenth Five-Year Plan Period" in *Social Sciences*, No. 4, 1976).

Never before has our country possessed such a wealth of material means and resources, qualified specialists and practical experience as it does today. Equally great is the responsibility for ensuring the proper use of this wealth, the fullest realisation of the new and vast opportunities. The book shows the guidelines for the further improvement of economic management, of the economic machinery to meet the new requirements.

The Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress contains striking illustrations of the steady growth and consolidation of the CPSU, the tried and tested political leader of the working people, its increased role in communist construction. Under developed socialism the Communist Party has become the party of the whole people without changing its class character: by its nature it has always been and remains the party of the working class, the leading force in our society.

Speaking of the need to improve Party guidance of the development of the economy and culture, of the education of people, to improve organisational and political work among the masses, Leonid Brezhnev

noted that the Leninist style of work, a style that is creative, and alien to subjectivism and which is imbued with a scientific approach to all social processes, is one of the main conditions of successful Party guidance.

The CPSU builds its entire revolutionary and transformative activity on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism, paying constant attention to its creative development. The report to the 25th CPSU Congress raises important problems of moulding the new man, outlines the urgent tasks of the social sciences, contains propositions on the directions and means of ideological and educational work corresponding to the requirements of the day, on its close connection with economic and cultural development.

The report contains a profoundly scientific and integral analysis of questions related to Party guidance of state and social organisations under developed socialism. Much remains to be done to improve the work of the Soviets and other state bodies, to develop socialist legislation and law which express the basic advantages of ever strengthening and developing socialist democracy. Mass public organisations, uniting the overwhelming majority of the population of the USSR and constituting an integral part of the Soviet political system, are exerting an ever greater influence in solving the problems of social development. This is a major channel of participation by the country's citizens in running the affairs of society.

Leonid Brezhnev's speeches at the 25th Congress of the CPSU are inspired with optimism and the confidence that the course chosen is the correct one and that the historic tasks facing the country will be successfully accomplished.

Recent years have witnessed the greatly intensified activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the international arena. The materials in the volume show the effectiveness of the foreign political activity of the CPSU, its Central Committee, and the CC Politburo. Leonid Brezhnev's analysis of the world situation is a great contribution to the elaboration of the problems of current world developments and of international relations.

Before the reader there unfolds an impressive panorama of the radical social and political changes that have taken place on the globe, of the growing world revolutionary process, of the continuing change in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism. The main direction of mankind's social progress is determined today by the development of the socialist countries, by their growing might, and by the increased beneficial impact of their foreign policy.

Many speeches and articles in the volume are devoted to the socialist community, for our Party attaches paramount importance to developing its relations with the fraternal countries. As a result of joint efforts based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, equality and comradely cooperation, mutual contacts among the socialist countries are becoming ever closer, new common elements are appearing in their policy, economy and social life, and they are gradually levelling up in their development. This process, we read in the volume, manifests itself today as a definite objective tendency.

Special attention is paid to the implementation of the long-term programme of socialist economic

integration. The socialist community is today the most dynamic economic system in the world. There is no doubt that tomorrow will bring fresh evidence of the unlimited possibilities of socialism, of its historical superiority over capitalism.

Much space is devoted to the problems of the national liberation movement. In many countries which have liberated themselves from colonial dependence deep-going progressive changes are taking place, a complicated process of the redemarcation of class forces is under way, the class struggle is intensifying. The influence of the developing states in the international arena is growing considerably. Imperialism is replying to the successes of the national liberation movement by intensifying its intrigues against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and by doing everything it can to exploit local reactionaries.

Under these conditions, unity of action of the socialist countries and of the national liberation movement assumes ever greater importance. The book gives a full picture of the Soviet Union's principled, disinterested support of the just struggle of the developing countries. Leonid Brezhnev stated from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress: "The Soviet Union fully supports the legitimate aspirations of the young states, their determination to put an end to all imperialist exploitation, and to take full charge of their own national wealth." (L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976, p. 22.*)

The materials in the volume convincingly confirm that the policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet

state is a principled, class and revolutionary policy, as laid down by Lenin. The Soviet Union is always on the side of those fighting for their national and social liberation. The book is imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It voices solidarity with the Communists abroad who are fighting in the difficult conditions of the underground, with the prisoners of fascism, with all fighters for the cause of the working people.

While stressing the need to be vigilant in the face of the intrigues of international reaction, Leonid Brezhnev at the same time points to the invincibility of social progress: "It is high time to draw a simple lesson from history: the movement towards socialism is an objective process. It expresses the will of the peoples, the inner requirements of social development. It is invincible. One must take it into consideration whether one likes it or not." (L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 154, in Russian.*)

Much space is given to the analysis of the problems of the development of the present world revolutionary process. These include: the interaction and unity of the various streams of this process; the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism; revolution as a natural result of a country's internal development, and a powerful lever of social renovation; peaceful and non-peaceful ways of revolution and the need to defend its gains; détente and the class struggle; the ways of consolidating the unity of the world communist and working-class movement; the principles of relations between Communist parties.

The CPSU tackles the issues of war and peace from consistently

class positions. Marxists-Leninists regard the strengthening of peace as a necessary condition for further successes in socialist and communist construction. Peace is essential to the progress of mankind today.

As a result of the consistent efforts of the USSR and other socialist states in a complex and contradictory international situation the tendency towards détente and a lasting peace is gaining ground. It has become the dominating feature in international developments.

The reader sees the persistent and tireless efforts of the Soviet Union to make the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe a success. At the Helsinki Conference Leonid Brezhnev urged the materialisation of détente, that the principles of the Final Act should be firmly rooted in international relations and be put into practice.

The struggle to end the arms race and for disarmament is one of the main directions of Soviet foreign policy. The political détente will be durable only if it is supplemented by a military détente. The volume contains the whole set of Soviet constructive arms limitations and disarmament proposals.

The author exposes the subversive manoeuvres of the opponents of peace, and their false "arguments".

The speeches and articles included in the volume demonstrate that the last two years have witnessed the further growth of the country's economic, political and ideological strength, the further consolidation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the further development of socialist democracy.

The book by the outstanding champion of peace is directed to the

future. It calls to new joint efforts by peoples and states in the battle to normalise the international climate.

The fifth volume helps the reader to gain a better understanding of the

В. И. Ленин, КПСС о работе партийного и государственного аппарата, М., Политиздат, 1976, 623 стр. Ответственные за выпуск К. Черненко, К. Боголюбов, Ф. Петров.

V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on the Work of the Party and State Apparatus. Edited by K. Chernenko, K. Bogolyubov and F. Petrov, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 623 pp.

This book is in three sections and contains CPSU documents covering the entire Soviet period. Included in the first section are works by Lenin—pamphlets, articles, reports and speeches (in full or excerpts), as well as letters, business notes and instructions. They state the basic propositions of the science of administration and summarise the historical experience of the CPSU in establishing and developing Party and state apparatus during the first years of Soviet rule. The second section contains the decisions of CPSU congresses and conferences and the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee which substantiate and creatively develop Lenin's principles and methods of leadership and reflect changes in the organisational structure and in the system of training Party and state cadres. The third section consists of materials showing the process of improvement

achievements to date and of the prospects for further advance, of Marxist-Leninist theory, and of the home and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

of various units of the administrative apparatus. A number of documents in this section are published for the first time.

Lenin's works included in the collection provide a profound and comprehensive substantiation of the principles of the structure and work of Party and state organs and describe their role, tasks and functions in detail. Lenin stressed on more than one occasion that the content and forms of activities of the Soviet administrative apparatus must entirely serve to strengthen and develop the new society. It is the exact reverse of the apparatus of bourgeois states, which is a tool for enslaving the working people and for making capital all-powerful.

Lenin consistently pursued the idea that the Soviet system of administration, expressing the vital interests of the people and built on the firm foundation of democratic centralism, should be free from caste exclusiveness, inertness, bureaucracy and other vices inherent in the apparatus of exploiting states.

In elaborating the principles of the organisation and methods of activities of the Party and state apparatus, Lenin emphasised such criteria as competency of leadership, checking the actual performance of duty and real and permanent contacts with the broad masses of the workers which would guarantee the overcoming of bourgeois distortions.

"We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory," he said, "only when the whole population participates in the work of government" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183).

In promoting to central and local organs of administration those who have made a good showing in labour and in public activities, the Communist Party demands that they should constantly improve their knowledge and have tactful approach to the needs and requirements of the people.

A considerable part of the collection's material is devoted to an analysis of the work of the Party apparatus, the perfecting of its structure, forms and methods of activity. It concentrates the rich experience accumulated by the CPSU in the process of its struggle to strengthen the administrative organs in every way possible and to raise the level and efficiency of political leadership of the masses. These documents reflect the history of the formation and development of the Party apparatus and show the ways and means by which the Party solved the basic problems of economic, state and cultural construction.

As a result of the continuous creative searching which went on in the conditions of socialist construction an efficient organisational structure of the leading organs of the CPSU has been formed and their influence on various spheres of public life has been strengthened. With the victory of socialism in the USSR the Party radically restructured its entire apparatus from top to bottom: the production-branch principle of structure of the Central Committee departments and local Party committees was supplemented by the functional one. After the 18th Party Congress, which consolidated by its

decisions a more flexible system of organisation of the Party apparatus, a number of new departments were created at the Central Committee the aim of which was to strengthen Party leadership in the defence industry and in foreign relations. This was especially important because of the increased military danger and threat of war from German fascism. These changes, as noted in the foreword, reflected the increased leading role of the Communist Party in the construction of a new society and the growing prestige and influence of the CPSU in the international arena.

The published materials give a thorough picture of the system of measures by which the Party influences the administrative apparatus and achieves precision, mobility and efficiency in the work of all its units. In the last few years alone, the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a number of decisions aimed at strengthening Party and state leadership in industry and agriculture, at improving verification of execution of orders and the activities of public control organs, at thriftiness and at lowering expenditures on the upkeep of the administrative apparatus. Much attention is being paid to the economic education of leading cadres, the maturing of criticism and self-criticism, improving the work of the Soviets and perfecting socialist legality.

In implementing these measures the CPSU proceeds from the fact that the struggle for the construction of communism is inseparable from allround development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of the Soviet State and the improvement of the entire system of the political organisation of society.

The October (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU, which put an end to manifestations of voluntarism in the

approach to questions of administration and expressed the Party's indomitable will to observe Lenin's principles of leadership, has become an important milestone on the road to strengthening and improving the state apparatus. The Plenum condemned unwarranted reorganisation of leading organs and took effective measures to eliminate such shortcomings and miscalculations and to improve the well-gearred and well-coordinated central and local Party apparatus. Lenin's principles of Party guidance over the development of the economy and culture have been fully restored and further developed.

It is stressed in the material of the collection that successes in communist construction depend in large measure on a scientific solution to the problems of administration. The CPSU is pursuing a steady course in evolving and introducing scientific-

ly substantiated methods of administering the life of society and in dovetailing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of developed socialism.

The enhancement of the leading role of the CPSU in communist construction demands a further improvement of the administrative apparatus, which is called upon to resolve complicated problems of the development of economy, policy and culture. In this respect the Party attaches special import to the role of administrative personnel in the struggle for a practical realisation of the imposing prospects of the Soviet national economy in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period and to their readiness to realise the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

A. Kostin,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

История внешней политики СССР. Часть первая. 1917—1945. 519 стр. Часть вторая. 1945—1975. 671 стр. Под редакцией А. Громыко, Б. Пономарева. М., изд-во «Наука», 1976.

History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR (Part One, 1917-1945, 519 pp.; Part Two, 1945-1975, 671 pp.), edited by A. Gromyko and B. Ponomarev, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976.

In this new work by a group of Soviet historians—the second edition of *History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR* (the first edition appeared in 1966-1971) the entire complex of the international relations of recent times is examined in the light

of the growing influence of Soviet foreign policy on these relations, a policy absolutely new in essence, forms and methods.

The second edition brings the reader practically to the present day, thus enabling him to acquaint himself with an analysis of the events of the last five-year period, which is with good reason called the turning point in the creating of a new climate in international relations. It is precisely in this five-year period that the transition from the cold war to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems was realised. Everything possible was done to ensure peace and security for all peoples. "In the eyes of the peoples of the whole world," stressed L. I. Brezhnev in the Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Party Congress,

"the Land of Soviets is by right regarded as the bulwark, the standard-bearer of peace. We have done and continue to do all we can to safeguard peace, and rid mankind of new destructive wars!" (L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 155).

The Soviet Union has steered a course of consistent struggle for the implementation of its noble foreign policy aims, from Lenin's Decree on Peace of 1917 to the new tasks in the international arena defined by the 25th CPSU Congress. In examining it the authors discuss in detail each stage of the international activity of the Soviet Union in concrete historical conditions and trace the profound changes which have taken place in the international situation in the past 50 years.

The book tells how during the course of decades the USSR displayed firmness and courage in its lone struggle against the schemes of the imperialist states. Its foreign policy has played an outstanding role in this struggle against imperialism and has helped to safeguard the Soviet state's security. In the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 against the fascist invaders Soviet foreign policy was instrumental in achieving victory by creating a broad anti-Hitler coalition. It should be noted that in highlighting all these events the second edition has been enriched by a great number of new archive materials.

The international role of the Soviet Union has grown immensely since its victory in the Second World War. The authors use convincing factual material to demonstrate that this was the result of the growing prestige of the Soviet Union, the weakening of

capitalism, the liquidation of capitalist encirclement of the Land of Soviets, and the emergence of the world socialist system. The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism also brought about further changes in the correlation of world forces.

At the same time the first postwar period was the period of the cold war. Imperialism brought into action its entire military, political, economic and ideological arsenal in a vain attempt to weaken, dismember and, if possible, destroy the world of socialism. That period demanded a great measure of firmness, flexibility, caution and diplomatic art from Soviet foreign policy.

Soviet foreign-policy aims at the present stage include:

— to ensure together with the other socialist countries favourable international conditions for building socialism and communism, to consolidate the unity and cohesion of socialist countries and their friendship and fraternity;

— to support the national liberation movement and to carry out allround cooperation with the young developing countries;

— to work for a consistent realisation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to work for a stable peace, for a lessening and subsequent elimination of the danger of a new world war, to rebuff resolutely the aggressive designs of imperialism.

The Soviet Union bases its relations with other socialist countries on the principles of socialist internationalism. These are relations between sovereign and completely equal states on the basis of allround cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance.

The community of socialist states is one of the most amazing phenome-

non of the present age. Using a wealth of factual material, the authors show how this new historical community of peoples and states took shape, gained in strength and became consolidated. The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty is one of the tried and tested forms of cooperation between the fraternal parties of the countries of the community. The long-term programme of socialist economic integration adopted in 1971 has raised the cooperation of these countries to a new and higher level. The ideological cooperation of the CPSU with the Communist Parties of the community is assuming ever greater significance.

The broad participation of the formerly oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in independent historical activity is a significant feature of present world development. The attitude of the Soviet Union to the complex processes taking place in the developing countries is clear and definite. Respect for the right of every nation to choose its own path of development is a firm principle of Soviet foreign policy. But, just as everywhere else, the Soviet Union stands here on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, fully supporting the legitimate aspirations of young states and their determination to rid themselves of imperialist exploitation once and for all.

The coexistence of countries with differing social systems is an objective reality in which mankind has been living for the past 50 years. The authors of *History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR* follow in detail the persistent and complicated struggle the Soviet Union had to wage at all stages of its history. Today the

purposeful policy of the Soviet Union, which is based on a profound scientific analysis of the problems of world development and which takes into account the constructive opportunities existing in the world, has already made for serious and positive changes in international relations.

The European Conference has created favourable conditions for preserving and consolidating peace in Europe. The turn for the better in relations with the United States, the major capitalist power, was decisive in diminishing the danger of a new world war and helped to normalise the international situation as a whole. The struggle for a halt to the arms race has been and remains one of the main directions of Soviet foreign policy.

The active participation of the people and their organisations and political parties in resolving the problems of war and peace is an important factor of present-day development, ensuring in large measure the positive changes in international relations. Progressive and democratic forces, millions of peoples of goodwill all over the world are uniting into a great coalition in the service of peace, the main concern of all peoples.

However, the fact that complications, rooted in the remnants of the cold war, still remain in the relations between the Soviet Union and a number of capitalist states cannot be ignored. Major Western states are still reluctant to put an end to the arms race.

In this situation the 25th CPSU Congress defined new tasks for Soviet foreign policy and put forward a new programme of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and

independence of peoples. The Soviet Union in cooperation with other fraternal socialist countries and with other peaceloving states will continue to apply its efforts for the implementation of this programme.

Practical results are the proof of the correctness of any policy. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the authors stress, has stood the test of time. The Soviet state has overcome the designs of many powerful and dangerous enemies and has achieved the outstanding position it

now occupies—that of a mighty socialist state. Today, as half a century ago, Soviet foreign policy is a class, internationalist policy by its very nature. It not only defends the interests of the Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries but also expresses the concern for peace shown by the most progressive force on earth—the international working class and by all working people.

V. Nekrasov

Общественность и проблемы войны и мира. М., изд-во «Международные отношения», 1976, 320 стр.

Public Opinion and Problems of War and Peace, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1976, 320 pp.

The book under review treats of the main aspects of the struggle against the threat of war, for the preservation of peace, and peaceful cooperation of peoples.

This is the first book in which a detailed study is made of the development of the peace movement in the period when the system of international relations was recast on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The authors have centred their efforts on giving a broad picture reflecting the general and specific features of the struggle of various sections of the people for peace in present conditions, and their role in the settlement of international conflicts.

The book shows the immense positive impact of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, of the programme of

the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of peoples, on the peace movement. Also shown is the role of the working class, trade unions, the youth, women, scientists and cultural workers as well as of broad sections of the peasantry in the struggle for peace.

The authors underscore that the broad movement of the public is one of the factors ensuring the further success of the struggle for the materialisation of détente. At the same time they show the complexity and contradictoriness of both the process of détente and of the development of the popular movement in which the democratic forces are waging a struggle for the elimination of still existing vestiges of the cold war, for strengthening cooperation among various political trends on the basis of joint actions for security and lasting peace and for disarmament.

The reader is familiarised not only with the main features of the peace movement but also with the problems in the focus of its attention. The monograph analyses the activity of major international non-governmental (public) organisations,

shows the diverse forms and methods of this activity. Aiming to give a full picture of the component elements of the peace movement the authors do so through the broad spectrum of its various groups and organisations. These include: the World Peace Council (WPC), the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the International Institute for Peace in Vienna, the Pugwash Movement, the Dartmouth Conference, the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA), religious and international federalist organisations.

The Editorial Board and the team of authors included Soviet public figures active in the peace move-

ment, as well as scholars who researched the issues covered in the monograph: V. Shaposhnikov, O. Kharkhardin, P. Pimenov, Academician E. Fedorov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Trukhanovsky, Doctors of Science G. Morozov, A. Poltorak, V. Zhurkin, and others.

The book was published on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee and was prepared by the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the assistance of the Soviet Peace Fund.

G. Maisky

Стратегия империализма и борьба СССР за мир и разоружение. М., изд-во «Наука», 1974, 432 стр.

The Strategy of Imperialism and the USSR's Struggle for Peace and Disarmament, Nauka Publishers, 1974, 432 pp.

As the process of international détente spreads and gains momentum there is an ever growing need to comprehend the components of this process and those objective and subjective factors which influence its development. It is precisely with this end in view that a group of scientists at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences undertook a study the result of which was the book under review.

The authors have convincingly demonstrated the positive role of Soviet foreign policy in the struggle to consolidate universal peace and introduce the principles of peaceful coexistence into the practice of inter-

national relations. This policy conducted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and based on the support of the peace forces, of all progressive mankind has prevented the most aggressive imperialist forces from provoking a nuclear conflict. Moreover, this policy has been instrumental in localising a number of dangerous critical situations. Resolute resistance to the designs of aggressors combined with implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the authors stress, has made it possible to prevent war in the past few decades.

The book shows the sources of socialist diplomacy's effectiveness in solving problems of vital importance to the destinies of mankind. The successes of socialism and the forces of peace are due, in particular, to the fact that they always take concrete conditions into account and seek the most effective means for advancing towards their goal.

Disarmament is the crux of the struggle for peace and the security of nations.

Highly interesting is the thesis advanced in the book, according to which development of the scientific and technological revolution in peaceful branches of the economy stimulates the solution of the disarmament problem. The objective need to activate scientific, technological and economic cooperation in conditions of the STR becomes a powerful impetus for détente. A material base for the policy of peaceful coexistence is gradually formed as the economic links between socialist and capitalist countries are expanded. And the development of the process of peaceful coexistence, in its turn, has a beneficial effect on the solution of the disarmament problem.

The USSR and other socialist countries have been successful in making the question of limiting production of arms of mass destruction and, above all, of nuclear and rocket weaponry, one of the most important in international negotiations. A special place in the book is devoted to Soviet-US understandings aimed at limiting the strategic arms race. The authors note that the signing of the Soviet-US documents is an important step towards solving the problem of limiting the arms race in its

most essential part—reduction of the most powerful means of conducting war. The USSR-USA Agreement to avert nuclear war is of fundamental significance. On the whole, the complex of Soviet-US agreements is an important stage on the road to preventing nuclear war and strengthening peace and the security of nations. The ban on the two types of weapons of mass destruction—chemical and bacteriological—also serves this purpose.

The characteristic features of socialist foreign policy can also be traced on the example of the intricate problem of European security. A special chapter in the book is devoted to the efforts of socialist diplomacy to convene and ensure the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The facts collected and analysed in the book demonstrate the beneficial effect a genuine policy of peace has on all international processes. Proof of this is the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, which has opened up prospects for new practical steps on the road of détente.

M. Aleshin

В. Г. СМОЛЯНСКИЙ. Социалистическая организация общества и антикоммунизм. М., изд-во «Экономика», 1974, 224 стр.

V. G. SMOLYANSKY, The Socialist Organisation of Society and Anti-Communism, Moscow, Ekonomika Publishers, 1974, 224 pp.

The more consolidated socialism becomes as a social and world sys-

tem, the more pronounced are the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to undermine it from "within", to discredit it ideologically. In their conceptions they are trying to present in a false light the correlation of the general and the specific in the development of socialism in individual countries, to distort the ideas about the common essence and variety of forms of socialist development advanced by the founders of scientific socialism and to construct "national models of socialism".

It is justly noted in the book under review, which is directed against such conceptions, that there is no, and cannot be, any socialism without general principles and regularities, without universal traits expressing the main essence of its content. Unity of socialist countries is examined here above all as a unity of content of the diverse forms of socialist organisation of society. Those who reduce the content of socialism to a "multitude of ways" are in effect divorcing the movement towards the goal from the goal itself and replacing this content, which is common to all socialist countries, i.e., its qualitative definitiveness, by specifics of the national forms of social organisation.

The author shows that bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians ignore the actual merger of the forms of organisation of social life taking place in socialist countries. They portray the process of socialist construction, above all in European socialist countries, as a formation of "individual peculiarities and forms", which might allegedly lead first to deformation and then to a capitalist regeneration of the socio-economic structure.

The most diverse bourgeois theories of the "evolution" of socialism are based, in the author's opinion, on the idea of the convergence of socialism with capitalism, the capitalist "erosion" of socialism. The convergence theory is an attempt to contrapose a certain complex system of political, social, economic and philosophical views to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It is, as is generally known, the dominant trend in bourgeois propaganda.

V. G. Smolyansky attempts to trace the sources of the theory of convergence and to determine its place in the system of bourgeois ideology. In present-day conditions capitalist ideologists have to discard their prophecies of doom for socialism; few people believe in these prophecies today. Nowadays the strategic aim of convergence theoreticians has assumed a somewhat different direction. The version of the progressive character of national exclusiveness of small states from the great powers under the slogan of strengthening their independence and self-reliance has been launched with the aim of disuniting the socialist countries.

The contemporary anti-Communists are mounting a particularly zealous offensive against socialist integration, counting in the process on a "capitalist evolution" of the economic integration of socialist countries.

The work contains a classification of bourgeois approaches to the problem of socialist integration. The author notes that all bourgeois definitions of integration lack socio-economic criteria and an analysis of its political as well as economic basis and objective prerequisites. Convergence theoreticians, in proceeding from an imaginary similarity of social structure under socialism and capitalism, are trying to extend this thesis of similarity to problems of integration within the framework of the two opposing world systems as well. These ideological falsifications of socialist integration are subjected to well-argued criticism in the book.

V. Rachkov

М. ЧЕПИКОВ. *Интеграция науки*. М., изд-во «МЫСЛЬ», 1975, 246 стр.

M. CHEPIKOV, *Integration of Science*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 246 pp.

The increased influence of science on the life of society has attracted the attention of scientists and resulted in a veritable flood of research. The author of the book under review examines one of the most important aspects of scientific progress and proves that in conditions of developed socialism integration—the mutual influence and interpenetration of various spheres of knowledge—turns from a tendency into a determining regularity and acquires an ever broader objective basis. Extensive material has been used to show the ways and forms of integration processes.

The author notes that both the influence of the universal scientific method, the method of dialectical and materialistic philosophy, and the application of more particular philosophical as well as the specific scientific methods lead to integration. This is convincingly illustrated by the example of the mathematisation of science. The author seeks the reasons for the integrating role of mathematics in its interdependence with philosophy. With this purpose in mind he analyses the correlation of dialectical and mathematical logic and examines the essence of mathematical abstraction, its specifics and how it differs from abstraction in other sciences.

Integration also occurs when different sciences work on common objects of research. In this connection M. Chepikov traces the historical evolution of the notions about scientific objects and subjects. The

progress of knowledge is conducive to a situation in which certain scientific subjects are increasingly being studied by many specialised branches. The logic of cognition leads to a synthesis of various spheres of knowledge. Nevertheless, the author considers that it is insufficient to rely on the objective course of their junction. It is necessary actively to intervene in this process, to facilitate the formation of a harmonious and dialectically interrelated system of scientific notions about certain phenomena, aspects and spheres of modern life.

In discussing the problem of the synthesis of scientific knowledge, the author reveals the interaction and continuity of the systems of concepts and theories.

M. Chepikov also probes another tendency in the development of science—differentiation, or the dividing of some of its fields into independent branches. This tendency is examined historically at the various stages of cognition. The author points out the progressive role of differentiation as well as the negative consequences expressed in the self-isolation of specific sciences. Further development of the processes of differentiation finds its solution in integration, through seeking common ground for the uncoordinated fields of knowledge. The modern synthesised sciences—cybernetics, molecular biology and some others—bind up many concrete spheres of science. The author stresses that creative differentiation is now an obstacle to "destructive" differentiation.

While correctly noting that the processes of the integration of sciences and scientific knowledge are dissimilar, the author, regretfully, only outlines the distinctions between them without identifying their

essence to the full. In actual fact both the integration of sciences and the integration of scientific knowledge, while conditioning each other, have at the same time a whole set of distinguishing features which identify themselves differently at various stages of their development.

The processes of integration and differentiation in science and scientific knowledge are also insufficiently defined. While justifiably stressing the leading role of integration, the author, voluntarily or not, pushes differentiation into the background. They are nevertheless both closely and dialectically interrelated and in-

terconditioned. Differentiation, while increasingly promoting integration, continues at the same time to progress rapidly, especially in leading branches of science, and paralyses integration processes. In its turn, integration stimulates differentiation, although they frequently counterpose one another.

This book will be of value to all those who are interested in the problems of the development of modern sciences.

D. Griбанov,
Cand. Sc. (Philos.)

Политическая экономика современного монополистического капитализма. В двух томах, изд. 2-е, доработанное. Ответственные редакторы Н. Иноземцев, А. Милейковский, В. Мартынов. М., изд-во «Мысль», 1975, 1—430 стр., 2—431 стр.

The Political Economy of Present-Day Monopoly Capitalism in two volumes; Second, Revised Edition, edited by N. Inozemtsev, A. Mileykovsky, V. Martynov, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, Vol. 1, 430 pp., Vol. 2, 431 pp.

The new edition of this collective work by a group of Soviet scientists is a notable contribution to the scientific writings on the political economy of present-day capitalism. The second edition contains new material and important conclusions based on a summing-up of a large number of concrete data.

The work is structured as follows:

- 1) the historical place of imperialism;
- 2) the main trends in the develop-

ment of the economy of monopoly capitalism; 3) the role of the state in the economy; 4) the system of international economic and political relations of present-day capitalism; and 5) the class struggle and the world revolutionary process.

The authors have taken a creative approach to Marx's plan for structuring a "system of bourgeois economy" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, 2nd Edition, Vol. 12, pp. 9 and 735, and Vol. 46, Part I, p. 111), and to Lenin's works on monopoly capitalism and the world economy in the imperialist epoch. From Lenin's works they took the substance of his approach: the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. That is the kind of approach that has been implemented in the analysis of the mechanism behind the functioning of capitalism in a situation in which it is confronted by a system of real socialism.

The study opens with a description of the place of monopoly capitalism in the world today and draws the conclusion that the epoch of the domination of the international bourgeoisie has ended. The authors

have produced a solid theoretical elaboration of the conclusion put forward by the international communist movement concerning the loss by imperialism of its erstwhile dominant role in the world, and its urge to adapt itself at any price to the new historical situation, to the world situation that is rapidly changing against it.

In order to resist the pressures from the forces of social progress, state-monopoly capitalism now seeks to mobilise all its resources, being forced to resort to measures and instruments which are now and again alien to the self-seeking nature of the system of wage slavery, and which do not spring directly from the fundamental economic law of the bourgeois system. Present-day capitalism seeks to step up the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to make production more efficient in its economic competition with socialism, applying the latest methods worked out by the bourgeois science of management in order to camouflage the intensified exploitation of the working people, and making some concessions to the socioeconomic demands of the working class.

Still, despite all these subtle measures, contemporary capitalism cannot keep pace in the historic contest with the socialist system. A quarter-century ago, the Soviet Union, the leading socialist country, had a national income and industrial output coming to only 30 per cent of the level of the USA, the leading capitalist country. Today the figures are, respectively, two-thirds and three-quarters of the US level. The steady growth of the superiority of socialism is ever more pronounced not only within the framework of the national economies, but also in the

world economic arena, in the sphere of inter-state economic and political relations.

Today it is impossible to understand the mechanism governing the internal regularities of contemporary capitalism without taking account of the deep-going and all-embracing changes in the world arena. Only with a consideration of these fundamental changes is it possible to make a correct assessment of the vast growth in the scale on which production and capital are being concentrated, and the process is being intensified and accelerated on the basis of socialisation of capitalist production. The authors have brought together and analysed a vast volume of data making it possible to compare the level and scale in the concentration of capital and production at the turn of the century and in its third quarter.

It is not only the scale of production and the level of capital concentration that have changed beyond recognition. Qualitative changes have also taken place in the face of the monopoly associations. The multisectoral concern has long since become the dominant form of monopoly, and where cartels do arise such concerns are always among their participants. Under the scientific and technological revolution, the process of diversification of capitalist production has gone a long way, as also of the unification of the capital of corporations from various industries not necessarily joined in technological cycles. The rapid formation of conglomerates, which are monopoly associations haphazardly linking up groups of enterprises in the most diverse spheres of the economy, has been an even more remarkable phenomenon.

The changes in the form and character of the monopolisation of

production and capital have created new conditions for the operation of the laws of capitalist profit. The authors have produced convincing calculations to show the specific dynamics of the general (average) and monopoly superprofits; the rate of profit in the monopolised and non-monopolised sectors of the capitalist economy; and the appropriation of differential and absolute land rent.

There is a highly expert analysis of finance capital, the highest stage of monopolisation. Reflecting the changes in the sphere of material production, the credit and banking sphere also tends to change the structure and scale of the "public" for which it caters. Personal savings have become a most important source of loan capital. New financial institutions have made their appearance in the structure of banking. These are, first, investment companies, which are monopolies buying and selling securities for the owners of huge fortunes; second, these are insurance companies, pension funds, "charity" organisations, etc. These "institutions" have a dual politico-economic nature: on the one hand, they ensure the maintenance and overhaul "repair" (insurance) of manpower, and on the other, muster the working people's savings as an additional source for financing the investments of the major monopolies. The authors show that the spread of consumer credit and the system of instalment buying now have a tremendous role to play in developing new elements of the credit system.

On the whole, finance capital is presented by the authors as a system in which all the forms of industrial and banking monopolies, distribution of the means of production, manpower and other resources in the

interests of the financial oligarchy are irreversibly welded together. For its part, this élite of the monopoly bourgeoisie is characterised as the upper layer of the rentiers predominating over the functioning capitalists and personifying control over the crucial mass of fictitious capital.

The authors are quite right in starting from the assumption that there is no "pure" monopoly or "pure" finance capital. The capitalist monopolies tower like a superstructure over small-scale production.

The analysis of the structural changes in the social product, in the reproductive apparatus and the national income has a fitting place in the book under review. It contains a detailed and original Marxist study of this subject, which is geared against the bourgeois analysts of "product" and "income". The authors show very well that under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution changes have been taking place in the organic structure of capital, shifts in the proportions between Department I and Department II and between Group A and Group B in industry, and in the role of agriculture in the realisation of the aggregate social product. The authors draw an important conclusion about the tendency of the value composition of capital in the 20th century to stabilise.

Much interest attaches to the analysis of the capitalist cycle and the specific features of the periodic crises of overproduction, which helps the reader understand the complex processes in the postwar capitalist cycles, the mechanism of their transition from one phase to another, the interlacing of cyclical crises with structural, monetary, financial, currency, and other crises.

The authors devote much attention to the connection between the scientific and technological revolution and the social changes under capitalism, giving highly meaningful characteristics of the qualitative changes in the structure and condition of the working class, and the rise in its technical and educational levels. They draw the interesting conclusion that under the scientific and technological revolution the old division into the two contingents of proletarians working by hand and people working by brain tends to be sharply obliterated. The competition and rivalry incited by capital between the workers by hand and by brain used to be an important means of maintaining capitalist exploitation. Today, the ground for such rivalry tends to disappear. The authors have produced extensive material to show that the slogan concerning the alliance of workers by hand and by brain is timely and viable.

Let us recall that Marx believed that the economic role of the state was a necessary concern of political economy, and the authors devote considerable space to this set of problems. They have carried out a consistently logical and concrete historical analysis of the evolution of the economic functions of the bourgeois state and the development of a whole range of instruments which it uses to influence economic life.

The authors show that the conjunction of the vast power of the monopolies with the power of the imperialist state into a single mechanism of exploitation and plunder of the majority of the nations signifies a deep-going change in the relations of production of monopoly capitalism. Here again the dialectics is such that it is impossible either to

return to some "pure" private monopoly capitalism, or to effect a complete "étatisation" of the monopolies. Consequently, the system of state-monopoly capitalism that has taken shape is not one in which state capitalism and private capitalism border on each other, not a combination of micro- and macro-levels, but an intricate structure made up of the close alliance of the state, as a collective monopolist, and the private monopolies.

The authors present a circumstantial analysis of the most diverse forms and lines of state-monopoly regulation of the economy, ranging from direct state participation in the reproduction process, as a direct agent of the latter, to indirect measures for regulating the movement of the economy by means of purely superstructural instruments. The readers' attention is drawn to a characteristic of the state-monopoly programming of the economy, its instruments, its limits and contradictions. In one of the chapters, it is stressed that the so-called overfulfilment of programmes when the outlook is favourable corresponds to the objective laws of capitalist accumulation and paves the way for the periods of unfavourable outlook, when the programme is "underfulfilled".

The authors have succeeded in showing many aspects of the nature, mechanism and motive forces of present-day inflation, like the degeneration of the system of monetary circulation into a monetary and credit structure, the cumulative dynamics of mutual credits between banks, the role of quasimoney and other spurious representatives of gold, the importance of government military spending and the investment into new equipment being whipped up by the scientific and technological

revolution, the practice of faster write-offs, monopoly price-formation, and so on.

The work includes a wide range of problems arising from the relations of international intercourse, with the use of Lenin's conclusions about such "intercourse" being nothing but production exploitation and financial stifling of some countries by others. Among the economic elements organically inherent in present-day capitalism analysed in the work are the export of capital and its international migration, the domination of international monopolies and the emergence from their midst of so-called transnational monopoly associations, neocolonialism and the processes of interstate economic integration. Considerable attention is devoted to the problems of international settlements and monetary and financial relations, the crisis of the monetary system and the changing role of gold in the world turnover, the evolution of international capitalist trade and its structural and value changes. The authors have subjected to a circumstantial analysis the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and those between the industrialised and the developing countries within the world capitalist economy.

Let us note in this context that the group of scientists were faced perhaps with their most difficult task in the study of international economic relations of present-day bourgeois society. Up to now, the laws of the world economy have not, as a rule, been included in politico-economic studies, being referred to sectoral disciplines. It is all the more welcome that the work under review contains a qualified analysis of some world economic processes, notably, the relations between the monopolies

and the state in the process of capitalist integration.

The final chapter sums up the results of the research carried out by this large group of scientists over a period of many years. It contains some theoretical propositions concerning the possible prospects for the development of contemporary capitalism and its strategy in the contest with the world revolutionary process.

Among the highly important conclusions are those concerning the transition by most developed capitalist countries from an extensive to a mainly intensive type of reproduction, concerning the reciprocal stimulating effect of the growing consumption fund from the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution on the course of that revolution itself, concerning the structural changes in the economy of capitalism, and the two groups of factors engendering them.

The work also contains a highly meaningful conclusion concerning the great gap between the relatively higher level of material standards for sizable sections of the population and their profound dissatisfaction with the whole way of life, with its "qualitative" aspects, with bourgeois morality and all the spurious values offered by capitalism, which tramples individual freedoms underfoot.

The authors have not lost sight of some of the effective measures being taken by capitalism in order to drag out its own existence, but they show very well that the basic objective laws of historical development over the past 60 years, and especially in the postwar period, provide fresh confirmation for the great viable power of the conclusions drawn by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of imperialism and the theory of socialist revolution: the inevitable collapse of

capitalism and the inexorable advent of socialism.

The new edition is a capital study of the economic system of present-day capitalism both in the scope of the phenomena which it covers and the ideas with which it deals in scientific terms. The work contains

calculations and groupings made by the authors with the use of mathematical methods of economic analysis. All of this makes the monograph novel and creative.

E. Pletnyov,
D. Sc. (Econ.)

O. K. РЫБАКОВ. *Экономическая эффективность сотрудничества СССР с социалистическими странами*. М., изд-во «Мысль», 1975, 272 стр.

O. K. RYBAKOV, *Economic Efficiency of the USSR's Cooperation with the Socialist Countries*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 272 pp.

The Soviet Union's external economic ties have been developing at a fast pace and have attained a high level: in 1975, the USSR's foreign trade was valued at almost 50 thousand million rubles, and was more than 25 per cent higher than in 1974. The 25th Congress of the CPSU pointed to the need to realise measures aimed at the Soviet Union's broader participation in the international division of labour and enhancement of the role of its external economic ties in the fulfilment of its national-economic tasks and acceleration of its scientific and technological progress.

Economic substantiation and calculation of efficiency at every level of national-economic management have an important role to play in improving external economic ties and selecting their most rational structure.

O. Rybakov's book does much to fulfil this task. The author's approach is strictly scientific and well-

reasoned. Almost one-third of the work consists of an examination of the basic concepts and categories of economic efficiency of foreign trade and an analysis of the initial data used in its calculations.

The author's scientific stand as regards the role of external economic ties in the process of reproduction and the economic nature of the advantages gained by a country from its participation in the international division of labour is close to that taken by a number of Soviet economists who adhere to the theory of economies in labour inputs as a result of international exchange (see O. Bogomolov, *Theory and Methodology of the International Socialist Division of Labour*, Moscow, 1967; V. Ladygin, I. Matorin, *Problems of the CMEA Countries' Cooperation in Developing Their Fuel and Raw Material Base*, Moscow, 1968).

The author says that the relative differences in the costs of manufacturing goods involved in international trade constitute the main mechanism through which the advantages of the international division of labour are realised. But he also emphasises that under socialism this mechanism functions in a totally different manner than under capitalism. The principle of comparative costs is not an abstract theoretical scheme. Its expression in reality is most closely connected with the social basis with-

in whose framework actual economic processes take place.

Much interest attaches to the author's definition of the criterion of efficiency expressing in adequate form the economy of social labour. The author says that minimum inputs for the production of national income are such a criterion. In connection with this criterion of efficiency, he puts forward an interesting idea about the role of external economic ties in the creation of national income. He says that as a result of exchange on the external market the value of the national income does not increase, but its real volume does.

In a separate chapter the author analyses the main factors and indices of the efficiency of external economic ties and value categories on which the calculations are based. The author analyses economic efficiency indices for various forms of

external economic ties: foreign trade, including operations involving credits, cooperation and specialisation of production, and participation in joint CMEA projects.

The monograph ends with a chapter on the planning of the Soviet Union's economic cooperation with the socialist countries. Special attention should be given to the author's approach to the methodological problems in integration planning and its connection with national-economic planning. The author has put forward a number of very interesting proposals for improving the planning of integration measures, notably joint major objective programmes for developing production and construction of projects under credits from the International Investment Bank.

V. Shastitko

P. A. САФАРОВ. *Общественное мнение и государственное управление*. М., изд-во «Юридическая литература», 1975, 256 стр.

R. A. SAFAROV, *Public Opinion and State Administration*, Moscow, Yuridicheskaya Literatura Publishers, 1975, 256 pp.

The author concentrates on problems arising from the impact of public opinion on state administration and the extent to which public opinion is involved in the process. He says that public opinion exerts an influence, first, on the goals, tasks, functions and competence of administrative agencies, and second, on the formulation, adoption and realisation of administrative decisions.

The main idea the author is guided by is that developed socialism im-

plies maturity of its democratic institutions, including public opinion, which is also a measure for evaluating all the theoretical and practical problems arising from the interaction between public opinion and state administration.

Characterising the importance of public opinion as a factor exerting an influence on state administration, Safarov stresses that this is ensured by the guiding role of the Communist Party, which seeks to make administration as democratic as possible and to intensify the control of public opinion over the agencies of state administration.

Much interest attaches to the author's analysis of a number of sociological problems. He says that social requirements directly or indirectly determine the content of public opinion, which for its part has an influence on social requirements and

helps change their structure. It can exert an influence on the acceleration or slow-down of the rates at which new requirements—material and spiritual, social and personal—tend to grow. Requirements can be revealed in the most diverse ways, but it is people who are the sovereign source of information. The author believes that the value of public-opinion polls lies in the fact that they help to establish the maturity of social requirements, their structure and degree of satisfaction.

His analysis of information is of equal interest. The author regards the circulation of complete and up-to-date information along direct and feed-back channels between the subject and the object of administration as the basis for the normal functioning of public opinion.

Efficient administration implies a constant movement of information, which must reach the competent centres of decision-making. A consensus between public opinion and the decisions and acts of government agencies, says the author, may be established only when the latter responds positively to the remarks, proposals and demands of public opinion, and when there is an identity of standpoints between the subject of administration and society as expressed in an identity of evaluation, and when administrative decisions are in accord with public opinion.

There are some very interesting pages on the psychological aspects of public opinion: the problems of orientation and stereotype, perception and acceptance, will and judgement, motivation and evaluation, values and expectations. These problems are closely linked with the formation, expression, establishment and use of public opinion. In the same context, the author expres-

ses some useful hypotheses concerning the motivation and behaviour of citizens, and persons in office and government agencies.

He believes that public opinion results from society's response to stimuli operating in a concrete situation. Substantiating in this context the need for public-opinion polls, the author stresses the importance of having a knowledge of the response among citizens to the decisions and acts of administrative agencies, because public-opinion polls, he believes, help determine the attitude to the subject of administration and to establish the types of response to the corresponding administrative acts. He does not merely deal with the response of public opinion to administrative decisions and acts, but urges the need to know the causes of the public response.

Considering the activity of the mass media, he says that the press, radio and television tend increasingly to become ever more complex, spreading their influence on political purposes, legal rules and theoretical knowledge, and reflecting information on social evaluations and attitudes. Public opinion is most effective when it can use the mass media in its own interests regularly to discuss fundamental aspects of the work of administrative agencies.

In his book, Safarov has made use of official documents (normative acts, correspondence between administrative agencies and trade unions), conversations with citizens, heads of mass organisations, employees of local administrative agencies, ministers and other officials. The information thus obtained has been critically analysed and processed, and then correlated according to sociological and socio-psychological elements.

Yu. Sherkovin

В. В. ДЕНИСОВ. *Социология насилия (критика современных буржуазных концепций)*. М., Политиздат, 1975, 214 стр.

V. V. DENISOV, *The Sociology of Violence (A Critique of Present-Day Bourgeois Conceptions)*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 214 pp.

According to UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences the number of studies on the problems of social violence in the West has grown considerably. Over the past few years, a number of international symposiums specially dealing with the problems of social violence, of "human aggressiveness", and so on, has been held. A special complex discipline, violenceology, has even taken shape.

The author takes a consistently Marxist-Leninist approach in making a comprehensive critical analysis of present-day bourgeois doctrines of violence, showing the historical evolution of the "philosophy of violence", its characteristic features, and its place and role within the system of the political and ideological superstructure of monopoly capitalism and the present-day ideological struggle.

The bulk of the book consists of an analysis of the latest bourgeois conceptions of violence, with the author showing that the general methodological defects of the "philosophy of violence" are specifically expressed in the individual doctrines.

The author has made a successful attempt at producing a scientific system of theories of violence which are highly diverse in epistemological character and socio-political tenor. His approach to these is strictly

differentiated, taking account of the extensive range of observable distinctions and shades, corresponding to the broad spectrum along which the present-day bourgeois consciousness is stratified.

The author shows very well that these theories are characterised by: 1) the abstract, extra-class, extra-historical approach; 2) absolutisation of the role of violence in history; 3) extrapolation of the defects of bourgeois society generating the "escalation of violence" to civilisation in general; and 4) idealistic and metaphysical explanation of the nature of violence on the strength of irrational principles and extra-social factors.

The reader will be especially interested in his critical analysis of the biogenetic, psychological and neurophysiological and also some new aspects of the "technocratic" theories of violence. The author presents some interesting material and shows these theories in great depth, exposing their substance, and class and epistemological roots and ideological functions, and subjecting the reasoning of their advocates to sharp criticism.

The socio-ethological theory of violence is an important contemporary form used to express the traditional idea propounded by bourgeois social thinkers concerning the biologisation of social life. Ethology as a biological discipline studying the behaviour of animals in their natural habitat was most intensively developed in the 1940s and the 1950s chiefly by the Austrian biologist Konrad Lorenz. It marked an important advance in the science of animal behaviour. But a number of Western scientists (A. Ardrey, J. Scott and D. Morris, among others) have mechanically applied the regularities discovered by ethology in the behaviour

of animals to human life and human society. The social ethologists are especially attracted by Lorenz's idea about "intraspecific aggression", that is; that under certain circumstances animals have an instinctive mechanism of aggression that is set in motion for the purposes of defending territory, the female, hierarchy in the herd, and ultimately for the preservation of the species.

Such scientists apply this conclusion to the sphere of socio-political relations among men, and; in line with the long since discredited logic of social Darwinism, assert that every type of social violence, notably war, results from the biological "instinct of aggressiveness" which is allegedly inherent in man as a member of the animal kingdom. But the diverse types of social violence and political struggle are ultimately always an expression of class relations between conscious individuals setting themselves definite aims and variously pursuing socially rooted interests. In his critique of social ethology, the author is guided by Lenin's well-known methodological proposition that it is futile to tag "biologo-sociological" labels onto crises, revolutions, the struggle of classes and similar social phenomena. He has also taken full account of another important methodological proposition of the Marxist classics, namely, that while the social element does predominate in man it should not lead to neglect of the natural, biological element which has a substantial role to play in human behaviour, depending on the level of development of the individual and his physical and mental state. Consideration of the influence exerted by the biological factor on human behaviour enables the author to produce a more profound and convincing critique of socio-ethological

theories. He shows that the mechanism of the "basic urges" (the instinct of self-preservation, the sexual instinct), which may truly be at the basis of the highest motivations of human behaviour, are as a rule radically modified under the impact of social factors.

Alongside the socio-ethological theory of violence, diverse neo-Freudian theories of violence are very popular in the West today, and the starting methodological and socio-epistemological positions of both theories are characteristically very close to each other. While the social ethologists treat biogenetic factors as an absolute and completely separate these from social factors, the neo-Freudians tend to absolutise psychological and psychopathological factors, notably man's innate, unconscious instincts, which are also basically biological.

The author shows that present-day psychological theories of violence (Ch. Brenner, A. Garma, E. Morin, K. Hartmann, and others) have followed Sigmund Freud in regarding expressions of violence in social life by analogy with psychopathological disorders. The author shows the flimsiness of the neo-Freudian conceptions, emphasising that while the idea of the "instinct of aggression" is wrong with respect to individual behaviour it is even more absurd when applied to social phenomena and processes, to relations between classes, nations and states.

Denisov also looks at the latest tendencies in the neo-Freudian conceptions which spring from an urge to modernise these and to strip them of glaring subjectivism and psychologism. This is expressed in the currently fashionable attempts to combine Freudian ideas with some Marxist propositions (A. Mitscherlich, M. G. Ross). They regard the

"aggressive instinct" as a key genetic premise for the corresponding behaviour which may be realised only under the corresponding social conditions. Some neo-Freudians (Erich Fromm, K. Horney, H. S. Sullivan) accentuate social and cultural factors in the formation of the personality and regard man as "man-in-society". The author shows that this is essentially an attempt to modernise neo-Freudianism by ridding it of patently unscientific ideas. But it turns out in practice that the "social" category is used to designate any form of intercourse among men, without bringing out what is crucial within the framework of the social, with society being regarded only as a micro-environment. As a result, although the social environment is, in principle, regarded as the source of the formation of the mentality and motivations of human behaviour, it does no more, in effect, than trigger off in a specific manner man's biological instincts, which ultimately turn out to be the decisive factor in social life. Violence turns out to be a "defensive reaction" of the individual to various internal and external excitants (dissatisfaction, fear, threat). For many present-day bourgeois and revolutionist petty-bourgeois theories violent behaviour results from "frustration", that is, a sense of profound psychological dissatisfaction engendered by a whole package of contradictions, restraints, bans and conventions in modern "industrial society".

Here the author notes two essential points: first, the neo-Freudian conceptions are a reflection of the actual contradictions of present-day capitalism: the growth of anti-social tendencies in the mass consciousness, the alienation and social ills of the individual, the growth of neuro-psychic disorders, the state of "univ-

ersal conflict", moral degradation and so on. Second, this reflection markedly distorts the objective picture and is largely subjectivist. The individual's social ills, his state of alienation and the mounting protest are considered outside the context of capitalist social relations and are connected with "industrial society", which means that all these processes are ascribed equally to capitalism and socialism.

The author also considers the theories of violence connected with technological determinism. He brings out the tendency consisting in the fact that the avowed apologists of capitalism, like its so-called social "critics" labouring under the influence of "technological determinism", turn out to have an identical stand on one major issue. It is that the responsibility for wars, the arms drive, militarism, international tensions and all the expressions of violence in the modern world falls on the scientific and technological revolution as such. The idea that the "explosion" of violence is the "high price" for scientific and technical progress has been propounded by prominent bourgeois ideologists like Raymond Aron, Marshal McLuhan, Zbigniew Brzezinski, J. K. Galbraith, Herbert Marcuse and Alvin Toffler. Whereas the territorial factor was regarded by the social ethnologists as the source of aggression, for Galbraith it is the scientific and technical factor. Consequently, the technocratic conceptions of violence ascribe the most acute contradictions of scientific and technical progress under state-monopoly capitalism to science and technology as such, as these are artificially taken outside the context of the dominant socio-economic relations.

In the final chapter of his book, Denisov shows that present-day anti-

communist-minded bourgeois ideologists slanderously ascribe the cult of violence to Marxism-Leninism, so putting the blame for the existence of violence in history on the wrong people. The Communists' real attitude to violence is well known: in contrast to the bourgeois ideologists they have not only refrained from regarding violence as an absolute, but have accepted it as a form of class struggle imposed on them by the need ultimately to respond to bourgeois violence. Lenin emphasised that the Communists' ultimate goal and ideal is to bring about a situation in which there would be no room for the use of any form of violence against men, because "the entire trend of develop-

ment is towards abolition of coercive domination of one part of society over another" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 69).

The author has made a critical analysis of a very broad spectrum of conceptions on the problems of violence (only a few of which have been mentioned among the latest and most important in this review). Despite some shortcomings, Denisov's book is bound to arouse much interest among readers, who will find in it a great deal that has been said about a problem which is very important and acute but which has not been adequately studied by social science up to now.

Yu. Semyonov,
D. Sc. (Philos.)

История Германской Демократической Республики. 1949—1973. Краткий очерк. Редакционная коллегия во главе с В. Д. Кульбакиным. М., изд-во «Наука», 1975, 487 стр.

A History of the German Democratic Republic. 1949-1973. General Outline. Editorial Board headed by V. D. Kulbakin, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 487 pp.

This is the first work prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World History which summarises the development of the German Democratic Republic from the time it came into existence.

The creation of the German Democratic Republic was a turning point in the history of the German people. It was the outcome of the confrontation in the world arena and on German soil between the forces of reaction, war and imperialism, on the

one hand, and the forces of democracy, peace and socialism, on the other. The formation of the GDR became an integral part of the world revolutionary process.

The emergence of the state of workers and peasants was the logical realisation of the age-old revolutionary aspirations and traditions of the German proletariat, of the ideas of the founders of scientific socialism.

The book shows the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which united around itself all the democratic forces of the republic. Under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by such outstanding figures of the German and world communist and working class movement as Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl, the SUPG became a party of the new type, adhering undeviatingly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The great ideas of socialism have become a powerful material force of

social progress in the GDR. The book tells how the working people of the republic, following the guidelines of the Party, have built up modern socialist industry and agriculture, how they are advancing science and culture.

From the very first day of its existence the German state of workers and peasants relied on the assistance, support and rich experience of the Soviet Union. The authors show how the relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation evolved, developed and strengthened between the two countries, how the GDR extended and promoted allround ties with other countries of the socialist community. Today the German socialist state is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, an active participant of socialist economic integration.

The German Democratic Republic co-exists with another German state—the Federal Republic of Germany, where state power is in the hands of the exploiter classes. Be-

fore the reader there unfolds a picture of the tense struggle waged by all the countries of the socialist community against the threat of war brandished by the West German revanchists during the years of the cold war, against the attempts at a diplomatic blockade of the GDR, and for the establishment of normal relations between the two German states. The whole world now recognises the sovereignty of the German socialist state, sees in it an equal participant in international life. The GDR's contribution to the common struggle of the socialist community for détente, international security and cooperation has won it merited respect throughout the world.

The profound social transformations and building of developed socialism in the German Democratic Republic, we read in the book, are of fundamental significance for social progress, peace and security in Europe and are exerting an influence on the entire system of international relations.

M. Podklyuchnikov

И. А. ГЕЕВСКИЙ. *США: негритянская проблема. Политика Вашингтона в негритянском вопросе (1945-1972 гг.)*. М., изд-во «Наука», 1974, 347 стр.

I. A. GEYEVSKY, *USA: The Negro Problem. Washington's Policy (1945-1972)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1974, 347 pp.

In his study of the policy pursued by US governments and Congress on this issue in the postwar period the author also gives a picture of the social and economic position of the Afro-Americans, the specifics of

their liberation movement, the internal political situation, the changes in the correlation of political forces and the interparty struggle for power. In the 1950s and 1960s when the Negro problem came to a head and the civil rights movement reached unprecedented scope US ruling circles responded by stepping up their activities in the sphere of racial relations. Geyevsky shows how racial discrimination and the segregation of the Afro-Americans served, and continues to serve, the monopolies not only as a source of amassing superprofits and as a means of preventing the Black masses from effective participation in political life, but also

as an instrument for splitting the working class on racial lines. The drive to preserve the foundations of racism therefore expressed the strategic line of bourgeois rule towards the Black population. As for certain tactical concessions to the Black movement in the shape of limited reforms, bribery and the "integration into the system" of some sections of the Black bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, the purpose was to weaken the liberation struggle of Black Americans.

It was only the rapid upsurge of the Black movement, the extreme aggravation of racial relations, causing a constitutional and political crisis in the country, that compelled the administrations of Eisenhower, and particularly of Kennedy and Johnson, to get down to elaborating civil rights legislation. But, as is convincingly shown in the book, literally every concession made by the Administration and Congress was oriented essentially to strengthening political stability inside the country and US prestige abroad, especially in the eyes of the Third World.

An analysis of the policy of US ruling circles leads the author to the conclusion that their differences on the Black population issue were part of the general differences regarding ways of bolstering the internal foundations of American capitalism. The book shows the position of the reactionaries, who want to preserve the status quo; the liberals who advocated reforms "from above"; the "centrists"-pragmatists; the different approaches to the problem by the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations; the struggle around the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 and the civil rights laws of 1957, 1960, 1964, 1965 and 1968.

Geyevsky notes that Martin Luther King and other leaders of the civil rights movement took into account the differences and contradictions in the ruling circles, rejected both the Leftist, nationalist and separatist inclinations of Black extremists and militants who regarded white society as a single reactionary and hostile force, and the views of Black moderates who recommended relying in everything on bourgeois liberals. While underscoring the value of the experience of King and other leaders of the civil rights movement for the various democratic movements in the country the author draws attention to the fact that the differences between the various groups in the ruling class never went beyond the framework of the ruling class as a whole.

Geyevsky stresses that the use of force and social manoeuvring were always included in the policy of US ruling circles although the correlation between these two methods changed in accordance with the times. He cites facts showing that Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon personally participated in the charting and implementation of such a policy.

The abolition of segregative and discriminatory legislation did not automatically put an end to discrimination. Racism was able, with the help of a veritable arsenal of protective means, to preserve its positions to a considerable extent, for the formal equality proclaimed hardly changed the socio-economic position of the overwhelming majority of Afro-Americans. Still, one cannot but agree with the author when he says that the civil rights laws and other normative acts of the 1950-1960s which destroyed the foundations of the juridical inequality of Black

Americans, were milestones in their long struggle. The way was thus cleared for further struggle to improve the socio-economic position of the Black masses and for achieving actual equality.

Besides, the civil rights movement helped to increase the political awareness and activity of the Afro-Americans. It was one of the factors that enabled them to advance their educational and professional level, as well as to narrow in a number of economic indicators the historically formed gap between their standard of living and that of white Americans. And although this gap is still a considerable one, to belittle the significance of the successes achieved would mean, in the opinion of the

author, to underestimate the possibilities of wresting new concessions from the ruling class through further struggle.

Geyevsky shows the position of the Communist Party of the USA on the main issues of the Black liberation struggle. Unfortunately he only touches upon the relations between this movement and the labour movement, the policy of the American trade unions towards the Afro-Americans, and especially of the AFL-CIO leadership, headed by G. Meany, which plays a major role in the American bourgeoisie's policy of splitting the working people on racial lines.

E. Nitoburg

O. БОРИСОВ. *Советский Союз и манчжурская революционная база. 1945—1949*. М., изд-во «Мысль», 1975, 221 стр.

O. BORISOV, *The Soviet Union and the Manchurian Revolutionary Base (1945-1949)*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 221 pp.

This book by O. Borisov is the first comprehensive study in scientific literature on the creation and consolidation of the revolutionary base in Northeastern China.

It will be recalled that in March 1932, after they had occupied the whole of Manchuria, the Japanese inspired the creation of the "independent" state of Manchoukuo. The development of the military and economic potential of this vast region of China was quickly started by the Japanese monopolists and militarists. Following the defeat of

the Kwantung Army, Japanese imperialism's strike force, at the hands of the Soviet Army in 1945 this region became the main springboard of the Chinese people for achieving final victory in their long struggle of liberation against the united front of imperialism and the compradore and Chiang Kai-shek reaction.

Borisov traces the Soviet Union's political and diplomatic actions on the international scene after the Second World War to defend China's democratic forces (notably their base in the Northeast) against the onslaught of US imperialism and the Kuomintang.

In a military respect the years 1946 and 1947 were a difficult period for the Communist Party of China and its armed forces. The Kuomintang quite easily seized the CPC's stronghold in Yen-an, which had been the headquarters of the Party's Central Committee for many years; the CPC leaders had to move to a remote

village in Northern Shensi and were deprived of the possibility of coordinating the actions of the scattered armies. During this difficult period for the liberation movement its mainstay became the revolutionary base in Manchuria. There, Borisov writes, "strength was accumulated by the army, which in 1948-1949 started its southward advance that culminated in the total collapse of the Kuomintang regime" (p. 132).

One of the chapters deals with the many effective forms of Soviet assistance in strengthening the revolutionary base in Manchuria. For instance, during the initial phase of the creation of that base and only from two of the three Soviet army groups that had operated in Manchuria the Chinese revolutionary forces received gratis over 3,700 pieces of artillery, mortars and grenade-throwers, 600 tanks, 861 aircraft, nearly 12,000 machine-guns, some 680 munitions dumps and also units of the Sungari Flotilla.

Borisov offers an interesting analysis of the socio-economic reforms in Manchuria, including the agrarian reform. "It would be hard to overestimate the significance of the democratic reforms in the liberated regions of Manchuria," he writes. "The political and economic apparatus of the future People's Republic of China was born there. Revolutionary cadres received training in economic, democratic reforms... rested on a large state (public) sector in the shape of expropriated large-scale industry. The CPC organisations and the people's democratic authorities made wide use of the Soviet experience of implementing socio-economic reforms" (p. 158).

The author draws special attention to the heroic activities of Manchuria's working class, who played the leading role in the rapid restoration of factories, the reconstruction of the fuel and power base, industry and transport, and providing the army with weapons, ammunition, equipment and food. The numerical and qualitative growth of the working class and its vanguard role in the revolutionary reforms were the highlights of the development of the Manchurian revolutionary base.

After 1947 the revolutionary centre in China in effect moved from Yen-an to Manchuria, where the main military and political forces were concentrated and a military industry existed and expanded. It was there that relying on the largest contingent of the Chinese working class and on its alliance with the mass of the peasants, that the CPC organisations cleared the way for the revolution's final victory.

The facts cited in the book bear out the conclusion of Marxist historians that the victorious development of the Chinese revolution in 1945-1949 was not an isolated socio-political process allegedly based on the theory of "reliance on one's own resources". The liberation movement in China developed in accordance with Lenin's teaching on revolutions in colonial and dependent countries. Besides, in the final victory of the Chinese revolution the international factor was of paramount importance, playing the decisive role at some of its stages, particularly at the stage dealt with in this book.

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(A Survey)

This year a Lenin Prize was awarded to Academician Boris Rybakov, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for a cycle of works on the history of Russian 10th-16th-century culture. These works were published in the period from 1963 to 1974.

For many centuries scholars, beginning with the chronicler Nestor, have been attracted by the problem of the origins of Russian statehood and culture. The farther we go into the past, the more distinctly we see the huge contribution that was made by Ancient Rus to human culture and world history.

In the 18th century the eminent Western historian August Schletzer, who was associated with the St. Petersburg Academy, wrote of the magnificence of ancient Russian history. He propounded Normanism, an ideology that was opposed by Mikhail Lomonosov. Lomonosov's struggle was continued by Soviet scholars — B. Grekov, V. Mavrodin, A. Artsikhovskiy, S. Bakhrushin, L. Cherepnin, D. Likhachev and V. Yanin, to mention a few.

A leading place in this sphere of history is occupied by the works of Academician Boris Rybakov, which may with all justification be called an encyclopaedia of ancient Russian culture. With an expert knowledge of facts Rybakov deals with different aspects of the life and culture of the ancient Russian people, society and state.

His first informative work on the handicrafts of Ancient Rus was brought out in 1948. In it he dealt with handicrafts not only in the proper meaning of the word. His

analysis of the role of handicrafts in the life of ancient Russian society upset the established notions that Russian handicrafts had been "second-rate" and dependent on the West, and that the cultural level of Ancient Rus had been low. This led to the important conclusion that it had played a prominent part in the international life of those times.

In that monograph the author brought to light much regarding not only the material basis but also spiritual culture. Later he dealt in great detail with society itself, with the specifics of its political and ideological life, and with the class struggle that determined the composition and relationship between the socio-political camps.

Rybakov's new works are devoted to two closely related and mutually supplementing subjects. The first develops the orientation underlying research into handicrafts in Ancient Rus (see *Social Sciences*, No. 1, 1974). Here the author describes man and his place in the surrounding world, the philosophy, one may say, of Ancient Rus as mirrored in works of folk art. His research covers not only material forms but also literary art — folklore and the written literature of scribes and scholars, of the custodians of folk wisdom.

This determined Rybakov's special interest in ancient paganism. In many papers devoted to pagans and paganism he skilfully lays bare a complex dialectical picture of the contradictions between old beliefs and Christianity, whose foundation lay in the actual struggle between classes (see *Social Sciences*, No.1 1975).

The second basic theme likewise

embraces a wide range of problems. *The Lay of Igor's Host*, the greatest monument of ancient Russian literary art, towers in the centre of the research. Two of the most significant monographs on *The Lay of Igor's Host* were written by Rybakov (see *Social Sciences*, No. 3, 1973). As seen by Rybakov, this work crowns an entire epoch in the history of Russian literary works and political thought. It expresses with staggering force the spirit of the times, the aspirations and hopes of Russian society of those days. As in his other books, the keynote that enables him to get his bearings in the complex intertwining of historic events is the proposition on the role of classes and the class struggle, which influenced the world outlook of the great poet of the turbulent 12th century. The ideological closeness of the author of *The Lay of Igor's Host* to the people — the peasants, the artisans and common soldiers — was the ideological soil that gave birth to the idea that Rus needed unity against her enemies, to the author's grief over his country's desecration and torment and to his pride of her glorious past extolled in the songs of the bard Boyan.

Rybakov's keen interest in the voice of the people as testimony and judgement of the historical past stimulated his study of the historical value of Russian folklore, notably a monumental genre such as the heroic epic. While in Russian folklore the established view is that epics sprang from free creative fantasy, in the fundamental work *Ancient Rus. Legends. Epics. Chronicles* Rybakov makes a painstaking and penetrating analysis in which he shows that the epics that have come down to us are also valuable documentary sources, a sort of poetic, oral chronicle.

Epics are not chronicles, of course. And some of the author's propositions may be disputed. But there is no doubt about the efficacy of the main orientation of his research, about the fact that his views signify an important step not only in the study of Russian folklore but also in understanding the historical environment that gave rise to epics. This concrete historical background accentuates the artistic, purely aesthetic aspects of epics, the beauty and power of the metaphorical language used in them.

What makes Rybakov's historical constructions particularly convincing is that underlying them is not only his profound respect for historical facts but also his skill and efficiency as a student of source materials. There are perhaps few works in our literature that can match his brilliant analysis of ancient maps, which he uses as documentary material. His quests in the labyrinth of these maps have yielded much on the historical plane and no expert on the history of Russia can afford to ignore his researches. *The Russian Maps of Muscovy of the 15th to the Early 16th Century* (see *Social Sciences*, No. 3, 1976), which is unique textually and rare from the standpoint of printing, occupies a noteworthy place among the series of special researches, each of which is an independent and tangible contribution to science.

Rybakov's *Russian Applied Art of the 10th-13th Centuries* is written in the same source study key. It shows the originality of this art and the high aesthetic culture of mostly anonymous artists who left us invaluable masterpieces.

Academician A. Okladnikov

И. ДЗЕВЕРИН. *Эстетика ленинизма и вопросы литературы*. (Издание 2-е, доработанное и дополненное). Киев, изд-во «Днипро», 1975, 264 стр. (на украинском языке)

I. DZEVERIN, *Leninist Aesthetics and Questions of Literature*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, Kiev, Dnipro Publishers, 1975, 264 pp (in Ukrainian)

This book by the noted Ukrainian literary critic I. Dzeverin is a major contribution to present-day Leninist literary criticism.

We feel that the author's methodological guidelines are correct. He writes that a genuinely scientific commentary of Lenin's pronouncements on literature and art presupposes the inclusion of these pronouncements in the context of the entire range of the philosophical and socio-political tenets of his teaching; moreover, the principal aim of research must be to show how Lenin's aesthetic ideas live on today and actively influence the modern theory and practice of socialist realism.

Relying on the solid philosophical foundation, Dzeverin deals with the complex problem of the place occupied by artistic creativity among other forms of man's intellectual activity. In the light of Lenin's theory of reflection he closely examines the specifics of the object, method and functions of art. In a new way he shows what links art and science and how they differ from each other. He notes the polyfunctional character of art, stressing that this in no way leads to a negation of the special significance of its cognitive function. It is quite another matter that the artist understands reality in his own way; the epis-

temological nature of art, as Dzeverin convincingly demonstrates, is inseparable from its aesthetic nature.

Dwelling on the problems of realism and showing how Lenin's works make it possible to resolve these problems scientifically, Dzeverin looks for the possibility of deepening and developing the achievements of Soviet literary criticism. This concerns the concept of the veracity of artistic portrayal as applied to realistic art; ideas about typification as a principle that for the realist artist acquires the significance of an aesthetic law; lines of reasoning about the role of the modern theme in the art of socialist realism and the specifics distinguishing the positive hero. Dzeverin's theoretical generalisations always rest on artistic practice: he analyses a wide spectrum of concrete phenomena of classical and modern Soviet multinational literature.

In this monograph the central place is accorded to reflections on the Leninist principle of the partisanship of literature and art. Dzeverin shows that this principle demonstrates its viability at each new phase of history.

A particularly interesting section deals with partisanship as an aesthetic category. Dzeverin is among the first Soviet theorists to use Lenin's arguments in an effort to give a concrete answer to the question of what the artistic importance of the principle of partisanship must be seen in and why we call this principle not only a sociological but also an aesthetic category.

The author is quite right when he writes that the communist partisanship of a writer or artist is by no means reduced to declarations about devotion to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, for a work of art is truly committed when in all its fabric and

in all its conception it expresses the author's Marxist-Leninist conviction. This thesis is illustrated with a profound analysis of Sholokhov's *Soil Upturned*, Gonchar's *Cow-Bell* and some other works.

The last chapter is devoted to the folk character of art. Quoting Lenin's words spoken to Clara Zetkin, the author sees indications of the folk character of art in how artists treat problems of national significance, in whether these problems are resolved by them from the people's positions and, lastly, in whether their works are democratic.

In considering the category of folk character in its historical development, Dzeverin shows its enrichment in the art of socialist realism and in the fact that in our day the national position of the artist is, at the same time, his Party committed position, in which the former receives its highest expression.

In conclusion it must be emphasised that the book under review is consistently Marxist-Leninist in its method, philosophy and aesthetics.

E. Shablovsky

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NEW BOOKS: AN ANNOTATED SELECTION

(All books mentioned in this section have been published in Russian)

Philosophy

V. I. Lenin, *On the Communist Morality*. 2nd ed., suppl. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 278 pp.

The moulding of the new man is one of the main tasks of communist construction. That is why it is of paramount importance to master the entire wealth of ideas on the formation of a communist morality left to us by Lenin. A number of Lenin's works have been additionally included in the second edition.

B. A. Chagin, V. I. Klushin, *The Struggle to Consolidate Historical Materialism in the USSR in the 20s*. Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 411 pp.

The authors discuss the history of the struggle to consolidate Marxist-Leninist ideology in social sciences after the victory of the October Revolution, a struggle to attain a genuine scientific, materialistic understanding of the historical process.

The Problems of Socio-Economic Formations. Historical and typological research. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 296 pp.

Included in the collection are articles on general problems of the

typology of various formations, articles devoted to the typology of revolutionary forms of the transition from one formation to another, as well as those analysing the typology of individual formations and the stages of their development.

M. Basmanov, B. Leibzon, *The Communist Vanguard. Problems of the Ideological Struggle*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 287 pp.

The authors discuss the leading role of the Communist Party in the working people's struggle for social progress mainly on the basis of the experience of the communist movement in non-socialist countries.

The Struggle of Ideas in the Contemporary World. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975-1976. Vol. I—The Main Trends and Topical Problems of the Ideological Struggle. 1975, 319 pp.; Vol. 2—Contemporary Capitalism: Contradictions and Doctrines. 1976, 399 pp.

This two-volume edition generalises the results of extensive theoretical research in analysing bourgeois ideology, reformism and revisionism and contains the results of studies in various fields of humanitarian knowledge on these problems as well as

the results of international symposiums. Much attention is devoted to the ideological and political mechanism of the spread of present-day bourgeois, reformist and revisionist theories.

V. S. Vygodsky, *Economic Substantiation of the Theory of Scientific Communism*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 232 pp.

The author centres his work around an analysis of the condition and the struggle of the working class in capitalist society, the inevitability of socialist revolution, and the scientific prognostication of social development. The last chapter is devoted to the Leninist stage of the substantiation of scientific communism.

Yu. Krasin, *Intimidated by the Revolution. A Critical Essay of Bourgeois Conceptions of Social Revolution*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 368 pp.

The author presents a critical analysis of current Western conceptions of social revolution, ranging from the reactionary to the utopian and left radical. In discussing these conceptions he links their emergence with the peculiarities of the present-day world revolutionary process.

I. N. Smirnov, *The Evolution of Living Nature as a Dialectical Process*. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 164 pp.

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A. G. Nikitina, *Prevision as a Human Ability*. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 151 pp.

The author examines the essence of prevision and its genesis; she suggests a classification and typology of prevision and discusses its logical problems.

History

R. P. Konyushaya, *Karl Marx and Revolutionary Russia*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 440 pp.

After a profound study of conditions in Russia the founders of Marxism came to the conclusion that it contained a vast latent source of people's revolutionary energy. This monograph devoted to Marx's attitude towards the Russia of the second half of the 19th century is based on studies of the available original sources: Marx's and Engels' published works and manuscripts, their epistolary heritage, remarks and notes on the margins of Russian books, and accounts by their contemporaries.

The Third Congress of the Comintern. Elaboration by the Congress of the Political Policy of the Communist Movement. Communists and the Masses. A collection of articles. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 632 pp. (The main stages in the history of the international communist movement.)

This book highlights the course of the international communist movement and the policy of winning over the majority of the working class and of all the working people to the side of the communists as evolved by

Lenin and the Third Congress of the Comintern. It examines the documents of the Comintern and Communist Parties and presents a great number of archive documents never before published. Particular emphasis is laid on Lenin's role in the work of the Third Congress of the Comintern.

The History of the Second World War. 1939-1945. In 12 volumes. Moscow, Voenizdat Publishers, 1975-1976. Vol.5 The Failure of the Aggressive Plans of the Fascist Block. 1975, 510 pp.; Vol.6. The Turning Point in the War. 1976, 520 pp.

The fifth volume of the 12-volume work (see V. Trukhanovsky's article on this edition in *Social Sciences* No.1, 1975 and also reviews and annotations in No.4, 1975; No.1, 1976; No.3, 1976) covers the period from spring to autumn of 1942. It completes the analysis of the second stage of the world war, when, as a result of the Soviet people's struggle against fascist Germany, the political, economic and military prerequisites necessary for a decisive turn in the course of the war to the advantage of the anti-Hitler coalition arose. The sixth volume includes all the events that took place from the end of the autumn of 1942 to the spring of 1943, when the struggle of the armed forces of the anti-fascist coalition and above all the victory of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union at Stalingrad and in other sectors of the Soviet-German front brought about the turning point in the Second World War.

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In examining the nature of Russian-British economic relations in the mid-19th century in their interaction with the economic development and foreign policy aims of these two countries the author shows that they both were mutually interested in the development of trade and financial relations (despite their acute political and economic rivalry).

K. V. Gusev, *The Socialist-Revolutionary Party: From Petty-Bourgeois Revolutionism to Counter-Revolution (an Historical Essay).* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 383 pp.

This monograph depicts the complicated path of one of the pre-Revolutionary petty-bourgeois parties in Russia—the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Its collapse revealed the flimsiness of the theory and practice of petty-bourgeois

socialism and once again proved that for a correct choice of a revolutionary road there can be no other historical landmark than scientific socialism.

G. Trukan, *The Working Class in the Struggle for the Victory and Consolidation of Soviet Power.* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 303 pp.

This monograph demonstrates the vanguard role of the working class, led by the Communist Party, in the Revolution, in consolidation of the Soviets, in defence of revolutionary gains and in construction of a new society. The author also examines the qualitative and quantitative changes in the composition of the working class and in intra-class structure, social psychology and living and working conditions.

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This collection of the agrarian scientist includes the works written by him in 1896-1921. In his pre-October articles the author describes the essence and specifics of the agrarian crisis in Russia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, exposing the theory of the Narodniks on the role of communal landownership and showing how capitalist relations penetrated into the Russian village. The works dealing with the post-October period are mainly devoted to the theory and practice of the socialist state's food policy in the first years of Soviet power.

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This book is the first in Soviet economic literature to study the conception of crude egalitarian communism. The author discusses the economic views of the most prominent holders of this conception and describes the economic categories of the society which they planned to build.

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The author examines the method of regulating capitalist economy called economic planning (or "indicative planning") taking shape in the leading capitalist countries. He defines it as a system of measures of state monopoly regulation based on an evolution of average- and long-term programmes and prognostications of economic development.

The Energy Crisis in the Capitalist World. A collective monograph. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 478 pp.

Soviet scientists, in refuting the assertions of bourgeois economists and political figures about the non-social and non-class reasons for the energy crisis, show that its real causes are rooted in the capitalist mode of production and in the policy of Western powers.

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This work analyses new phenomena and tendencies in state regulation of the economy, concentration and centralisation of capital, specifics of price formation, flow of currency and inflation, and changes in the technical and economic foundations of growth in conditions of the STR and the shifts in consumption caused by them.

A. N. Goncharov, *The War Which Never Ends (Present-Day Problems in Economic Relations between the Common Market and the United States).* Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1975, 190 pp.

The author shows that though state monopoly capitalism is trying to use objective factors of the development of production in order to consolidate itself, it cannot counter the action of the centrifugal forces pitting the monopolies against one another. He emphasises the tendency towards turning the United States into the scientific and technological centre of present-day imperialism, thus leaving the Common Market countries with the role of its industrial workshop.

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The author discusses in detail the place of the state sector in the national economy of developing countries and its main socio-economic functions and ways of its establishment; he identifies the essential differences in the trends and methods of its development in the countries with capitalist and socialist orientation. Problems of nationalisation and state capital investments are discussed at length.

•Political Sciences. International Relations

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The work shows the activity of the Soviet Union in the United Nations and its fight for peace and international security, for the liquidation of hotbeds of war and cessation of the

arms race, for the final rooting out of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and for the development of international cooperation based on equality.

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The author focuses attention on a study of the regularities of development of the international community of socialist countries and on the dialectics of the co-relation of objective and subjective factors in the development of the socialist community of states. He analyses the dialectics of the interaction of the economic, political, cultural, and legal relations of socialist countries.

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The author gives a thorough analysis of the historical experience of the CPSU in setting up, developing and perfecting the Soviet political system.

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This collection of documents enables the reader to follow the evolution of the non-alignment movement from its very inception right up to present day and reveals both its strong and weak points.

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The author examines the social contradictions and conflicts in the conditions of capitalist integration

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A. E. Yefremov, *European Security and the NATO Crisis. The Bankruptcy of the Policy of "Intimidation".* Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 271 pp.

The author discusses the main tendencies of political developments on the European continent and the struggle of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries for European security and demonstrates the aggravation of the situation in NATO and the contradictions between the United States and its West European partners in this bloc.

Neocolonialism and Africa in the 70s. The Regularities and Specifics of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle. Moscow, Mysl Publishers; Sofia, Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1975, 436 pp.

This collective monograph is a study of the problems of opposing neocolonialism based on the example of African countries. The policy of the neocolonialists is analysed in connection with the struggle of the two world systems in conditions of détente and the spreading of national liberation revolutions. Bourgeois-reformist theories of neocolonialism are also criticised.

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E. A. Ivanyan, *The White House: Presidents and Policy*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 432 pp.

This book is devoted to a study of the role in US history of 12 presidents (from W. McKinley to L. Johnson). Their style of administration and unique political approach are discussed with due regard for historical conditions, the specifics of socio-political development and the co-relation of public forces.

Sociology. Law

The Socialist Way of Life. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1976, 160 pp.

The propaganda of the values of the socialist way of life is combined in this book with an analysis of its political foundations and the STR's influence on it. The book also discusses the tasks of its development presently being solved by the CPSU and the people.

Socio-Economic Problems of the History of Developed Socialism in the USSR. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 487 pp.

This is a collection of articles by historians, economists and sociologists discussing the specific historical process of the development of Soviet society at the present stage. The authors focus their attention on the changes in the social and class structure of society and on the problems of strengthening economic relations between town and village and of raising the living standards of the working people.

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The authors of the book analyse the principal theoretical aspects of elaborating social development plans: perfecting the social structure of collectives, increasing and improving payment for work done, and improving working conditions and health protection for the workers as well as their cultural and living conditions in close connection with the further raising of the level of communist education and the enhancement of public activity of the population.

Y. P. Ozhegov, *Social Prognostication and the Ideological Struggle*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 192 pp.

The author notes the increasing role in present conditions of a scientifically substantiated prevision of the future and demonstrates the methodological inconsistency of bourgeois futurology, which is becoming deformed under the influence of the press.

G. I. Ivanov, *Social Essence of the Convergence Theory*. Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1975, 200 pp.

The author discloses and subjects to an argued criticism those determining criteria by which

bourgeois theoreticians are guided in substantiating the proposition about the merger and future synthesis of various social systems.

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This book discusses the most important legal concepts connected with the institution of international responsibility, questions of codification of its norms and principles, its regulation in various spheres of international relations, and problems of the responsibility of states at the present stage.

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This book discusses the most important principles of law concerning armed conflicts, as well as the principal provisions of international conventions — The Hague, Geneva and others — which contain norms limiting participants in armed conflicts in the choice of the means and methods of conducting military operations and are aimed at protecting war victims.

Philology

Lenin and Culture. Chronicle. Pre-October Period. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, 463 pp.

The authors of this collection present in chronological order the facts of Lenin's biography, supplemented by excerpts from his works and from reminiscences of his contemporaries and Bolshevik press. Lenin's theoretical outlooks on cultural problems and his practical activity connected with its varied fields are presented in the light of the socio-economic and political life of the period being examined and in close connection with his developing of Marxist teaching about the revolutionary transformation of the world.

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This book is a collection of the works of a well-known Soviet literary critic the greater part of which is being published for the first time. In his research conducted on the material of world literature the author examines the problems of the theory of genre, and above all the theory of the novel and the study of the written word. Some of his works are devoted to the language of the novel, to time and space in the novel, and to a comparison of the epos and novel.

A. Bushmin, *Continuity in the Development of Literature*. Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 159 pp.

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This book is one of the first in a new series undertaken by the publishers—"Literature Abroad. The 20th Century". Each of the five parts of the book is a result of the author's travels across Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. His vivid impressions underlie his analysis of books and his thoughts about the development of each national literature.

Y. V. Shvedov, *The Evolution of the Shakespearian Tragedy*. Moscow, Iskusstvo Publishers, 1975, 464 pp.

The author discusses the evolution of Shakespearian tragedy as conditioned by the general course of historical development of Great Britain of the Renaissance. He has convincingly revealed the social essence of Shakespeare's tragedies and demonstrated his contribution to the development of European social thought.

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This book is a unique introduction into the problematics of systems description and semantic syntax; it generalises and critically revises and develops a number of views on problems relating to the classification of sentences by their semantic

structure, the classification of syntactical functions, the paradigmatics of sentences and other questions as well.

The Problems of Cartography in Linguistics and Ethnography. Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1974, 324 pp.

The authors of this collection regard cartography as a method for systematising and comparing the factors under study and for identifying those of their relations which cannot be established by means of other methods.

Socio-Linguistic Problems of the Developing Countries. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 335 pp.

This collection analyses the linguistic situation in the developing countries of Asia and Africa in interrelation with the socio-economic, socio-political, cultural and ethno-linguistic facilities for the functioning of early written and recent written languages as well as with the national language policy in these countries.

Ethnography and Archaeology

V. V. Vorobyov, *The Formation of the Population of Eastern Siberia (Geographical Specifics and Problems)*. Novosibirsk, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 260 pp.

The author discusses the stages of the formation and transformation of the population of Eastern Siberia prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, which created the initial situation for the processes taking place in Soviet times. The main areas of study are discussion of the relations between the aboriginal and newly arrived populations (and in this connection the destinies of the indigenous peoples), analysis of the correlation at various stages of the

general growth of the migratory population on the one hand and natural growth on the other, and identification of the regional specifics of the processes of population formation.

N. Minenko, *North-Western Siberia in the 18th and First Half of the 19th Century. An Historical and Ethnographic Essay*. Novosibirsk, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 308 pp.

The author has focused his attention on a historical and ethnographic study of the Russian and aboriginal populations of North-Western Siberia in the 18th and first half of the 19th century. He also discusses the nature of the colonisation processes and the results of the adaptation of the Russian population to the specific conditions of the North Ob area.

Ethnogenesis and the Ethnic History of the Peoples of the North. A collection of articles. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 264 pp.

The collection examines the ethnogenetic processes in the peoples of the North—the mutual cultural influences of the peoples of Sakhalin Island and their ethnogenesis, the historical and ethnographic characteristics of the ethnic origin of the "horse Tunguses", the formation of the Enisei Nenets, the territorial variants of the Yakut anthropological types. The material of the collection gives an idea about the everyday life, social organisation and religious beliefs of the inhabitants of the North-East of our country.

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Y. Grishin has collected and systematised all the available archaeological material on the given

subject (second third of the year 2000 B.C. to the first centuries A.D.). He has described and analysed sites, burial grounds, relics of ancient mining and metallurgy and rock drawings. The author reconstructs a picture of the production and economic activity of the tribes in the Eastern Trans-Baikal Area and their everyday life and ties with neighbouring tribes.

I. S. Kamenetsky, B. I. Marshak, Y. A. Sher, *The Analysis of Archaeological Sources (Possibilities of a Formalised Approach)*. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 174 pp.

This book is devoted to certain key problems in applying the methods of the exact sciences to archaeology. The authors stress that formalisation of description and research not only sharply increases the strictness of archaeological methods and exactness of the conclusions but also facilitates the use of computers in the treatment of archaeological materials, thus enabling scientists to take into account a maximum amount of data and subsequently increase the authenticity of historical interpretations.

Olvia (A collection of articles and publications). Kiev, Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1975, 247 pp.

This collection contains articles devoted to the history of the culture of one of the largest ancient cities of the Northern Black Sea Area—Olvia. It sums up the results of ten years (1961-1970) of studies by the Olvian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences conducted in Olvia and its outlying districts.

P. A. Rappoport, *Early Russian Dwellings*. Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 179 pp.

The author discusses dwellings beginning with the early Slav settlements in Eastern Europe whose ethnic origin is unquestionable (6th-11th centuries), and up to the 13th century. The aim of the work is to unify all the accumulated material, classify it, identify the basic types of eastern Slav and early Russian dwellings and give a general picture of their development.

Regional Studies

Problems of Spanish History. 1975. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 264 pp.

This collection contains the latest research in topical and little studied problems of the history of Spain from antiquity to the present day. Among the authors are Soviet scholars and their colleagues from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Included in the collection is a full bibliography of the works of Soviet scholars written between 1917 and 1975.

Problems of Italian History. 1975. A collection of articles. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 260 pp.

The collection contains articles on the history of Italy from the Renaissance to the present day. They deal with the struggle of the progressive forces in Italy for socialism and democracy at the beginning of the 20th century and at the present stage and the foreign relations in the period of the Right-Centrist coalition of G. Andreotti. They also describe the march of Garibaldi's "thousand" and the Russian émigré libraries in Italy at the beginning of the 20th century.

Y. Pisarev, *The Formation of the Yugoslav State. The First World War. The Liberation Struggle of the Yugoslav People Against Austria-Hungary. The Collapse of the Habs-*

burg Monarchy. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 416 pp.

The book is the last part of the author's trilogy about the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people at the beginning of the 20th century (the first two monographs, published in the 60s, were devoted to the historical prerequisites of the emergence of the Yugoslav state). It identifies general regularities and specifics of the revolutionary processes in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkans, which led to the disintegration of the multinational Habsburg monarchy and the formation on its ruins of new national states.

A. B. Davidson, V. A. Makrushin, *The Image of a Faraway Country*. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 424 pp.

The author discusses Russia's contacts with South Africa and Madagascar. The author describes life in Russia in corresponding periods of our compatriots' cognition of South Africa.

A. A. Muradyan, *The American Historiography of the Pacific Ocean Policy of the United States in the 19th Century (Criticism of Basic Conceptions)*. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 246 pp.

The author identifies social, economic, political and other factors influencing the formation of the conceptual apparatus of bourgeois historiography and discloses the links of historiography with the ideological and political struggle in the United States on foreign policy questions. A. A. Muradyan also discusses the facts of the internal development of historiography (use of new sources, expansion or limitation of the documentary basis, selection of the problematics of studies, etc.).

A. Grechukhin, *The Struggle of the Communist Party of the United*

States for Unity in Its Ranks. 1927-1972. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1975, 295 pp.

The aim of the author of the monograph is to show the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of the United States for unity in its ranks, to reveal the gnosiological roots of Right and "Left" opportunism, to uncover the anti-Marxist essence of their conceptions, to expose the falsification of the history of the Communist Party by bourgeois authors and to show the ideological and organisational strengthening of Party ranks.

I. Likhacheva, *USA: Economic Science and Economic Policy. The Presidential Council of Economic Advisers*. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 223 pp.

An analysis of the Council's activities enables the author to show what exactly the science of economy brings into the state monopoly system of regulation and what place this science occupies in this system. The book gives a detailed description of how certain conclusions of economic theory were translated in the course of the Council's work into the language of "operational doctrines", subsequently becoming specific political estimations, recommendations and decisions.

USA: Political Thought and History. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 619 pp.

The authors of this collective monograph critically analyse, from positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology, the principal doctrines and conceptions of bourgeois political thought during the 200-year period and discuss the evolution of these doctrines as the main ideological and political weapon of American capitalism at all stages of the historical development of the United States.

REVIEWS OF FOREIGN BOOKS IN SOVIET SERIALS

Philosophy

Впроси на исторически материализъм. Т. 2. Социалното познание. Ред. С. Попов. София, 1975, 199 с.

Рец.: Лямин В., Данков Е. *Новые книги...* № 4, стр. 28-33.

Калайков И. *Биологично отражение и приспособяване.* София, 1975, 257 с.

Рец.: Налетов И., Данков Е. *Новые книги...* № 3, стр. 30-35.

Момов В., Нешев К., Проданов В., Станков Д. *Добро и дължимо. Морални критерии, история, съвременност.* София, 1975, 177 с.

Рец.: Волченко Л., Ганжин В. *Новые книги...* № 5, стр. 40-45.

Радев Р. *Критика неотомизма.* Пер. с болг. Москва, 1975, 446 с.
Рец.: Греков Л. *Вопросы философии.* № 5, стр. 184-185.

Социализм и нации. Материалы международной конференции «Развитие и интернациональное сотрудничество социалистических наций». Отв. ред. М. И. Куличенко. Москва, 1975, 494 с. [Книга издана также в Софии, Будапеште, Берлине, Варшаве и Праге.]

Рец.: Горлач Н. *Вопросы философии.* № 4, стр. 172-174.

Augustynek Z. *Natura czasi.* Warszawa, 1975, 260 s.

Рец.: Любинская Л., Корж А. *Вопросы философии.* № 4, стр. 153-154.

Bunge M. *Method, Model and Matter.* Dordrecht-Boston, 1973, VII, 196 pp.

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Рец.: Стяжин Н., Джохадзе Д. *Вопросы философии.* № 4, стр. 184-185.

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Abbreviations:

Рец. = book review

В сб. = in the collection

В кн. = in the book

Вестник МГУ = Вестник Московского университета;

Мировая экономика... = Мировая экономика и международные отношения;

Научные доклады... = Научные доклады высшей школы;

Новые книги... = Новые книги за рубежом по общественным наукам;

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OUR GLOSSARY

PHILOSOPHICAL CATEGORIES—the most general and fundamental conceptions reflecting the essential, general properties, aspects, and relations of the phenomena of *reality and cognition*.

Dialectical materialism considers philosophical categories forms of the reflection of the being in consciousness, focal points in the process of cognition. These categories—matter, motion, time and space, quality and quantity, contradiction, causality, necessity and contingency, content and form, possibility and reality—are interconnected and constitute an integral system.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "Man is confronted with a *web* of natural phenomena. Instinctive man, the savage, does not distinguish himself from nature. Conscious man does distinguish, categories are stages of distinguishing, i.e., of cognising the world, focal points in the web which assist in cognising and mastering it" (*Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 38, p. 93).

CONTRADICTION—the interaction of opposites, mutually exclusive aspects and tendencies, phenomena and objects which, at the same time, are in intrinsic unity and interrelation, acting as the source of all movement, of the development of the objective world and cognition.

Being one of the philosophical categories contradiction occupies a central place in materialist dialectics. It expresses the essence of the universal law of natural and socio-historical reality—the *law of unity and the struggle of opposites*. Social development is the unity and struggle of opposites, inherent in the process in which people (classes, etc.) make their history. Underlying the progress of culture (material and spiritual) is the emergence of conflicting tendencies, modes of activity, forms of human communication, etc.

PRODUCTIVE FORCES—the sum-total of the means of production (the instruments and means of labour wherewith material wealth is produced) and the people who put them into operation. People are the prime productive force of human society (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Moscow, Vol. 46, Part I, p. 403, in Russian); V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 346). In unity with relations of production (i.e., economic relations between people in the process of the production, exchange and consumption of material wealth), the productive forces form the mode of production—the basis of social development. Productive forces are only one of the aspects of the mode of production, but it is the primary aspect. Each stage of the development of the productive forces corresponds to definite relations of production; the development of the one and the other is dialectically contradictory.

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