

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Joint Efforts for Disarmament

Socialist Integration

Problems of the Theoretisation
of Knowledge

Varangians in Russian
Historiography

Developing Countries
and Transnational Corporations

Literary Criticism
in the System of Culture

Youth and Society

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To the Reader

We open this issue with the speech by Academician B. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the Socialist International Conference in Helsinki, in which he underscores that the Soviet Union regards the consolidation of peace and prevention of another world war as the first priority of our times.

In response to our readers' interest in this problem, we are introducing with this issue a new section "Problems of War and Peace", which carries an article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Trukhanovsky on the sources and nature of the Pugwash Movement.

Socialist Integration

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is marking its 30th anniversary this year. In this connection Yu. Shiryaev writes about the history of its formation and development; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences O. Bogomolov discusses the economic cooperation of the socialist countries as a manifestation of the internationalisation of their economic life; K. Mikulsky analyses various aspects of the international significance of socialist integration, while V. Sitnin shows the dynamics of the improvement of the forms of economic cooperation among the CMEA member countries.

Philosophy and Methodology of Science

Academician P. Fedoseyev, Chairman of the Editorial Council of our journal, devotes his article to the discussions about the place of philosophy in the system of scientific knowledge as a reflection of the struggle between the Marxist and bourgeois trends in the philosophical interpretation of the present epoch. N. Ovchinnikov stresses that scientific knowledge should be understood as a special type of man's attitude towards the world and R. Karpinskaya analyses the role of biology in the progress of knowledge and in the affirmation of the principles of the materialist world-view.

History. Archaeology

In analysing the sources of the Varangian question in Russian science, M. Alpatov restores the objective picture of the early history of the Russian state. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Rutenburg describes the rich collection of the archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of the History of the USSR which was founded more than a century ago. E. Okladnikova writes about the rock drawings of the Indians of the North-Western coast of North America, which have common features with the ancient rock drawings of Siberia.

Economics

Yu. Shishkov studies the specifics of the new stage in the functioning of the mechanism of the economic relations of the Western countries in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism. N. Sergeyev writes about the young states' attitude towards the activities of the transnational corporations as the vehicles of present-day neocolonialism.

The Theory of Culture and Literature

Is literary criticism a science or is it a separate sphere of human activity different from both science and culture?—this question is discussed in a talk with L. Ginzburg, well-known Soviet philologist. Various aspects of the development of proletarian culture have again become the subject of sharp polemics. L. Skvortsova shows why this topic is again referred to.

Interdisciplinary Studies

S. Smirnov analyses an essential feature of the new Constitution of the USSR—its intrinsic and diversified connection with science. The article by V. Pechenev continues the study of the youth problem in our journal. In it the author characterises the ideological continuity of the generations of Soviet society as an embodiment of the interconnection between different stages in socialist and communist construction in this country.

We thank our readers for their comments and suggestions, which are discussed at the meetings of the Editorial Council of our journal and are taken into account when planning the respective issues.

For Cooperation in the Struggle Against the Arms Race and For Disarmament

BORIS PONOMARYOV

From the Editors: Below we publish the text of the speech by Academician B. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament in Helsinki, April 1978.

The convocation of a conference of the Socialist International on the most burning international issue of our day can only be welcomed.

In accepting the invitation to this conference we proceeded from the fundamental and immutable stance of our Party, which regards the establishment of lasting peace and the prevention of another world war as the paramount task of our time. Our Party has favoured and continues to favour cooperation with the Social-Democrats, above all on questions of peace and detente. This guideline is entirely in keeping with the conclusions of the 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, which came out in favour of a dialogue and cooperation with the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties.

The Soviet Union's approach to questions of disarmament follows from its fundamental stand on the problems of war and peace, and from its assessment of the actual situation on the international scene.

As a result of the collective effort over the past few years, the cold war has receded and detente has become the leading trend of international development. Relations between countries with different social systems have changed for the better. What has been achieved has diminished but, alas, not removed the threat of war.

Throughout the world today there is growing anxiety over the fact that even in a situation witnessing positive political changes on the international scene an unbridled arms race continues.

Under these conditions the main forces operating in the working-class movement have the special task of collectively achieving a real change in the struggle for military detente, for an end to the interminable build-up of armaments. The following exhortation by Jean Leon Jaurès, whose memory is equally dear to Communists and Socialists, resounds as the tolling of a bell from the distant past:

“We must devote all our energies to the struggle against the policy of slaughter, war and predatory conquest that threatens peace on earth.”

I

The arms race has assumed a global scale in the true sense of the word, and become a danger unparalleled in the history of mankind. It hangs over every country, over all nations, over the coming generations. The growth of nuclear arsenals is accompanied by the stockpiling of conventional arms. Many estimates are being made today to characterise the destructive force of the arms already accumulated by mankind. These are chilling estimates, to say the least.

Today it is practically impossible to measure the actual threat hanging over mankind with, say, the conventional yardstick of the past world war. Just the two atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki carried away hundreds of thousands of lives, and to this day people continue to die from the effects of those explosions. According to figures cited by the UN Secretary-General, the present nuclear arsenal is equal in terms of power to more than 1,300,000 bombs of the Hiroshima type. The tactical nuclear arms deployed only in the European continent have an explosive force that is scores of times greater than that of all the weapons used during the six years of the Second World War.

It is even hard to imagine that for every person in the world, including every child, there are now, according to Western estimates, 15 tons of a death-dealing load—in terms of conventional explosives. However, absurd it may seem, it is nonetheless a fact that the arms race continues, thus creating an unprecedented threat to mankind militarily, economically, and politically.

Swollen like a cancerous tumour, the military economy devours colossal manpower, natural, industrial, and financial resources. According to a report by the UN Secretary-General, the money that has been spent on the arms race since the Second World War

now exceeds the astronomical sum of six trillion dollars. The annual military expenditures of all countries are now coming close on 400,000 million dollars. These expenditures tend to grow steadily. Besides, armaments are not merely increasing in quantity, they are not merely becoming more powerful and more sophisticated, but are growing considerably dearer: today, a tank, a submarine, or an aircraft costs tens or even hundreds of times more than 30 years ago.

Over 50 million people have been drawn into the military sphere. More and more scientific achievements are sacrificed to Moloch. An army of almost 400,000 highly trained scientists, engineers, and technicians is engaged in this sphere.

No one who remembers the events of the past 30 years can deny that the NATO countries, the USA above all, are the initiators and pace-setters of the arms race. Let us recall how the arms race has been unfolding since the end of the Second World War, from which the peoples emerged with the hope that never again would they have to experience a similar tragedy.

In August 1945, atom bombs were exploded over Japan. The Soviet Union proposed the renunciation of that new terrible weapon. But this was rejected by the West. We could draw only one conclusion: this weapon was being perfected and stockpiled against the Soviet Union. Four years later, atomic weapons were developed in our country as well.

In April 1949, the North Atlantic Pact was signed directly against the Soviet Union and its friends. Six years later came a forced response—the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, but it contained the provision that it would be terminated as soon as the NATO bloc was dissolved.

In the 1950s, a noisy campaign was started in the USA over the alleged US “bomber gap” as compared with the USSR. Soon afterwards it was admitted that this had been an absolutely unfounded campaign, but a fleet of B-52 strategic bombers had been created to its accompaniment.

In the early 1960s, an analogous campaign was started in the USA over a “missile gap”. It, too, was soon officially declared to have been unfounded. Meanwhile a further leap had been made in the arms race: the USA had deployed more than a thousand inter-continental strategic missiles and a whole fleet of missile-carrying submarines. Naturally, the Soviet Union had to take similar measures.

In the early 1970s, Washington decided to fit missiles with MIRVs, thereby increasing the number of American nuclear warheads several times over. The Soviet missiles, over which there is such a ballyhoo in the West today, were likewise the response to the new spiral in the arms race initiated by the USA.

But, perhaps, it is enough about the past. Let us consider what is happening today—once again under cover of a noisy campaign over the “Soviet menace”. Work is in progress on a whole range of new types and systems of armaments—cruise missiles, neutron bombs, Trident submarines, MX missiles, and so on. The Soviet Union is criticised for building up a powerful navy. However, there is no criticism about the expansion of the navies of the USA and other NATO countries. Yet only recently, on April 11, Defense Secretary Brown declared at hearing before a House subcommittee that the USA wanted its naval presence throughout the world in peace-time, and announced a 32-billion-dollar programme for increasing the strength of the US Navy.

How long will this spiral continue, which in the long run only undermines international security? The Soviet Union is making every effort to prevent the spiral having new coils.

The arms race whirlpool is sucking in more and more countries. It is not sparing the developing countries either. Yet an end to the arms race is one of the cardinal preconditions for speedily overcoming the economic backwardness of Asian, African, and Latin American countries. Greater international security would make it possible to channel much larger resources to help promote the development of the young national states.

Hardly anybody will contest the fact that as it escalates the arms race raises barriers to economic and social progress. The inflated military budgets aggravate inflation and are a heavy burden on the shoulders of millions of working people in the capitalist countries. Everybody knows that investments in military production yield a much smaller growth rate of jobs than investments in civilian industries. Far from resolving the problem of unemployment, the arms race makes it more acute. It fosters the militarisation of society, and creates the soil for the growth of Right and ultra-Right movements and forces, and neo-fascists and terrorist groups.

In view of the arms race the socialist countries, too, have to spend large funds on defence which our people would prefer to use for satisfying their growing material and cultural requirements.

In the world today global problems are receiving close attention. How to find a radical solution to the problem of energy resources? How to eradicate mass diseases, hunger, and cultural backwardness? How to prevent catastrophic changes in the environment? All these are questions of an immense, worldwide dimension. The answer to them is not simple, but it is obvious that their solution requires the investment of huge funds, and this too is obstructed by the unceasing arms race.

The usual argument is that international tension, the atmos-

phere of distrust, and conflict situations in relations between states whip up the arms race. This is true, of course. But today, something else is just as true. The arms race has acquired its own logic and has become, in fact, an independent factor aggravating relations between countries. By arousing suspicion, distrust, and fear, it undermines the efforts to promote mutual understanding and cooperation, hinders the fulfilment of adopted plans, and the realisation of achieved understandings.

The arms race prevents the cessation of local international conflicts, whether in the Middle East, or any other region of the world. Their prolongation and exacerbation affect the entire system of interstate relations. This, in turn, gives further impetus to the arms race. Moreover, the very atmosphere of armament oversaturation makes these conflicts particularly complex and acute.

A few words about China's policy. China is speedily stockpiling all kinds of armaments, including nuclear. The accelerated militarisation of that country is particularly dangerous in view of China's territorial claims on its neighbours and its policy based on the doctrine that another world war is inevitable. While arming itself, Peking openly urges an intensification of the arms race everywhere and strives to torpedo any international actions aimed at curbing the arms race. Having refused to accede to the treaty banning nuclear tests in three media, China continues tests in the atmosphere despite protests of many countries.

And, lastly, a word about the most dangerous aspect of the matter—the fact that the arms race creates and constantly sustains the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. This question has been under discussion for a long time by political and public figures, and by scientists. For a long time attention has been justifiably drawn to the fact that the arms race spells out material preparation for war. The monstrous arsenals of nuclear-missile armaments created in the course of that race inevitably carry the risk not only of their deliberate but also accidental use, which may trigger a worldwide nuclear war.

The threat of the "spread", of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons causes great anxiety. It has been estimated that some 30 countries are today in a position to develop such weapons. Among them are countries such as the Republic of South Africa, whose racist policy is challenging not only Black Africa but the entire international community. Also among these states is Israel, whose policy constantly gives rise to sharp conflicts in one of the most explosive regions of our planet. One can therefore appreciate that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would sharply increase the risk of somebody attempting to utilise it for political blackmail or even employing it.

The above facts are well known. But today the world is on the threshold of a new stage, of a new coil in the arms race spiral, a coil that may upset even the relative stability now existing in the military sphere, and thereby increase the danger of war.

In particular, there is a clear-cut trend towards the development of types and systems of arms that erode, as it were, the boundary between nuclear and conventional war. Technical and military thought in the USA is working intensively in this direction. Moreover, with the aid of propaganda about the "merits" of miniature "pure" means of mass destruction efforts are being made to push through the absurd idea that some form of nuclear weapon can be used without triggering total nuclear war. Thereby efforts are being made to blunt mankind's vigilance. Also, today there is increasing talk about the prospects for developing weapons systems that would whip up fear about the possibility of a so-called "first", i.e., knocking-down strike. Lastly, weapons systems are being developed that may result in the arms race getting out of any conceivable control and defying regulation by political means. All this increases the danger of a nuclear war.

All these are dangers laying in wait for us, figuratively speaking, round the corner. While in the long-term there is the possibility of developing even more destructive, fundamentally new types of weapon.

In short, the situation is becoming critical. Indeed, time does not wait. If no change is achieved today, tomorrow not only will the existing arms limitation agreements be emasculated but it will be hard to achieve new agreements in this field. We in the Soviet Union are convinced that if no decisive steps are taken against the arms race in the immediate future, a high price will have to be paid for this.

II

Today it is hard to find a responsible political leader who would venture to deny the dangers harboured in the arms race. The circles that want it to continue are looking for some kind of justification, their main argument being the "Soviet menace" myth, a myth that has served to justify all the spirals of the arms race during the past 30 years, and was the ideological platform of the cold war.

Lately, the campaign around the "Soviet menace" has been redoubled. The Western press continuously carries new fantastic reports about "sinister" Soviet intentions, inconceivable Soviet war programmes, and incredible Soviet military spending. It is indicative that reports of this kind multiply especially when the

time comes to approve a new military budget or endorse new military programmes. It often happened that after a budget was approved admissions appeared to the effect that the Soviet military potential had been exaggerated or inaccurately assessed. Recently there was a propaganda campaign in which it was alleged that the Soviet Union had violated its agreement with the United States on strategic arms limitations. Soon afterwards it was officially stated that there had been no violations on the part of the Soviet Union.

We have heard statements to the effect that our armed forces are much too large for solely defensive purposes. But the authors of these statements ignore, for instance, the great length of our frontiers, or the fact that far from all the countries along these frontiers are friendly to the Soviet Union. Do they take into account the fact that we have to ensure security not only in the European but also in the Asian part of our country?

NATO generals are making no secret of the fact that strategic missiles are levelled at us; nuclear-powered aircraft-carriers and submarines are ploughing the seas, each being assigned targets on our territory and the territory of other socialist countries. Moreover, there are American forward weapons sited along the perimeter of the socialist community, in immediate proximity to Soviet frontiers.

We cannot ignore the fact that over the past ten years (1968-1977) the NATO countries have spent the colossal sum of 1.3 trillion dollars for military purposes. Half of this money has been spent over the past four years, when there were political conditions for arms limitations and cuts in military budgets. In 1977 alone, the military expenditures of that bloc amounted to nearly 180,000 million dollars, with the military spending of NATO's European members growing at a particularly rapid pace. Over the past decade their share in the bloc's total military expenditures has increased from 22 to 34 per cent, with these expenditures having grown almost twofold in the FRG and threefold in Great Britain. In the period from 1974 to 1977, the military budgets of small countries like Belgium and the Netherlands increased by approximately 50 per cent. The military budgets of other Western countries are also growing.

One cannot avoid these truths when answering the question as to why the Soviet Union has been compelled to devote serious attention to its defence. I shall say bluntly: not a single Soviet citizen would understand or support his government had it shown carelessness in these questions.

The Soviet people lost 20 million lives in the war against Hitlerite fascism when they defended themselves and the whole world against the fascist invasion. We do not want any new losses.

For that reason the Soviet Union has powerful armed forces, is improving them, and maintaining their combat capacity at the level of present-day requirements. However, I feel it my duty to repeat once again that our armed forces—land, air, and naval—are intended exclusively for defence purposes. We see the cardinal solution of the question of our security, the security of our allies, and the security of all the nations of the world not in an arms race but in the normalisation of the international situation, the consolidation and deepening of detente, and the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

This stance is natural for the Soviet Union. In our country, as in other socialist countries, there neither have been nor are social groups that profit by military production. We have no territorial claims on any country. War propaganda is prohibited in the Soviet Union. Over the past few years thousands of delegations and representatives from the West have visited the Soviet Union to see with their own eyes that the Soviet people devotes itself to peaceful creative endeavour. We have enormous plans of peaceful construction. We need no war.

Now the question arises: is it possible to plan aggression and, at the same time, bring up Soviet people to respect other nations and strive to live with them in an atmosphere of equality, friendship, and broad exchanges of genuine cultural values?

It is sometimes said that our revolutionary ideology *per se* engenders the threat of Soviet military expansion. But as early as his day Lenin, the founder of our Party and state, emphatically rejected the theory and policy of "exporting revolution". To this day our Party and the Soviet state firmly abide by this guideline.

At the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, put forward the Peace Programme, one of whose central provisions calls for efforts to end the arms race. The fact that the Soviet Union wants peace and international security, and that our armed forces are intended solely and exclusively for defence purposes has been stated more than once and at the highest level.

"The Soviet Union will never start aggression, it will never raise the sword against other nations." These words were said by the leader of our Party and the head of the Soviet state L. I. Brezhnev, a man whose entire work is making an invaluable contribution to international security, a man who has done and is doing much for a turn to detente, to broader international cooperation.

When marking the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet Government called upon the peoples,

parliaments, and governments of all countries "to do everything to halt the arms race, prevent the development of new means of mass destruction, and embark upon a reduction of armaments and armed forces, upon disarmament". The Soviet Union's vital interest in maintaining and consolidating peace, and its course towards ending the arms race, towards general and complete disarmament are recorded in the Constitution of the USSR, and this legislatively guarantees their immutability and stability.

Those are not mere words, but a reflection of the basic needs of the country's development and of the aspirations of the Soviet people. They express our actual policy.

Our official statements aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament are the most graphic factual evidence of the groundlessness of the allegations about the Soviet military threat. They contain concrete and quite feasible proposals.

It would be simply impossible to enumerate all our initiatives in this speech. I want just to recall the crux of the matter.

We have seen and continue to see the main danger to humanity in a nuclear war, in the use of nuclear weapons. This is why we have given and continue to give top priority to the problem of *nuclear disarmament*. The USSR proposed a ban on nuclear weapons when they first appeared. This proposal was repeatedly put forward after we had ourselves been compelled to develop the atomic bomb. At present, all governments are aware of our proposals for the simultaneous termination by all states of manufacturing all types of nuclear weapons and for the gradual reduction of nuclear stockpiles until their complete elimination. The USSR is consistently in favour of strengthening the regime of nuclear non-proliferation, and of the establishment of nuclear-free zones. We insist on a universal and complete discontinuation of all types of nuclear tests. Recently the USSR has suggested a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions, so as to clear as much ground as possible for settling this problem.

The Soviet Union has made proposals for banning *all types of weapons of mass destruction*. It is on the USSR's initiative, too, that for a number of years negotiations have been in progress for the banning and destroying chemical weapons. We are for using all possible avenues to speed up the conclusion of a convention prohibiting radiological weapons. Finally, it was the Soviet Union which some years ago was the first to call for a treaty banning the development of all new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction—a treaty which is becoming especially relevant in the present situation.

We are systematically and insistently working for the reduction of *conventional arms and armed forces*. This aim is also served by the draft agreements on reducing military budgets and by the

proposals for dismantling military bases in foreign territories and withdrawing foreign troops and armaments from these territories.

Finally, the Soviet Union has put forward many proposals of a *regional* character, aimed at excluding certain regions of the globe from the arms race. Our proposals concerned security in Europe, security in Asia, and measures to strengthen peace in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean areas.

Even this brief review shows how wide is the range of initiatives advanced by us in the postwar period, and what the basic features of our approach to the problem of disarmament are.

The Soviet concept of disarmament is based on the following basic principles.

Our approach is of a comprehensive, all-embracing nature. Our ultimate goal is general and complete disarmament. But we are realists and we understand that it will take much time and effort to reach this goal. While urging the most radical steps, we are also looking for ways of securing partial, or intermediate measures. In this connection I would like to cite the following statement by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "There is no type of weapon, and above all no weapon of mass destruction, which the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban, and subsequently to withdraw from the arsenals, on a reciprocal basis by agreement with other states."

We are convinced that negotiations can be effective and arms limitation and reduction agreements can be viable only on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security, and if no attempts are made to gain unilateral advantages.

We are in favour of strict international control and attach not a bit less significance to it than the West. Furthermore, we hold that control must promote mutual confidence among states and not breed any additional fears and suspicions.

We consider it important to involve in the process of disarmament a large number of states, above all the nuclear powers and other states with the most powerful armed forces.

Several international agreements are in force at present, which have to some extent limited the arms race, though, understandably, they have not been able to stop it altogether. These include the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space, the treaties on nuclear non-proliferation and on limiting anti-missile systems, and the convention banning bacteriological and toxin weapons. Though initially, when first proposed, these measures seemed unrealistic to many people, the world would have been much worse off if they had not existed.

Many different negotiations on questions of disarmament are under way at the present time. And it causes deep alarm that the

talks launched long ago and the agreements that have been in preparation for a long time have not yet been concluded.

For understandable reasons, the Soviet-US talks on limiting strategic offensive arms have captured universal attention. Conclusion of such an agreement could be a real turning point on the way to military detente, and put the solution of many other disarmament problems on a practical plane.

A while ago, the US Secretary of State, C. Vance, visited Moscow. In the course of the talks a certain approximation of the positions of the parties was achieved on some of the outstanding questions. C. Vance was received by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Their conversation was concentrated on the state of affairs as concerns the preparation of a new Soviet-American agreement to limit strategic offensive weapons. L. I. Brezhnev emphasised the importance of the need for both sides to make energetic efforts with a view to reaching mutually acceptable decisions on the questions which still remain unsettled or not finally settled.

Both sides expressed their determination to work for the speediest completion of the elaboration of an agreement limiting strategic weapons, so that it can be signed as soon as possible. This would equally meet the security interests of the USSR and the USA, as well as the interests of universal peace and international security.

For several years now talks have been under way in Vienna on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The fact that they have not yet brought about an agreement causes serious anxiety. After all, the matter concerns one of the most sensitive zones of the world where the most powerful military groupings stand face to face.

Our stand at the Vienna talks is well known. We base ourselves on the actual state of affairs in Europe today. And it is such that here NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation have approximately equal forces. This is also confirmed by the figures submitted by each side. For this reason, we consider that the only acceptable and fair reductions are such that give no one any unilateral advantages.

As early as 1974 the USSR suggested that during the talks the participating states should not increase the level of armed forces in the region in question. If this proposal had been accepted, there would have been no build-ups of military power in a region where two world wars had broken out. Yet, the very quarters that are most noisy about the growth of Soviet military power in Europe torpedoed our freeze proposal and, as we have already shown, are seeking an ever greater quantitative and qualitative increase of NATO forces. This is graphic evidence of who is really opposed to

building up armaments and who is stubbornly seeking to step up armament.

On April 19, the Western participants in the Vienna talks submitted new proposals. We are studying them carefully. Our side will do everything it can (within the framework of the equal security principle, of course) to try and get things moving as regards the problem being discussed in Vienna, a problem which is so important for all European nations and for international detente as a whole.

You need have no doubts that our approach to all realistic initiatives will always be constructive. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the West's attitude to our initiatives.

The recent Belgrade Conference on the whole confirmed the outstanding significance of the All-European Conference held in Helsinki and proved useful. In Belgrade we put forward a platform of action in the field of military detente. It includes the following proposals: for the participants of the All-European Conference to conclude a treaty renouncing the use of nuclear weapons against one another first; to agree not to hold military exercises involving more than 50,000-60,000 men, and not to expand the military-political alliances facing one another in Europe by admitting new members.

It is regrettable, however, that none of these proposals was discussed in substance, though there was more than enough talk in Belgrade about the need to strengthen mutual confidence.

The same is also true of our proposal for the mutual renunciation of manufacturing neutron weapons. The danger of their manufacture and stationing in the territory of other states has caused legitimate and great anxiety among the peoples. It is, indeed, safe to say that never before have such broad sections of the public been involved in deciding on the production and deployment of a new type of nuclear weapon. This has evidently affected the decision of the US President. But this decision does not remove the danger, all the more so because simultaneously instructions have been issued to develop the carrier for this warhead on a mass scale, that is, to correspondingly modernise the Lance missile and eight-inch howitzer.

As regards neutron weapons, no one should, or can, evade responsibility under the pretence that the decisions are being taken overseas. After all, the matter concerns the future of nations, the future of world peace. It should be clear to everybody that if NATO armies are given neutron weapons this will cause counter-measures, which will inevitably add a new coil to the arms race spiral.

Such, in brief, are the basic points of our position on the most topical questions of disarmament.

III

The historical period we are living in requires an understanding of the whole extent of the danger implicit in the unchecked arms race.

Indeed, never before have such quantities of arms been accumulated on earth—neither on the eve of the First nor on the eve of the Second World War. What is more, these are arms whose destructive power is hundreds and thousands of times as great as that of anything known before. We must also be clear as to the fact that the world is on the threshold of a new stage in the arms race. And one ought not to underestimate the possibilities of the forces that are behind this deadly process.

Is it possible to stop this disastrous race to the abyss of war?

We hold that it can be stopped, because there are powerful peace forces. These are the Soviet Union, the socialist community, the international working-class, democratic and national liberation movements, the non-aligned countries, and broad sections of the world public, democratic mass organisations, and realistically-minded political quarters in the capitalist countries.

Struggle against militarism is one of the remarkable traditions of the international working-class movement. Today, Communists and Social-Democrats are so influential that a great deal can be done to maintain and consolidate peace. Nobody need doubt the devotion of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to peace. And in the non-socialist part of the world, too, more than 120 million people vote for Communists and Social-Democrats, that is, for the parties that have declared their allegiance to peace. Thus, Communists and Social-Democrats, when united, possess a tremendous peace potential.

The material force embodied in the policy of arming and war preparation can and must be countered by another material force. The strategy of the forces of aggression and war must be countered by the strategy of consolidating world peace and the security of nations. History offers quite a few examples showing the ability of imperialist reactionary circles to combine their efforts and work out a long-term strategy and concrete plans for preparing and conducting wars. The times in which we live and the very scale of catastrophe threatening mankind make it necessary to unite all forces opposing a nuclear disaster and to work out a long-term strategy for preventing war and safeguarding world peace. And the working-class movement, the will and action of the mass of the people are called upon to play an important role in this great cause.

I should like to note that Communists and Social-Democrats

have of late formulated very similar standpoints concerning their struggle for disarmament.

For example, the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe called, among other things, for detente in the military field, suggested taking concrete measures for disarmament, came forward in favour of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, for terminating the nuclear arms race, for banning nuclear tests in all spheres, for establishing nuclear-free zones, and so on.

The Socialist International, as we know, in its latest documents has also expressed itself in favour of military detente, disarmament, and arms control. These documents say that general disarmament is the ultimate goal, and contain a call to stop the proliferation of nuclear arms, to ban nuclear tests, and to create nuclear-free zones.

The CPSU appreciates the contacts established with a number of Socialist and Social-Democratic parties over the past few years, and is seeking to strengthen them. We also attach great importance to the fact that cooperation between representatives of our parties within the framework of international public movements, in large mass organisations, and at various forums is making good progress. This may be judged by the experience of the World Congress of Peace Forces, the Brussels assemblies for European security, and the International Commission that investigated the crimes of the Chilean junta, where, along with Communists, there were representatives of many Socialist and Social-Democratic parties.

Of course, practical deeds are the real test of any, even the best, declarations. And it is precisely from this premise that we proceed in raising the question of our joint efforts in the fight for disarmament. We are not authorised, of course, to speak on behalf of all Communist parties. But as far as the CPSU is concerned, it is ready to work out and sign with the Social-Democrats a declaration or any other joint document on actions directed against the arms race.

We see things realistically. There are ideological differences between Communists and Social-Democrats. But life calls for agreement in resolving the most burning problem of our time, which concerns all mankind—prevention of another world war and an end to the stockpiling of armaments.

It is an alarming fact that over the past three decades many people seem to have grown accustomed to living in conditions of an arms race and to ignoring its danger to peace. And this is playing into the hands of those who are instigating the arms race and counting on it. We think it tremendously important that all nations should know and understand the real scale of the war

danger. Much can unquestionably be done to this effect by leaders of working-class parties, trade unions, and other mass organisations, and by their representatives in governments, parliaments, and other organs of legislative and executive power.

Our Party realises its own tremendous responsibility in the struggle to deliver mankind from the threat of a nuclear war, from the threat of any war, and for the promotion of disarmament. And we want to hope that this sense of responsibility will take root in the ranks of Social-Democratic parties, their leaders and functionaries. And in this connection, we consider the very convocation of this conference a highly positive fact.

Life dictates the need for cooperation between Communist and Social-Democratic parties in matters of political and military detente. Yes, cooperation! Sporadic contacts are now obviously insufficient. Stable and consistent interaction is required.

In this connection, permit me to make a few practical suggestions.

On instructions from the Central Committee of the CPSU and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, allow me to invite to Moscow a representative delegation of the Socialist International and its President, Willy Brandt, for a summit discussion of the problems of ending the arms race and subsequent disarmament in their entirety.

Such a discussion could facilitate progress in the interstate negotiations already under way, and bring all of us closer to practical solutions.

Considering the enormous responsibility lying on the working-class movement, and the powerful resources at its disposal, it would be useful to examine the question of possible forms of developing and maintaining contacts on a permanent basis between Communist and Social-Democratic parties in order to exchange information and to coordinate their joint actions on questions of disarmament. As we see it, this would help to overcome the still surviving prejudices, mistrust and alienation, and to promote a better understanding of one another's intentions.

It would be very important to encourage the broadest possible sections of society, specifically the international non-governmental organisations, actively to contribute to the success of the special session of the UN General Assembly. For its part, our Party is prepared to help towards this. It seems to us, that this conference, too, could do its part to this end.

We attach great importance to the earliest possible convocation of a World Disarmament Conference, which can and must greatly further the tasks connected with ending the arms race, reducing

armaments, and with disarmament. Here, too, joint efforts by Communists and Social-Democrats could play a substantial role.

Everybody is aware of the important place occupied by the mass media and of their influence, in particular, on the discussion relating to disarmament. The newspaper *Pravda*, our Party's central organ, is prepared to act as the sponsor of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Social-Democratic press in order to exchange opinions on these issues.

We propose that a prestigious conference of experts be called in Moscow or any other place on questions of disarmament, in which representatives of Communist and Social-Democratic parties, as well as other political forces, would take part. We would also consider it useful to set up joint research groups to study the more topical issues relating to the limitation of armaments and to disarmament. The subjects they would deal with could be worked out jointly.

Days or weeks of solidarity action connected with specific demands have become a tradition for the working-class movement. Mayday, the day of the international solidarity of the working people, is of similar origin. It would be advisable to employ the same form of action in the struggle against the arms race as well. It would found broad support throughout the world and serve as an effective means of influencing the opponents of military detente.

May the voice of the masses resound, demanding a stop to the armaments race, a race leading to war!

In short, we are ready for a dialogue and cooperation on the broadest possible basis. Naturally, we are prepared to discuss any counter-initiatives and counter-proposals in a friendly and constructive spirit.

In conclusion I want to stress that the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and its Central Committee headed by L. I. Brezhnev, outstanding fighter for peace and the security of nations, steering the consistent and stable peaceful Leninist course, are prepared to make all the necessary efforts so that the questions of military detente are, at last, placed into practical orbit in the interest of achieving real disarmament. This is our position of principle. It is dictated by our responsibility and concern for the destinies of the Soviet people and all peoples on earth.

The Philosophy of Marxism and Scientific Cognition

PYOTR FEDOSEYEV

In September 1978, Düsseldorf was the venue of the 16th World Congress of Philosophy. It was attended by over 1,500 scholars from more than 60 countries. Philosophers together with mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, biologists, psychologists, linguists, and economists, in short, representatives of various branches of knowledge, discussed basic philosophical problems of science and social life.

The acceleration and complication of scientific, technological and social progress in our epoch naturally sharply increase the need for a scientifically substantiated answer to the fundamental questions of social development and scientific cognition. It was not incidental, therefore, that the main theme of the 16th World Congress of Philosophy was "Philosophy and World Outlook in the Sciences of the Modern World".

That general theme consisted of a number of more specific ones: "The Idea of the Universe", "Modern Biology and Its Challenge to Philosophy", "Consciousness, the Brain and the External World", "Scientific and Other Types of Rationality", "The Mastering of Scientific and Technological Progress", and others.

For the first time in its history, the International Federation of Philosophical Societies, whose leadership is far removed from the Marxist-Leninist ideological orientation, had to acknowledge the importance of a world outlook for the sciences about nature and society, i.e., to agree with the thesis, always upheld by Marxists,

that science is not at all indifferent to general philosophical conclusions.

Already in the second half of the last century, bourgeois philosophers began to counterpose science and a world outlook, philosophical analysis and scientific research. That is why the choice of the main theme by the Congress should be seen as recognition of the insolvency of the indiscriminate opposition of a world outlook (including philosophy) to specific scientific research. Philosophy, meaning, of course, scientific philosophy, can and should be opposed to an unscientific world outlook but the opposition of science to a scientific and philosophical world outlook is groundless.

The evolution of philosophy into a science was a decisive premise in the transition to a scientifically-grounded world outlook. Dialectical materialism, created by Marx and Engels and creatively developed by Lenin and their followers, is such a philosophy, which has absorbed all the most essential achievements of previous theoretical thought and risen to the level of a science.

A world outlook has a very complicated, one may say, multi-layer structure. The sciences about nature and society give a set of ideas about the various aspects of the objective world. Literature and art, ethics and law also reflect them in one way or another. But it is philosophy that elaborates a general, a universal, so to say, conception of the world, its past and future.

Philosophical views exert a great influence on all the components, on all the branches, figuratively speaking, of world outlook, which is conditioned first of all by the specifics of philosophical knowledge itself. It is philosophy that operates with laws and categories that express the most general principles of being, human knowledge and behaviour. As Marx aptly put it, "...every true philosophy is the intellectual quintessence of its time", "culture's animated soul". Any more or less important philosophical system, even though in a form of abstract constructions, has always reflected the frame of mind and ideals of a certain part of society, of a certain class, the conflicts and contradictions of its time.

The intense discussions about the place and role of philosophy in the system of a world outlook and scientific cognition are caused, primarily by the aggravation of the struggle between the Marxist and bourgeois trends in the philosophical interpretation of the present epoch.

Some philosophers and scientists are of the opinion that the mathematisation of science, the formalisation of knowledge and the broad use of methods of cybernetics and modelling reduce the significance of philosophical questions and the role of philosophy in the system of scientific cognition. They contend that philosophy

should, to the extent to which it can be useful, not concern itself with problems of world outlook, that it should, instead, confine itself to the function of the logic of science. Accordingly, world outlook is interpreted as a sum-total of metaphysical pseudo-problems devoid of any scientific content.

Far from all the philosophers who accepted the main theme of the Congress meant a scientific analysis of the philosophical problems of modern science. Some of them reckoned on opposing modern scientific achievements to the Marxist-Leninist methodology, on proving that dialectical materialism is allegedly unable to meet the challenge of modern natural science. During the discussion of a variety of problems, the scholars from the Soviet Union and Marxists from other countries conclusively proved that the fundamental tenets of materialist dialectics have not only stood the test of time and met the challenge of modern science but have served as the methodological foundation for many scientific ideas. Academician V. Ambartsumyan, for instance, convincingly showed that the doctrine of dialectical materialism about the development and universal interdependence of phenomena was the underlying principle in the formation of theoretical conceptions about the evolution of the Universe and the interdependence of the cosmic systems. He noted that the principle of development, regarded by some participants in the discussion as a cosmological myth, was a theoretical generalisation of a wealth of empirical data obtained with the help of up-to-date sophisticated observance instruments.

During the discussion on cosmology, some Western scholars tried to prove that the data of modern cosmology confirm the dogmas about the "creation of the world". They also maintained that there was no distinct difference between the scientific and the mythological interpretation of the Universe; that philosophy was meant to serve as a bridge between science and mythology, as well as religion. It is noteworthy that these ideas were criticised not only by scientists from the socialist countries but also by a number of natural scientists from the capitalist countries, which shows that the number of scientists in the West is growing who, by the very logic of the development of science, reject unscientific philosophical conceptions and take the standpoint of a scientific world outlook.

The scientific significance of the materialistic approach vividly manifested itself during the discussion on the problems of consciousness, in which the well-known neurophysiologists, and Nobel Prize winners, J. Eccles (Switzerland) and J. Smart (Australia) participated. J. Eccles described the results of his special researches into the functioning mechanisms of various types of the nerve-cells. He failed, however, to take into account other higher levels of the brain's functioning and also the work of the brain as a

whole. J. Eccles concluded his report with the statement that, consciousness being a subjective phenomenon, its relation to the outer world cannot in principle be a subject of scientific investigations, that its secrets are inaccessible to scientific means. Unlike Eccles, J. Smart tried to show that, however varied its structural forms, consciousness lends itself to scientific research, including experiments. At the same time, however, Smart left out of account the social characteristics of consciousness, without which it does not differ from the sum-total of sensory data. Thus, he spoke not so much of consciousness, as of its elementary forms, such as sensation.

The Soviet scientists B. Lomov, E. Asratyan, T. Oizerman, and others expounded the dialectico-materialistic interpretation of consciousness, which combines neurophysiological research with an analysis of the qualitative difference between psychical activity of man and that of animals. Basing themselves on an analysis of the process of labour, they showed structural elements of consciousness as specifically human spiritual phenomena having a social basis. The Soviet researchers stressed that the ignoring of social being as also of the social character of consciousness made practically impossible the study of consciousness on a level above the sensory reflection of the outer world.

The supporters of the dialectico-materialistic methodology took the lead also in the discussions on biology, mathematical logic and the social problems of the scientific and technological revolution, to which Academician V. Glushkov, Academician N. Dubinin, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences J. Gvishiani, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. Frolov, not to mention many others contributed greatly.

The Düsseldorf Congress showed once again that the latest achievements of physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, cybernetics and other sciences have not only consolidated the positions of the scientific world outlook, but also enriched it with new tenets. At the same time, it also showed the unwillingness of bourgeois philosophers to discuss problems of the scientific world outlook, their refusal to distinguish between the scientific world outlook and the religious outlook. The report made by H. Lübbe from Zürich was very typical in this respect. H. Lübbe tried to prove that as science advances its significance constantly decreases. The Copernican revolution, he said, marked a tremendous fundamental change in world outlook but Darwinism, already, played an incomparably smaller rôle in the development of a world outlook and of culture in general. As far as the scientific and technological revolution is concerned, according to H. Lübbe, it breaks with world-view beliefs which are seen by Lübbe as a variety of

religious beliefs that scientific and technological development overcomes completely.

Nihilism in philosophy found expression in a number of statements by Western philosophers who aimed to eliminate the allegedly excessive contradiction between scientific propositions and unscientific pronouncements. Philosophers-metaphysicists of the past used to absolutise all contradictions, whereas their successors, on the contrary, are ready to play down any contradictions, including those between truth and delusions, good and evil, etc.

Academician M. Mitin, Academician F. Konstantinov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Iovchuk, and Marxist philosophers from other countries criticised such statements made mostly by representatives of positivist philosophy and substantiated the need for a scientific world outlook and its inherent link with the achievements of scientific knowledge and with social practice.

It should be noted that this nihilism is closely connected with the propagation of pluralism in philosophy and politics, i.e., with the idea of a multitude of "truths" and the equivalence of various political trends. This propagation is spearheaded against the scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, against the recognition of the general laws of socio-historical progress.

Some of the participants expressed biased opinions about Marxism and socialism, about democracy and human rights.

It can be stated with satisfaction, however, that the overwhelming majority of the participants did not support those who would have liked to involve them in a "psychological war" against the USSR and other socialist countries, which the reactionary circles of imperialism are trying to unleash.

The devices resorted to notwithstanding, nobody succeeded in thrusting aside the vital problems of our time and especially those concerning the preservation of peace and security of peoples.

Within the framework of the Congress a colloquium "Science and Peace" was held, in which well-known natural scientists, philosophers and sociologists took part. Although holding different political and ideological convictions they were all agreed that peace and friendship among nations were primary in the hierarchy of human values. "Peace all over the world is the supreme goal of all people irrespective of their political, religious or ideological convictions," states the resolution adopted at the colloquium.

The dialogue between Marxists and Christians, also within the framework of the Congress, likewise focussed on peace and problems of the environment.

The General Assembly of the International Federation of

Philosophical Societies adopted a special resolution that philosophical societies should support the movement for peace and detente. •

Soviet scholars upheld the scientific interpretation of the key problems of current world development, and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy in elaborating an integral world outlook, and at the same time favoured business-like cooperation with progressive scientists in all countries, a comprehensive dialogue with those representatives of non-Marxist trends and concepts who are sincere in their concern for the destiny of man and mankind. As there are different world outlooks, there is no other possibility of achieving mutually acceptable agreements on vital issues than by making an unbiased comparison of various standpoints. Today all the conditions exist for a constructive dialogue on a wide range of problems brought forward by social development and the scientific and technological revolution. Such a dialogue has become possible first of all because the process of international detente is becoming the leading tendency of the day.

All that means that greater responsibility devolves on scientists, that they have a greater role to play in rendering intellectual support to the positive changes taking place in the world, in substantiating political, cultural and ethical values that would promote peace and the security of peoples, the expansion of international scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, prevent the danger of ecological imbalance and the solution of other vital problems of our times.

NOTE

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1975, p. 195.

Socialist Integration

From the Editors:

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance marks its 30th anniversary this year. In connection with this anniversary and taking into consideration the interest of our readers in the economic, political and spiritual life of the socialist community and, particularly, in the intensified economic cooperation within it, we publish in this issue a set of articles that are versions of chapters from the collective monograph *CMEA: International Significance of the Socialist Economic Integration* (ed. by K. I. Mikulsky, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1979).

We intend to publish more articles on various aspects of the CMEA and its member-countries with other international organisations and individual countries on bilateral and multilateral basis.

CMEA: Its Establishment and Development

YURI SHIRYAEV

As Lenin had predicted, the spread of socialism beyond the borders of the USSR and its transformation into a world system gave rise to "completely different international relations".¹ These are relations of a new, socialist type whose underlying features are unity of vital national and international interests, conditioned by the socio-economic nature of socialist states; Marxism-Leninism—a single common ideology, internationalist in its very nature; common aims of socialist and communist construction; common tasks in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The relations between the countries of the socialist community have been described by Leonid Brezhnev as "the alliance, friendship and cooperation of sovereign and equal states united by common aims and interests, held together by bonds of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance". And, he added, "We are advancing together, helping one another and pooling our efforts, knowledge and resources to move forward as rapidly as possible."²

Today the cooperation of the socialist countries and the development of their economic integration are closely linked with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the first

collective organisation of socialist states, which promotes the division of labour between them, their economic interaction and the consolidation of the positions of the socialist community in the world economy.

Set up three decades ago, the CMEA has become the universally recognised organiser of the cooperation of sovereign socialist states, a kind of collective laboratory, which works out and tests in practice the concrete forms and methods of realising the economic relations of a new type. The 32nd Session of the CMEA, held in 1978, once again stressed the important contribution of mutual cooperation to the achievements of each fraternal country. The heads of government of the CMEA member countries "expressed their firm intention to continue to develop and deepen the cooperation of the CMEA member countries in the economy, science and technology, considering it an important factor that actively furthers the successful fulfilment of the plans of socialist and communist construction, the consolidation of the cohesion and inviolable friendship of the socialist nations on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist solidarity".³

The CMEA has long since transcended the framework of a regional organisation. Today it includes 10 socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America with a total population of close to 430 million.

* * *

The setting up of CMEA in 1949 was a logical consequence of the new-type relations established between the Soviet Union and states that had taken the path of building socialism. People's democratic organs of authority had arisen on the territory of some of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe even before their complete liberation from the fascist yoke. Already in 1944-1945, they concluded the first inter-governmental agreements, which provided for mutual assistance in the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economies and laid the foundations for reciprocal relations based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In the early postwar years, the alliance of the fraternal countries gradually acquired ever more distinct shape. This alliance was economically formalised with the creation of the CMEA.

From the very beginning the CMEA demonstrated its fundamental difference from the inter-governmental alliances and organisations that existed throughout the entire history of international relations. The principles of economic relations between the CMEA member countries were formulated on the

basis of the accumulated experience, which was then generalised in the CMEA's collective documents—its Charter (1959) and the Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour (1962), and also documents adopted by the international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties.

The Basic Principles noted, among other things, that "in contradistinction to the international capitalist division of labour, which expresses the relations of exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, takes shape spontaneously in the course of a sharp competitive struggle, while the expansion of capitalist monopolies deepens the inequality of economic development, leads to the formation of a distorted structure of the developing nations' economies, the international socialist division of labour is carried out consciously and systematically, in keeping with the vital interests and tasks of the harmonious and allround development of all socialist countries and makes for their greater cohesion".⁴

Of course, time was needed to realise the potentialities of the international relations of a new type. One cannot but take into account the circumstances which prevented the socialist economic complexes from fully utilising the advantages of the division of labour between them at the initial stages of their interaction.

In the specific historical conditions of the postwar period, the choice of this or that concept of economic development in most of the countries that took the path of socialism was not at all conditioned by subjective factors. These concepts reflected, on the one hand, the general laws of the establishment of socialism, of the formation of its material and technical base, and, on the other hand, the specific requirements of the postwar years, connected with the restoration of normal economic life and the preparation of the prerequisites for industrialisation in the economically less developed countries.

Thus, in the first postwar years, the main forms of cooperation between the CMEA European countries served for most of them as the foreign economic conditions for building a socialist economy and for tackling the tasks involved in the transition period.

Hence, the principal direction of cooperation was the solution of questions connected with the rehabilitation and development of the economy of each individual country. This explains why the proposals advanced in the latter part of the 1940s to form a customs union of several socialist countries were assessed as premature and the CMEA's tasks were formulated as an exchange of economic experience, technical assistance to each other, and mutual assistance with raw materials, food, equipment, etc.⁵

It is quite clear that in each country the new social system had to rely on a material and technical base that was adequate to it. But such a base could be formed only through the specific

production potentialities of the CMEA member countries available at the time. The newly created production facilities, especially in those countries which had no developed industry, had of necessity to reproduce the most essential features of the production apparatus which the socialist countries had at the time. One of the side effects of this process was, thus, a certain universalisation of production structures, which fact was determined by deficits in the major types of output.

This could not but affect both the qualitative and the quantitative development features of the international division of labour during the two immediate postwar decades. Moreover, time was needed also to create an effective mechanism of economic cooperation adequate for the new type of international division of labour. As practice showed, that was not an easy task; in some essential aspects it is still a complex one.

Among the objective factors that prevented fuller utilisation of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour was, in the first place, the lower initial economic level of most of the countries that had taken the socialist path. Besides, it should be noted that at that time the industrially developed socialist countries, the Soviet Union included, also faced complex economic tasks of postwar reconstruction and development. All this created an acute deficit of resources, including investment goods, which objectively narrowed down the possibilities of operating collectively and hindered the formation of production structures oriented on the satisfaction of the requirements of other countries, and not only of the basic needs of the national economy. The movement of goods and services across national frontiers was largely in those conditions (especially in the first postwar years) a material expression of international mutual assistance and not an expression of a systematically formed division of labour, strictly based on the criteria of economic efficiency.

Last but not least, the historical situation and especially the cold-war policy pursued by the imperialist states called for a geographical reorientation of the foreign economic ties of the socialist countries within a short time. This reorientation confronted a number of states with the need to accelerate the creation of types of production that would meet their economic requirements, which in the past had traditionally been met through imports.

All this necessitated making active use of the possibilities connected with the functioning of CMEA and its bodies. Already at its first sittings, the Council advanced concrete proposals for tackling the pressing problems of its initial period of activity. In particular, the Second Session of the CMEA, held in August 1949, considered it advisable to expand the mutual trade between its

member countries on the basis of long-term agreements and worked out principles for scientific and technical cooperation and the exchange of know-how, discussed stepping up the production of antifriction bearings, which was in fact the first step in the development of international specialisation and the cooperation of production.

The subsequent CMEA meetings were of great importance to the establishment of the mechanism of planned cooperation in the sphere of production. The Seventh Session held in 1956 discussed the problems of coordinating the development plans for 1956-1960 in the main branches of the CMEA member countries' economies: the machine-building, coal, oil and gas, chemical and timber industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and agriculture. The growth of the scale of cooperation prompted this session's decision to set up CMEA standing committees for economic and technico-scientific cooperation, whose function was to promote the expansion of economic ties between the member countries and the organisation of multilateral cooperation in major sectors of the economy.

The subsequent complexity of the CMEA member countries' production structure and the further expansion of economic relations between them necessitated improved forms and methods of regulating their cooperation. The coordination of its development only through coordinated foreign trade deliveries, as was the case at the initial stage of cooperation, later fell short of the greatly advanced economic maturity of the CMEA member countries. This determined the need for evolving new, more effective forms and methods of regulating the international socialist division of labour, especially as regarded the strengthening of the planned principles in its development.

By the mid-1950s, when all the CMEA member countries had consolidated the principles of their planned economic management, the coordination of five-year economic development plans had become possible. Simultaneously, the first steps were made to rationalise the existent system of mutual relations through recommendations for international specialisation and the cooperation of production of individual industrial goods.

The recommendations approved by the Council and their practical realisation furthered the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, the coordination and realisation of the first long-term economic development plans of the CMEA member countries, the acceleration of their economic growth and ensured radical socio-economic transformations in the states that were tackling the tasks of the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The 1960s saw the considerable intensification of mutual

cooperation, the expansion of the CMEA member countries' international market. Growing amounts of commodities moved from one country to another and this process at that time was influenced not so much by temporary needs and relative "surpluses" but by the in-depth and long-term division of labour. A special role in this process belonged to the coordination of many important indicators of the economic development plans for 1961-1965 and for 1966-1970, as well as to the collective recommendations concerning the CMEA member countries' international specialisation in the output of some 4,500 types of machinery and equipment and over 2,300 chemical products. Of great importance was the conclusion of bilateral agreements, which provided for cooperation in the production of units and parts, for joint research and designing, and for financing production and the export of raw materials.

At that time the growing internationalisation of the economic life of the CMEA member countries was also reflected in the joint development of international transportation, in the unification of electric power grids, and in the establishment and development of international economic, scientific and technical organisations. In particular, the CMEA set up such organisations as Intermetal, the Central Dispatch Board of Unified Power Grids, the Common Stock of Freight Cars, the Institute of Standardisation, and the International Bank of Economic Cooperation.

As the CMEA's activities expand, its role as an international organisation of a new type, an organisation marked by a truly democratic structure, democratic decision-making and principles of functioning, become increasingly apparent.

At all stages of socialist construction the CMEA member countries have rendered each other broad economic and technical assistance. As Leonid Brezhnev put it, the CMEA has demonstrated to the whole world "a unique experience of equal cooperation of a large group of countries, of the harmonious blending of their national and international interests, and of practical implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism".⁸

In the past few decades, the economic ties between the CMEA member countries have contributed to the formation of modern economic complexes based on large-scale machine industry, and a powerful scientific and technical base as represented by a ramified network of research and designing organisations, pilot production projects, etc. The cooperation and mutual assistance rendered by the CMEA countries have effectively facilitated the solution of such a major socio-economic problem as bridging the considerable gaps in the levels of their economic development as inherited from the past.

All this clearly reveals the advantages of the system of economic cooperation, based on principles immanent in socialism, over systems created by capitalist states and their economic and political groupings.

The authors of the Treaty of Rome, which proclaimed the establishment of the EEC in 1957, took care to incorporate in it formulas which would have a strong propaganda effect and would neutralise the opposition of the masses in the West European states to the creation of this trade and economic bloc.

But, as experience has shown, their promises to ensure the growth of employment, a rise in the well-being of the population, a rational distribution of the productive forces with an eye to the specific interests of the economically less developed areas and the abolition of inter-state competition have proved merely a verbal cover for the real purpose of imperialist integration, that of unifying the efforts of the "national" state-monopoly capitalists in the face of the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, the accentuation of its contradictions and the ever growing scale of the people's struggle against exploitation and monopoly rule, and for democracy and socialism, and a deep-going restructuring of the entire system of international relations.

In assessing the CMEA member countries' development over three decades, it is necessary to emphasise its dynamism which has no analogue in the practice of any other group of countries. In 1951-1977, the average growth rate of the national income and industrial output was 7.6 per cent and 9.6 per cent respectively, whereas the corresponding figures for the developed capitalist countries were 4.2 and 4.9 per cent.⁷ This higher dynamism of economic growth in the socialist countries was largely based on the development of their cooperation and mutual assistance and the use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour. Suffice it to note that, during that period, the turnover of their mutual trade rose to 91,000 million rubles, or approximately 15-fold.

* * *

The 1960s projected the growing need for the formation of such a model of economic interaction between the socialist countries which would make it possible to build up an integral system of economic interrelations with due account of the long-term trends of scientific and technological progress and the long-range tasks of the socio-economic development of the socialist community and the consistent realisation of the potentials inherent in a planned division of labour.

The degree of socio-economic uniformity attained by the CMEA member countries by that time created favourable prerequisites for their closer interaction. The higher level of the socialist social system's development now insistently called for the maximum utilisation of all the possibilities of cooperation to accomplish such key tasks as raising the efficiency of production, accelerating technical progress and raising the living standards of the population.

The 23rd Session of CMEA in 1969 became a historical landmark in the economic cooperation of the socialist countries. Its decisions substantiated the need for the CMEA's transition to a qualitatively higher stage of its development: international socialist integration. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, "practice has led us up to this common conclusion: it is necessary to deepen specialisation and cooperation of production, and to tie in our national-economic plans more closely, that is, to advance along the way of the socialist countries' economic integration".⁸

The 23rd Session's decisions which provided for the further expansion and deepening of allround economic ties between the CMEA member countries are of great importance in strengthening the might of each country and the socialist community as a whole, and consolidating the positions of the socialist countries in the world economy. As the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated in June 1969, "the socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure."⁹

Together with other fraternal parties, the CPSU has made a big contribution to the theoretical elaboration of the problems of socialist integration by advancing a number of fundamental propositions concerning the improvement of the forms and methods of joint planned activity, the economic mechanism of cooperation and its organisational and legal principles.

The 24th CPSU Congress, the congresses and CC plenary meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties defined the transition to integration both as a long-term strategy and as a concrete directive for all government and economic bodies participating in the development of mutual economic ties.¹⁰ This qualitatively new stage required that the economic mechanism of the CMEA member countries' cooperation be further improved. The complexity of the new problems of cooperation called for a comprehensive approach to their solution, and the application of

new forms and methods of guiding the process of the levelling-up of the national economies.

The CMEA's 23rd Session defined the main trends in the elaboration of a comprehensive long-term programme for the further development of the economic relations between the socialist countries. The programme was adopted by the 25th Session of the Council, held in 1971.

This programme develops and specifies the principles of the relations between the socialist states, and in point of fact, contains a general plan for their joint economic and scientific and technical activities for several decades to come. By deepening and enriching the fundamental principles of cooperation this programme provides for a broad range of interrelated concrete measures (about 200 different measures), for the organisational and legal mechanism of their realisation by joint efforts of the socialist countries, and for the time-scale of their implementation. The adoption of this Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Integration initiated the systems approach towards attaining the collectively set goals in all spheres of cooperation.

One of the major tasks formulated by the Comprehensive Programme is to form highly effective structures in the socialist economies. It is planned to accomplish this by attaining the highest possible scientific and technological level of production and labour productivity in the CMEA member countries; through the optimisation of their economic structures and the comprehensive use of their natural resources; the deepening of international specialisation and cooperation of production; the development and mastering of the most advanced production technologies; the introduction of progressive forms of production and labour organisation, etc.

Great importance attaches to the drawing closer together and evening up of the CMEA member countries' levels of economic development. The accomplishment of this task is connected with the implementation of major economic and political measures such as the joint construction and running of industrial and other projects, the granting of credits on favourable terms, and the realisation of large-scale scientific and technological projects.

The Comprehensive Programme also provides for the joint charting of the strategy of the further development of science and technology. Chief among the measures outlined in it are systematic mutual consultations on basic problems of scientific and technological policy, scientific and technological forecasts, and the joint planning of research into major scientific and technological problems.

As noted in the Comprehensive Programme, the main method of organising broad economic cooperation is cooperation in planning. The CMEA member countries therefore centre attention on the development and improvement of the forms of planning. The 25th Session of the CMEA set up a committee on cooperation in planning. In 1975 the Council adopted a coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures and elaborated long-term special programmes of cooperation (for more details, see V. Sitnin's article in this issue).

The activities of the CMEA member countries and agencies have brought palpable practical results in this sphere. The 32nd Session of the Council approved the long-term special programmes of cooperation in the sphere of power engineering, fuel and raw materials, agriculture and food, and also machine-building. These programmes were drawn up in accordance with the decisions passed by the Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA member countries to develop and deepen their economic, scientific and technological cooperation.¹¹ The Council is preparing programmes of cooperation in the spheres of transport and the production of consumer goods.

All these special programmes define the coordinated strategy of cooperation of the CMEA member countries over a long period in the respective fields of material production, and spell out the Comprehensive Programme of CMEA.

The elaboration and realisation of all these programmes is a new step in the diversification of multilateral cooperation in CMEA. It will facilitate the accomplishment of the socio-economic tasks raised by the CMEA member countries in socialist and communist construction will make for the steady growth of their economies and the further improvement of living standards, the drawing closer together and evening up of the levels of their economic development, the broader participation of the industrially less developed countries in specialisation and coordination of production, the practical introduction of the advanced achievements of science and technology, the increased export of ready-made articles, and, in particular, for the growth and greater efficiency of the economies of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam.

The 32nd Session of the Council paid much attention to the economic and organisational problems that arise in the course of socialist integration. As the communique on this session noted, the extension and deepening of the content of the CMEA member countries' cooperation call for further improvement of the mechanism, forms and methods of the CMEA's functioning. Guided by the fundamental directives of the parties and governments of the fraternal countries, the session adopted a complex of

measures in this sphere. The work of all the CMEA's agencies is oriented towards achieving the top-priority tasks of cooperation in the sphere of material production, the further consolidation of planning principles in their joint work, and increasing the efficiency, operative and coordinated functioning of all the Council's agencies and international organisations.

The Council decided to complete its main work of coordinating the countries' five-year plans for 1981-1985 by the end of 1979. This necessitates the constant improvement of the economic mechanisms of the socialist states as a whole and their foreign economic blocs in particular. The task is to more fully ensure the conformity of these mechanisms with the requirements of socialist integration and the more effective use of internal resources and the fuller realisation of the advantages of the international division of labour.

The closer relations between the CMEA member countries in the process of their economic integration in no way prevents them from developing economic ties with third countries. This is evidenced by the further expansion of the CMEA member countries' ties with other states and international organisations since the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme. The 32nd Session of CMEA in 1973 recommended that its member countries should actively promote cooperation with all interested states and international organisations in the sphere of environmental protection. The CMEA's Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation was instructed to link up the measures taken to protect and improve the environment with those implemented on an all-European basis. It was also recommended that it should also adopt measures to expand and deepen cooperation in improving production processes in industries most responsible for air, water and soil pollution.

The CMEA pays constant attention to the expansion and intensification of its economic ties with all countries of the world. Its activities serve the cause of the progressive restructuring of international economic relations, strengthening the material foundation of the policy of detente, and the cause of international security and broad cooperation on an equal and mutually beneficial basis.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 477.

² L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 21-22.

³ *Pravda*, June 30, 1973.

- ⁴ *Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour*, Moscow, 1964, p. 6 (in Russian).
- ⁵ *Pravda*, January 25, 1949.
- ⁶ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 8.
- ⁷ *The USSR in Figures for 1977*, Moscow, 1978, p. 55 (in Russian).
- ⁸ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, p. 13.
- ⁹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969*, Prague, 1969, p. 22.
- ¹⁰ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Verbatim Report, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1971, pp. 28-37; Vol. 2, Moscow, 1971, pp. 60-64 (in Russian).
- ¹¹ *Pravda*, June 30, 1978 ("The Statement of Heads of Delegations of the CMEA Member Countries in Connection with the Approval of the Long-Term Target Programmes of Cooperation at the 32nd Session of CMEA").

Internationalisation of Economic Life

OLEG BOGOMOLOV

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the growing socialisation of labour and production is the methodological basis for analysing the socialist system of the world economy. Internationalisation of economic life along socialist lines is the basic process which ultimately determines the trend and character of all concrete manifestations of the economic cooperation and interdependence of the socialist countries.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasised the significance of this process and its all-embracing character. "Already under capitalism," he wrote, "all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international."¹ Its driving power is, primarily, the growth and improvement of the productive forces and especially scientific and technological progress. At a certain stage of concentration and specialisation of production its further expansion becomes impossible on its own basis alone. Today, in order to maintain and constantly renew national production it is necessary to cooperate with other countries and develop international division of labour and exchange. The economic life of various countries becomes interdependent, complementary and internationalised.

The socialisation of labour and production, including their internationalisation, is one of the major historical results of the development of the capitalist mode of production. However, private ownership relations and capitalist exploitation create insurmountable barriers in the way of constantly intensifying this process under the impact of the objective requirements of modern scientific, technological and social progress. These barriers are removed under socialist ownership of the means of production. Socialism acts as a powerful accelerator of socialisation on both national and international scale. In the conditions of the world

socialist system, the process of internationalisation of production and exchange is accompanied by the development of international economic relations which are distinguished by collectivism, cooperation and mutual assistance. Thus, a socialist type of internationalisation of the economic life is a specific phenomenon, differing in principle from capitalist internationalisation.

Intensification of the social, collective character of labour under socialism is manifested in many ways, including the greater international socialist division of labour, concentration, specialisation and cooperation of production, development of socialist collaboration and mutual assistance, expansion of the joint planning activities of the socialist states, coordination of their economic policies, joint construction and exploitation of economic projects, etc.

Improvement of the organisation of socialist production and social life as a whole is directly connected with intensification of the social character of labour and the steady growth of its socialisation and internationalisation. As a result, social relations both within individual socialist countries and between them acquire a new essence and become enriched with new forms.

The internationally social character of production collectives' labour is recognised not only indirectly, through the formation of international value, but is also directly reflected in international programmes and projects, in the emergence of international coordinating and economic organisations, in coordination of the national economic plans, etc.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism always interpreted socialisation and internationalisation as a uniform process going on, primarily, in the sphere of production and exchange, in the productive forces and production relations, and also embracing all other spheres of social life.

The productive forces and production relations, always in dialectical unity, are increasingly being influenced by the internationalisation of labour and production. Various elements of the productive forces are used on an ever greater scale as component parts of national and international economic complexes. This is a direct result of the concentration and division of social labour, a natural consequence of its combination and cooperation. Intensification of the social character of the productive forces is manifested in the fact that the means of production are being put to use jointly not only by a big collective of people, but also by the joint efforts of workers of several countries.

In the course of forming the socialist system of the world economy, international socialist production relations—the sum total of ties between the state, planning and economic bodies of the socialist countries in the sphere of production, exchange,

distribution, appropriation and consumption—are taking shape and developing. These relations emerge in coordinating and implementing plans, elaborating production programmes, international specialisation and cooperation of production, building and operating joint projects, exchanging goods and scientific and technological results, pooling financial resources and creating international banks and in transporting international cargoes. With the advance of the actual socialisation and internationalisation of production, new elements appear in the sphere of production relations, reflecting the intensification of the international character, of the productive forces and a more complex, varied and deep-going economic interdependence between countries. Thus, the coordination of economic plans, a result of the expansion of the productive forces over the state and national boundaries, is at the same time a manifestation of the internationalisation of socialist production relations connected with economic planning.

Internationalisation of labour on the basis of more intensive cooperation of national economic complexes leads to the emergence and consolidation of a broader range of economic interests shared by the entire socialist community. The development of joint planning makes it possible to consciously form the future pattern of the socialist community. It makes it possible to forecast ways and forms of merging the requirements of individual countries in a common international interest of the socialist community. In other words, the higher the degree of coordination in the economic development of the sovereign socialist countries, the better their national resources are utilised for solving not only national but also common international tasks.

Along with this, the material base itself for the formation and consolidation of common (international) economic interests is changing intensively. Large-scale joint projects and the growing amalgamation of production apparatuses on the basis of specialisation and cooperation mean that specific national interests begin to increasingly often manifest themselves in international unity as a collective interest in a successful solution of a common task. Finally, the activity is gradually expanding of various international organisations in charge of direct management of the collective resources on behalf of the participating countries. A number of these organisations effect a transfer from the indirect use of the national resources for the common aims of the participating countries to their direct international use.

Internationalisation of the economic life of the socialist states and the development of international socialist production relations lead to the national economic systems complementing each other to an ever greater degree. This calls for maintaining conformity between production and consumption of the growing quantity of

goods on an international scale. The range of problems, which the socialist countries find it difficult to handle singlehanded and which they are successfully tackling jointly, is becoming broader. In short, a certain community of the economic life of the socialist countries arises, which is characterised by common economic proportions, common economic and production organisations and institutions and an international market of its own. The emergence of this community is a specific feature of the formation of the socialist system of the world economy.

This system is taking shape as the necessary requisites are maturing. It develops, changing its forms and acquiring new features, as it passes through different stages. The general trend of this development was foreseen by Lenin soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. Socialism, he wrote, "creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed."² Lenin foresaw the emergence of an international alliance of peoples and wrote about "a tendency towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism."³

Thus, Lenin connected the formation of the world economy of a socialist type with the achievement of certain international unity of the economic life of countries, with close and planned cooperation of the peoples in satisfying their needs and interests. However, the levels achieved in economic unity and cooperation cannot but differ substantially at different stages of the development of world socialism. Such a form of the world economy, which was described by Lenin and which would be characterised by a common plan and the abolition of many of today's national barriers, is a real but so far a distant historical prospect.

What then is the present-day socialist system of the world economy as an object of a political-economic and economic-geographical analysis? It would be wrong to regard this system as the sum total of national economies, their arithmetical sum, so to say, which retains all properties of individual items, differing from them only quantitatively, by its size. What we have in mind is a special structure, with specific properties and institutions of its own.

Within the world socialist economy there are, and will continue to be in the foreseeable future, state frontiers separating one national system of planning and managing the socialist economy

from another, one supply, trade, finance and currency system from another. Economic unity characterising the world socialist economy is created by specific ways and means and over a comparatively long period. For it is unity of individual economic systems developing on the basis of state independence and complete sovereignty. Their integration does not infringe on the political and economic independence of the component parts. It is achieved on a completely voluntary basis and is founded on the Marxist-Leninist internationalist policies of the socialist states aimed at developing friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between them.

The international socialist community takes shape as a result of the development of international production relations, and first and foremost, relations connected with coordination of plans, joint construction, and specialisation and cooperation of production. Naturally, such relations can exist only when there is a sufficiently high development level of the productive forces, concentration and differentiation of production, and technical interconnections between certain parts of the production apparatus of individual countries.

At present, the socialist system of the world economy is developing in the historical arena as a qualitatively higher type of international organisation of production and exchange than the capitalist one, and is functioning on the basis of collectivism and joint planning and regulation of the process of internationalisation of economic life. In the course of the formation of such a complex and many-faceted organism as the socialist world economy, extensive and intensive trends are combined; the former are distinguished by the drawing of new countries of victorious socialism in the system of international socialist division of labour and exchange, while the latter are characterised by the deepening and growing complexity of the economic cooperation of countries.

Each of its structural elements is being developed at a faster pace. Here are some of these elements:

— international socialist division of labour as a special form of a territorial division of social labour; international production complexes; international productive infrastructure;

— international production relations and the economic laws expressing their essence; various forms of international socialist ownership of the means and implements of production;

— system of commodity exchange and accounts between the socialist countries, the world socialist market;

— international and national organisational and institutional mechanism of the development of production relations between the socialist countries and utilisation of the economic laws of socialism;

— international mechanism of economic and political cooperation.

Naturally, individual structural elements of the socialist system of the world economy do not develop all at once, simultaneously. Thus, economic cooperation characterising the unity of its economic life is established and consolidated gradually, in the course of several decades, passing through different stages. The world socialist market as a special system of international commodity exchange and transactions comes into being much earlier than the international socialist production complexes operating in a common technological regime, or the first elements of international socialist property make their appearance.

The foundations of the new system of international cooperation began to appear simultaneously with the implementation of socialist transformations and development of socialist construction in a number of states. Milestones on that road were the organisation in 1949 of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the coordination of the five-year economic development plans of the socialist countries for 1956-1960. It was during that period that the main outline of the system of the division of labour between the CMEA countries began to take shape.

Many specific features and trends of its development, which were only emerging in the early 1960s, had become quite pronounced by the end of the decade. As the international socialist division of labour deepened and its influence on economic development grew, more requisites were accumulated for the transfer to a higher stage—international socialist economic integration. This transition began in the late 1960s-early 1970s.

A meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the CMEA member-countries held in Moscow in April 1969 approved a course aimed at further improving economic cooperation and developing the international economic integration of the socialist countries. The document adopted at the meeting expressed the desire and readiness of the CMEA member-states to go over to new, higher forms of cooperation and international division of labour and gain new, qualitative achievements in their economic interaction.

The distinctive features of the integration stage in the development of economic cooperation between the CMEA member-countries lie, primarily, in important changes that have occurred in the essence of the immediate aims of this cooperation. Up to the end of the 1960s it was oriented, first and foremost, to solution of the problems of economic balance in each country, that is, satisfaction of the requirements in goods that were in short supply. The international socialist division of labour facilitated the balancing of production and consumption in many types of

output. But the balance approach, despite its importance, did not ensure a sufficient utilisation of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour in raising the efficiency of social production and accelerating scientific and technological progress, which, of course, is the chief purpose of the international socialist division of labour.

In recent years, the need to intensify economic development, raise its efficiency and improve the quality of the goods produced has become especially pronounced in many socialist countries. It conditioned a new purposeful approach to economic cooperation. This cooperation now has the aim of not only balancing production and consumption and providing the material resources in short supply, but (and this is the main thing) to raise economic efficiency and speed up scientific and technological progress in each country. To achieve this there should be a greater international division of labour, a more versatile mutual complementarity of the countries' economic structures, and more stable ties between them insofar as international specialisation and cooperation of production are concerned.

Under the Comprehensive Programme, the international economic integration of a socialist type is the regulated process of the international socialist division of labour and evening the countries' economic development levels, in the course of which coordination and optimisation of their national economies in the international economic complex proceeds. This process is implemented by creating corresponding political, economic and organisational conditions. It requires an improvement in the mechanism of planned regulation of the international division of labour. International socialist economic integration calls for more vigorous economic ties and cooperation embracing new spheres of production, science and technology and considerably diversifying the organisational forms of this cooperation. It should be emphasised that joint solution of large-scale economic, scientific and technical problems along the lines of integration demanding enormous investments, presupposes further political consolidation of the socialist states and mutual trust and unity of will in collective integration undertakings.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU stressed the special significance of a long-term programme of socialist economic integration adopted by the CMEA member-countries in 1971. L. I. Brezhnev noted that "this programme raises cooperation among socialist countries to a much higher level than ordinary promotion of trade. For example, it means joint development of natural resources for common benefit, joint construction of large industrial complexes to meet the needs of all the partners, and cooperation between our countries' enterprises and whole indus-

tries planned for many years ahead. Implementation of this Comprehensive Programme has already significantly deepened our economic integration, and made our economies mutually complementary to a greater extent to the considerable advantages of all concerned.”⁴

While preserving and developing many forms of economic ties that have taken shape earlier, integration lends them new features and raises their efficiency. It is distinguished from the previous stage, primarily, by a profound and mutually agreed-on reorganisation of branch structures based on the latest scientific and technological achievements and considerable concentration of production and consumption. Mutual adaptation of the economic structures and greater mutual complementarity of the economies of the socialist countries contribute to the formation of the international reproduction complex and greatly develop the international socialist division of labour.

The integration stage of cooperation is distinguished by joint utilisation, on a greater international scale, of various resources. Transfer to large-scale cooperation projects, specialisation and cooperation of production calls for the joint use of the work force, organisation of collective transport enterprises and means, international economic institutions, banks, etc.

The participants in integration, while retaining national-state ownership of productive assets, channel an ever greater part of them for coordinated use. At the same time, elements of international share property emerge in the form of joint services and enterprises.

Transfer to integration also includes the use of improved forms and methods of planned cooperation, as well as coordination of changes in the mechanism of foreign economic activities in individual countries. Typical of the present stage of integration is not only coordination of plans, but also the development of joint planning, joint elaboration of long-term purposeful programmes to solve major economic, scientific and technical tasks.

An important distinctive feature of integration is greater emphasis on cooperation in the sphere of material production, planning, science and technology, capital construction, etc., whereas previously only cooperation in the sphere of commodity exchange was practised widely. Thus, trade, from the predominant form of ties between countries, is becoming now a derivative subordinated to cooperation in production.

An important feature of the present integration stage is also the fact that cooperation is becoming increasingly comprehensive, embracing as it does all stages of the reproduction process, from research and design projects to technical servicing and maintenance of goods produced. Integration means not only coordina-

tion of mutual deliveries in trade agreements, but, above all, the distribution of investment and production programmes, further specialisation and cooperation of production, development of financial cooperation and setting up of economic organisations. Trade, production, investment and technical problems are now being tackled simultaneously and in a comprehensive manner.

Finally, integration, being an economic process, means at the same time a new stage in the political interaction of the socialist countries and their ruling parties. Questions pertaining to economic cooperation and integration are regularly discussed at meetings of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the CMEA member-countries. It is here that the most vital decisions are adopted.

Socialist economic integration is a long-term objective process proceeding on the basis of the ever growing international socialist division of labour and internationalisation of the economic life of the socialist countries. It is an urgent requirement of the socialist economy which has reached a high level of maturity. The advantages of socialist integration can be seen especially vividly in that it is now possible with its help to cope with the largest and most complicated production, scientific and technical problems facing the CMEA member-states.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 19, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 147.

⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 12.

International Significance of Socialist Integration

KONSTANTIN MIKULSKY

Socialist economic integration is attracting growing attention in the world on account of its exceedingly important part in strengthening the socialist world economy and enhancing its many-sided influence on social development throughout the world.

Socialist economic integration is a new manifestation of the internationalist essence of the communist mode of production and one of the key links of the historical process of the consolidation and improvement of the socialist economy. It is a major vehicle making it possible to use the advantages of the socialist social organisation of production on a growing scale in the economic relations between socialist states and also within the framework of the national economy of each of them. The integrational processes in the socialist community indicate that socialism is making wider use of global progressive tendencies in the development of the productive forces that require the economic consolidation of ever larger territories and the coordinated utilisation of ever larger economic potentials.

The elaboration of the theory of socialist integration and the practical implementation of that theory are further historically important evidence of the efficacy of the Marxist-Leninist formulation of the national question: "The way to cohesion, unity and the allround integration of nations lies through their complete liberation from social and national oppression, through the creation of the most favourable conditions for the development of each nation."¹

Integration is a sure way to the fullest realisation of national interests through the attainment of and in full conformity with the

aims of the entire socialist world community. It is evidence of the development and improvement of the international socialist relations of production, bringing to light more and more of their potentialities and advantages. The peoples of the socialist community link the prospects for the building of the new society in their own country and in the socialist community as a whole with the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist states. Friendship and close cooperation between the peoples of socialist countries is the earnest of the successes of each of them in the building of socialism and communism. This cohesion gives birth to the internationalist solidarity of the peoples of the socialist community, which comes forward as a motive force of social advancement.

Socialist economic integration is one of the main lines of the international activity of the socialist states aimed at creating favourable external conditions for the development of socialism and the building of communism, for the consolidation of principles of genuine peace and democracy in international association, of principles that foster mankind's social progress.

* * *

One of the central aspects of the international significance of socialist economic integration is its growing role in fostering the growth of the productive forces of the CMEA states and of the entire socialist community, in promoting the allround cooperation among the socialist states, and in accumulating collective experience of developing the socialist world economy.

The practice of integration among the CMEA countries is a key component of that experience. The point is that integrational processes are not merely a distinctive feature of the present stage of cooperation among the socialist states. They are also an empirical check of the forms and methods of fully implementing the general regularities of the development of the socialist world economy.

The CMEA countries are increasingly utilising the international factors accelerating social development in the socialist community. A leading place among these factors is held by the increasingly vigorous use of the potentials inherent in the coordinated, inter-related function of the production, scientific, and technological potentials of these countries.

The strategic concept underlying the promotion of relations provides for the successive fulfilment of one of the cardinal tasks facing the CMEA countries, namely, that of organically combining the technical and economic possibilities for enlarging production

and boosting its efficiency, created by the internationalisation of economic life, with the social advantages of the socialist world economy, with socialist international economic relations. This task is being carried out on a growing scale through integration.

Integration is enabling the CMEA countries to act in concert in order to create favourable conditions for their further rapid economic growth. The prerequisites are being created and extended to enable the socialist countries to make fuller and more rational use than the capitalist states of the factors generated by the internationalisation of economic life and the closer interaction of the national economies for promoting production and speeding up scientific and technological progress.

The importance of the theory and practice of socialist economic integration to the socialist world community lies mainly in the fact that, in keeping with present-day and long-term requirements, the CMEA countries have defined the fundamental orientations for the further development of socialist international relations of production, the deepening of the interaction of their production apparatus, and the closer interaction of the national processes of extended reproduction. Underlying this is the objective policy aimed at drawing the socialist countries ever closer together. Also of considerable significance is the circumstance that they have worked out and are successfully implementing the basic principles and key methods of integration consistent with the social essence and regularities of the function of the socialist world economy. I refer to the following: the centre of gravity of socialist integration lies in material production as distinct from the market element under capitalist integration; here the main role is played by joint planning as the main method of promoting economic cooperation among socialist states. The most rational forms for the efficient and flexible use of cost have been worked out in order to strengthen international economic cost accounting; the theory and practice of scientifically selecting variants of international specialisation and cooperation and making production resources internationally mobile are being enriched. The socialist countries have given shape to and increasingly utilise a system of social and economic criteria of the development of the socialist world economy and of the promotion of mutually-complementing national economies. This is making it possible to combine the economic growth of each socialist country and the entire socialist community, the requirements of current economic efficiency and long-term requirements, the tasks of international specialisation of production in individual countries, and the formation of the optimal economic complex in each of them.

In the system of economic cooperation among the CMEA countries, integration is giving rise to important positive changes

ensuring the fullest possible use of the advantages of the socialist world economy. The ever deeper cooperation and the enhancement of the efficiency of economic links between the CMEA countries are contributing to the successful fulfilment of many economic and social tasks of socialist and communist construction.

Moreover, integration is helping to achieve a qualitative improvement of the CMEA countries' economies, considerably extending the possibilities for effectively utilising all production resources and all-sidedly intensifying socialist production.

The economic processes stemming from integration are of great importance socio-politically. They are evidence of the increasing power of the motive forces of world social development, of the power of class solidarity among the governing national contingents of the proletariat which regards the strengthening of the socialist world economy as both a national and international task of each socialist country. In its turn, integration creates favourable conditions for consolidating this solidarity. It helps to improve all aspects of socialist international relations and gives rise to new objective and subjective factors that lead to a greater community of interests of the socialist countries and to an intensification of their united efforts.

Economic integration is promoting cooperation between all the socialist countries.

The widening interest of countries developing under the most diverse conditions in promoting cooperation not only with individual CMEA states but also with this collective organ itself is shown by the admission of new members to CMEA: the Mongolian People's Republic (1962), the Republic of Cuba (1972), and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (1978).

The theory and practice of socialist economic integration command the interest of socialist countries and socialism-oriented states that at present are not members of the CMEA.

Many of these countries are in one way or another cooperating with the CMEA already today. Yugoslavia has signed an agreement with the CMEA on participation in the work of its sessions and some agencies. A number of countries have observers at sittings of various CMEA agencies. For instance, at the 32nd CMEA Session (1978) there were delegations from the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Angola, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and socialist Ethiopia.

The conditions for the further consolidation of the socialist world economy will evidently mature gradually. All the socialist countries will find a growing need for uniting their economic efforts more closely. An important part in the subsequent development of the economic cooperation among these countries will be played by the experience of the CMEA states.

Further, the international significance of socialist economic integration lies in the fact that it has become an important factor enhancing the ideological and moral influence of socialism on social development throughout the world.

Socialism influences social development chiefly by the force of its example. The aims for whose sake the international proletarian movement emerged and is broadening are being attained in the socialist countries. Socialism's achievements are exercising a revolutionising influence on the workers and all other working people in the capitalist world. The example of the socialist countries promotes the successes of the working-class struggle in bourgeois society, the national liberation struggle, and the democratic movement for basic rights and freedoms.

Socialist integration serves as a striking example of the practical embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on a community of free nations, on the harmonious combination of national interests, and on the concerted efforts of different countries to achieve general economic advancement. The principle of socialist internationalism in the relations between socialist countries is consistently applied in the course of integration. Mutual assistance and mutual benefit are combined, and every effort is bent to make international economic relations as highly effective as possible for each of the countries participating in these relations. The organisational, economic, and political foundations of cooperation are being strengthened, and joint measures are being taken on an extending scale by the socialist countries to resolve fundamental problems of the scientific and technological revolution and step up economic growth.

The picture is quite different in the capitalist world economy, where every exacerbation of economic difficulties and the appearance of new problems of economic development are linked with the intensification of the struggle between groups of monopolies and countries. Despite considerable efforts on their part, the countries that have lagged behind in economic development cannot come near the level of the industrialised powers or even halt the growth of essential distinctions. The former dependent and colonial countries that have now achieved political independence have many difficulties to overcome in order to become independent economically. They remain the source of super-profits for the imperialist powers, who go to all lengths to obstruct the development of their productive forces.

Needless to say, in the socialist world community there may be and sometimes are discrepancies between some requirements of

the various countries. This is due to the interests of their economic development, to various international economic links, or to various manifestations of a mutual division of labour. Moreover, these discrepancies may arise on account of the continued distinctions in the economic development levels of different socialist countries, to a certain imperfection of some forms of international economic cooperation, or some other causes. However, they are not antagonistic and are resolved on a mutually acceptable basis. The conditions for their settlement are the internationalist policy of the socialist states, consideration for the interests of each country and of the community as a whole, and sustained efforts to improve the forms and methods of international economic cooperation.

The simultaneous integrational processes in the socialist and the capitalist world strikingly bring to light socialism's advantages and the fundamental distinctions between socialist and capitalist integration.

Despite the existence of some common technical and economic foundations for the economic convergence of countries under both socialism and capitalism, the character of integration under these opposite social systems differs in social content and in many economic manifestations and effects.

The distinction between socialist and capitalist integration lies mainly in the following.

Socialist integration is the path towards uniting the efforts of the socialist countries more closely in resolving economic problems in order to achieve a growth of production and raise the living standards of the people.

Capitalist integration is used to strengthen the positions of the leading international corporations in their competitive struggle in the capitalist world market and as a vehicle for intensifying the exploitation of the working people.

Socialist integration embodies the principle of socialist internationalism, is based on complete equality of the countries involved, enlarges the sphere of cooperation and mutual assistance, and ensures the harmonious combination of the interests of all the participating states.

Capitalist integration is accompanied by acute conflicts between the participating states, accentuates the inequality of individual countries in the system of the capitalist world's international economic relations, tramples on their sovereign rights, and sets the interests of the big monopolies above national interests.

Socialist integration clears the way to the growth of the productive forces of each of the participating states, and facilitates and speeds up the drawing together and evening up of their economic levels through the faster economic growth of the less

developed nations. This process is intrinsic to the socialist world.

Capitalist integration intensifies the uneven development of the capitalist countries. In the group of the economically more advanced states it aggravates the competitive struggle, creates the conditions under which some countries spasmodically outstrip others, and leads to systematic regrouping of forces. Moreover, it widens the gulf between the economic development levels of industrialised states and developing nations.

Socialist integration helps to consolidate unity among socialist countries, promotes all forms of cooperation among them, and accelerates progress in building and perfecting the new social system.

Capitalist integration exacerbates all the contradictions of capitalism within the national framework and on the international scene. It deepens the general crisis of capitalism and piles up the objective and subjective prerequisites for revolutionary changes.

The CMEA consistent policy of taking the national interests of each of the member-countries into account attracts the attention of progressive economists and public opinion in the West. The practice of promoting integration, which preserves and consolidates the sovereignty of each of the participating states, is winning wide acclaim. Integration speeds up the intertwining of national economies and multiplies the indications of the formation of the CMEA economic complex as largely a single production machinery. However, while it steadfastly develops on the basis of closer coordination and interdependence of the production apparatuses of individual countries, this international complex will continue to operate for a long time to come with each participating country maintaining its sovereignty in all fields, including the national economy.

Recognition that under conditions of socialist integration the sovereign rights of each of the participating states can and must be observed, and the actual observance of these rights are sharp contrast to the theoretical postulates of some Western scientists and to the very practice of imperialist integration.

National sovereignty, which means that the nation and state are the sole master in their territory and that it is independent in external relations, remains immutable in the socialist community. The principles underlying the operation of the CMEA and other international organisations of the socialist states envisage solid safeguards of the equality of the sides and respect for their sovereign rights. The joint agencies set up to direct various sectors of production are not "supra-national"; they act on behalf and on instructions of the participating states and operate within the terms of reference granted them by these states. Since under conditions of integration the relationship between the realisation

of the national interests of each participating state and its economic union with fraternal countries grow ever more solid, we observe the emergence of new forms of the manifestation of sovereignty linked with the promotion of international economic cooperation and the increasing economic interdependence of individual states. These forms include the participation of socialist states in joint planning, membership of international organisations, and so forth.

The example set by socialist countries in establishing international economic relations of a new type is of immense significance to capitalist countries lagging behind economically and to the working people of industrialised states, for it offers a democratic alternative to capitalist integration in that group of countries.

Unlike capitalist integration, socialist integration does not disorganise the development of the world market, is not linked with discrimination against other countries, and does not prejudice economic relations between countries with different social systems. The CMEA member states do not isolate themselves from the rest of the world. On the contrary, they declare their willingness to join in the broadest international economic cooperation that would help to improve international relations and consolidate peace.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China is engaged in a vocal campaign against the genuinely equal and mutually beneficial economic relations between the CMEA countries, and sides with the monopoly circles of the European Economic Community, who are attempting to halt the development of European cooperation in order to sustain international tension. By urging the consolidation of Western Europe as a means of opposing the "super-powers", meaning the USSR and the USA, the Maoists have abandoned the class approach to the alignment of forces on the world scene and are, in effect, associating themselves with the imperialist reaction against socialism and against the normalisation of the international situation.

The international communist movement, including the Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist countries, offers a democratic alternative to monopoly integration. This envisages limiting domination by monopoly capital, and putting an end to tendencies that endanger peace, tendencies that are generated by closed economico-political groups and used by imperialist circles to strengthen their military-political blocs. The example of integration in the socialist community is facilitating this struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties and making the democratic alternative proposed by them more convincing and attractive.

Thus, by promoting economic integration the CMEA countries are ensuring the accelerated progress of their productive forces and, at the same time, fulfilling the historic task of setting an

example of resolving complete international economic problems in the interests of the people.

* * *

Lastly, the international significance of socialist economic integration is determined by the role it plays as an economic and political factor facilitating the progressive restructuring of the entire system of world economic relations, strengthening the position of the progressive forces, and expediting the development of mutually beneficial economic relations between countries with different social systems.

Economic integration helps the socialist countries to carry out their economic tasks speedily and with the least outlay of labour and resources and promote their further economic development at stable rates, and gives them new opportunities for participating actively in world economic relations. It enables the CMEA countries to play a growing role in the promotion of the socialist world economy and the world economy as a whole, speeds up the creation of the conditions for a substantial growth of the socialist sector of the world economy, and enhances the beneficial impact of socialism on world economic relations.

The economic potential of the CMEA countries and their participation in world economic relations are becoming weighty factors influencing the development of the world economy. These countries are not only consolidating the qualitatively new type of international relations within the framework of the socialist world economy but also promoting a system of economic relations with countries having a different social system, which counterposes the international system of imperialist exploitation.

The destiny of the national liberation movement and of the new nations is linked in many ways with the development and consolidation of the socialist world community. A close alliance of these states with the socialist countries in the anti-imperialist struggle is a major condition for strengthening the independence of the liberated nations. Expanding economic contacts between the CMEA states and the developing nations acquire growing significance for the shaping of conditions for production and for international exchange in individual commodity markets, large regions, and the world economy as a whole. They thus help to restrict the arbitrary operations of the imperialist monopolies. This is one of the main factors that has made it possible to create favourable conditions for the drive to consolidate the economic independence of the developing nations, repulse the neocolonialist policy of the imperialist powers, and foster progressive social reforms. In all these processes a growing role is played by socialist

economic integration. It is enabling the CMEA countries to combine their efforts to help the new independent states promote their national economies and narrow the possibilities of the imperialist states for utilising their position in the world commodity markets to pressure the new independent states and exploit their economies. In the process of integration, the CMEA countries are setting more and more examples of concerted economic effort in the field of cooperation with developing nations.

At the present stage of world development, links are being formed in the capitalist economy, in which conditions are taking shape for accelerated social progress and for socialist changes. The time has gone when there were colonies and dependencies when these nations were solely the objects of exploitation by the monopolies of the imperialist powers, when the centrifugal forces in the relations between them mounted with the growth of the national liberation movement and operated mainly in the socio-political sphere, and had almost no outlet into the sphere of international economic relations. Today, with the emergence of new independent states, the anti-imperialist struggle is increasingly shifting to the economic front.

A sort of social differentiation is gathering momentum and acquiring a qualitatively new character in the capitalist world economy. An ever-stronger position is being won by progressive national states that have adopted the socialist orientation. They are strengthening their relations with socialist countries and stepping up their efforts to break down the restrictions that were the condition of their inclusion in the capitalist world economy and abolish unequal foreign economic relations.

By promoting the further deepening and improvement of economic cooperation between the socialist and the developing states, socialist integration is creating better conditions for planning the division of labour between them and, mainly, between socialist states and the nations that have adopted non-capitalist development.

The economic cooperation between the new independent states and the socialist countries, particularly in the promotion of production specialisation and cooperation, clears the way for the industrialisation of the former. This gives them the possibility, prior to the creation of a developed industrial base of their own, for utilising the potentialities of international-exchange to the full extent of their available production capacities and the economic structure inherited by them from the past. In parallel with the new social essence of the economic relations between the socialist and the developing countries, these relations will gradually acquire a new material content as a result of the creation of a modern material and technical base in the developing countries.

The emergent division of labour between the socialist and the developing nations is playing a growing role in the progressive restructuring of world economic relations. This process is being fostered by the planned coordinated foreign economic actions of the CMEA states aimed at promoting cooperation with the new independent countries. By coordinating this activity and combining their efforts and resources to help the developing nations, the CMEA countries are making a large contribution to the industrialisation of these countries, the modernisation of their agriculture, and the eradication of the mono-crop character of their economies. The manifold joint efforts of the CMEA countries in this area include the creation of a special fund at the International Investment Bank for financing economic and technical assistance to developing nations, and the formation of a scholarship fund to help these nations train cadres at institutions of higher learning in the CMEA states.

The conditions are gradually being improved for CMEA cooperation with developing nations, particularly with socialist-oriented nations, in drawing up national economic development plans and programmes. While coordinating their own economic development plans, the CMEA countries will make increasing allowance for the requirements and opportunities of promoting cooperation with these nations. For their part, the economic development plans of these nations will be drawn up with an eye to the prospects for expanding cooperation with the CMEA countries. Cooperation is now promoted also on the basis of joint long-term plans.

The growing international prestige enjoyed by the CMEA is born out by the interest shown by public opinion and governments of many non-socialist countries in the possibility of establishing one or another form of cooperation with it and its economic agencies, and also in cooperation between them and the interstate economic agencies of non-socialist countries. For instance, agreements on cooperation have been signed by the CMEA with Finland, Iraq, and Mexico. It has links with more than 60 international economic, scientific, and technological organisations. The relevant agreements have been signed by CMEA with the IAEA, the Danube Commission, and other agencies.

Further, the significance of the present stage of the development of the socialist world economy is determined by the fact that the objective international economic and political guarantees of successful socialist construction in different countries continue to be reinforced. This is taking place regardless of the size of territory and population, or of the level of economic development reached at the time the people's power is established. These guarantees are, among other things, the existence of a powerful

socialist world economy, the consolidation of cooperation among the socialist countries, and the growth of their economies and external foreign links.

Thanks to integration, the socialist world community is successfully fulfilling its historic mission of facilitating the deliverance of worldwide international relations from the deforming impact of economic dictation and political pressure from the imperialist states. As a factor objectively enlarging revolutionary possibilities today socialist economic integration is acquiring steadily increasing significance.

The all-sided improvement of economic cooperation among the CMEA states and the development and enrichment of integrational forms of economic links between them have yet another and broader long-term dimension. The point is that an increasingly more efficient system of international economic relations of a new type is taking shape in the socialist world. It personifies the future world economy and creates ever more favourable conditions for the political and geographical reorientation of international economic relations.

The economic relations of the socialist countries are perfected in the course of the fulfilment of integrational measures and this enlarges the possibilities for effective participation in the international socialist division of labour and in other joint economic projects. This applies equally to highly industrialised states with their diversified economies, solid traditions of internal and international specialisation of production, and highly mechanised and automated mass production that requires large external markets, and to states lagging behind in their development and making every effort to surmount this lag and eradicate the effects of their past subordinate status in the capitalist world economy. The countries that will in future embark upon the road of socialism will find it easier to cope with the objective difficulties of giving shape to the new mode of production. They will be in a position to enhance the efficiency of the socialist economy more successfully and resolve the problem of raising the living standard more speedily.

Socialist integration thus creates the conditions for a more rapid and comprehensive realisation of the advantages of the socialist social system already today—in countries that are building socialism, and will do it in future—in countries that will endeavour socialist transformations.

NOTE

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 10-11.

Economic Cooperation of Socialist Countries

VSEVOLOD SITNIN

The formation of the machinery for economic cooperation within CMEA and its gradual growth into a higher form of integration are a natural result of socialism's spread over the boundaries of one country and of the achievement of a new level of socialist production relations, i.e., international economic relations serving the economic cooperation among the socialist states. The development of the international socialist division of labour and the exchange, on this basis, of activities between the socialist states as well as joint work within the national economic complexes, naturally require "a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs".¹

The fact that the socialist production relations (international and internal) are based on common principles predetermines that the management systems based on them will also have their main features in common and, above all, will be planned in nature. This has now been proved not only theoretically, but also by the entire development of the forms of management of economic cooperation. At the same time, the qualitative uniqueness of the object of management (the interstate exchange of activities) and of the directing authorities (the sovereign states) assign a whole series of features and specifics to the economic cooperation between the CMEA member countries that distinguish it from the internal systems of planning and management.

It should be stressed that the economic cooperation machinery, including its integrational form, is an interstate one. It does not involve a centralised control of any functions which the socialist states have to perform in the organisation or regulation of national reproduction processes. On the contrary, socialist

economic integration gives added strength to the individual countries' state sovereignty. The experience of cooperation has confirmed the possibility of implementing all measures on a planned-cum-contract basis without setting up any super-national institutions or reducing the state sovereignty of the countries involved.

Consequently, first, all forms of management of socialist economic integration are based on coordination of actions, the result being joint, coordinated recommendations and proposals voluntarily adopted by the member countries in the form of treaty obligations.

Second, the economic cooperation machinery is intended to ensure that the integrational measures taken are mutually beneficial and to guarantee the equivalence of the exchange between the countries. Free aid is only rendered to a country by coordinated decision on the basis of the internationalist policy pursued by the socialist states.

Third, it is the socialist states themselves, being the main subjects of the cooperation, that play the leading role in integration. All major agreements on cooperation are concluded on the overall state level and form the foundations for establishing direct contacts between the production, scientific and technical organisations of the CMEA countries. As integration proceeds, the number of such contacts grows, as does their importance. Direct contacts are being established and strengthened between the production collectives of the various CMEA countries. For all the importance of ties on the microlevel, however, the decisive role in socialist economic integration belongs to the various forms of interstate cooperation, this being one of the qualitative features specific to this integration.

It is characteristic of the integration management that it includes both bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The significance of the latter is constantly growing, for it is just such forms that ensure the most effective concentration of the CMEA countries' aggregate resources on solving the key problems of the community. One example is the inclusion of long-term target programmes for cooperation (LTPC) into the machinery for planned cooperation. In the foreseeable future, however, the multilateral forms will be combined with and supplemented by bilateral ones, which should ensure both the effective fulfilment of the tasks coordinated on a multilateral basis (above all arising from the LTPC), and the solution of problems resulting from the specific requirements of individual countries and their mutual interests.

The final phase of the multilateral forms of cooperation, for example, is the delivery of specific goods, and these, of course,

take place on a bilateral basis. Furthermore, account must be taken of such cooperation factors as, say, cross-frontier trade, where there is no objective need for all the CMEA countries to join forces and cooperation is most efficiently organised on a bilateral basis.

Until recently the system for managing integration processes developed predominantly "horizontally": specific forms of joint planning were tested (coordination of national economic plans, coordinated plans for multilateral integration measures, joint planning of individual industries and types of production, elaboration of LTPCs); commodity-money instruments of cooperation (the transferable ruble, international socialist credit) were created and improved; various international organisations were set up to regulate or serve this cooperation. As a result, the integration machinery took shape in the main and its planning "bloc" set out. "The CMEA member countries," noted N. Baibakov, Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, "have developed a proper system of forms and methods for international planning: they hold periodical consultations on economic policy, make branch and general economic forecasts, coordinate their five-year national economic development plans as well as the work of individual industries and types of production, and they also exchange experience in planning and managing the national economy. In recent years the joint planning activities of the CMEA member countries have been supplemented by such forms of cooperation as the compilation of coordinated five-year plans for multilateral integration measures, the elaboration and implementation of long-term target programmes for cooperation in solving the main production and economic problems of the socialist economy."²

The coordination of the five-year national economic plans constitutes the basis for the CMEA countries' planned cooperation. Historically, this is the initial form of joint planning, which originated with the coordination of the plans for the 1956-1960 period. Although the coordination of the five-year plans is no longer the only form of joint planning, it is still the main one.

Coordination of the five-year plans is still an all-embracing form of planned cooperation, and it is this that makes it possible to establish a certain interaction in the development of individual branches of the CMEA countries' economies, to sum up all foreign economic obligations of each country and simultaneously include them in the system of internal planning. Thus, the amount of national resources used to fulfil obligations in the cooperation sphere can be established and the external and internal factors of economic growth dovetailed. This form of joint planning helps, thereby, in attaining planned, balanced economic development

both of the individual CMEA countries and of the entire socialist community.

At the present time the coordination of the five-year national economic plans is carried out in several stages. At the first stage, the ministries and departments prepare their proposals on the development of cooperation in their own industries. After that these proposals are reviewed by the central planning authorities, coordinated with each other, with other sections of the national economic plan, and then finally between countries.

Coordination of the five-year plans is completed when the representatives of the national central planning bodies sign bilateral protocols setting out the main obligations of the countries, especially with respect to the delivery of goods for the coming five-year period. The realisation of obligations takes the form of five-year foreign trade agreements and the inclusion of corresponding assignments and indicators in the national socio-economic development plans.

Thus, coordination of the five-year plans as a form of planning activity is distinguished by a combination of the branch and national economic approaches to the development of cooperation, including its foreign-trade and production aspects, and by the establishment of interconnections between international and internal planning.

As integration develops, the coordination of the five-year plans becomes more sound and sophisticated. Initially, this mainly consisted in dovetailing the range of products for mutual deliveries, but now joint solutions to the biggest production and economic problems are gaining in importance. Thus, the 1976-1980 five-year plans were coordinated with respect to the problems of increasing the volume of production in the fuel, energy and raw-material industries, further developing production cooperation in the main branches of engineering, and so on.

A major form of planned cooperation between the socialist countries is consultations on the main aspects of economic policy, which constitute a preliminary and extremely important stage in joint planning. In recent years such consultations have been held ever more frequently, both on multilateral and bilateral basis. The participants exchange information, pinpoint problems that require a joint solution, and outline ways to solve them.

The CMEA countries are doing considerable joint work in forecasting, too, which is a major precondition for compiling national plans and developing cooperation. Between 1971 and 1978, the CMEA agencies prepared about 200 joint forecasts on problems selected under the Comprehensive Programme. Forecasts were made of the member countries' fuel and energy needs by 1990 and even the year 2000, of the development of the

electric power industry, of iron-and-steel, non-ferrous metallurgy, transport, machine-building and the chemical industry, as well as of individual branches of science and technology.

The multiple forms of cooperation and especially the CMEA countries' transition to joint construction of a number of major production projects necessitated the addition of a new form of cooperation to their joint planning activities, i.e., the Coordinated Plan for Multilateral Integration (CPMI). This plan, which covers a five-year period, precisely specifies each country's obligations in the construction of a particular project to supply the host country with a set range of goods at set times.

The first CPMI, for 1976 to 1980, was adopted by the 29th CMEA Session. The overall cost of the joint construction projects included in it is roughly 9,000 million transferable rubles. On the basis of the obligations assumed under the CPMI, the CMEA countries' national economic plans allot the necessary material, financial and labour resources to the respective branches of the economy. Moreover, the national plans of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, and the USSR contain specific sections covering measures coordinated under the CPMI and included in the Coordinated Plan.

Thus, the cooperation between the socialist countries shows convincingly that the management of socialist economic integration is essentially a planning mechanism pivoting on joint planning activities. Commodity-money categories, which play an extremely important role in this cooperation (as these reveal the economic efficiency of cooperation and the corresponding benefit to the participants), can only function successfully when they are focused on realising the forms of cooperation provided for in the plan, and are based on these.

Neither can joint planning succeed if it is not supported by commodity-money instruments and the corresponding institutional forms of management. Consequently, the synchronised development of all these elements of socialist economic integration, especially simultaneous improvement of the forms of joint planning and of the commodity-money instruments of cooperation, is of vital importance. A special role is played by contract prices. The procedure for setting these prices and their level determine the value effect of integration measures and exert a considerable influence on the choice of objects and spheres of cooperation, which is a task of growing importance, considering the increasing scope and time-scale of cooperation, the size of national resources used for integration projects, and the importance of measures to optimise the national reproduction processes.

The CMEA countries have already accumulated considerable experience in planned price-formation in mutual trade and the

use of contract prices in the interests of both individual countries and the community as a whole. These prices, as noted in the Comprehensive Programme, are set on the basis of world prices, cleansed of the detrimental effect of capitalist market factors.³

The direct connection between prices in the CMEA countries' mutual trade and world prices has a whole series of causes, including the fact that the economies of these countries do not constitute a single reproduction complex and, consequently, the socialist market is not sufficiently insulated from the world capitalist market for exchange on it to be regulated by internal efficiency criteria alone. Furthermore, the need for strictly equivalent exchange between the socialist countries, the sovereign owners of their own national resources, gives special significance to the accounting function of prices, to the setting of contract prices in accordance with socially necessary expenditures and worldwide efficiency criteria.

The prices used by the CMEA countries in their mutual trade are never, however, based on world prices alone. On the contrary, the socialist countries have always adjusted them in a definite way for the benefit of the planned development of their economies. It is indicative that the rapid growth of world prices since 1973-1974 has not automatically been followed in setting contract prices, and a decision was taken to go over to new price ratios. By mutual agreement, the prices in the mutual trade of the CMEA countries are set in the following way for the period up to 1980: instead of the previous method of setting prices for the entire five-year period, they are adjusted annually on the basis of the mean annual prices on the main world markets over the previous five years. For instance, in 1977, the 1972-1976 prices were taken as the basis for setting contract prices, in 1978, the 1973-1977 prices were taken, and so on.

The use of a sliding scale for setting mutual trade prices has done much to protect the CMEA countries' economies from the consequences of the capitalist world economic cataclysms. This once again reveals the advantages of planned socialist economic integration over the random movements of the capitalist market. It is also clear that the current solutions to the problem of price formation are not permanent ones and a further improvement in the procedure for setting contract prices is a major task in the development of the economic cooperation machinery. What is meant here is primarily the improvement of the methods of setting prices for specialised and cooperated products in order to make the countries more interested in the further intensification of the division of labour.

The development of the forms of planned management of cooperation within CMEA testifies to the dynamism of socialist

integration and its flexibility in the face of new problems. This is reflected both in the substantial increase in the forms of cooperation, especially since the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme, and in their more effective use. However, today a certain qualitatively new level has been attained in socialist economic integration and the main task now is not to add new forms of cooperation, but to make more effective use of the existing ones. This implies a sort of transition from the initial "extensive" stage in the development of the economic machinery of integration to the next, higher stage, the "intensive" one. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that new forms of cooperation will emerge, but the main trend of development will evidently be the more skilful use and further improvement of the existing forms of management of economic cooperation, especially LTPCs.

It is the LTPCs that are now becoming the main form in which the new tasks involved in cooperation are being implemented in practice. Their elaboration opens up a new stage in the fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme, in the course of which the planned interaction between the national economic complexes of the CMEA countries will considerably increase.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev said that "on the basis of what has been achieved we can now take the next step. The present priority is to work out and fulfil special long-term programmes. Their purpose is to meet, by common effort, the rapidly growing needs in energy, fuel, and basic primary materials, and to satisfy more fully the demand in food products and manufactured consumer goods, to raise the level of engineering, and expedite development of transport. These are our immediate common objectives."⁴

The inclusion of the long-term target programmes among the various forms of planned interaction of the CMEA countries in practice means an increase in the long-term, strategic approach to the development of economic cooperation, making it broader and more comprehensive, and ensuring a real development of the multiple forms of planning coordination.

It is already clear that the target programme methods of planning in integration will create the conditions necessary for a qualitatively new rise in the effectiveness of economic cooperation through the following factors:

- 1) the system of joint planning and, ultimately, all the economic cooperation of the CMEA countries is oriented on specific final results, which are very closely interlinked with the attainment of the main goals of socio-economic policy in each of the countries;

- 2) the adoption of the LTPC for the period up to 1990 implies

a substantial extension of the time horizons of joint planning;

3) the scale of the coordinated use of resources, and especially of capital investment, is rising sharply and cooperation is becoming increasingly diverse;

4) the elaboration of the LTPC makes it possible for each CMEA country to determine the main parameters for its long-term development, closely coordinating them with the prospects for economic cooperation. Thus, even at this stage in the use of the LTPCs in economic cooperation, their active influence on making the national economic complexes of the CMEA countries mutually complementary is evident, as well as on intensifying their national reproductive processes through a closer coordination of internal and external economic growth factors.

In the structural sense, each LTPC at the present time consists in, first, the main principles behind the coordinated strategy of the CMEA countries towards attaining their set goals. In particular, the LTPC covering fuel, raw materials and energy, as one of the main fields for satisfying economically justified requirements, includes making fuller use of the European CMEA countries' internal resources for increasing the extraction of fuel, especially hard fuels, and envisages cooperation in solving this problem.⁵

Second, the LTPC includes sub-programmes worked out on the basis of the overall goals. These consist of a system of specific cooperation measures and projects in individual branches and sub-branches. The sub-programmes name the countries interested in the corresponding measures and the CMEA bodies under which cooperation in the given problem is implemented.

Thus, the LTPCs reflect the long-term, coordinated economic strategy of the CMEA countries with respect to the main problems of cooperation. A. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, stressed at the 32nd CMEA Session that "the target programmes are not declarations but plan documents—plans for our joint activities. They will influence the formation of the CMEA countries' economic policies."⁶ They also determine the general outlines of the solutions to selected problems of cooperation. The realisation of measures coordinated under the LTPCs presupposes the conclusion of multilateral and bilateral agreements fixing the volumes of material and financial resources required for their implementation, as well as the economic conditions for cooperation, including foreign-trade prices.

The elaboration of such agreements has already begun. On the basis of the decisions of the 31st Session of the CMEA, for instance, agreements are being prepared for multilateral international specialisation and cooperation of production and for mutual deliveries of equipment for nuclear electric power stations for the period between 1981 and 1990. In 1977, a general agreement was

signed for cooperation in the future development of unified electricity grids for the CMEA countries up to 1990. Individual aspects of the general agreements are, in turn, made more specific in multilateral and bilateral treaties as the basis for foreign-trade contracts.

Thus, the LTPCs give rise to a whole complex of special agreements under which the countries will implement the measures set out in the LTPCs. The emergence of such a complex of agreement relations is a natural result of the fact that the LTPC is one form of joint planning and, therefore, the main features of such planning are inherent in it.

Like all these activities, the LTPCs are neither directives nor a sort of supernational plan. They are elaborated on the initiative of the CMEA countries and based on coordination of their proposals.

Such coordinated decisions must be recorded in an agreement, which is the end result of joint planning. Only after the countries have signed the corresponding agreements, are the measures and specific forms of their participation in each LTPC finally determined. The conclusion of general and other agreements is an important stage in the implementation of the LTPC, and at the present time, the work under the target programmes is focusing on precisely this sphere.

One of the main aspects of the LTPCs is that their fulfilment will help to speed up the gradual drawing together and evening up of the CMEA countries' levels of economic development.

The elaboration and implementation of the LTPCs makes economic cooperation considerably more comprehensive within the socialist community. This is not only because these programmes tie up scientific, technical and production cooperation more closely with foreign-trade exchange, and decide questions of resource supply for each individual problem, but also because individual LTPCs and their sub-programmes are interconnected, forming a specific integral system.

The role of the material pivot of the system of target programmes is fulfilled by the LTPC in the sphere of mechanical engineering. The fact is that the realisation of most of the measures coordinated by the countries under other programmes is connected with the application of the latest equipment and consequently depends on the development of cooperation in the engineering industry. The satisfaction of the CMEA countries' demands for sets of equipment for nuclear electric power stations, for mining hard fuels, oil-refining, and for individual types of machinery for agriculture and the production of consumer goods, is of particular importance. In turn, this means that a complete re-equipment is required in a whole series of engineering branches and production units, implying the development of branches of

engineering supplying machine-building itself. This is why the LTFC for mechanical engineering and the conclusion of agreements on the basis of it is of major importance.

Joint elaboration of the LTFCs is a job of unprecedented scale, which has made it possible for the first time to indicate the possible volume of cooperation for the next decade, determine the spheres of cooperation in which the CMEA countries are all interested, and pinpoint the most pressing problems. The compilation of the LTFC also allows the countries to estimate the future import requirements of the main types of products, especially raw materials, fuel and energy, as well as the volume of resources required by the cooperation projects, to specify the sources of supply and determine the forms in which resources will be spent for integration purposes.

At the same time, so far only the foundations have been laid for this new form of joint planning of the socialist countries. A whole complex of difficult theoretical and practical issues must be decided if the LTFCs are to live up to their potential. These include, for instance, the problem of ensuring a closer coordination of the physical and value parameters of the measures envisaged in these programmes.

The LTFC system is certainly not something stagnant, established once and for all, so the LTFCs must include the possibility of periodical change, bringing them up to date on the basis of the new possibilities and requirements emerging in the countries, possibly due to scientific and technical discoveries, the development of new deposits of mineral resources, and so on. Moreover, it may prove feasible to periodically extend existing programmes. Besides the multilateral LTFCs, long-term programmes for the development of specialisation and cooperation of production between the USSR and other European CMEA countries are being elaborated on the basis of the decisions adopted by the leaders of fraternal parties in the Crimea. These programmes, just like the LTFCs, will become major forms of the further development of the integrational processes.

At the present time, in conjunction with the multiple LTFCs, long-term programmes are being worked out for the development of specialisation and cooperation in production on a bilateral basis.

Thus, in the near future, a whole system of long-term cooperation programmes will begin to function within the framework of the socialist countries' joint planning activities. This will largely determine not only the rate and prospects for integration, but also the ways in which a considerable part of the CMEA countries' production capacities, labour, natural and financial resources will be used. In spite of their importance however, the target programmes cannot replace other forms and

methods of joint planning, with the result that long-term target programmes and other forms of joint planning, especially coordination of national economic plans and the Coordinated Plan for multilateral integration will become ever more important.

The leading role of the coordination of national economic plans in the forms of joint planning by the socialist states is mainly an objective result of the fact that the national economic complexes retain their national and state integrity and the socialist countries, their independent national interests. It is this form of joint planning that deals with the national economic complex as a whole; it is this that ensures the unity of the production and foreign-trade aspects of coordinated measures, the balancing of the foreign economic part of the internal state plans, and the transformation of the measures coordinated between the countries into tasks for their national plans. Furthermore, even in the distant future the LTPC will not cover all the economic cooperation measures.

At the same time, there will probably be a certain change in the methods used for coordinating the national economic five-year plans. Above all, the main trends of coordination will be determined by measures included in multilateral and bilateral long-term programmes for cooperation and will arise directly from these programmes. Thus, the 31st CMEA Session established a coordinated solution of the main economic problems revealed during the elaboration of the LTPCs and being of mutual interest as the main task in the coordination of the 1981-1985 national economic plans.

The establishment of contacts between the LTPCs and CPMI, with the help of which the obligations assumed by the CMEA countries are summed up. It is, essentially, the "sum" of their obligations with respect to integration measures, especially joint construction projects.

The application of the CPMI makes it possible, first, to control precisely the implementation of the planned cooperation measures and, second, to directly coordinate joint planning with domestic state planning. The CPMI indicators are simultaneously reflected in the integration sections of the CMEA countries' national economic plans.

These two main functions of the CPMI retain their significance even during the implementation of the LTPCs and, what is more, the plan clearly acquires yet another specific feature: it makes it possible to mark out the five-year period within the LTPC, which is of very great importance, since the main form of domestic state planning in the CMEA countries is the five-year plan. Thus, the CPMI ensures the coordination (within the five-year period) of the obligations assumed by the countries under the various LTPCs.

There will be a corresponding expansion of the range of measures covered by this plan.

Thus, the future will see a harmonious development of all the elements of the machinery of economic cooperation, which will make the CMEA countries' cooperation more effective in implementing their plans for building socialism and communism.

NOTES

- ¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. I, p. 313.
- ² *The Economic Cooperation of the CMEA Member Countries*, 1977, No. 6, p. 14 (in Russian).
- ³ *The Comprehensive Programme for the Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of the Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Member Countries*, Moscow, 1971, p. 49 (in Russian).
- ⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 12-13.
- ⁵ *Pravda*, June 28, 1978.
- ⁶ *Ibidem*.

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The Soviet Constitution and Science

STANISLAV SMIRNOV

Drawn up collectively, the new Soviet Constitution summarises the sixty-year experience of existing socialism. The Soviet people's impressive socio-economic, political, and cultural achievements make the historic significance of this experience unparalleled for the future of mankind. One of the basic features of the Constitution is its organic and its intrinsic varied links with science. It is the first Constitution not only in the Soviet Union but in the world constitutional practice that broadly mirrors the level achieved by scientific progress: the role played by science in promoting society's improvement and the tasks of the state in fostering the planned development of science and applying its achievements in social practice.

The scientific character of the new Constitution of the USSR mirrors the CPSU's comprehensive theoretical work of generalising the Soviet people's achievements since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution. The drawing up of the present Constitution was preceded by the Party's profound study of the laws of the development of socialism, analysis of the specific features of the different stages in shaping socialist and communist forms of social life generally and the present stage in particular, review of the international position of the USSR and of the socialist world community as a whole, and elucidation of the main trends of world social development. The political significance and formulas of this document represent comprehensively considered, scientifically verified, and accurate assessments of the major changes affecting all aspects of social life in the process of the remaking of the foundations of socialism in the USSR into developed socialism.

The theoretical foundation of the new constitutional achievements of Soviet society is provided by an all-embracing elaboration of the teaching on developed socialism as a natural stage of the formation of the communist socio-economic system. The new Constitution is further evidence of the creative strength of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, of the solid scientific substantiation of the home and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, and of the indivisible link of this policy with a generalisation of the historical situation and the practical creative work of the people.

The legislative acts passed in recent years and the modernisation and improvement of Soviet legislation by the CPSU and the Soviet government form an important scientific mainspring of the new Constitution. These acts generalise many key developments in the life of mature socialist society. As L. I. Brezhnev noted in his Report "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", all the new legislative acts were taken into account in the draft and became building blocks, as it were, of many articles of the new Constitution.¹

Moreover, the scientific character of the new Fundamental Law of the USSR is expressed by the fact that this political document draws upon the constitutional development of fraternal socialist countries and takes many of their constitutional achievements into account. This gives the new Soviet Fundamental Law the character of a code of developed socialism and a charter of internationalism.

Further, as L. I. Brezhnev said at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on October 4, 1977, eminent scientists, specialists, and people working in state agencies and public organisations were involved in drawing up the draft of the Constitution.² Together with the entire people, Soviet scientists took part in discussing the draft, suggested amendments, and recommended improvements in its content and wording. An essential factor of the Constitution's link with science is thus that scientists were prominent among its direct architects.

Another aspect of the relationship of the Constitution with science is that being, as we have noted, a Fundamental Law conforming to the present stage of Soviet society's development it gives a profound, condensed and extremely broad scientific description of all aspects of developed socialist society, which is the most progressive social organism ever built by the people. The new Constitution reflects and scientifically defines the foundations of the social system, the hallmarks of the home and foreign policy of developed socialism, and the nature of the mature socialist economy, of social and national relations, and of the scientific, technical, cultural, humanitarian, and moral functioning of mature socialism. It legislatively formalises the evolution of the

state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people (Arts. 1 and 2) and characterises the latter as the key instrument of the building of communism. It records the Party's having become the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, into the nucleus of the political system and social organism of developed socialism (Art. 6). It formulates the scientific principles of state leadership of Soviet society's economic development through the combination of the achievements of scientific and technological progress with the advantages of socialism (Arts. 15, 16, 73, 108, 131, and others), and defines the aims and main orientations of the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems (Arts. 28 and 29). It defines the principles of relations between countries of the socialist community on the basis of socialist internationalism (Art. 30). It shows the USSR's outstanding achievements in social and cultural development (Arts. 19-27), in resolving the national question (Arts. 33-38, 64 and 69), in promoting genuine democracy and in giving all citizens the broadest political rights and social freedoms in the world (Arts. 39-58).

All this is evidence that the Constitution of the USSR is a document presenting a fundamental scientific theory of all aspects of the structure and functioning of a developed socialist society, including its international relations. Moreover, it gives legislative embodiment to and mirrors the main orientations for that society's further improvement and defines the basic ways and means of attaining the communist ideal. The Preamble states that the supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which public self-government will be fostered. Some of the articles specify this goal, define the global tasks that must be carried out by the socialist state of the whole people in order to achieve the supreme aim of Soviet society, and formulate the main directions of the development of mature socialism's political and economic system, its social progress, and the further improvement of the relations between individuals and society. The Constitution, thus, lucidly expresses not only the social foundations but also the dynamics of mature socialism, and the lofty social aims and tendencies of the establishment of communist self-government.

All the new elements of the Constitution are oriented mainly on the extension and deepening of socialist democracy. This was emphasised in L. I. Brezhnev's Report "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". Article 9 states: "The principal direction in the development of the political system of Soviet society is the extension of socialist democracy, namely ever broader participation of citizens in managing the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the machinery of state,

heightening of the activity of public organisations, strengthening of the system of people's control, consolidation of the legal foundations of the functioning of the state and of public life, greater openness and publicity, and constant responsiveness to public opinion." In other words, the Constitution clearly defines the key directions in the further democratisation of social life in the process of advance towards communism and thereby outlines scientifically substantiated ways of achieving communist self-government.

While characterising the basic features of the social foundations and vital activity of developed socialism and showing their relationship and dynamics, the Constitution defines the features of the social institution of science at a stage when socialism is developing on its own foundations. The genuinely democratic, humanitarian, and progressive character of the development of science under socialism springs from the political, economic, and social foundations of present-day Soviet society. In socialist society, science is one of the cardinal vehicles of socio-economic transformations aimed at promoting public welfare, at developing the material and cultural conditions for the allround improvement of the individual. Under socialism, science develops in the interests of the whole people and is, in its turn, promoted by the people themselves. In Soviet society, the people are directly involved in the steady advance of science and technology. In a developed socialist society, science is a profoundly people's science not only for its aims, which are to serve the people. Its exponents are, in fact, the entire Soviet people, who supply it with inexhaustible creative energy.

The broad and profoundly democratic nature of mature socialist society directly covers the functioning and development of science as a special social institution. The fundamental principles of management underlying the functioning of that institution and the development of scientific research emanate from the essence of the Soviet political system, which organically combines state and public principles, and the operation of state organs with the creative activities of the people. By involving work collectives into the political system of developed socialism and enhancing the role played by these basic units of Soviet society, the Constitution maps out one of the key ways of extending and invigorating the participation of the people in the administration of affairs of state and society, in the management of the production subdivisions of society. Relative to the social institutions of science this means a further democratisation of the production of scientific knowledge, broader and more active participation of teams of scientists in the management of the work of research collectives and other scientific subdivisions and enterprises.

Mass public organisations are a major component of the political system of mature socialism. The Constitution records the actual enhancement of their role in the social life of mature socialism which is to be observed at this stage of the advance towards communism and is evidence of the further extension of democratic principles in the improvement of developed socialist society. Today this sets the social institution of science the significant task of enhancing the role of public scientific organisations—scientific societies, scientific councils on integrated and most important problems, and the various scientific commissions, committees, academic councils of institutions of higher learning, and other public subdivisions of science—in the management of scientific and technological progress, in defining the strategy and tactics of scientific research, in coordinating scientific research, and in boosting the efficiency of individual scientific units and of the social institution of science as a whole.

At the turn of the century the eminent Russian naturalist K. Timiryazev stressed that it was necessary and productive to combine science with democracy: "Science, which receives a solid foundation in democracy, and democracy reared on the solid foundation of science form the integral process that will in future create the welfare and might of the peoples."³ This fusion of science and democracy has become a reality as a result of the socialist revolution and the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union. Socialist democracy is the key sphere and major means forming the unbreakable alliance between labour and science, characterising socialism generally and mature socialism in particular. On the one hand, under socialism the development of democracy helps to disseminate scientific knowledge among the people and, on the other, powerfully stimulates the people's interest in all the achievements of human culture and science, and fosters the people's ever greater demand for the most diverse scientific knowledge.

The need for involving ever larger numbers of people in modern science is dictated chiefly by the scientific and technological revolution, which constantly renews and sophisticates production and other machinery and technology, increasingly intellectualises labour, and introduces elements of science into diverse spheres of human activity, into the way of life of Soviet people. Moreover, this is necessitated by the greatly enhanced complexity and dynamics of mature socialism's socio-political, economic, and cultural development. Under these conditions the mastering of science naturally becomes an inalienable element of raising the skills of the people and involving them more intimately in the management of modern social development. This is served by the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the people, and the

democratisation of the social proponent of science and, at the same time, of the entire process of scientific creative work. Science ensures the extension and deepening of the democratisation of society's life by making the people prepared for broad and multiform participation in running society's affairs. In turn, democratisation fosters scientific progress. In particular, science's conversion into a direct productive force in the Soviet Union depends largely on the democratisation level of social life as a whole, including the social institution of science.

The basic social features of developed socialism and the democratisation of Soviet society and science naturally determine in many ways the progressive character of Soviet science, its orientation on promoting the welfare of all the working people, the harmonious development of the individual, and the moulding of the new man. In the Constitution the progressive character of socialist science is mirrored, in particular, in Article 38, which declares: "The USSR grants the right of asylum to foreigners persecuted for defending the interests of the working people and the cause of peace, or for participation in the revolutionary and national liberation movement, or for progressive social and political, scientific or other creative activity."

The Soviet Union's readiness to give asylum to foreigners persecuted for progressive scientific activity is further evidence that in Soviet society science pursues the aim of promoting social progress. Moreover, this is evidence that the Soviet Constitution recognises not only the progressive but also the international character of science. This is seen also in Article 30, which declares that the USSR is part of the world system of socialism and underscores the role of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance among the countries of the socialist community in all areas of the economy and culture, and propounds the principle of socialist internationalism as the foundation of the relations between them in all fields of social life, including science. Recognition of the international character of science is also contained in Article 131, which devolves on the government the duty to organise scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation with other countries.

The immense role played by science as a form of social organisation of society also lies in the fact that the Constitution of the USSR (Art. 100) implies that alongside other public organisations and work collectives, scientific public organisations and work collectives have the right to nominate candidates for the office of deputy and also the right to free and allround discussion of the political and personal qualities and competence of candidates, and the right to campaign for them at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio. Together with other public organisations,

scientific public organisations have the right, through their all-Union bodies, to initiate legislation (Art. 113). The participation of science in the preparation of legislation is also implied in Article 114, which states that where necessary a bill or other matter may be referred to one or more commissions for preliminary or additional consideration. One of these commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is the Commission for Science and Culture.

All this is evidence that the new Fundamental Law presupposes the broad and active participation of the socialist institution of science, of scientific collectives and public organisations in running the affairs of society and the state.

The institutional development of science is implied not only in the Constitution's general articles on the social foundations of mature socialism but also in articles devoted to science, its role in mature socialist society, the basic principles of its planned development by the state, and the provisions ensuring the conditions for scientific creative work. In the Preamble of the Constitution, developed socialism is characterised, in particular, as a society in which powerful productive forces and progressive science and culture have been created. This is recognition of the fact that a high level of scientific development is one of the criteria of the maturity of socialism. The history of world scientific progress bears testimony to the fact that never before and nowhere else had science such massive support from society or such a congenial climate for building up its potentialities as under socialism generally and under mature socialism in particular. In 1977, the Soviet Union had 1,300,000 scientific workers or one-fourth of the total number of scientific workers in the world. This fact alone shows the development level reached by the Soviet scientific potential.

Under conditions witnessing diverse processes of communist construction, the inseparable link of science with socialism acquires such great significance that it is embodied legislatively in the code of developed socialism. Article 26 of the new Constitution of the USSR states: "In accordance with society's needs the state provides for planned development of science and the training of scientific personnel and organises introduction of the results of research in the economy and other spheres of life."

In this article socialism's experience of planning the development of science in accordance with the needs of the nation's social progress acquires the character of a basic law of the vital activity of Soviet society. Developed socialism spells out the steady enhancement of the efficiency of planning scientific work, of planning the dynamic, harmonious, proportionate, and balanced development of individual sections of science forming an integral, interrelated

complex of research as a result of improved coordination of the different fields of science and, above all, the interaction of the main branches of scientific knowledge, namely, the natural, technical, and social sciences. The Constitution of the USSR declares (Art. 73) that the jurisdiction of the highest bodies of state authority and administration covers, in particular, "pursuance of a uniform social and economic policy; direction of the country's economy; determination of the main lines of scientific and technological progress and the general measures for rational exploitation and conservation of natural resources; the drafting and approval of state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, and endorsement of reports on their fulfilment". Moreover, according to Article 131, within its powers the Council of Ministers of the USSR "shall...draft and implement measures...to develop science and engineering" and "provide general direction in regard to...scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation of the USSR with other countries". The Soviet state is thereby legislatively invested with the duty to implement centralised direction of the development of science and technology and of scientific and technological cooperation.

Article 26 expresses the Soviet state's concern for providing highly-trained scientific personnel, who are the main component of the scientific potential and one of the most vital conditions of scientific progress. The broad, essentially democratic foundation of this is the right of citizens of the USSR to education, which, according to Article 45, "is ensured by free provision of all forms of education, by the institution of universal, compulsory secondary education, and broad development of vocational, specialised secondary, and higher education, in which instruction is oriented towards practical activity and production; by the development of extramural, correspondence and evening courses; by the provision of state scholarships and grants and privileges for students; by the free issue of school textbooks; by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by the provision of facilities for self-education". This is evidence that in a socialist society, which has achieved a high level of maturity, science gets a broad base for increasing its creative potential and an equitable public system of education such as the most developed capitalist society neither has nor is able to create.

Article 26 of the Constitution is permeated with the state's concern for introducing scientific achievements into all spheres of social practice. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of this concern for the promotion of science itself. In the long run the introduction of scientific achievements in social practice is of decisive significance in increasing science's ability to reveal new laws of reality and assimilate experimentally and theoretically the

increasingly more complex and subtle phenomena of nature, science, and thought. Practice is not only the generator of new scientific problems but also the producer of the means for scientific experimentation, the most solid foundation of the very process of scientific thought, and the final criterion of the truth of all scientific constructions, up to the most abstract. This means that the utilisation of scientific achievements in practice, the saturation of practice with science ultimately enables science to acquire a much more developed practical foundation for its own further development. In Soviet society, the movement from science to practice stimulates the large-scale reverse movement from practice to science, without which science is doomed to seclusion in the closed circle of scholastic abstractions. Scientifically remade practice is essentially a more powerful, improved, sophisticated, and reliable foundation of science itself, on the basis of which a more powerful, improved, more sophisticated and solid edifice of scientific knowledge can be erected.

In a developed socialist society, centralised direction of all aspects of scientific progress—determination of the lines of scientific research; provision of the needed scientific potential, cadres, and material and institutional conditions of scientific progress; concern for practical utilisation of scientific achievements—merges more closely with the democratisation of the functioning and development of science.

We have considered aspects of the democratisation of society's scientific and technological development springing from the need to promote democratic principles of the administration of all sides of social development legislatively embodied in the Constitution. However, the Constitution contains an article not only on the state, centralised, planned development of science but also on the freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work. Article 47 declares: "Citizens of the USSR, in accordance with the aims of building communism, are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work. This freedom is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. The state provides the necessary material conditions for this and support for voluntary societies and unions of workers in the arts, organises introduction of inventions and innovations in production and other spheres of activity. The rights of authors, inventors and innovators are protected by the state."

This article reflects a new regularity springing from mature socialist society, from the growth of the intellectual interests and requirements of the Soviet people. This regularity is linked with the enhancement of the artistic principle in all spheres of

present-day social life generally and with the increasing penetration of different areas of human activity by science and technology. Moreover, it is linked with the fact that communist construction embraces the moulding of the new, harmoniously developed personality, while the indispensable condition for his harmonious development is free human activity—scientific, technical, and artistic. It is because labour has a creative content that it becomes a key means for the allround improvement of man's physical and mental capabilities, and on that basis it becomes the prime vital need. Accordingly, the Fundamental Law of mature socialism is the first-ever constitution to guarantee the right of people not only to the use of available cultural and scientific values but also their right to create such values, their right to creative work.

In this light Article 47 of the Constitution provides legislative evidence that in developed socialist society science plays an increasingly significant role not only as knowledge of the laws of nature and social reality but also as creative activity contributing to the harmonious development of the individual and to the fulfilment of the main task of communist construction, namely, the moulding of the communist individual. Science powerfully accelerates social progress not only because it has opened new and more effective ways and means of carrying out important social tasks but also because scientific work dovetails with all human activity as an element of ever growing importance.

The currently operating code of developed socialism accords considerable attention to science also as a factor helping to fulfil the grandiose tasks of communist construction. In the Constitution there are articles defining the place and role of science in the fulfilment of major social tasks aimed at improving mature socialism or clearing the way to its evolution into the communist social system. Also there are articles more or less obviously implying the significant role of science in the fulfilment of various tasks. The sum total of articles directly or indirectly examining the functions of science in the fulfilment of tasks facing socialist society specifies its important place and mounting role in the functioning and development of mature socialism.

In Article 6 the role of science is noted in connection with the CPSU being the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Here it is unequivocally stated that the "Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great constructive work of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically substantiated character to their struggle for the victory of communism."

A number of articles set science important tasks in improving socialist labour as a whole and its individual varieties, and also in turning socialist labour into communist labour. Article 14, which underscores the great role and prestige of labour in socialist society, the solicitude of the state in encouraging innovation and a creative attitude to work, in creating the conditions for making labour a prime vital need of every Soviet citizen, presupposes that science plays a large role in the fulfilment of this extremely difficult task of communist construction. Innovation on a large scale, a creative attitude to work and, at the same time, further progress, in breadth and in depth, in making labour a prime vital need can only be achieved on the basis of massive mechanisation and automation, by radically changing the nature of labour through the elimination of monotonous and uncreative elements and operations.

This is, properly speaking, the significance of Article 21, which declares: "The state concerns itself with improving working conditions, safety and labour protection and the scientific organisation of work, and with reducing and ultimately eliminating all arduous physical labour through comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes in all branches of the economy." Moreover, Article 22 implies that science has the responsible function of contributing to the fulfilment of the important task of improving socialist labour through implementation of the programme to convert agricultural work into a variety of industrial work.

Article 16, which states that the economy of the USSR is an integral economic complex, underscores that the socialist economy is managed by plan, specifies the basic economic levers of that management, and presupposes that science plays a major part in boosting efficiency in the entire economic complex.

Article 18 states: "In the interests of the present and future generations, the necessary steps are taken in the USSR to protect and make scientific, rational use of the land and its mineral and water resources, and the plant and animal kingdoms, to preserve the purity of air and water, ensure reproduction of natural wealth, and improve the human environment." Science is thereby set the responsible task of optimising the interaction of society with nature, preserving and improving the human environment despite the trend towards increasing technisation and the growing influence of material production not only on biological but also on geological processes.

Article 27 likewise implies that science plays a large role: "The state concerns itself with protecting, augmenting and making extensive use of society's cultural wealth for the moral and aesthetic education of the Soviet people, for raising their cultural

level." It is self-evident that the mastering of the greatest achievements of science and the scientific knowledge of the world is one of the key elements in raising the cultural level of the Soviet people, which, according to this article, is a concern of the state. It is also self-evident that science plays a large part in augmenting and protecting cultural values.

Lastly, an important line of contact between the Constitution and science is the scientific substantiation of the basic rights, freedoms and duties of Soviet citizens. All progressive people in the world regard the new Constitution of the USSR as embodying genuine democracy and humanism. This manifesto of the epoch of communist construction may justifiably be called a manifesto of true democracy and human freedom, a code and charter of the greatest humanism ever known in history. The highest real development of democracy and humanism achieved in mature socialist society is mirrored not only in articles stating the political and social foundations of modern Soviet society but also in the articles defining the basic rights, freedoms and duties of citizens of the USSR.

The new Fundamental Law of the USSR grants Soviet citizens broad rights and freedoms such as are not guaranteed in the constitution of any capitalist country. A noteworthy feature of the Soviet Constitution is that it not only formulates these rights and freedoms but also defines the guarantees. The Constitution accords to science an important part in ensuring the enjoyment of many rights and freedoms. Article 40, which proclaims the right of Soviet citizens to work, declares: "This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement." The guarantees of the right to work are thus linked with the provision of conditions enabling Soviet citizens to receive an education, achieve the summits of scientific knowledge and become involved in science.

Article 42, which guarantees the right to health protection, provides for ensuring the realisation of this right by, among other things, the development of research aimed at preventing and reducing the incidence of disease and ensuring citizens a long and active life.

Science is accorded a large role in ensuring the right of citizens to education (Art. 45) and to the enjoyment of cultural benefits (Art. 46). The right to education is ensured by the broad development of training, and it is the mission of science to work out rational programmes of education and train highly skilled teachers. As regards the right to enjoy cultural benefits, it is

ensured by making accessible the achievements of Soviet and world culture, including the values and achievements of science as a major component of society's intellectual culture.

Article 47, as we have already noted, guarantees citizens of the USSR the right to free scientific, technical, and artistic activity. In this connection it is important to note that this right is linked with the broad development of scientific research.

Science plays a large and tangible role also in ensuring the duties of citizens of the USSR, including duties such as concern with the upbringing of children (Art. 66), the protection of nature and the conservation of its riches (Art. 67), the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values (Art. 68), and the internationalist duty of citizens of the USSR "to promote friendship and cooperation with peoples of other lands and help maintain and strengthen world peace" (Art. 69).

The Constitution assigns immense tasks to the social sciences, chiefly the science of Soviet state and law. These tasks are linked mainly with the need to resolve the theoretical problems springing from the Constitution and also the need to implement it consistently. As L. I. Brezhnev said in his closing speech at the Special Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which adopted the new Constitution, "every article and provision must enter fully into the living, practical day-to-day activity of all state bodies, all persons in office, and all Soviet citizens everywhere. We have not created the Constitution as a stage prop. It has to be fulfilled, and will be fulfilled in all its parts. It has to become and will become a powerful instrument in the further development and deepening of socialist democracy."⁴

An important function and responsible task of science in implementing the Constitution is, above all, to show the role and significance of the Constitution in the building of communism and to bring home the meaning of its articles and provisions. Also, science has the mission of substantiating the drawing up of a number of new legislative acts, whose adoption is envisaged by or springs from the Constitution. The coming into force of the Constitution presupposes the fulfilment of a broad programme of legislative acts and the introduction of some amendments or additions in operating legislation. For the Soviet social sciences this is now a programme of new research and of development, on its basis, of recommendations on legislature linked with the new Constitution.

Marxist-Leninist theory links the appearance of new constitutions with turning points in society's development, with fundamental changes in the life of the country concerned. New constitutional regulation of social relations is brought into conformity with the actual fundamental qualitative changes in the country's socio-

economic, political, and cultural life, with the crystallisation of new tendencies in social development. These changes and tendencies inevitably affect science as an essential aspect of the vital activity of society and a specific social institution. The new Soviet Constitution mirrors all the qualitative changes in Soviet society and characterises the new fundamental phenomena in science and the new tasks confronting science as a social institution and as the vehicle for understanding and remaking reality. It accords more attention and importance to problems of science than all the previous constitutions. In accordance with the profound scientific substantiation of the new Soviet Constitution, this means that science has now penetrated into the very foundations of the vital activity of developed socialist society.

NOTES

¹ *Fundamental Law of the Socialist State of the Whole People*, Moscow, 1978, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

³ K. A. Timiryazev, *Science and Democracy*, Moscow, 1963, p. 340 (in Russian).

⁴ *Fundamental Law of the Socialist State of the Whole People*, p. 57.

Crisis of the Mechanism of Capitalist Economic Relations

YURI SHISHKOV

An analysis of the state of affairs in the capitalist world leads one to the conclusion that despite capitalism's attempts to adapt itself to the new historical conditions and intensify bourgeois state regulation of economic and social life it has been unable to reinforce or stabilise its position as a social system. At the 25th Congress of the CPSU it was noted that the *general crisis of capitalism was mounting*. This assessment has been convincingly borne out by developments over the past few years.

Capitalism's mounting general crisis is seen not only in the weakening of its positions in the competition between the two world systems and in the aggravation of the economic, social and political contradictions in each capitalist country and also between industrialised and developing nations, but also in the increasing crisis of the capitalist world economy as a whole.

For many years this economy has been afflicted by a growing internal illness. Stoppages in its mechanism have become more frequent. Piling up, intertwining, and intensifying each other, they erupted into a severe breakdown of that mechanism at the close of the 1960s and the early 1970s. This is seen in the crash of the world monetary system, the ungovernable inflation embracing the entire capitalist world, the chaos in the international credit system, the increasing instability of balances of payments, and the growing conflict between the private multinational monopolies and the national systems of state economic regulation. Small wonder that in this situation the cyclical crisis of 1974-1975 proved to be extremely severe and long-lived and that it drew practically all the

capitalist countries into the whirlpool of economic convulsions. It must be noted that this crisis was not the cause of the overall failure of the capitalist world economy. On the contrary, it was this failure that brought about the steep decline of production in 1974-1975.

Consequently, it may be stated that on the borderline between the 1960s and the 1970s the world capitalist economy entered a new stage characterised by a painful break-up of its former foundations.

* * *

Any economic mechanism is a system of instruments regulating the reproduction process on the basis of the objective economic laws of the given social system. The predominance of private capitalist property in the means of production makes it necessary to have a market mechanism. The mechanism of the capitalist economy—both national and international—was therefore first based entirely on market relations between the participants in social production, who were in a state of free competition with each other as sellers of their own goods and as buyers of the goods of others. Under free competition the market was the main and practically sole universal instrument, which not only brought to light the quantitative and qualitative imbalances in social production but also made it necessary—through rises or falls of market prices and profits—to modify the existing correlation between production and consumption, between demand and supply, between Departments I and II of the national and world economy. First and foremost, it regulated the territorial and branch distribution of new investments. Lenin wrote that “the chief organising force of anarchically built capitalist society is the spontaneously growing and expanding national and international market”.¹

The subsequent development of the productive forces and the rise of the level of socialisation of production led to a certain modification of capitalism's relations of production and the economic mechanism based on them. Particularly significant changes took place after the great depression of 1929-1933, which gave the impetus for a further intensification of state-monopoly interference in the reproduction of social capital. This reproduction is today no longer able to function without constant correction of the market mechanism by the bourgeois state. However, this correction, naturally, cannot push aside the market, which remains the basis for the regulation of capitalist reproduction as long as capitalism exists as a system.

Thus, the modern capitalist economic mechanism has two mutually-complementing and, at the same time, constantly conflicting elements: spontaneous market regulation, which, to use Marx's words, operates behind the back of the commodity producer; and state-monopoly interference in the economy in order to attain definite economic objectives. An unremitting struggle takes place between these two different elements, and in the course of that struggle a certain, albeit extremely precarious, balance is established in each country.

But this situation is characteristic only of the economic mechanism operating on a national scale, within the jurisdiction of each bourgeois state. It can partially limit the anarchy of market forces only within these limits. Inter-state relations begin to operate outside national boundaries, and this is where various national sovereignties clash. It is much harder to curb market anarchy in this region.

This is a significant circumstance, for at a certain stage it gives rise to a specific conflict between the rising level of international socialisation of production and the limited character of state economic regulation. In bourgeois society this conflict is closely linked with capitalism's main contradiction and, as was noted time and again by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, is inevitably aggravated with the development of the productive forces. As a result, in the capitalist world economy anarchic market forces prevail over the regulating element to a much larger extent than in the national economic organism.

Meanwhile, the need for greater regulating interference in the world economic process grows steeply under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution. The rapid development of the international division of labour, and of industrial, scientific, and technological cooperation between countries; the swift growth of foreign trade; the intensification of the export of capital; the perceptible expansion and complication of credit relations with the resultant emergence of a vast world market of short-term credits (so-called Eurocurrencies market); and the unprecedented development of international transport and communications represent a qualitative advance in the development of international socialisation of production. Most of the capitalist countries, chiefly the industrialised nations, are today finding themselves so closely bound to each other that any significant economic development in one immediately affects the economy of the others.

This mutual dependence is seen, in particular, in the size of the exported national material product (aggregate value of the output of the mining and processing industries, agriculture, forest economy, and fishing, power-engineering, gas and water supply industries). In France it rose from 23 per cent in 1960 to 30 per

cent in 1972, in Japan from 25 to 37 per cent, in the FRG from 31 to 39 per cent, in Britain from 38 to 52 per cent, and in Canada from 45 to 73 per cent.² This means that in each country the destiny of industry and agriculture increasingly depends on the market situation in the countries buying its products.

The export of capital is another channel of the growing interdependence of national economies. It has been estimated that in 1970 the processing factories controlled by US monopoly capital in Canada, Britain, Belgium, France, the FRG, Brazil, and Mexico accounted for nearly 20 per cent of the value of finished articles manufactured in each of these countries and employed approximately 12 per cent of the local work force. The destiny of the national economy and the condition of the working people of these and many other capitalist countries are thus determined to a large extent by the decisions adopted at the headquarters of foreign monopolies.

One more area of the growing interdependence of national economies is the internationalisation of the credit and banking system. Any rise or fall of bank rates in the loan capital market of any more or less large capitalist state at once affects the international flow of credits and is followed by the corresponding changes in the bank rates of many other countries. Our estimates show that during the past twenty years the rates of the central banks of 15 leading industrialised capitalist countries (the USA, Canada, Japan, the FRG, France, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, Finland, Spain, and Switzerland) have shown a distinct tendency to move synchronously. In 1956-1962, the variation coefficient of the bank rates of these countries was 0.349, while in 1963-1968, it dropped to 0.274, and in 1969-1975 again to 0.244. In other words, despite constant fluctuations the synchronous movement of national bank rates grew more pronounced from time to time. Capitalism's present credit system is increasingly reminiscent of interconnected vessels in which the least fluctuation of the liquid level leads to the movement of the entire mass.

With gold steadily losing its traditional role of world money commodity and with the development of credit-paper world moneys the inter-coupling of capitalist national economies increases also along the line of their monetary relations. When gold was the sole universal money commodity, the actual exchange rate of one or another foreign currency depended mainly on the state of the given country's economy and also, to some extent, on its foreign economic settlements. The case is different today. A gold dollar standard, under which only the US dollar was directly linked with gold, was established in 1944 at Bretton Woods. In other words, the US dollar became the sole representative of gold

in international exchange, while all the other currencies of the capitalist world expressed their parity to the dollar. This led to a system of unilateral dependences of the national currencies of all the capitalist countries on the state of the US economy, on the policy of the US currency and credit authorities, and on the expansion of US transnational private business.

We all know what the consequences of all this were. The USA took advantage of this situation, buying foreign industrial and commercial enterprises, labour power, and scientific and technical cadres for depreciated dollars, paying for the military gambles of governments obedient to Washington and extending so-called aid to them. The world found itself flooded with paper dollars. The dollar became almost the sole means of international settlements and the main reserve currency for most countries. By virtue of the laws of the money market all the capitalist countries therefore had to support the artificially high parity of the dollar as long as that was profitable to US finance capital.

The downfall of the Bretton Woods system in August 1971 did not diminish the interdependence of the capitalist countries. On the contrary, the emergent tendency towards the formation of a collective currency on the basis of a more or less broad "basket" of national monetary units presupposes the extension and sophistication of the system of multilateral influence of national economies over each other through the monetary sphere.

Last but not least, the increasing interdependence of the capitalist states is seen in the direct production links between them in the form of international production cooperation. These links have been expanding rapidly during the past two or three decades and they consist of relatively stable technological "links" between enterprises of different countries as elements of an integral technological process in the engineering, chemical, electrical engineering, and electronic industries. This became possible because during the past few decades the isolated division of labour based on detail and cooperation specialisation of the participants in a single technological cycle (which in the past was a characteristic only of production processes in individual factories) moved out of factories, stepped across national boundaries, and began playing a growing role on the world scene.

For many years large international technological complexes in the general and electrical engineering, electronic, and chemical industries have been functioning in some regions of Western Europe and North America. Lately, technological links have begun to be established also between industrialised and developing countries. Numerous factories in Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, Mexico, and other developing countries are now manufacturing innumerable components, units, and parts for

television-sets, electronic apparatuses, and other labour-intensive items produced by large US, Japanese, and West European companies.

A result of the above-mentioned circumstances and also of the growing dependence of various countries on imports of primary materials and energy resources is that the national economies are being intertwined into the single fabric of the world economy, and not one of them is any longer able to function in isolation. This still further exacerbates capitalism's main contradiction and requires modifications in the economic mechanism serving the capitalist world economy. Needless to say, in the course of its history this mechanism has undergone some modifications, adapting itself to the new situation in the world. In particular, since the war it has begun to acquire elements of interstate regulation of world economic links in order to soften the extremes of the anarchic forces of the market.

However, despite all modifications, this remains a largely market mechanism and the elements of state-monopoly regulation operating in it are much weaker than the mechanism operating in the economy of individual capitalist countries, which has likewise grown hopelessly obsolete and does not cope with its functions. Sooner or later this must shake and wreak havoc with the entire mechanism of the capitalist world economy, as happened at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s.

* * *

A glaring manifestation of the illness affecting the mechanism of the capitalist world economy is the crisis of the capitalist monetary system and the accompanying bouts of money fever. The collapse of the Bretton Woods system, which envisaged commitments of national authorities to maintain the official parity of their currencies, led in 1972-1973 to the breakdown of the regulation of currency exchange rates and to the free floating of currencies. In other words, the monetary mechanism of the capitalist economy was thrown many decades back, to the epoch when it rested almost entirely on the market. But it should not be forgotten that formerly the monetary market had a dependable standard—the value of gold, which played the role of world money. Today it has been stripped of that foundation. Floating currencies complicate settlements in foreign trade operations (because the price of goods expressed in floating currencies likewise floats, i.e., it is not constant), lead to a growing number of bank failures, and make it difficult to conclude long-term credit agreements. Moreover, they do not abolish deficits in balances of payments and do not deliver the capitalist world from the menace

of invasions by profiteering capital. That is the reason why instability, anarchy, and uncertainty in this important sphere of the capitalist world economy have become more pronounced, despite the fact that the leading capitalist powers endeavour to abide by the "rules of the game" set down in the 1971 Smithsonian Agreements.

The breakdown of the credit system is closely linked with the convulsions in the capitalist world monetary sphere. This system grew on the basis of commercial credit and was regulated by the laws of promissory note circulation, i.e., it was based on the market mechanism. However, with the swift expansion of the international corporations, which create a huge demand for loan capital in any part of the world, and with the enormous growth of the inter-dependence of national credit markets, this system proved to be helpless and fraught with serious danger to the economy of individual countries.

Credits torn away from the international streams of material values and existing autonomously have become a formidable anarchic force in recent years. The structure of national and international credit markets is tilting sharply in the direction of short-term funds as a result of the general instability of the market and the floating of currencies. As they moved these funds multiplied over and over again, without expressing any reinforcing real value. *The New York Times* wrote: "The world is filled with gobs of fake money—or credit—equivalent on an exaggerated scale to margin—buying of securities two generations ago: Special Drawing Rights, Eurocurrencies, various theoretical worths of gold."³ A particularly large role is played among this fake money by international, to be more exact, extra-national credits initially called Eurodollars. Expressed in the currency of one country but transferred from its national bank to some foreign bank, they have some exceptional peculiarities that enable them to circumvent any currency control and national credit regulations. Emerging in the 1960s, the Eurocredits reached colossal proportions—of the order of 350 billion dollars—in mid-1977. Analogous markets mushroomed in other regions of the capitalist world economy, in particular, the Asiadollar markets with their centre at Singapore.

While to some extent facilitating the functioning of the capitalist world economy, the gigantically hypertrophied credit-finance sphere engenders ills in that economy. The superfluous mass of settlement instruments inevitably leads to the inflation of prices not only within national boundaries but also in the capitalist market, where formerly this was extremely rare. Huge reserves of manoeuvrable short-term deposits have become the source of so-called hot money that wanders from country to country in search of profiteering investment. When this money

floods a given country, the credit institutions of that country are reduced to state of shock. Needless to say, there have been disasters in the past, but they were not directly due to the movement of the economic cycle. Today, any major attack of currency fever sets in motion huge masses of hot money, which, like tsunamis, hit a country with a "promising" currency within hours, putting its credit-finance mechanism out of commission.

Moreover, the present interdependence devaluates the role of central banks as an instrument regulating the national credit-finance sphere by changes in bank rates. If the government of some country raises the bank rate of the central bank in an effort to halt inflation and improve the market situation this may lead not so much to the removal of surplus credits from circulation as to the attraction of such credits from abroad. Conversely, if this government reduces the bank rate in order to stimulate economic growth and diminish unemployment it risks not so much attracting new investments into production as causing a drain of capital abroad. Everything depends on the correlation of the bank rate levels in the given country and in other countries. National measures aimed at regulating the credit-finance sphere and, through it, the entire economy are proving to be less and less effective.

The world system of price formation was also shaken at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Whereas formerly outbursts of inflation usually took place in time of war and affected individual national economies or groups of countries, which coped with these calamities by themselves, today inflation has become a fixture and acquired worldwide proportions and the character of a self-developing process. "Inflation..." wrote *Newsweek*, "is Global Enemy No. 1, an international problem so overwhelming that it is no longer a matter for economists to ponder but a threat to virtually every government."⁴

Indeed, the annual growth rate of consumer prices rose in most of the industrialised capitalist countries from 3-4 to 10-15 per cent, while in some of them (for instance, Britain and Japan) it exceeded the 20 per cent mark in some years. As regards the developing nations, the inflation rate sometimes reaches 30 and even 50 per cent, while in some of them it goes as high as 100 per cent and more a year. In this situation there can be no question of economic stability, longer regulation or programming of national economies. Even those instruments of state-monopoly regulation are undermined which have been created and tested during the past few decades. The main thing is that inflation brings incalculable hardships to the people and increases social tension.

Under these conditions the bourgeois governments are totally unable to take any effective measures. Such measures could be, in

the view of progressive public, an increase of taxes levied on companies, a reduction of military spending, and more effective governmental control of the activities of monopolies, to mention a few. But what bourgeois government will venture to go against the interests of big monopoly capital?

On the other hand, attempts to institute traditional anti-inflation measures (holding up economic growth, wage control, and so on) harbour the danger of speeding up the economic decline, prolonging depression, increasing unemployment, reducing the living standards of factory and office workers, and thereby evoking the growing indignation of the working masses. Indicative in this context is that since the close of the 1960s, when inflation embraced most of the industrialised capitalist countries, the strike movement in these countries rose to a new level.

**Number of Participants in Strikes and Other Mass Economic
and Political Actions of Working People
in Industrialised Capitalist Countries (mln)**

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
19	27	30	43	44	45	48	43	45	48	49

Source: *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1976.

This tense social atmosphere is fraught with even more formidable inner-political conflicts and convulsions. "For the most part," *Newsweek* wrote, "some harsh political realities lie behind the failure of democratic governments to take firm measures against inflation.... They... would risk their political lives by strict enforcement of the austerity measures needed to cool overheated economies."⁵

The situation is compounded by the fact that even the anti-inflation measures that some bourgeois governments manage to enforce are undermined by the transfer of the virus of inflation from other countries together with the flow of goods and capital. The capitalist world economy's present mechanism is unable to cope with inflation and limit its international proportions. It continues to deform and break up the price pattern in the world market and, at the same time, the balance of the international division of labour.

The crisis of the capitalist world economy's mechanism is adversely affecting not only the economy and population of the industrialised capitalist countries. It is a heavy drag on the new developing nations, which are even more helpless in the face of

inflation, monetary convulsions, and the growing difficulties in the world's commodity markets. The external debt of these nations (exclusive of the oil exporting nations) rose from 9 to 250 billion dollars in the period 1956-1977. Their financial position has deteriorated sharply in recent years: their overall balance of payments deficit increased from 12 to 45 billion dollars in 1973-1975, and according to UNCTAD estimates, will remain at the level of 30-40 billion dollars in the next few years. This holds up their economic development, depreciates their currency, raises the prices of imported manufactured goods, and brings down the living standard of the population.

Moreover, this deterioration of the economic condition of the developing nations still further aggravates the contradictions between them and the imperialist powers and gives their people a further impetus to put an end to the colonial heritage, to their unequal status in the international capitalist division of labour.

With the support of all the anti-imperialist forces, notably of the socialist world community, the developing nations are pressing for the establishment of a new international economic order. Although imperialism still retains command positions in the capitalist world economy, its domination is no longer absolute. In some key aspects of world relations imperialism has had to go over to the defensive. The right of the new nations to dispose of their national natural resources is becoming a reality.

The struggle of the newly-free nations for economic independence is making inevitable the abolition of the system of neocolonialist exploitation, the break up of the ugly structure of the international division of labour, and the unjust correlation of prices on primary materials and finished products that has been maintained by the international monopolies over a period of many decades. The old world economic order imposed by imperialism is disintegrating. The birth and formation of the new economic order is sometimes accompanied by crisis situations in the world primary materials and fuel markets. One of these structural crises occurred in 1973 in the oil market.

Fusing with the functional disorders of the capitalist world economy, the structural upheavals still further aggravate the crisis of its mechanism, which has now begun to malfunction in all its main links. This is happening at the most unsuitable time for bourgeois society, when in the competition between the two systems socialism has made new advances and the national liberation movement has grown strong enough to enable the Third World nations to start an open and organised offensive against the imperialist powers. The dramatic question of what to do has now become acute for the ruling circles of the West.

It cannot be said that the capitalist world economy had never before felt the symptoms of the impending storm. These symptoms had been seen by the more far-sighted bourgeois ideologues and leaders relatively long ago. For a number of decades capitalism has been endeavouring to answer the challenge of the broadening international socialisation of production through greater interference in the world economic processes by the large international monopolies and by the bourgeois governments and inter-governmental agencies. However, all its attempts to reinforce the regulating element in the mechanism of the capitalist world economy are sooner impulsive and sporadic than considered, and purposeful, and have contradictory consequences.

On the level of private business, the main role in these efforts is played by the international corporations with their hundreds of enterprises, design bureaus, retailing agencies, and credit-finance institutions in many countries. Here we observe the operation of a largely autonomous system of the production of mutually complementing items, an exchange of these items at prices that do not coincide with the world market prices, and an independent credit and settlement system. In these corporations economic processes are not only corrected by a single "brain trust" but are organised quite rationally in the interests of the given group of monopolists.

However, the activities of these huge monopoly associations inject disharmony into the functioning of national economies. The latter are split, as it were, into two parts, one of which—a part that is steadily expanding—is in the sphere of the activity of international corporations and, for that reason, is shaking off much of the influence of the national authorities. The role of state agencies is thereby diminished in the regulation of the national economy. Moreover, the international corporations, which are outside the control of any government, nullify the efforts also of those inter-governmental agencies that seek to stabilise the capitalist world economy.

As regards the interference by individual capitalist states in world economic links, this interference somewhat diminishes the influence of the world market on the national economy. On the other hand, due to the colossal international interdependence, any major step taken by one country with the purpose of influencing the development of the capitalist world economy inevitably modifies the relevant economic processes taking place in other countries, confusing and paralysing the steps being taken by their authorities. The American economist R. N. Cooper writes that "growing interdependence can slow down greatly the process by

which independently acting national authorities reach their economic objectives, even when all the targets are consistent and there are sufficient policy instruments at hand to reach them. Thus, in practice, nations may find themselves farther from their objectives than would be true with less interdependence."⁶

Since in reality the economic situation in different countries is dissimilar at each given moment, while national aims are, as a rule incompatible, the measures of regulation needed to achieve these aims cannot be identical. Therefore, it usually happens that by their interference in economic processes the governments painfully hinder each other. Moreover, if it is borne in mind that the mercenary interests of the monopolies of different countries are frequently antipodal, one will not be surprised to learn that "hindrances" of this kind are often a deliberate tactic, a new method of inter-imperialist struggle, or, to quote Cooper, a competition between national economic policies.

At the close of the 1960s, when US finance capital lost its unchallenged position in the capitalist world and three centres of inter-imperialist rivalry took shape, this competition rose to a new level. The economic policies of blocs of imperialist powers are competing today. This particularly concerns the West European power centre. For many years the countries belonging to the European Economic Community have been pursuing a more or less coordinated foreign trade policy, striving to act together in currency problems, on questions relating to the energy and primary materials crisis, and so on. In some cases this has enabled them to pressure their overseas partner. As a result, inter-imperialist rivalry is assuming unprecedented proportions and seriously affecting capitalist world trade, the international movement of long-term investments, the functioning of world credit markets, and so forth.

In this struggle the rivals break the "rules of the game" agreed upon beforehand, smashing even those few instruments for the collective regulation of world economic relations created by them with considerable difficulty. This is exemplified by the unilateral steps taken in the monetary field by Washington in August 1971. Of course, in this situation it is extremely difficult to work out and introduce new forms of state-monopoly regulation of world economic processes.

The therapeutic methods at the disposal of bourgeois society thus do not heal the sick organism of the capitalist world economy. On the contrary, they only aggravate its illness. The many schools of bourgeois political economy that have, since the day of J. M. Keynes, been trying to produce recipes for the improvement and rejuvenation of capitalism have proved to be helpless. It could not have been otherwise, because all of them proceed from

the preservation of the outworn capitalist relations of production and their foundation—private property in the means of production.

Small wonder, therefore, that when the crisis of the capitalist world economy's mechanism broke out bourgeois theoretical thought could not suggest anything constructive. Characteristic in this respect is the admission of the American economist Edward J. Morse: "These industrialised states find themselves in an unprecedented web of interdependence whose unscrambling now seems inconceivable. Moreover, no one really understands the dynamics of these interdependent relationships.... No one knows how stable these interdependent relationships are. No one has any idea what sort of institutionalised arrangements are proper for handling them.... No one has truly explored, however, whether any arrangements can be created that fall short of full political integration but can nonetheless perform the functions of stabilisation and coordination."⁷ Italian economists likewise admit: "A most conspicuous aspect of the present economic crisis is the total intellectual confusion, uncertainty, and contrariety of the experts who analyse it and chart ways and means of surmounting it. It is striking that none of them any longer refers to the traditional 'immutable laws' allegedly underlying economic mechanisms."⁸

Wherever these experts offer recommendations, they concern only individual aspects of the present crisis of the mechanism of capitalist economic relations. But the point is that this crisis is a complex phenomenon, all of whose aspects are closely inter-related, intensify each other, and make it difficult to find a way out.

Indeed, as we have already noted, the breakdown of the capitalist international credit system is largely due to the deepening monetary crisis. In turn, the credit system, which engenders a huge mass of extra-national liquid means, makes a large contribution to the aggravation of the monetary crisis: periodically flooding one or another national monetary market with "hot money" and thereby giving rise to attacks of monetary fever. Moreover, the confusion of the credit system and the instability of currencies have created favourable soil for the flourishing of inflation phenomena and their spread from one country to another. For its part, through the mechanism of foreign trade the inflationary rise of domestic prices undermines the purchasing power of national currencies and leads to the corresponding reduction of their exchange rate.

We thus see a knot of problems that cannot be untied by resolving only one of these problems. But capitalism is unable to resolve all of them. This gives rise to a sense of helplessness and

confusion among the Western ruling circles. "The question of what shore these developments will bring us and other Western nations to remains open," K. M. Hettlage, President of the Munich Institute of Economic Studies, notes with alarm.⁹

Spurred by their anxiety over capitalism's destiny, the leaders of the major capitalist nations are trying to find a way out of the situation by mutual consultations in a narrow circle. The declarations published after such consultations contain the promise that efforts would be made to stabilise the monetary system, avoid protectionist measures, reduce unemployment and inflation, prevent further rises of the price of oil and other primary materials, and help countries that have an unfavourable balance of payments. However, this conclave has not and could not produce anything constructive because it does not have a clear conception of the future.

In this connection one can recall Henry Kissinger's admission, made in 1974 in a somewhat different context. He said: "One of the troubles of the Western societies is that they are basically satisfied with the status quo.... I think that's a mistaken conception."¹⁰ Thus, as Kissinger put it, since the West has no theory about how to formulate the new political evolution, it is inclined to let matters remain unchanged.

A society doomed by history has indeed no desire to change anything. Needless to say, this does not mean that the present crisis has brought capitalism, as a system, to the brink of destruction and that it will collapse at any moment. At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev declared: "It is farthest from the Communists' minds to predict an 'automatic collapse' of capitalism. It still has considerable reserves."¹¹ It may be expected that the present crisis of the capitalist world economy's mechanism is the first stage of further attempts to intensify state-monopoly interference in the world economic processes, to find new "stabilisers" and "shock-absorbers" of the world market.

However, the whole history of bourgeois society convincingly shows that by virtue of the character of its relations of production capitalism is unable to create an economic mechanism conforming to the development level of the productive forces. This history makes it plain that capitalism has laboured in vain to adapt itself to modern conditions by promoting the state-monopoly mechanism of regulating social reproduction within national boundaries. Can it be expected that the use of the method of such regulation on a world scale and the formation of inter-state instruments of joint interference in world economic processes will yield some cardinally new results? Hardly.

Marx' famous thesis that international relations of production are "*secondary and tertiary, generally derivative, transferred, non-*

primary relations of production" ¹² gives a deep insight into this problem. This means that despite their specific character, international relations of production only repeat (in less mature forms) what capitalism had produced on a national scale. Therefore, even the most perfect interstate mechanism for the regulation of world economic processes cannot claim to be better and more effective than national mechanisms. The capitalist world economy is doomed to chronic instability and inevitable periodic convulsions.

These problems can be resolved radically only through society's socialist transformation. This is evident when we compare the chaos reigning in the capitalist world with the confident and balanced development of the socialist community, which moves steadily from one planned stage to another. The decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Guidelines for the Soviet Union's economic development for 1976-1980 approved by it show developed socialist society's vast internal strength, its confidence in the morrow, and its clear conception of the ways and means of building communism.

The capitalist world's economic and social calamities are not so much the consequence of miscalculations by one government or another as a general phenomenon of capitalism as a system. The trouble lies not in the party composition of a bourgeois cabinet of ministers but in the very nature of capitalist society. In that society we observe the polarisation of class forces, the weakening of the class foundation of monopoly rule, the growth of the political consciousness of the working class and its allies, the strengthening of the internationalist solidarity of the problem, and the growth of the influence enjoyed by the Communist and Workers' parties. In the capitalist countries "the struggle of the working class—the main force in social development, and which represents the interests of the whole mass of working people, the interests of social progress, and overall national interests—and the struggle of the other democratic and anti-monopoly forces are developing with increasing strength. These struggles are directed against the foundations of rule by monopoly capital. Ever broader sections of society are realising the historical necessity of replacing capitalist society by socialist society, which will be built up in accordance with the desires of each people." ¹³

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol.27, p. 238.

² *Overseas Business Reports*, July 1974, p. 20.

³ *The New York Times*, October 30, 1974.

⁴ *Newsweek*, September 2, 1974.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

- ⁶ R. N. Cooper, *The Economics of Interdependence. Economic Policy in American Community*, New York, 1968, p. 157.
- ⁷ *Foreign Affairs*, January 1973, p. 377.
- ⁸ *L'Europeo*, October 19, 1975, p. 17.
- ⁹ *Stern*, September 11, 1975, p. 80.
- ¹⁰ *The New York Times*, October 13, 1974, p. 35.
- ¹¹ *25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 48.
- ¹² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part I, p. 46 (in Russian).
- ¹³ "For Peace, Security, Cooperation, and Social Progress in Europe". *Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe*, p. 27.

Problems of Theoretisation of Knowledge

NIKOLAI OVCHINNIKOV

Modern science makes great demands on methodological studies. Because of the diversity of problems, the inexhaustibility of the objects of study, the imperative need for the revision of traditional concepts, the ever increasing influence of scientific discoveries on the conditions of existence and the very life of people, one has to consider more carefully not only the content of knowledge but the means of its acquisition as well.

The means are the instruments of activity. These may be both the material objects (machines, equipment) and the ideal formations (language, abstract concepts). Certainly, these means in themselves are passive. It is necessary to know how to apply them, to know the rules of using them. The combination of the means of activity and the rules of their use constitute a method of one or another operation. It is important that, as far as scientific activity is concerned, the rules are always meaningful: they reflect in one or another way the already existing knowledge about the object of research. Such is the deep peculiarity of scientific knowledge in general—it grows on the ground of the available knowledge and appears as the prerequisite of the latter. It is exactly for this reason that one can say that the methods of scientific activity are not indifferent to the content of knowledge. Moreover, the search for adequate methods is the most important condition of attaining the really new content.

The systematic study of scientific methods (the means of activity together with the operation rules) constitutes the task of a

special field of research, the methodology. Certainly, when an attempt is made to make this problem more concrete, it is impossible to have in mind the whole totality of scientific knowledge in its relation to methodological developments. Only the sciences concerning nature will be implied. In the history of cognition of nature, the methodological problems were formulated and solved in a different manner, while the methods of solutions of these problems shaped peculiar types of methodological thinking. Attempts to identify these forms and levels of methodological thinking lead us to the analysis of knowledge as a phenomenon of the human life, a phenomenon of knowledge. The necessity is revealed to understand scientific knowledge as a special type of relation of the human being to nature, as theoretical relation.

THE METHODOLOGICAL NATURE OF MODERN SCIENCE

Modern science needs methodological developments more than the classical. Moreover, its typical feature is the direct inclusion of methodological techniques into the content of knowledge. In order to make sure that the modern science is methodological, it is necessary to consider more carefully the structure of modern scientific theories, the unusual and frequently surprising content of initial concepts, the nature of the most modern means of analysis, and to approach them from a certain point of view: to consider that aspect of scientific knowledge which is associated with diversified methods promoting the acquisition of a new content.

The scientific methods are diverse. Let us single out in this diversity the main methods, the experimental and theoretical. Such sciences as physics, chemistry and biology are characterised by the combination of experimental and theoretical activities. This obvious fact always produced dissatisfaction inasmuch as the results of these two types of activity were always interpreted as essentially different kinds of knowledge: empirical and theoretical. Let us make a statement from the very beginning, in order to justify it later in somewhat greater detail, that it is possible to resolve the centuries-old arguments about the relation between empirical and theoretical knowledge by the realisation of the fact that this distinction itself is artificial and can be interpreted as a consequence of the unjustified identification of the type and the result of activity.

Certainly, different goals can be formulated for basic research by one or another scientist. A goal formulated by the experimentalist may be to reproduce as accurately as possible an experiment

that has been already conducted by somebody or to perform a totally new experiment in order to measure an effect predicted theoretically. The goal of the theoretician may be to deduce experimentally verifiable consequences from theoretical equations, etc. When knowledge is meant as a goal of scientific activity, however, we have in mind not these or similar specific goals but the general goal which is, in a sense, independent of those specific problems which are formulated by a researcher. No matter what special aspirations we are guided by, what forms our work assumes in science, we participate together, sometimes in an unpremeditated way, in the formation and development of scientific knowledge as something which is independent of us and internally whole in its developed form. Scientific knowledge is indivisible. It is essentially theoretical. But the activity for obtaining knowledge, certainly, can be different, and this may be, in particular, the activity of the experimentalist, on the one hand, and the theoretician, on the other.

The experiment is a major method of modern science. The study of experimental procedures, the peculiar features of the measurement operations and the construction of the theory of measurement on this basis represent a special research problem which is, as a matter of fact, methodological, although it is realised, as a rule, within the framework of a special study. A typical feature of 20th-century science is that the trustworthiness of the results of experimental activity depends essentially not only on the quality of an experimental installation, on the perfection of the equipment itself, but on the special theoretical processing of the data obtained. The experimental results are fixed in the theoretical language of science, are written into the content of scientific knowledge. This can be interpreted as one of the important manifestations of the methodological nature of modern science. Let the well-known facts from the history of quantum physics illustrate the above.

The basic ideas of the quantum theory are associated with the analysis of measurement procedures. As a matter of fact, this analysis is methodological. Indeed, when quantum mechanics originated the problem of finding out the specific features of measurement in the sphere of microprocesses, in the world of atoms and elementary particles, was formulated. In particular, the well-known uncertainty relation of Heisenberg ($\Delta p \Delta q \approx \hbar$) fixes the peculiar features of measurement procedures as applied to microscopic objects. It is impossible to measure accurately at the same time both the coordinate and the momentum of a particle. According to N. Bohr, one can say in this case that the uncertainty of the position of a particle and the uncertainty of its momentum form a complementary relation. If in classical physics

one could abstract oneself from the influence of measurement procedures on the measured object, in quantum physics the peculiar features of this influence fixed in the uncertainty relation describe the object in a meaningful way. The results of the analysis of the object measurement methods turn out to be a principle of the theory itself.

Let us consider another methodological principle—the correspondence of physical theories. The correspondence principle establishes a relation between the new theory, in particular, the quantum theory, and the old one, in this case, classical mechanics. When in the quantum mechanical equations that contain a certain characteristic parameter (\hbar) this parameter approaches zero, they become transformed into the equations of classical mechanics. One would think that this is a purely abstract procedure that establishes the connection between theories. This procedure, however, manifests itself in a meaningful way in quantum mechanics. While at the initial stage of the quantum theory developed by Bohr the correspondence principle appeared as a directing condition and was regarded as a formal rule, in a consistently developed quantum mechanics it becomes a meaningfully necessary principle. From the point of view of the correspondence principle, classical mechanics represents a marginal case of quantum mechanics. The situation is peculiar in that quantum mechanics “needs this marginal case for its own substantiation”.¹

Perhaps, some reader, when he sees a reference to quantum physics would say: but this is a special theory and its specific features do not prove the methodological nature of the whole modern science. My answer to this would be that it is true, quantum mechanics is a special theory. It became, however, a classical theory of 20th-century physics. One could mention, alongside it, also another great theory of our century, the theory of relativity. As is well known, the basic concept of this theory, that of simultaneity, is founded on the analysis of experimental procedures. According to A. Einstein, “... By making use of certain (mental) physical experiments we have established what should be understood by the clocks that move synchronously and occupy different locations, and in doing this we have obviously obtained the definitions of the concepts ‘simultaneity’ and ‘time’”.² Thus, side by side with quantum mechanics, the theory of relativity also demonstrates the methodological nature of its foundations.

Let us consider more carefully other sciences, and, moreover, modern culture in general. We shall find out that the analysis of the means of activity affects in a meaningful way the results of this activity. In art this phenomenon became called “method revealing”. A writer includes the description of the ways of production

of his work into its contents and, thereby, achieves a peculiar artistic effect on the reader. The same happens in the cinema. The subject of some modern films is constructed as a demonstration of how the film is made. Because of this inclusion of the activity in film production into its contents, it is possible to express emotionally and capaciously what would be difficult to depict by a purely classical method of the means being distinctly separated from contents.

"Culture", says A. Schweitzer, "is the total progress of the human being and humanity in all spheres and directions provided that this progress serves the spiritual perfection of the individual..."³. Besides Schweitzer, other thinkers of the 20th century did and do interpret culture as a social phenomenon, analyse its origin, structure and the historical meaning and try to reveal the regularities of its variation. It is possible that this analysis of culture means its intensified self-consciousness, its peculiar methodological quality. The specific feature of culture's modern existence can be traced in its study by the contemporary philosophical and sociological thought. This specific feature springs from those internal processes which characterise the life of humanity in the 20th century. The methodological property of culture, the striving of the human thought for a comprehensive coverage of the whole totality of progress, for the study of the systems aspect of culture turn out to be the most important prerequisite for the overcoming of its internal difficulties, for solution of the most complicated problems of its development. As far as its content is concerned, culture can be represented as a system of various spheres of activity and knowledge, science being the most important element of them. One can say that there is an internal connection between the methodological property of science and the methodological property of modern culture. And, perhaps, it is exactly science as the determining element of modern civilisation that exercises the most important influence on the peculiarities of culture as a whole. In the broad historical picture of diversified types of activity and knowledge one observes the systems interaction of the whole and the parts.

THE TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE PROBLEMS OF ITS UNITY

Thus, scientific knowledge is methodological: it implies, not only the cognition of an object of study but also consideration of itself. But what is scientific knowledge as a phenomenon, what does it represent? Certainly, there is a clear idea in the mind of every scientist of what knowledge is. Knowledge is that goal, that

result for which he works. And nevertheless, the question is meaningful. In this case the situation is similar to that, for instance, of the knowledge of numbers. The mathematician deals with numbers and, therefore, he knows what the number is. The concept of number, however, may be subject to special analysis in the field of metamathematics. In the same way, although the scientist, certainly, knows his sphere of research, the concept of knowledge itself may constitute an object of special investigation, namely, that of methodological analysis.

Philosophical methodology presents the most general description of scientific knowledge. It is well known that scientific knowledge is a special form of reflection of reality. Such characteristic of knowledge is only a brief verbal formula which, of course, requires further analysis and concretisation. The scientist realises cognition during certain activity, either experimental or theoretical. The human activity, however, is always social. It is impossible to imagine individual creative work outside the knowledge obtained before, and as far as modern science is concerned, it is impossible especially outside interaction with the results of contemporaries' work. The results of individual work are fixed not only in personal memory but they are transferred to others, recorded, as is well known, in scientific periodicals, textbooks, monographs. From the point of view of the content and development of knowledge, these methods of fixation and preservation of it are essential. Moreover, one can say that they represent the forms of its existence. Because of the foregoing, there can be two meanings to scientific knowledge—the individual knowledge and the collective one.

When one speaks about scientific knowledge, one has in mind, not only the subject's state, intellect, ability to act in a certain way, but a certain product of collective effort as well, which is fixed in a special language. To give an analogy, we can say that we can be interested in the architecture of a building, the material of which it is constructed, etc., but we have a right to abstract ourselves from the work of the architect and the builders of this building for solution of certain problems, although, of course, without the work of the architect and the builders the building could not have existed. In our attempt to understand the nature of scientific knowledge and to perform methodological analysis we consider the structure of knowledge, so to say, the architecture of science. We can abstract ourselves from the study of individual knowledge and personal creative work without which, certainly, it would be impossible to construct this collective knowledge itself. Inasmuch as it is constructed, however, and its "floors" continue to grow and become perfected, we can study the principles of its construction and development. And another analogy—one can study the

structure of a language which is exactly what is done in linguistics and abstract oneself from the creation of the language, from the historical process of its formation, for the solution of certain problems, although, of course, the study of this process constitutes an essential but a special branch of the science of language.

Let us concentrate on the structure of collective knowledge the development of which is governed by its own laws that are different from those of individual creative work. We shall keep in mind that as far as such methodological analysis of scientific knowledge is concerned, it may become necessary to consider the scientist's personality, his special contribution to science, and so on. And nevertheless, when speaking about scientific knowledge, we shall first of all mean the specially organised and fixed results of the collective activity of scientists.

Scientific knowledge is a special type of knowledge in general. For instance, I know that the sun rises every morning. This knowledge, however, is not scientific. It may become scientific if I study Copernicus' system and interpret my knowledge in terms of the concepts of this system. It is natural that the activity on the obtaining of knowledge can take on different forms. As we have already mentioned, there are experimental and theoretical forms of work in scientific activity. Because of this, it is possible to distinguish two types of knowledge itself: empirical and theoretical. It may be that there is an essential difference between the thinking of the experimentalist and that of the theoretician. And the nature of the corresponding types of knowledge can also turn out to be different. But since the point in question is the collective knowledge that appears and develops on the basis of common types of effort whose character may be different, such simple division of scientific knowledge into empirical and theoretical becomes already problematic.

In spite of various forms of activity, its general result turns out to be scientific knowledge. Both experimentalists and theoreticians construct the same science. This statement contains nothing surprising. When constructing a single building, the human being first designs it; i.e., he demonstrates, so to say, theoretical activity, and then constructs the building in reality, i.e., demonstrates practical activity. The operations that are completely different in nature lead to a single result. Is it not the same in science? The division of knowledge into empirical and theoretical appears only as the external description of the construction of science. Obviously, various types of work, various ways should lead to the construction of quite definite knowledge which is single in this sense.

The statement of the unified nature of knowledge was assumed as the basic idea in the history of methodological analysis of

scientific knowledge, although it was not always explicitly formulated. The only problem was to find out and analyse the foundation of this unity. Inasmuch as the point in question is the study of nature which is based on experience, the first natural step on the path of the search for unity of knowledge was the idea of a fundamentally empirical character of natural science, to distinguish it from other types of cognition of the world. The terminology, in particular, expressed this fact, i.e., physics, chemistry and biology were regarded as empirical sciences in contrast to, let us say, mathematics or logic. The essence of methodological problem was to interpret accordingly the theoretical component of these sciences, to reduce it to the empirical one.

The programme of "reduction" of scientific knowledge to empirical data was persistently advanced by various schools of empiricism in the methodology of science who regarded scientific knowledge as empirical in principle. At present the detailed developments in the realisation of this reductionist programme, especially by those of logical positivism, are considered as lacking cogency. This programme is not shared by the most influential methodological conceptions. One cannot say that this trend of methodological studies was a fruitless delusion. No, it strived for solving the real problem and based its efforts on an analysis of the history of science and the study of the peculiar features of its modern development. This path has led to considerable achievements in the development of the logical apparatus. And nevertheless, the very programme of the reduction of knowledge to empirical data is subject now to a radical revision.

From the historical point of view, the efforts directed towards the realisation of the programme of empiricist reduction was a necessary stage of the methodological study of scientific knowledge. If the result of these efforts is negative, then the more intense they are, the more convincing would be, in a certain sense, the opposite programme, namely, that of the study of the theoretical unity of scientific knowledge. Thereby a trend of methodological analysis is formulated, which requires, of course, detailed development. Here we would like just to mention certain peculiar features of modern science which indicate both the possibility and the necessity of such efforts of methodological thought. Indeed, it is impossible to separate experimentation, its results from theoretical thought. It is especially typical of the modern scientific experimentation; which is highly technological and heavily loaded with theoretical ideas. The development of theoretical thinking in sciences about nature is connected, in its turn, with the results of experimentation. Undoubtedly, the nature and the means of work in the empirical and theoretical types of activity are different. Distinguishing between empirical and

theoretical activity, however, we can see nevertheless that the results of these two different methods of scientific work are essentially indivisible and theoretical. The experimentalist is a leading figure in modern science exactly because he is a scientist who combines two types of activity: empirical and theoretical. He is an experimentalist only for the reason that in addition to his profound understanding of theoretical problems, he can design, create and use experimental equipment for scientific purposes. The higher the experimentalist's theoretical culture is, the more successful, other things being equal, is his specific activity, which leads in the final analysis, with the participation of a theoretician, to the acquisition of new knowledge that is essentially unified.

THEORETISATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The process of theoretisation makes scientific knowledge unified. It is exactly the theoretical character of knowledge which is the basis of its unity. Let us try to describe this process briefly, to mention its main features.

Scientific work is interwoven into the diversity of the human life, the scientist can and actually does express the results of his work or his reflections in natural language. He frequently has to fix facts and observations, obtained in experiments, in a non-scientific way. And this is by no means a blame, this is a statement of the real situation in scientific research. The natural language concentrates and records the collective experience, which gives the language the status of a relatively independent system. It is possible to construct, however, various types of languages that differ from the natural one and at the same time preserve, in a peculiar form, the systems nature and the property of relatively independent existence and development. Since the scientists, both experimentalists and theoreticians, work in the same field of research, create the same science, they have to look for or to construct the language which is common for both of them and which would correspond better than the natural one to the subjects in a given field of science. The development of the new language becomes necessary because the natural language turns out to be insufficient, and sometimes simply inapplicable for the expression of the problems that appear in scientific activity and for the formulation of their solution. During the historical creative work, a special language is developed for the description of the deep layers of reality that correspond to the subject-matter of a given science. This language turns out to be essentially different from the natural one, although it grows from the latter and is continuously connected with it.

It is exactly the fact that the knowledge is fixed in a specialised language that constitutes the most important specific feature of the theoretisation of knowledge. The specialisation of a language turns out to be essential here. The process of formation of the special language of science is at the same time the process of theoretisation. The natural language which all of us use for speaking and social communication also represents a means of fixation of knowledge in general, in all spheres of activity, including scientific activity. A special sense, however, should be attached to the terms of the natural language before they become the terms of the specialised language of science. Thus, in modern physics the word "field" does not stand for a piece of fertile land but for a special form of matter; "spin" does not mean a spinning wheel but a special property of an elementary particle, etc.

Therefore, the theoretisation of scientific knowledge is associated with the development of and search for a special language with its own meaning. It was noticed even by Pythagoreans that the deep regularities of nature can be best expressed in the language of mathematics. According to the researchers of the antique thought, there were two trends in the Pythagorean school: akusmatics (those who followed strictly the dicta (Lat. *akusmata*) of the founder of a theory) and mathematicians representing a kind of apostates who developed knowledge as theoretical reflection about nature. According to Aristotle, "the so-called Pythagoreans were the first scientists (τὰ μαθηματικά)"⁴. The original meaning of the Greek word "mathematics" was science, theoretical knowledge in general.

More than two millennia later I. Kant will say: "Any special theory concerning nature contains science proper only in that amount which corresponds to the content of mathematics in it"⁵. One of the outstanding modern physicists W. Heisenberg, as if continuing and confirming this thought, writes: "In the theoretical physics the primary language which is developed during the scientific comprehension of facts is usually the language of mathematics, namely, the mathematical scheme that makes it possible for the physicists to predict the results of future experiments"⁶.

But on what grounds can one regard the mathematical language as the criterion of the scientific and theoretical nature of knowledge? One would think that these grounds consist in the rigour which is typical of mathematical language. The criterion of rigour, however, is historically relative. As is observed by the well-known 19th-century mathematician F. Klein, in the history of mathematics "the requirement of rigour moved into the background leaving room for the tendency to greater and faster enrichment of scientific property"⁷. And rigour by itself does not

lead unambiguously either to the truth or to theoretical nature of knowledge.

When one exposes the foundations of theoretical nature that are rooted in the mathematical language, it is necessary to consider first of all the abstract nature of this language. Even Aristotle observed that "the mind, when it imagines mathematical objects, imagines them as separated from the body, although they are not separated from it"⁸. The abstract nature of mathematical concepts means that they are abstracted from the real properties and relations. At the same time, however, these concepts "exist independently of the mathematician's personality"⁹, although they depend on human knowledge as a whole. The abstract nature of mathematical concepts ensures the generality of their contents which, in its turn, makes it possible to formulate most clearly the laws of nature. Mathematical abstractions enable one to construct ideal objects which represent the necessary structural elements of scientific knowledge.

Mathematical concepts appear during abstraction from certain properties of reality or as a result of creative construction having no direct correlate with reality and can be arranged to form a logically connected system. Because of the above peculiar features of mathematical concepts—their abstractness and the possibility of their logical systematisation—mathematics can be used for the construction of organised knowledge not only inside this discipline but in sciences about nature as well. Since Euclid's times each branch of mathematics has been striving for logical organisation (as a system) of knowledge concerning a certain class of abstract objects. It is important to note that the first system of physical knowledge, the Newtonian mechanics, was constructed consciously according to the model of Euclid's "Elements". In the history of sciences about nature this form of following the antique model led to a special type of systematisation of knowledge which was developed further into the procedures of formalisation and axiomatisation. This formed the basis for the appearance of the conception of the theoretical knowledge's hypothetico-deductive construction.

But the abstract nature of mathematical concepts and the tendency towards logical organisation which is inherent in them do not by themselves guarantee the success of theoretisation. The third condition, namely, the reflexivity, or, more precisely, the methodological nature of this process is also necessary. The methodological nature of modern science that has been discussed at the beginning of the present paper only stresses this essential feature² of scientific knowledge which revealed itself especially clearly in the 20th century. In one or another form the appeal of knowledge to itself, the study of its own methods is an unalienable

feature of scientific knowledge in general, an essential condition of theoretisation. Because mathematics did and does integrate into its procedures the analysis of its own concepts and the methods of handling them, it turned out to be the most effective means of theoretisation of knowledge. Mathematics not only creates abstract concepts but singles out and analyses various types of abstractions: the abstraction of identification, the abstraction of infinity, the abstraction of potential realisability. This singling out and analysis represent methodological procedures, since mathematical knowledge appeals through them to itself. Moreover, as is well known, the studies in mathematical logic and foundations of mathematics are special methodological analyses that are developed inside mathematics. Mathematics could not have existed and developed as a theoretical discipline without these studies that originated as early as in antiquity.

Thus, the primary special features of the scientific language are its abstract nature and the possibility of systematisation. Together with the development of methodological thinking they promote the theoretisation of knowledge. It is necessary to emphasise, however, that the condition of the theoretical nature of science is not only mathematics but the natural language as well. In the so-called empirical sciences, such as, for example, physics, chemistry or biology, the natural language constitutes the necessary component of the language of science. The words of natural language, if made more precise, can and actually do serve as terms of the abstract theoretical language. Some degree of uncertainty in the meaning of these words provides the necessary flexibility for the system of knowledge. The openness which is peculiar to the system of natural language guarantees the possible systematisation of the ever changing and increasing knowledge.

One can say that there is a complementary relation between the language of mathematics and the natural language. Mathematics makes it possible to express in a more definite way, to select exactly those phenomena that constitute the subject-matter of a given science. This is realised, in particular, by means of the mathematical formulation of the forbiddence principles that represent the basic limitations of the field of research. This limitation is an essential feature of theoretical knowledge in general. Mathematics makes it possible to express these principles in a quantitative manner. And at the same time it allows one to present the common nature of regularities found in science when it applies the language of transformations. Thereby mathematics promotes the organisation of knowledge. In addition to this tendency, the natural language provides the possibility of expressing the violation of forbiddence rules and thus of introducing in

science new data from the innumerable field of human conceptions and the continuously replenished human experience.

In the so-called empirical sciences knowledge acquires the results of empirical activity by means of the theoretical language of science the terms of which have mathematical nature and also represent the terms of the natural language that are made more precise. Such dual composition of the scientific language sometimes gives cause for classifying the empirical element in science as belonging to knowledge expressed in the natural language, and the theoretical one—to knowledge expressed in the language of mathematics. Such division, however, would be an oversimplification.

There are numerous attempts in the history of methodological thought to find the convincing grounds for the division of the scientific knowledge into two types that are essentially different. For instance, R. Carnap introduced distinction between the language of observation and the theoretical language. What is directly empirically observed is expressed in the language of observation—the instrument reading, etc. What cannot be observed directly—the elementary particle, field, etc.—is expressed in the theoretical language. However, on the basis of the detailed analysis of this problem in numerous methodological studies, including those of Carnap, the continuous nature of transition between the so-called observable and non-observable objects was revealed. Carnap, having in mind the problem of search for the boundary between the empirical and the theoretical in science, writes that “no sharp line can be drawn across this continuum”¹⁰. But the meaning of this is exactly that the results of the above research were opposite to its initial premises and goals. Namely, the language of science, for all the heterogeneity of its composition, is unified, but its essence is theoretical. This theoretical property takes on different forms in the complex language of science in which the mathematical language constitutes only one part, although may be an essential one.

There are facts and observations in the activity of a scientist which do not fit into the existing theoretical conceptions. One can say that the scientist in his scientific activity frequently encounters data that cannot be understood from the standpoint of the existing system of knowledge, that are not scientific. His task is to bring them into the rank of scientific data, or, to put it differently, to include them into the sphere of theoretical knowledge. The experimentalist strives for fixing the results of his work in theoretical language. The theoretician tries to develop the existing system of knowledge, taking into account the results of the experimentalist's work. When reflecting on the peculiarities of this aspiration and considering the structure of science, we arrive at a

conclusion that the field of the theoretical in science is polymorphous. The theory is but one of the forms of theoretical nature. Theoretical knowledge is sometimes greater than just a given theoretical system or even a set of theories. It is not necessary to reduce the process of theoretisation to the straight line of the logical organisation of knowledge or construct only a branching tree of various theories. By considering carefully the modern scientific knowledge we can see rather a vast field of the theoretical containing heterogeneous regions. It is possible to notice at least three such regions of theoretical knowledge in science: the region of hypotheses, the region of models and analogies, and the region of logically organised theories.

For instance, the modern physics of elementary particles appears as a continuously changing pattern of diversified models, including mathematical ones. A typical feature of the most recent studies in biology is also the search for specific models, some of them being essentially based on the application of computers. In these fields of theoretical knowledge, the object of study appears as the invariant of transformations of a multitude of model representations, each of which making its contribution to the general picture of theoretical knowledge. This polymorphism of modern theoretical knowledge spreads not only to the diversity of the models and hypotheses but also to the diversity of theoretical systems. For instance, there are scores of versions of the modern gravitation theories. They include the relativistic theory of gravitation which has become already classical. Further, there is a broad class of theories that use the concept of pseudo-Euclidean space, a class of scalar-tensor theories and many others. In the physics of elementary particles there is also a similar situation of the multiplicity of theories. Inside the theoretical physics this multiplicity of theories with respect to the same object of study has produced a problem of construction of a peculiar theory the subject-matter of which is the set of theories, their critical analysis and unification. As a matter of fact, this problem is methodological, although it is developed inside specialised knowledge.

In classical science, such multiplicity of theories with respect to the same object of study was regarded as quite unsatisfactory. Because of this, the methodological problem of the choice of theories has become of great importance. It was and is now assumed that only one theoretical system among the many can lay claim to be scientific and valid. From the standpoint of the modern scientific experience, this methodological thesis should be revived. The multiplicity of theories is a normal phenomenon in scientific development. The most important methodological problem which is posed by the peculiar features of modern theoretical science is not the problem of choice but the problem of synthesis

of theoretical systems, which is developed both in the framework of specialised science and in the field of methodology of scientific knowledge.

General methodological principles unify the vast field of theoretical knowledge with its various spheres: hypotheses, models, theories. Methodology plays the genetic and organising role with respect to theoretical knowledge. The development of science occurs in the system of culture, an essential element of which are the forms of methodological thinking that change in the course of history. These historically definite forms, their change and interaction within modern methodology constitute an object for special analysis.

NOTES

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- ³ A. Schweitzer, *Ausgewählte Werke* (in five volumes), Vol. 2, Berlin, 1971, p. 124.
- ⁴ Aristotle, *La Métaphysique*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1953, p. 41.
- ⁵ *Kant's gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. IV, Berlin, 1911, p. 470.
- ⁶ W. Heisenberg, *Physik und Philosophie*, West Berlin, 1959, p. 140.
- ⁷ F. Klein, *Vorlesungen über die Entwicklung der Mathematik im 19. Jahrhundert*, Part I, Berlin, 1926, p. 52.
- ⁸ *Aristoteles Werke*, Vol. 13, Berlin, 1973, p. 62.
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Philosophical Significance of Modern Biology

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Major landmarks of the history of biology—the Schwann-Schleiden cell theory, the Darwin theory, and the Mendel laws—indicate that this science has always strongly influenced the scientific world outlook. While ceding to physics in the accuracy of its arguments, biology has nonetheless substantially complemented the former by providing the unity of the elements of our environment, its objective character, and the independence of the laws of nature from the will and consciousness of man.

This traditional function of biology obtained qualitatively new possibilities with the development of genetics, physico-chemical biology, the theory of evolution, and many other departments of biological knowledge. These possibilities are linked, above all, with the present-day achievements of molecular biology. Proof of the biochemical universality of the living, the universality of the genetic code has not only supplemented the former phenomenological methods of describing the tenacity of the living, which were used in systematics, morphology, and the theory of evolution, but has also played a major role in giving biological knowledge as a whole a new dimension. The interpretation of the idea of preservation, represented by molecular biology, has proved to be significant far beyond the framework of that science, because it participates in the formation of a kind of methodological climate in all the biological sciences. The spirit of invariance in biology, associated chiefly with molecular biology and genetics, today draws together the science of animate and inanimate nature, thereby creating additional conditions for the formation of an integral scientific world outlook.

On the other hand the achievements of genetics and molecular biology, which have given the structural-systems studies in biology the character of exact knowledge, have brought to light the insimplicity of reducing biology to physics and, generally, to a sum total of exact sciences. The ideal of exactitude has again been questioned, on the basis not of the conjectures of vitalism, which does not subscribe to a mechanistic picture of the living, but of the knowledge obtained mainly of the molecular level of the living. As the living develops, it becomes increasingly obvious that its characteristics, such as expediency, adaptation, and evolution, are not reducible to the physico-chemical processes that unquestionably underlie these properties but do not exhaust their content. The most reducible of all the biological sciences, molecular biology, increasingly reveals its anti-reducible function relative to the system of biological knowledge, and shows that whatever the significance of its results physico-chemical biology does not hold a monopoly.

It is thus unquestionable that biology, chiefly its molecular-genetic components, contributes to the progress of knowledge, which is of paramount importance in substantiating the material unity of the world and in asserting the primary principles of the materialistic world outlook.

Actually, this philosophical interpretation of molecular biology and genetics is accepted universally. Methodological contradictions come to the fore when the task arises of presenting this unity in the shape of a process and subordinating the spirit of invariance to a more global idea of development and evolution. Exaggeration of the significance of invariance not only reduces the whole of biology to its molecular-genetic level but makes it impossible to be consistent relative to the idea of evolution. For example, in the book *The Selfish Gene*, the well-known English etiologist Dawkins accentuates the role of natural selection and other Darwinist principles, assessing them so highly that he goes so far as to consider it as a theory that can help to give an understanding to social development. However, his interpretation of Darwinism logically consummates, as it were, the genetisation of the notion of biological reality and absolutises the element of its stability. "Darwin's 'survival of the fittest'," he writes, "is really a special case of a more general law of survival of the stable. The universe is populated by stable things. A stable thing is a collection of atoms which is permanent enough or common enough to deserve a name."¹ This may be a unique collection of atoms, such as the Matterhorn, or it may be a class of entities, such as rain drops.² While claiming to an uncommonly more profound exposition of Darwinism on the basis of new, chiefly genetic, ideas, Dawkins

writes: "I shall argue that the fundamental unit of selection, and therefore of self-interest, is not the species, nor the group, nor even strictly, the individual. It is the gene, the unit of heredity. To some biologists this may sound at first like an extreme view. I hope when they see in what sense I mean it they will agree that it is, in substance, orthodox, even if it is expressed in an unfamiliar way."³

In this the author is perhaps right. There is nothing uncommon in an attempt to reduce the entire multiformity of life to its genetic component and present all manifestations of life as whims of a selfish gene. This is the essence also of the theory of Jacques Monod, which is founded on candidly anti-dialectical postulates about the immutability of the genetic invariant, about the cell as a cybernetic machine. This conception has been comprehensively criticised in Soviet biological literature. An even darker picture of life is left after Dawkin's arguments, such as: "We are all survival machines for the same kind of replicator—molecules called DNA—but there are many different ways of making a living in the world, and the replicators have built a vast range of machines to exploit them. A monkey is a machine which preserves genes up trees, a fish is a machine which preserves genes in the water; there is even a small worm which preserves genes in German beer mats. DNA works in mysterious ways."⁴

Having set out to investigate the biology of altruism and selfishness, Dawkins takes as his point of departure the conviction that the genetic level of life is primary in shaping the social behaviour of animals. Altruism and selfishness prove to be characteristics of the mode of existence of the gene, which in its selfishness tries "to get more numerous in the gene pool. Basically it does this by helping to program the bodies in which it finds itself to survive and to reproduce". However, the gene "might be able to assist replicas of itself which are sitting in other bodies. If so, this would be as individual altruism but it would be brought about by gene selfishness".⁵

Verbal acknowledgement of the authority of Darwinism is thus in fact accompanied by a physico-chemical, molecular-genetic interpretation, which loses sight of the biological essence of that theory. The visible monism of the picture of biological reality, created solely on a molecular-genetic foundation, proves to be a schematised, simplified representation, however rich and valuable may be the data of molecular genetics offered as an argument. The very idea of monism brought up to the level of cognition, where physico-chemical laws reign supreme, leads logically, to a clash between monism and reductionism to the extent that the question of "either-or" arises. Either biology has its specific object of study—and then its primary concepts cannot be reduced solely

to a molecular level of knowledge—or it has no object of its own and cannot claim the status of an independent science. But the latter surmise is obstructed by historical tradition and the present-day development of biological knowledge, which is finding the nature of the biological object increasingly more intricate and specific.

A philosophical generalisation of the data of modern research, therefore, presupposes acknowledgement that the idea of development remains primary in biology and that the latest achievements of the theory of evolution are the strongest factor integrating the sum total of biological knowledge. By utilising the results of molecular biology, population genetics, biocybernetics, and so on, the theory of evolution shows that the principles of the unity of the organic world cannot be separated from the principles of its development. Begun by the works of S. S. Chetverikov, J. Haldane, D. Wright, and others, the synthesis of genetics and the theory of evolution, of the structural and historical approaches today comprises one of the most pressing problems of biology, a problem that is of considerable general philosophical importance.

Indeed, the traditional philosophical problem of the single and the multiform, of the stable and the variable intertwines today into the fabric of day-to-day research and acquires a richer content in proportion to the progress achieved by biological knowledge. For biology itself it is of the utmost importance to combine the aspects of organisation and the evolution of the living, since it is here that we observe the consolidation of biology with exact sciences, and the utilisation by it of cybernetic and mathematical methods. But organisation and development are studied by diverse methods linked sometimes with rather contradictory styles of thought, for which reason, in unity with the aspects of organisation and development, methodological elaboration is of considerable scientific significance and embraces the general process of the improvement of the scientific world outlook.

However, a methodological analysis of individual scientific problems should be supplemented by an understanding of the place held by biology in the system of sciences, about its role in shaping a scientific picture of the world. There are different opinions on this point. In the case of individual ideas and principles, it is obviously necessary to utilise biological data, but as soon as the matter concerns the picture of the world as a whole, biology is again relegated to a secondary place compared with the role played by physics. At best, it is allowed to participate in the creation of a local, i.e. particular-scientific picture of the world. Despite the fairly comprehensive discussion of the problem of the picture of the world in Soviet scientific literature,⁶ it is still not clear how the general forms from the particular and how in this

case biology, with its essential distinctions compared with other sciences about nature enters into the overall picture of the world.

Therefore, while leaving aside the special problem of the picture of the world and the modes of its formation, let us try to imagine the possible ways of studying the role played by biology in the overall synthesis of knowledge aimed at creating a picture of the world.

At first glance, the most trustworthy way of study is one which shows in more or less generalised form that new knowledge about the structure, properties, mode of organisation, and so forth, of biological systems enriches our general idea about the world. This opens up the possibility of drawing heavily upon concrete data about the amazing properties of biopolymers and their complexes, about the architectonics and behaviour of cells, and about the vital activities of organisms and their communities, in other words, practically the whole of modern biological knowledge obtained through the application of the latest methods of research. In these data we may single out what unites the animate and inanimate world, what disunites these worlds and makes life unique. The abundance of concrete knowledge of how the animate world is structured and functions encloses the essence of the problem, namely, how this knowledge influences the understanding of the world as a whole and the formation of the picture of the world.

As a result, everything remains in place, in other words, the ideological leadership of the physical sciences in the creation of a picture of the world is not questioned, while biology comes forward as a supplier of the empirical material, whose fundamental understanding is governed by the postulates of physical knowledge. The physical picture of the world has in some way to assimilate the data of biology, to find the place of biological reality in the understanding of the world determined by the properties of physical reality. In this case it is immaterial whether life is commonplace or unique in the Universe. No matter how we objectify our picture of the world, it remains the creation of human thought of the planet Earth, i.e., it must inevitably contain all the available scientific knowledge about the world around us, including the animate world.

The difficulty lies in the fact that we ourselves belong to this animate world, that, in a large range of research tasks, we are simultaneously the subject and the object of cognition. Even if we were to abstract ourselves for a time from the problem of man, despite its being central in biology, the question will remain open as to how to inscribe biological reality into the scientific picture of the world, the content of which is determined by physics, which is the acknowledged leader of modern natural science.

This problem will hardly be resolved spontaneously as a result

of the steady physicalisation of biology and the gradual orientation of physics, in its turn, towards the problems of evolution. It seems to me that some scientists write much too optimistically about these opposing currents of knowledge,⁷ but this optimism does not make it any clearer how the most essential distinctions between physics and biology, distinctions generated by their attitude to the principle of historicism, can be surmounted. Not only will biology never renounce the evolutionary idea and the modes of its development that have now become traditional, but physics, too, will not abandon the established principles of cognition which have hitherto not had to enlist historical time. The orientation of physics towards the evolutionary idea will most likely be not a simple imitation of the logic of evolutionary biology, to say nothing of the fact that this logic is itself far from perfect.

In examining the impact of the ideas of evolution on the system of the natural sciences, we have to return to the distinctions between these sciences springing from the qualitative specifics of the discrete concretions of matter. Even in the chemical sciences that make increasing use of evolutionary notions, serious difficulties arise in extrapolating biological knowledge to the study of chemical evolution. These difficulties are due to the need for a synthesis of physical knowledge which has proved the heuristic role in the cognition of chemism, and those evolutionary ideas of purely biological origin which have found fertile soil for application and transformation with the development of biogeochemistry, paleobiochemistry, evolutionary biochemistry, and cosmochemistry.

In other words, the study of chemical evolution shows that there is no direct link between biological evolutionism and the physical picture of the world. The intermediate link is provided by the study of chemical evolution. One must, therefore, agree with Y. Zhdanov when he writes that "if it is to be a picture of its unfolding, of its development, the picture of the world cannot be complete without a chemical picture (if only physics is not taken as a science of the whole of external nature)".⁸ The state of theoretical chemistry gives no grounds for considering as productive the view that it is possible to reduce chemistry entirely to physics. We increasingly find out that chemical knowledge is internally impelled to elaborate the idea of development. This is the standpoint from which this question is discussed by Zhdanov when he notes that chemists are not happy with the abstract-à-posteriori character of physical theories.⁹ Dissatisfaction with the monopolism of physics concerns not only the problems of chemical evolution but also the very essence of the theoretical knowledge of chemistry. In his latest works on the philosophical problems of chemistry Zhdanov has substantiated this postulate in detail.¹⁰

Through the creative and production activities of man chemical

evolution continues up to the stage of technochemical evolution, which is studied not only by the natural sciences but also by a sort of intermediate sciences, for instance, global ecology, and by political economy and other purely humanitarian sciences. The fact of the existence of technochemical evolution as a component of the evolution of the biosphere is so serious to the destiny of civilisation on earth that on the theoretical level there indeed arises the problem of "presenting as an integral process the evolution of inorganic, organic, and anthropogenous nature and of finding in this evolution a place for social need and the flight of fantasy, in other words, of linking up one's scientific, technological, ethical, and aesthetic attitudes to the world".¹¹

In other words, the consistent application of the principle of historicism in the chemical sciences leads to problems of a world outlook, to the problems of its formation on the genuinely synthetic basis of dialectico-materialistic monism. In this respect, too, chemical sciences have, in the long-term development of theoretical knowledge, a vector aimed not only at biological but also at socio-humanitarian knowledge that can help to explain the laws of technochemical evolution, prompt the relevant style of thought for its study, and contribute to the creation of the needed philosophical prerequisites. The methodological task of synthesising various branches of knowledge becomes also a philosophical task when such complex areas of study as technochemical evolution come into view.

The aforesaid holds true also of biology. By analogy with technochemical evolution we can speak of the evolution of living matter, an evolution that has been taking place since remote antiquity as a result of man's selective practice, of his activity in remoulding nature, an activity that sometimes has long-term but very tangible consequences to the evolution of life on earth. Vernadsky called this activity a "geological force of science", implying by this the entire influence of civilisation on the laws of the evolution of the biosphere.

There is an even more tangible analogy with technochemical evolution when we speak of the prospects for genetic engineering. When these prospects are discussed it is emphasised that the ability to manipulate hereditary matter at the level of molecules is fraught with the danger of uncontrolled changes in organisms. So far these organisms are bacteria, but even here, as A. A. Baev notes, the harmless intestinal-bacillus, which is a convenient object of molecular genetics, may spring a surprise that may not be harmless at all.¹² The practical employment of methods of manipulating genes in a test-tube is unquestionably a matter of the distant future. But on the theoretical level we ought, evidently, to take our point of departure from the fact that the gene-

engineering evolution of matter will be as real in the future civilisation as technochemical evolution is today.

The integral process of the evolution of matter of inorganic, organic, and anthropogenous nature brings to light its formerly concealed characteristics in proportion to man's transition to new stages of the artificial synthesis of matter. In this sense genetic engineering is not only a new method of knowledge but also a new method of linking human activity with the objective process of evolution. Since the object of change consists not only of chemical compounds and molecules but also of the chemical foundations of heredity, we can speak of virtually an unprecedented incursion by man into the evolution of animate nature. All the habits acquired in chemical synthesis along the line of creative construction and reconstruction of molecules are today turned to the chemistry of heredity, i.e., to technochemical evolution with all its positive and negative aspects, which gives rise to a new stage of the evolution of matter that enters into an immeasurably more complex relationship with nature and social evolution.

At this stage of the evolution of matter spontaneity is no longer permissible. While in its ecological significance technochemistry insistently requires an improved method of thought on the part of scientists, a higher level of their scientific world outlook, the danger of unregulated gene-engineering evolution to society is so great that not only theoretical but also experimental knowledge should already today be directed by a genuinely scientific and humanitarian world outlook.

The sense of social responsibility of scientists can no longer be intuitive. It requires a foundation in scientific philosophical forms. A philosophical understanding of the prospects of biology is becoming part and parcel of scientific study, and the more profoundly this is appreciated by the creators of brilliant experiments in genetic engineering, the more reliable becomes the possibility of directing its inexorable development exclusively for the benefit of mankind.

In the light of the aforesaid the problem of the scientific picture of the world loses its academic character, i.e., it ceases to be a refined philosophical outlook in the vulgar sense of the word. With the requirements of the development of experimental and theoretical knowledge in chemistry and biology so closely linked with a spectrum of the problems of a world outlook, with the social destinies of these sciences, any sharp separation of the concepts "scientific world outlook" and "scientific picture of the world" will hardly be convincing. This separation is common in Soviet scientific literature, and is based on the objectivity of the picture of the world and on the accentuated subjectivity in the scientific world outlook. But acknowledgement of the leading role

of the "physical picture of the world" is accompanied by an analysis of the genesis of that picture, stimulated chiefly by the genesis of scientific theories, their continuous process of formation, and their consolidation and replacement by new theoretical knowledge. While experts in philosophical problems of physics are agreed that a distinction must be made between objective and physical reality, it is evident that the physical picture of the world embraces the entire sum of scientific knowledge making up the content of the concept "physical reality". In other words, as a subject-object formation the picture of the world is just as complex as the scientific world outlook. The fact that cognitive relations and evaluating judgements are more clearly expressed in the world outlook by no means annuls its objective content or removes the task of mirroring in it the established sum of scientific knowledge about the world as a whole. Otherwise this would be not a scientific, but let's assume, a commonplace world outlook that reflects objective knowledge about the world only partially and in other forms.

But the main thing that stems from the aforesaid is that today it is vital to actualise the functions of the picture of the world by associating it not only with the development of empirical and theoretical knowledge but also with the problems of the social responsibility of scientists. In this case an exclusively physical picture of the world, which ignores chemical and biological evolution, becomes a sort of elitarian pattern describing the fundamentals of matter in great detail but abstracting itself from that special form of its existence which gave rise to the need for some picture of the world. This global abstraction from the subject of cognition, from the stages of the evolution of matter that had given rise to it can be the special avocation of physicists, the foundation of their professional perception of the world, but here, too, epistemological problems hinder, as we know, a comprehensive objectivation of knowledge. For that reason, while claiming to be objective at each stage of its development, the physical picture of the world in fact encounters the same difficulties, the same contradictions between the absolute and the relative in cognition as the other natural sciences, creating, in accordance with their object, the secondary reality that determines the foundations of the world outlook of a scientist.

When the need for a global natural scientific picture of the world, determined by physical knowledge, is substantiated, the more developed character of theoretical knowledge of physics compared with that of other natural sciences is always underscored.¹³ In trying to assess the sphere of particular pictures of the world, we cannot ignore the fact that the physical picture of the world is regarded as a generalised image of the systems-structural

characteristics of nature,¹⁴ while the problem of development relates exclusively to the sphere of knowledge, to changes of knowledge of these structural characteristics. The interesting questions about the ontologisation of the picture of the world, about the distinctions and similarities between the picture of the world and theory, about the link of the picture of the world with the culture of the epoch, and so forth, considered on material supplied by the physical sciences, substantially complement the usual method of presenting the evolution of the physical picture of the world, but all this has very little to do with biology, with the problem of its participation in forming the picture of the world.

We get the paradoxical situation that in the age of biology the scientific picture of the world does without biology, as it were. Moreover, if we are to be consistent, we must admit that biology should not claim even to a particular scientific picture of the world. V. Stepin shows that the entire logic of the study of physical theory, of its theoretical pattern, the links of this pattern with the picture of the world and with empirical material, and so on, can be constructed with the aid of special ideal objects—"constructions"—i.e., sufficiently clear-cut determined concepts. But if we try to classify the entire sum of theoretical knowledge in biology from the angle of "constructions", we shall find that, strictly speaking, they are not to be found. The central concept of the theory of evolution, the concept of natural selection, cannot be regarded as a "construction" because its content cannot be formalised. The contradictions in the interpretation of the content of the concept of natural selection and even of evolution as a whole¹⁵ are not only a sort of inevitable drawbacks in the development of theoretical knowledge but also as reflection of its considerably greater complexity compared with the other natural sciences. There are hardly any grounds for the hopes set on the future, on the growing contacts with physics, for biology does not rise to the level of "constructions" because it is constantly, one may say, preoccupied with having, at each stage of cognition, its fundamental concepts expressing, albeit relatively, historical time, without which life and knowledge of life are inconceivable. A "construction" is static, even if it is extraordinarily convenient for use, for which reason only individual tasks of biological cognition, basically those linked with structural research, can be formalised theoretically in the language of "constructions".

It is not enough, as is frequently done, to note the essential distinction between physics and biology, a distinction expressed in the attitude to the principle of historicism. Whereas in its most fundamental principles physics does without historical time, without evolution, it would be illogical to obscure this fact when the state of affairs in theoretical biology is assessed, when it is

insistently recommended that it uses physics as its standard. One should rather deduce from this actual cardinal divergence in the tasks of theoretical thought all the possible effects and, correspondingly, present the alliance of sciences in the shape of interaction based on contradiction. This contradiction is not external for biology. In one way or another it exists in the antithesis between the structural and historical approaches, between the⁹reductionist and anti-reductionist methods of description, between physicalism and biologism in the notions about the character of theoretical knowledge in biology. Hence, to a certain extent, biological cognition also realises its own needs when it utilises the physical picture of the world as the most generalised and complete pattern of knowledge of the systems-structural characteristics of matter. But biology cannot rest content with this by-introducing of the idea of evolution as basic to understanding biological reality. However, as long as physics has not, in one way or another, included the principle of historicism in its knowledge, the biological idea of evolution will not have a scientifically verifiable status of universality and cannot serve as the basis for creating a biological picture of the world.

There are some variants of the universalisation of the biological idea of evolution based on an extensive interpretation of life as "activity" and repeating, essentially speaking, the idealistic evolutionism of Schelling. But even the Teilhard de Chardin concept, which embraces the natural scientific and philosophical arguments about global evolutionism, does not give a convincing picture of the law-governed development of the Universe in the direction of life, towards the creation of man. The idea about the primary existence of psychoid elements in the foundation of matter as the condition of all of the Teilhard constructions¹⁶ is scientifically unprovable and philosophically untenable, for it introduces confusion into the problem of the correlation between matter and consciousness. With its purpose of substantiating the monistic character of the conception, this idea in fact asserts the duality of origin and thereby comes into conflict with the Teilhard's general guideline towards the creation of an integral conception of evolution. While using the idealistic world outlook, the principle of monism loses its integrity, becomes internally contradictory and, by virtue of this, unable to integrate natural scientific material in accordance with its actual content. Indicative in this respect is the arbitrary interpretation of some general biological problems, an interpretation allowed for by Teilhard in keeping with his contradictory ideas about global evolutionism.¹⁷

This example shows that the turn to biology is further proof that the concept of a particular picture of the world is questionable. As a local phenomenon, as a specific level of the

development of matter that takes shape under certain, perhaps extremely rare conditions, life cannot provide knowledge with sufficiently objective grounds for universalising the laws of its development. The method of thinking is unquestionably enriched in the process of cognition of life, and new possibilities open up for creative fantasy. This general dialectical, general cultural impact of biology on science is natural, since biology is concerned with incomparably more intricate and more developed objects than any other natural science. But the epistemological and philosophical influence of biology and its steadily growing role in the system of sciences in no way gives it the right to impose its own, biological view of the world as a whole. But when this does not concern the world as a whole, it would be more correct to speak of the biological picture of the organic world. But this expression is utter nonsense and a tautology inasmuch as it is obvious that the picture of the organic world is biological.

Consequently, biology cannot be involved in the formation of the picture of the world in such a manner as to make it fulfil the function of a particular picture of the world. But all the other sciences are in exactly the same position. Physics alone, because of its long-standing historical tradition and its use of the fundamentals of material processes, creates a theoretically rounded-off idealised pattern that is unquestionably productive in the development of knowledge and philosophy. This pattern may justifiably be called a physical picture of the world. In view of the considerable differentiation between sciences and their integration in contiguous sciences, how is it possible to speak of a geological, geographical, meteorological and countless other pictures of the world? The expression "particular pictures of the world" obviously loses all meaning. It is beyond doubt that every science contributes to the knowledge of objective reality, and studies some fragment or segment of that reality, but this is not a ground for dividing the concepts of the picture of the world into particles, for creating an endless number of such particles which can hardly be handled when an effort is made to return to the world as a whole.

It must be stressed that the world as a whole is not a fiction, an outdated concept borrowed from former natural philosophical systems.¹⁸ It is impossible to make head or tail of the diversity of particular pictures of the world, of the continuing tendency to represent the physical picture of the world as an integrator of this diversity, if one does not use the concept "world as a whole". This concept is as relative as is the entire sum of scientific knowledge in each historical span of time, but it is equally absolute, once it plays an integrating role by expressing the undoubted existence of the Universe in juxtaposition to man and his science. Man's inclusion in the Universe and, at the same time, his separation

from it as a result of his intellect are the inner contradiction of human existence, which spurs man to create a picture of the world as a specific means of knowing himself and his place in the world.

In other words, the need for a picture of the world, for using theoretical knowledge to create that picture, is of a purely philosophical origin. The specific type of integration of knowledge as the picture of the world is built up not for the creation of any system but for self-knowledge, for finding the objective system of coordinates of human existence. Hence the need for enlisting all sciences, the entire sum of scientific knowledge, including humanitarian, since the world as a whole mirrored in the picture of the world, is assimilated gradually, from one level of integrity to another.

It is this gradual and extraordinarily intricate, multifactor character of this process that can convince one that the evolution of the picture of the world up to the present is the prehistory of the development of the concept of the world vital to man as a phenomenon of consciousness. The leading role played by physics was due not only to the replacement of the pictures of the world. It created the very notion of what the picture of the world can and should be like. As we have tried to show, the general scientific and social requirements of the day question this ideal picture of the world. Even if we speak of a natural scientific picture of the world, it is no longer conceivable without chemistry, biology, and ecology, although these sciences cannot present the "constructions" analogous to the "constructions" of the physical picture of the world.

One must, therefore, think of other principles of forming a generalised picture of the world, leaving to physics the determining role in the systems-structural characteristics of matter and introducing a definition of development, worked out by the evolutionary conceptions of other sciences. Developments such as alterations of the picture of the world are unquestionably not accomplished by a plan drawn up beforehand, in accordance with the purpose of the researcher. A point that distinguishes the natural scientific picture of the world from the theories nourishing it is that generalising character of this picture is formed under the influence not only of scientific knowledge but also of philosophy and many other elements of the cultural background. For that reason one cannot imagine a series of constructive recommendations on the problem discussed here.

Moreover, the main trend of our arguments is dictated precisely by disagreement with this seemingly constructive formulation of the problem under which the global picture of the world combines particular pictures of the world, each of which depends on theory and, at the same time, on philosophy, and so forth. We

have attempted to show that not only such topical sciences as chemistry and biology but also broader conceptions than represented in the physicalist logic, arguments, problems of the relationship between theory and pictures of the world, between theory and the scientific world outlook, and between pictures of the world and the philosophical outlook on the world fail to fit into these universally recognised patterns.

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In conclusion, let us take another look at these problems with solely biology, with its need for a philosophical elaboration of these problems, as our point of departure. Instead of the concept of the biological picture of the world, which, incidentally, is not to be found in literature on theoretical biology, we have used the concept of biological reality, which, by analogy with physical reality quite correctly expresses the subject-matter of science, the basic definitions of the subject-object relationship in biological knowledge. It is quite probable that relative to other natural sciences, when speaking of their participation in the process of cognising objective reality, one can argue in the same way, eliminating any particular pictures of the world.

The philosophical component of empirical and theoretical activity in biology mirrors the general tendency to draw upon it more and more heavily to form a scientific picture of the world, a scientific world outlook. Possibly, these two concepts are, after all, relatively independent of each other, albeit by virtue of the fact that the scientific world outlook is closer to the nature of philosophy as a science of world-view while the picture of the world is closer to the nature of scientific knowledge. We agree with S. Melyukhin that "if the scientific picture of the world, based on the achievements of all sciences, is considered, it will be found to coincide with the world outlook of society".¹⁹ This is confirmed by what we have said about the generally philosophical content of modern biology, which is increasingly concentrated around the idea of the synthesis of natural scientific and humanitarian knowledge, an idea that is topical for biology. Without these contacts with the humanitarian sciences biology cannot resolve its theoretical problems, and cannot develop either theoretically or empirically its advanced branches, such as the ecology of man, the genetics of man, and the evolution of the biosphere. The tasks of this synthesis, entirely founded on the principle of historicism, are what gives rise to dissatisfaction over the interpretation of the picture of the world in a one-sided, physicalist spirit.

The physical picture of the world not only creates the foundation for the natural scientific world outlook but also represents the only possible natural scientific picture of the world. In proportion to the inclusion of chemical and biological knowledge of evolution, of knowledge of the laws of the interaction between nature and society, it changes its purely natural scientific character and grows into an ideal image of the world as a whole, which embraces natural scientific, humanitarian, and philosophical knowledge.

Today we have to reckon with historical tradition and with the modern character of natural science, which steadily eliminates the subject of knowledge in order to obtain objective knowledge. But what makes the data of modern biology interesting is that it increasingly shows the temporary, historically transient character of this situation. The progressive trends in the development of biological knowledge turn it towards the problems of man, the problems of the preservation of life on earth, and give theory and experimentation an organic bond with philosophy and ethics. In other words, we are witnessing the shoots of the future synthetic knowledge that assimilates the sciences about nature, society, and man himself, within the framework of which there will be no sharp division between the world as it is and how it is seen in connection with man. A single science about man and for man, a science Marx dreamed of, is already today capable of directing philosophical analyses of the most progressive trends in the development of science.

NOTES

¹ R. Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 13.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵ Ibid., p. 92.

⁶ *Methodological Principles of Physics. History and Contemporaneity*, Moscow, 1975; *Dialectical Materialism and the Natural Scientific Picture of the World*, Kiev, 1976; V. G. Ivanov, *Physics and a World Outlook*, Leningrad, 1975 (all in Russian).

⁷ I. B. Novik, *Questions of the Style of Thinking in Natural Science*, Moscow, 1975; I. B. Novik and A. Tursunov, "Physical Monism and the Synthesis of Knowledge", *Philosophical Foundations of the Natural Sciences*, Moscow, 1976 (both in Russian).

⁸ Y. A. Zhdanov, "Some Problems of Chemical Evolution", *Philosophical Problems of Chemistry*, Rostov-on-Don, 1972, p. 23 (in Russian).

⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰ Y. A. Zhdanov, "The Key Concept of Modern Theoretical Chemistry", *Voprosy filosofii*, No. 1, 1977; "The Historical Method in Chemistry", *Voprosy filosofii*, No. 10, 1977.

- ¹¹ Y. A. Zhdanov, "Some Problems of Chemical Evolution", p. 23.
- ¹² A. A. Baev, "Social Aspects of Genetic Engineering", *The Philosophical Struggle of Ideas in Modern Natural Science*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 140-141 (in Russian).
- ¹³ V. S. Stepin, *Formation of a Scientific Theory*, Minsk, 1976, pp. 61-62 (in Russian).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- ¹⁵ K. M. Zavadsky, *Post-Darwinian Development of the Theory of Evolution*, Leningrad, 1973 (in Russian).
- ¹⁶ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Oeuvres*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1958.
- ¹⁷ M. T. Yermolenko, "Criticism of the Theoretico-Evolutionary Principles of Teilhardism", *The History and Theory of Evolutionism*, Issue 3, Leningrad, 1975 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ We feel that the content of the concept "world as a whole" is convincingly shows by T. I. Oizerman in *Principal Philosophical Schools*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 78-82 (in Russian).
- ¹⁹ S. T. Melyukhin, *Marxism-Leninism and the Modern Natural Scientific Picture of the World*, Moscow, 1968, p. 10 (in Russian).

Russian Historiography on the Role of the Varangians

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The Norman or, to use Russian terminology, Varangian question holds an important place in historiography in Russia and in the West. It generated the notorious polemic between the *Normanists and the anti-Normanists*. In Russia this polemic lasted two centuries; as Normanism and anti-Normanism were schools of *gentry-bourgeois science*, the contest between them proved to be fruitless. Soviet historiography has its own view of this problem. It does not coincide with the views either of the Normanists or the anti-Normanists.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE NORSE INVASIONS OF THE WEST AND OF RUS

The Norman question concerns the whole of Europe. The streams of people rolling out of Scandinavia moved in two directions. One followed the Dnieper to the south, from the "land of the Varangians to that of the Greeks", the other skirted round Western Europe and both met at Constantinople, closing the Norse *orbis terrarum*.¹ The Norse invasions of Rus were thus part of this movement. The Varangian question in Russian historiography may be correctly understood only as a European problem. Parallels must be drawn between what occurred in Western Europe and what took place on the Volkhov and the Dnieper.

What features distinguished the Viking campaigns in the West? They were military inroads. The history of Mediaeval Europe is inseparable from the Norse conquests, plunder, and the exaction

of tribute. It was not a happy lot that gave rise to the famous prayer, "*Libera nos, Domine, a furore Normanorum*".

The Norsemen seized large regions in Western Europe. The accepted belief is that these were Normandy, England, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. But is this notion not a fossilised misunderstanding? Should all these conquests be linked with the Vikings? We believe that the Vikings may be associated solely with the conquest of what is today Normandy. At first they seized the mouth of the Seine (from where they raided the northern coast of Western Europe), then the whole of Neustria, while in 912 Charles III the Simple, formalised this conquest in a treaty with Rollo. Neustria became known as Normandy.

As regards England, the Vikings found it beyond their strength to conquer her. Their raids on English shores, begun in the 8th century, led to the colonisation of part of England. A struggle commenced between the Danes settled in the northeast and the Anglo-Saxons of the southwest. The Vikings proved to be incapable of more. The subjugation of the whole of England was accomplished by other forces. In 1017 England was invaded by a combined Danish-Norwegian army under Canute the Great (1017-1035). After the death of Canute England liberated herself, but was soon afterwards (1066) invaded by the Normans. Consisting of knights from all over France and even from Italy, the army of William the Conqueror was superior to the English both in number and armaments. William enjoyed the patronage of the Papal See. The Vikings had nothing to do with it.

Neither had they any relation to the conquest of southern Italy. That conquest was accomplished by knights, among whom there were not only Normans. With the blessing of the German emperors Conrad II and Henry III, and also of the Popes Nicolas II and Gregory VII, they moved from Normandy, intervening in the feudal discords in the south of Italy and seizing Italian territory. Robert Guiscard conquered the south of Italy, following which Sicily was taken. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was formed in 1130.

The appearance of the Vikings in mediaeval Europe is quite comprehensively described by chroniclers, for which reason the question of the character of the Viking invasions in the West and of their consequences did not arise either in Western or in Russian historiography. It is generally acknowledged that nobody in the West invited the Norsemen. They came by themselves. Also, it is generally acknowledged that as a backward people they brought statehood to no people in the West. Further, it is generally acknowledged that the Norsemen were assimilated quite quickly by the local population, and that traces of them disappeared.

Let us glance at what happened on the banks of the Volkhov and the Dnieper. There the Norse invasion had features in common with the Norse invasion of the West, but it also had specifics of its own. As distinct from the West, the meeting of the Norsemen with the Eastern Slavs and their Finnish allies took place at a time when none of these peoples had their own chroniclers. Had there been chroniclers, it is quite possible that there would have been no Varangian question.

But fate decreed otherwise. In the early mist of historical writing in Russia it is not possible to see everything distinctly. Even the first chroniclers were not contemporaries of Rurik. M. Tikhomirov, B. Rybakov, L. Cherepnin, and other Soviet historians have shown convincingly that Russian chronicling dates from the close of the 10th century,² but even in this case there is a gap of a whole century in which to this day much has to be guessed. The famous *Povest vremennykh let* (Russian chronicle of the early 12th century) was written two and a half centuries after the death of the legendary Rurik. The picture drawn by chroniclers of the appearance of the Varangians on the Dnieper remains vague; Rurik and his Varangians left no exhaustive information for researchers, nor did they leave any account of their activities that were passed on as a legend through the centuries.

In the West nobody invited the Norsemen. And in Rus? Did they come in peace or uninvited?

What does the chronicle say? "The Varangians from overseas took tribute from the Chudes, the Slovenes, the Meria, and the Krivichi.... They drove the Varangians beyond the seas, gave them no tribute, and began ruling themselves."³ The story, consequently, begins with a rising, a victorious rising, by the Novgorod Slavs and their Finnish allies against the Varangians, who were exacting tribute from them. All variants of the legend about the appearance of the Varangians in Slavonic and Finnish lands—reconstructed by A. Shakhmatov (*Early Kiev Record*, first and second variants of the *Povest vremennykh let*, the *Novgorod 4th Chronicle*, the *Commission Record of the Novgorod 1st Chronicle*)⁴—begin with a rising against the Varangians. Tradition is inexorable!

This leaves no doubt that there was a dramatic war against the invading Varangians, in which the Slavs and the Finns knew victory and defeat, a war of which only echoes have reached us. But hardly had this motif gained strength than it falls silent, and the chronicle tells a story of how the Slavs and the Finns, after driving out their oppressors, changed their minds, deciding that it was much better to live under alien rule than independently, and they again appealed to the Varangians for a prince. "Our land is

great and bountiful, but there is no order. Come and reign and rule over us." These two sentences from the chronicle have become famous.

This story is striking because it is unexpected (it does not dovetail with the preceding text) and is intrinsically implausible. Many questions arise which the chronicler does not answer. Why had the Slavs and the Finns appealed to oppressors, whom they had only just deposed? According to the chronicler, the Slavs and the Finns were rent by discord, but they agreed with astonishing ease and unanimity to invite a foreign prince. For some reason no treaty was signed with the new prince, although this was mandatory practice. The prince was invited to "*reign and judge righteously*", but the enthronement of Rurik in Novgorod witnessed a rising of the Novgorodans against the invited prince. And so on and so forth. In short, we are confronted with a legend riddled with contradictions.

There is another point. These contradictions sprang up first in the Novgorod chronicle tradition and made their way to the Kiev chronicles. In the latter the story of the Varangians was divested of some of its *Novgorod* features—Gostomysl and the story that the princes were invited from Novgorod to Kiev disappeared, but the invitation motif itself was solicitously preserved. Thus, according to the chronicle, autocratic rule was invited to Rus by the people peaceably and voluntarily.

What happened? Why does the chronicle, which first tells us of Varangian invasions, of risings of the local tribes against the invaders, suddenly assure us that everything ended to the mutual satisfaction of both sides? There can only be one answer—during the days of the chroniclers (it will be recalled that the *Povest vremennykh let* was written two and a half centuries after the surmised Rurik), a Varangian dynasty held the Kiev throne, while the chroniclers, apologists of the ruling house, *antedatedly* justified and glorified its appearance on Russian land.

But how did the Kiev throne prove to be in the hands of a Varangian dynasty? First and foremost, it must be noted that a *Novgorod* legend is to be seen clearly in the chronicle story. The custom of inviting foreign princes was a long-standing Novgorod tradition. If the prince proved unsuitable, he was driven away. The invitation of the Varangians, mentioned in the chronicle, was likewise not accidental. Novgorod's trade relations with Scandinavia date from remote times. Who can be sure that there were no Varangians among the princes invited to Novgorod? Moreover, it is known that it was the practice in Novgorod to use Varangian mercenaries against Kiev. In other words, Rurik might have come to Novgorod as an invited prince or at the head of mercenary troops. Lastly, he might have come as an invader. All these cases are highly probable.

But the chronicle tells us of something else. Rurik was not wanted in Novgorod, and when an effort was made to get rid of him he maintained his power by force. The *Nikon Chronicle* is quite clear on this point. Rurik persecuted the people of Novgorod, ruling arbitrarily. In answer, Novgorod rose against him. The rising was crushed and its leader, Vadim of Novgorod, perished.⁵ This was evidently a massive rising, for Rurik "killed many Novgorodans". In this situation the question whether Rurik appeared in Novgorod invited or uninvited loses all meaning. It was a matter of an armed struggle between invading Varangians and the local population.

The Novgorod people's assembly (*veche*) was defeated in the clash with the prince. Two men of the ancient Novgorod legend symbolise two opposing elements in Russian history. Rurik was destined to become the founder of the first Russian dynasty—the House of Rurik—symbol of the Russian monarchy. Vadim symbolised the struggle of the Russian people against the feudal monarchy. Small wonder that the legendary Vadim was a forbidden subject in tsarist Russia. It will be recalled that Ya. Knyazhnin's *Vadim of Novgorod* was ordered to be burned by Catherine II. What made it even more odious to the monarchy was that it was written during the first years of the Great French Revolution. Vadim is mentioned by Ryleyev, Pushkin, and Lermontov.

After the death of Rurik, the Varangians, who had settled in Novgorod, moved down the Dnieper. This spelled out the seizure of Kiev. Oleg "took many warriors with him: Varangians, Chudes, Slavs, Meria, Vepses, and Krivichi—and came to Smolensk with the Krivichi, and usurped the power in the city and placed...his people. From there he moved down and took Lyubech and installed his own people. And he came to the hills of Kiev..."⁶ Oleg took Kiev by strategem. "Oleg began building towns and established tribute to be paid by the Slavs and the Krivichi and Meria, and established tribute to be paid to the Varangians from Novgorod to the extent of 300 *grivnas* annually for the preservation of peace, and this tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav."⁷ In other words, the same conquest, the same violence, and the same tribute described by the chronicler *before* the Varangians were invited. And there was the same struggle against the invaders.

How did the Varangians comport themselves when Kiev Rus flourished under Vladimir and Yaroslav? The chronicler writes of them as of constant participants in the internecine strife of princes, but in this period, as mercenaries of the strong Slav state. Tribute was collected for their upkeep—"and was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav". They behaved aggressive-

ly, pillaging and raping. One of the Novgorod chronicles tells the story of a rising of Novgorodans in 1015, when a Varangian host was destroyed⁸.

This was the conduct of the Varangians during the best period of Kiev Rus. They ravaged foreign lands, spoils being their main objective. It was not a fat life that made them leave their homeland—the rocks of Scandinavia held no promise of a life of plenty. The inhabitants of the Dnieper basin had to defend themselves against the Varangians. What grounds are there for assuming that the Varangians had behaved peaceably two or three centuries earlier, when they found only scattered tribes in these parts? That accounts for the fact that the first mention of the Varangians begins with a story of a rising of these tribes against the invaders. The inevitable conclusion is that in the West and on the Volkhov and the Dnieper nobody invited the Norsemen. They came as invaders, and this called for a reaction—the local tribes rose to defend themselves. The words of the chronicle that Varangian princes were invited by the people voluntarily and peaceably in fact lose themselves in the overall picture of Varangian ravages on the Dnieper.

Similarly, the inevitable question is: Why do the chronicles speak of a peaceable invitation? It could hardly be an accident.

ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND ABOUT THE INVITATION OF THE VARANGIAN PRINCES

The end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, when the *Povest vremennykh let* was written, was a period when Rus, such as she had been under Vladimir and Yaroslav, began to crumble, while Vladimir Monomakh and his supporters tried to halt this decline. Chroniclers were among the people who championed the idea of a united state, the idea of a single prince in a united land. The idea of a single ruler permeates the *Povest vremennykh let*. The chroniclers wanted to see Rus united. They not only denounced princes for their bickering—these philippics are frequently encountered in chronicles—but also appealed to history. They sought to show that Russian history was a history of a united land, and that it was always the aim of princes to uphold the single power, to maintain order, and to administer the land righteously. Where did the Russian chroniclers see the beginning of history? It began with the emergence of a state, and the state began with the first prince. The question of the beginning of a *dynasty* and the question of the beginning of the *state* merged, as the chroniclers saw it, into one and the same problem. That is what made the problem of the first prince of Kiev so decisive to the Kiev chroniclers.

For the chronicler the answer to the question of the beginning of the Russian state was purely a *practical* one. He had to relate how and on what foundation the House of Rurik, which ruled Kiev in his day, appeared in Rus. He did not doubt that it was of Norse origin, and had good reasons for this. The first princes of that dynasty had unquestionably Norse names: Rurik, Oleg, Igor, Olga. This has not been refuted to this day. For the Kiev chroniclers the House of Rurik was the dynasty with the mission to establish civil tranquillity in a "great and bountiful" land that suffered from disorder. The land craving for order was, for chroniclers, not a land existing in the distant times of Rurik; it was the land contemporary to them: Kiev Rus after Vladimir and Yaroslav. The tale of this mission became the cornerstone of the historical conception, which chroniclers counterposed to the feudal disintegration of Rus. This was a lie, whose purpose was to save the Russian land.

In a situation marked by the commencement of feudal fragmentation the theory of a single prince in a united land was of immense ideological importance. Everything else was subordinated to it. The founder of the House of Rurik, who usurped power in Novgorod by sword and fire, had to be officially certified as the legitimate ruler invited by the will of the entire people. This was not difficult to do because of the old Novgorod tradition of inviting foreign princes. It should be remembered that at the time the *Povest vremennykh let* was written the question of the legality of the reigning dynasty in Kiev was extremely acute. It was made acute, in particular, by the popular uprising of 1113. The chronicler Sylvester, for instance, had to substantiate the legal rights of the not quite "legal" Vladimir Monomakh to the Kiev throne.

Foreign-policy considerations were not the least important in giving shape to the chronicle conception of the origin of the Russian state. The first chroniclers witnessed the height of the struggle with Byzantium for the independence of Rus and the Russian Orthodox Church. The Varangian origin of the Russian princes acquired a pronounced anti-Byzantine orientation, contended that the Russian state emerged independently of Byzantium, and defended its identity. The appearance of chronicle writing was linked with the struggle against Byzantium and was an essential part of that struggle. This was the socio-political and ideological atmosphere in which the chroniclers' historical conception took shape.

Everything began with Novgorod. But it was not Novgorod that the chroniclers were interested in as the centre of the state. The headings in the *Povest vremennykh let* emphasise two elements. These are "Genesis of the Russian Land" and "The First Prince of

Kiev". Consequently, the chroniclers were interested in Kiev, which in their day was the centre of the Russian state. The story follows how Kiev became the capital.

Who were the pre-Varangian princes of the Polians, whose capital Kiev was? We find that the Polians had their own legend about three brothers named Kiy, Shcheka and Khoriv, who were of Slav origin. The elder brother, Kiy, was the founder of the dynasty. The capital city of Kiev took its name from him. He marched on Tsargrad, and "upon the death of these brothers their descendants ruled the Polians".⁹ Two versions come into conflict: one about Kiy the simple boatman, and the other about Kiy the prince. The Kiev chronicler espouses the latter version, for "if Kiy was a boatman he would not have marched on Tsargrad. Yet, this Kiy was a prince in his tribe, and he went to the tsar...and it is said that this tsar, to whom he went, showered great honours upon him."¹⁰

The circumstance that the chronicle distinguishes the Polians among other tribes likewise conforms fully with this. While the other tribes, according to the chronicler, were savages, the Polians followed the modest and peaceable traditions of their forefathers; they, the chronicle says, had their own dynasty and, consequently, were at the head of the federation of tribes. The fact that this is backed up by historical evidence is shown by Rybakov's scholarly reconstruction of the territorial and ethnic composition of the state ruled by Kiy. It embraced half of the Eastern Slavic tribes. This early state in Eastern Europe was a contemporary of Great Moravia, the state of the Western Slavs.¹¹

The chronicle thus contains two opposing historical theories of the origin of the Russian state in the shape of the mediaeval legend of two sets of three brothers: Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor, of Novgorod origin, and Kiy, Shcheka, and Khoriv, of Kiev origin. The first was a pro-Varangian theory and the second a Slavic theory. In the chronicle they are obviously locked in combat, but this is an unequal combat: the Kiev triad is pushed into the background and obscured by the Novgorod tradition. One senses an attempt to discredit Kiy by portraying him as a simple boatman. The struggle between these theories proceeded under conditions much more favourable to the Varangian triad—the arbiters of the struggle were the chroniclers of the House of Rurik. As patriots of Kiev they stuck up for the Kiev tradition, but only to the extent it did not conflict with the official theory, a theory that served the ruling dynasty in Rus at the time the chronicle was written. Matters ended with the triumph of the Novgorod-Varangian conception of the origin of the monarchy in Kiev over the Kiev-Slavic theory.

Such is the version about the Varangians constructed, accord-

ing to all data, in Novgorod. In 1073 it appeared in the Kiev collection of the Father Superior Nikon. What should be the conclusion from an analysis of this version?

First, the appearance of the Varangians in the Dnieper area was a military, predatory invasion, as in the West. The Novgorod tradition of inviting a foreign prince changes nothing in the overall picture of Norse brigandage. In Novgorod, Rurik assumed power by force, regardless of whether he was invited or not. The legend about Rurik being peaceably and voluntarily invited by the people of Novgorod is a literary construction of later origin (between the birth of this legend and Rurik there was a time lapse of at least two and a half centuries). It was created for political purposes—to motivate historically the struggle for the unity of the state in the period when Kiev Rus was disintegrating.

Second, had the Norsemen given the Slavs a state? The question of a state should not be confused with the question of the dynasty. While the questions of the "Genesis of the Russian Land" and "The First Prince of Kiev" were synonymous for the chronicler, and while this was extremely vital to the Normanists and the anti-Normanists, it is far from the case for Soviet historians. The dynastic question is only part, and not the most important part, of the question of the origin of the state. Nonetheless, let us consider it. As a result of the Varangian invasion on the Volkhov and the Dnieper the Varangian chiefs seized power first in Novgorod (Rurik) and then in Kiev (Oleg). It must be presumed that the Dnieper towns were captured first, for this gave the Varangians a road "from the land of the Varangians to that of the Greeks". The spread of their power in the territory of the adjoining tribes was a long and bloody process. No sooner did Igor penetrate the territory of the Drevlyans than he was killed; let us recall the local risings whose echoes are to be found in chronicles.

Rurik, Oleg, Igor, and Olga are Varangian names. Svyatoslav did not lose the manners of a *konungr* (a Varangian military chief) but he had a Slav name. Slavification continued in the reigns of Vladimir and Yaroslav. They felt themselves established as princes of a strong Slav state and were opposed to the Varangians, whom they regarded as a foreign mercenary military force. The House of Rurik was completely Slavified. The same thing happened in the West—the Vikings were assimilated by the local population.

Now, a few words about the state.—A state cannot be brought in a boat. It is created over a period of many hundreds of years. The story of the Varangians dates from no earlier than the 9th century. Prior to this the Slavs had a history of more than a thousand years, the evidence of which is provided by archaeology and the eye-witness accounts of antique authors. Soviet historiog-

raphy has accomplished extensive work in the study of the history of the formation of the Ancient Russian state, of its socio-economic and political system. It was found that the feudal class and state organisation of the Eastern Slavs had reached a fairly high level of formation at the time the Varangians appeared. This concerns not only the tribal princes—a tribal federation had formed around Kiev. The formation of a single state embracing a huge territory was proceeding.¹²

But, as among other peoples, this was taking place under external influences, of which the influence of the Varangians was not the least important. The newcomers joined in the process of state formation on the Dnieper. Their influence was not felt at once. We should, for instance, very much like to know more about Rurik, but he remains a legendary figure, one of the brothers of a legendary triad. Such figures are to be found at the dawn of the history of a number of peoples. The banal subject of Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor reminded Schlözer of the legend of the brothers Kiy, Shcheka, and Khoriv of Kiev, of the Slav brothers Lekh, Chekh, and Rus, of the Irish brothers Amelaus, Sitarakus, and Ivoru. Chronicles that may be believed portray Rurik solely as a *konungr*, plunderer, rapist, and collector of tribute.

Matters are no better with Oleg. The subsequent chronicle tradition glorified Oleg as the man who united Novgorod and Kiev, although he was not connected either with Novgorod or Kiev. After a war against Byzantium this warrior retired to Ladoga, and then all trace of him was lost. Nobody knows what happened to the "uniter" of Kiev Rus, where he died, or where he was buried.¹³ Like Rurik, all he wanted were spoils and tribute. He was not interested in a sedentary exploitation of the population, much less in the organisation of authority in the territory across which he passed. He was a *konungr* who looked for happiness on the road "from the land of the Varangians to that of the Greeks". The son-in-law of Yaroslav, the future Norwegian King Harold the Brave was evidently the last great Viking.

The appearance of the above-mentioned princes had its consequences. The Varangians hastened the centralisation of the Dnieper tribes, influenced the composition of their ruling class, reinforced their military strength, and worsened the condition of the people (Igor died in an attempt to collect tribute the people could not pay). They influenced foreign policy, as well; there are grounds for assuming that the Slav campaigns against Byzantium were of pre-Varangian origin, but they were intensified with the arrival of the Norsemen. However, all these processes were not brought in from without. The Norsemen were much too backward to bring more highly developed feudal institutions than those they encountered on the Dnieper. The further development of these

institutions was a continuation of the development of what had been in existence long before the coming of the Norsemen. They were part of Slav history on Slav land, but now the Norsemen participated in them.

Further, it should be borne in mind that the Slavs were influenced not only by the Norse North. They were influenced also from the South and the West. This is seen most distinctly in the adoption of Christianity by Kiev Rus. It could not have been brought by the Varangians. Two centres of the spread of Christianity—Constantinople and Rome—crossed swords in the land of the Slavs. The Slavs found themselves squeezed between these two rival centres. Princess Olga, as the princes in others Slav lands, had to choose between Constantinople and Rome, evidently not without hesitation. After visiting Constantinople, she sent envoys to the German Emperor Otto I, who controlled missionary activity in the Slav lands, requesting him to send missionaries. The mission, led by Bishop Adalbert, arrived in Kiev. But paganism, headed by the then young Svyatoslav, gained the upper hand. Otto's mission had to flee from Kiev. In the reign of Vladimir, Constantinople won the religious allegiance of all the Eastern and Southern Slavs, while Rome emerged victorious among the Western Slavs.

Third, did the chroniclers know the true story of Rurik? Hardly. If for modern scientists, with their sophisticated techniques of research, Rurik remains a legendary figure, what could be expected of chroniclers living at the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century despite their being chronologically closer to the presumed events? Separated from these events by centuries, they evolved a *political* theory of the origin of the ruling house in Rus in keeping with the interests of the state and the ruling dynasty.

Fourth, were the chroniclers embarrassed by the *foreign* origin of their ruling dynasty? Probably, not. In the Middle Ages the foreign origin of a ruler was regarded as more honourable. What strikes one is something else. Beginning with the 15th century, Western humanitarians would link the origin of kings, aristocratic families, and founders of cities with heroes of antiquity. The Kieville would draw a parallel between his city and Troy and would be prepared to believe that the remains of Priam, Hector, Achilles, and other heroes were buried in the Kiev caves; in Moscow they would trace the origin of their kings from Augustus; the Novgorod chroniclers would maintain that Novgorod received its authority over a huge territory from Alexander the Great himself. Compared with these fantasies, the chroniclers who created the legend of the invitation of Varangian princes were amazingly modest.

EMERGENCE OF THE VARANGIAN QUESTION

In Russian historiography the conversion of the legend about the invitation of the Varangians into a Varangian question is associated with the work of Gotlib-Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738), Gerard-Friedrich Miller (1705-1783), and August-Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), all of whom were members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. A vicious tradition was subsequently formed in Russian gentry-bourgeois historiography in the assessment of the work of these scientists. The Normanists saw nothing in this work except benefit for Russian science, while the anti-Normanists saw nothing save harm. Actually, this was not as simple as all that.

The St. Petersburg German academicians made a large contribution to Russian historical science of their day. They put an end to the *legendary* theories in Russian historiography. The curtain on the legendary period in Russian history was brought down by Schlözer. "The superstition and ignorance of the past had distorted the history of all peoples, including our history. Time was when they looked for our forefathers near the tower of Babylon, when Slavs were identified at the siege of Troy.... Time was when it was thought that Moscow got its name from Meshech, grandson of Noah, Tobolsk from Tubal, and Kiev from Kiy, descendant of the same Meshech. Time was when people had no doubt that Novgorod received its charter from Alexander the Great, and regarded Rurik as a direct descendant of Augustus..."¹⁴

Moreover, the German academicians struck a blow at the thesis that the Varangians were invited peaceably and voluntarily.

Their contribution to Russian source study is also well known. Particularly outstanding services were rendered by G.-F. Miller. The famous archeographical travels of the then young Miller form a vivid page in the history of historical science in Russia. These travels took nearly ten years, covering 31,000 *versts* [*versta*=3,500 feet.—*Tr.*] in the unbounded expanses of Siberia and the North European part of the USSR. Along this enormous route he studied archives, bringing to the Academy of Sciences a huge mass of historical documents. The source base of Russian historical science received an addition that took many generations of researchers to sort out. On the basis of these materials Miller wrote his *History of Siberia*. They were used by M. Shcherbatov. And they helped to bring N. Novikov's famous *Bibliotheca* to life. I. Golikov used the sources collected by Miller for his *Deeds of Peter*. In subsequent years, many publications were likewise based on them. Miller did much to systematise the Archives of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs.

A tribute must be paid to the St. Petersburg German academicians for this contribution to Russian science. However, these same scientists inflicted much harm on Russian science, harm that continued to be felt for two centuries. They were the authors of the notorious Varangian question.

This was not accidental. It was due to the relations that took shape between Russia and the West after the reign of Peter the Great. During the initial decades of its existence the Russian Academy of Sciences, which was vital to the country and subsequently justified itself, consisted mainly of foreigners and was an alien body. These foreigners came to Russia with a sense of superiority believing that it was a semi-barbaric country. This psychology hardened with the formation of a caste of foreign scientists, chiefly German, in the 1730s, the Biron decade, when the policy of the government itself was *anti-Russian*. More, when the Biron policy came to an end, the ideology of Biron lived on behind the thick walls of the Academy. The small group of Russian scientists led by Lomonosov felt they were virtually besieged in the Russian Academy. The most eminent Russian historians of those days—Tatishchev, Shcherbatov, Boltin, and Karamzin—were not members of the Academy.

But the Biron tendencies, both political and ideological, encountered a powerful national upsurge in Russia following the victory in the bitter Northern War against Sweden. Russia acquired the status of a leading world power. Feofan Prokopovich, who was a contemporary of the Battle at Poltava and the Biron period, compared the Northern War with the Second Punic War, which made ancient Rome a world power. He ranked the Poltava Battle with the greatest battles in world history, and compared tsar Peter with Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

Surprise and hostility were the reaction of the West to Russia's rise to the rank of a major power.¹⁵ The history of international relations tells us of the hostility and arrogance which Russia was faced with in the West. The St. Petersburg German academicians were spokesmen of the Western view of Russia. The Russian national upsurge and the German domination in Russian science were bound to come into conflict. In the *political* sphere this conflict produced many sparks. One of these sparks fell on *history*. It started a fire. This conflagration is called the Varangian question.

H.-S. Bayer was the first to move national and political passions to historical science during the Biron decade. He knew no Russian and read the *Povest vremennykh let* in the German translation *Sammlung russischer Geschichte*. In the entire chronicle Bayer was only interested in the legend of the Varangians, and he read it in a way that was quite different from the way it was read

by Russian scholars. He saw only one subject in it, namely, that the first Russian prince was a *foreigner*. This brought him round to the conclusion that while the Russians were proud of their victory over the Swedes they little knew that it was to the Swedes that they owed their greatest blessing: the Swedes had created the Russian state.

The shadow of two great Norsemen, Charles XII and Rurik, lay over the Bayer conception. The Poltava victory crushed the ambitions of the Swedish conqueror Charles XII, but the Bayer theory used the sword of Rurik to strike a blow at the national ambitions of the Russians from the historical flanks. This was a sort of revenge for Poltava. From that day the subject of the Varangians acquired a *new quality*. Having served the grandeur and unity of the Russian state, it now served to disunite it. This marked the emergence of the Varangian question in its modern dimension. It appeared not as a question of science, but as a question of *politics*, as a vividly expressed *anti-Russian* phenomenon. It appeared because problems of the remote past affected burning issues of the day. Covered with the dust of centuries, the legend of the Varangians acquired a new lease of life, a new political significance, and became an acute modern subject.

In Bayer's writings the Varangian question did not get the complete form it received, say, in the writings of Schlözer. But Bayer formulated the main thing. In his Normanist interpretation the basic content of the Varangian question was that invading Norsemen had founded the Russian state. Despite the distinctions in the interpretations of Bayer, Miller, and Schlözer, this remained a common feature of these interpretations. "In the broad sense of the word the Scandinavians or Norsemen founded the Russian power; nobody doubts this."¹⁶ "The founders of the Russian state were a people who were not Slavs,"¹⁷ Schlözer maintained tirelessly. To motivate this possibility historically, Bayer, Miller, and Schlözer went to all lengths to belittle the social development of the Slavs and Finns and magnify the development level of the Norsemen. We have already mentioned that this did not accord with reality, for the Dnieper tribes not only had their own princes but had created a federation of tribes around Kiev.

The Russians stormily protested against the conception of the German academicians. The first to protest was Tatishchev, who attacked the Bayer theory. Then Lomonosov, whose main opponent was Miller, took up the cudgels. Lomonosov, armed with all the knowledge that science could give in his day, sought to analyse the relations between peoples in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, particularly the relations between the Slavs and the Scandinavians. Science later established that Lomonosov had not been right in everything. For instance, he believed that the

Sarmatians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, and the Estonians were Slavs. Moreover, he numbered Odoacer and Alaric among the Slavs. As regards the Varangian question, he kept to the chronicle tradition and developed the idea that the princes were invited peaceably, but considered that Rurik was not a Scandinavian but a Slav of the tribe of Rus Varangians, whom he sited in Prussia.

Lomonosov's great contribution to the science of his day was in something else. He found a weak place in the arguments of his opponent. Miller drew upon the writings of Northern writers, notably Saxo Grammaticus, and Scandinavian folklore. He ignored the accounts of innumerable Western writers about the Slavs—accounts that were authoritative but which conflicted with his construction. As Lomonosov noted, his opponent "feeling that his unfounded view was extremely weak in the light of so much evidence, found it expedient to ignore that evidence".¹⁸ To counter Miller, Lomonosov drew upon the support of Western writers who were to some extent acquainted with Southern and Southwestern Europe and had produced material for a history of the ancient Slavs. Herodotus, Ptolemy, Cornelius Nepos, Cato, Pliny, Strabo, Tacitus, Livy, Jordanes, and Procopius of Caesarea—in other words, historians from the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. were mobilised against Miller and formed the first line of attack, as it were, against him. Later Helmold, Saxo Grammaticus, Sturluson, Kromer, Muratori, Arnold, and others formed the second line. In the same ranks with them was the Russian chronicle.

With the aid of these sources Lomonosov contended that the Slavs were not in the "darkness-of ignorance" alleged by Miller, that they had reached a fairly high level of development for those times, and that they had merchant cities—"Great Novgorod, Ladoga, Smolensk, Kiev, Polotsk, and others which traded from the Dnieper along the Black Sea and from the Southern Dvina and from the Neva along the Varangian Sea with distant lands..."¹⁹ This argument by Lomonosov was the strongest blow at the weak point in the theory of the German academicians.

THE NORMANISTS AND THE ANTI-NORMANISTS

That was how the Varangian question emerged. A struggle began between *Normanism*, founded by Bayer, Miller, and Schlözer, and *anti-Normanism*, which began with Lomonosov. The Normanists were Karamzin, Kunik, Pogodin, the pillars of the official school Solovyev, Kavelin, Chicherin, and later Milyukov. The anti-Normanist camp consisted of Evers, Kachenovsky, Gedeonov, Kostomarov, Bestuzhev-Ryumin, Ilovaisky, and Vasilyevsky.

When we speak of the struggle between Normanism and anti-Normanism in Russian historiography of the 19th and early 20th centuries, it should be borne in mind that during that period both schools became a component of *Russian* gentry-bourgeois science: Normanism had already lost its anti-Russian character. For that reason we must see not only the struggle between Normanism and anti-Normanism, but also their *points of similarity*. We have no grounds whatever for regarding the anti-Normanists, say, Evers, and Ilovaisky, patriotic, and the Normanists, say, Karamzin, Pogodin, and Solovyev, unpatriotic.

Their unquestioned point of similarity was that both camps believed that Varangian princes were invited peaceably and voluntarily by the whole people. In gentry-bourgeois historiography the theory that the Varangians were invited peaceably had a special reactionary-ideological slant. It served as the historical foundation for the belief that the Russian monarchy was primordial, that it was of the people, that it had been invited peaceably and voluntarily by the Russian people. In order to prove that the Russian revolution was historically unjustified, Pogodin, the Slavophiles and other gentry-bourgeois historians in Russia advanced the theory of two historical laws. Referring to the Thierry-Guisot thesis, they held that the revolution in the West was justified on the grounds that the mediaeval states took their beginning from German conquests, with the result that there was an age-old conflict between the victors and the vanquished; their struggle led to revolutions. Russia, on the contrary, took her beginning from the peaceable, voluntary invitation of the people to a prince, and hence there was no historical cause for revolutions. The struggle against revolution is the keynote of Russian gentry-bourgeois historiography, beginning from the close of the 18th century. This was the key problem of Russian historical thought.

Further, the Normanists and anti-Normanists in Russia were unanimous in believing that the invited Varangian princes *created* the Russian state. The monarchy in Russia began with Rurik. The House of Rurik was the first dynasty of Russian monarchs. Everything that happened before Rurik was the prehistory of Russia; Russian history began with Rurik. This was what united the two schools.

The peaceable invitation of princes and the founding of the Russian state by Rurik were the state dogmas in tsarist Russia; in particular, these two formed the cornerstone of historical education. They were regarded as infallible and the history textbooks issued by the tsarist Ministry of Education began with them.

What was the issue between the Normanists and the anti-Normanists? It was over the ethnic origin of Rurik. The

contending sides were interested not so much in how the Russian state emerged as in *who* created it. The Normanists held that a *Scandinavian* was the founder of the Russian state. The anti-Normanists were prepared to give him any except a Scandinavian origin. Tatishchev and Boltin believed he was a Finn; Lomonosov, Emin, Tredyakovsky, and Gedeonov believed he was a Slav; Evers said he was a Khazar, Ilovaisky—a Roxolan, Vasilyevsky—a Goth, Kostomarov—a Lithuanian, and so forth. Here we find the continued impact of the very sources of the debate: the *pro-Swedish* origin of Normanism, and the *anti-Swedish* origin of anti-Normanism.

What were the results of the polemic between the Normanists and anti-Normanists in Russian pre-revolutionary historiography? New sources were mobilised, and use was made of archaeology, source study, linguistics, literary criticism, and ethnography—in other words the Varangian question became a *comprehensive* scientific problem. The character of the debate changed with time. Formerly, one school looked for sources in order to prove its theory, and the other—to disprove it. Later, scientists concentrated on understanding the chronicler himself—the historical situation in which he wrote, the contemporary problems he was concerned with, and what his motivations were for reconstructing events of the past in the manner presented in his chronicle. This school was led by A. Shakhmatov.

But we increasingly see also the negative results of the debate. It becomes more and more obvious that the attempts of both the Normanists and the anti-Normanists to resolve the Varangian question were *fruitless*. Both sides based themselves on ready-made biased, and one-sided answers, into which the accumulated scientific material did not fit.

Even in pre-revolutionary times all this made many historians *sceptical* of Normanism and anti-Normanism. V. Klyuchevsky was a confirmed sceptic. This is clearly stated in his archives. He wrote: "... I would call all these scholarly efforts to clear up the Varangian question a pathological phenomenon. I have grown used to a certain discrimination in so-called historical problems... I am quite indifferent to both theories—the Norman and the Slav—and this indifference springs from scientific interest ... Therefore, when a Normanist or a Roxolanist declares that only one or the other theory sheds true light on the beginning of Russian national statehood, I cease to understand both, the one and the other."²⁰

Much of this debate was over the purely secondary issue of Rurik's *ethnic* origin. "I have nothing against special research into the origin of the name of Rus and of the tribal affiliation of the first Russian princes. I am quite prepared to read tales to the

effect that a Slaw or a German was the grandfather of Vladimir, and where his mother, grandmother, and so on came from. But when the student of questions of this kind goes directly into real scientific theory and says he is resolving the question of the origin of Russian nationality and Russian statehood, it will be a pity if he does not stop at the borderline and remember that nationality and statehood are formed not of the ethnographic blood composition of one prince or another or that the tribal name was first heard of on the Baltic or the Sea of Azov ... I... am against the thesis that the *key* to explaining the beginning of Russian nationality and statehood is in this question."²¹

The debate over the Varangian question hindered science and teaching, but Klyuchevsky had a special account to settle with the official doctrine of the Ministry of Education. "We felt that much in it was incongruous, but did not venture to say anything against it. We preserved it as the pupils of its creators, and did not know what to do with it when we ourselves became teachers. In starting our course, we reproduced it ... and put it away in a corner as an unnecessary rite requiring respectability. For example, before getting down to work, a carpenter absently knocks on the piece of wood he intends to chop. Then we went on relating as though there was no dispute about the Varangians."²²

These conclusions were arrived at also by Shakhmatov, who was always regarded as a diehard Normanist. "The dispute between the Normanists and their adversaries began ... over the text of the *Povest vremennykh let*. Common-sense criticism of the interpretation of it by Evers, Kostomarov, Gedeonov, Ilovaisky, and others showed the shakiness of the foundation on which the Normanists had built their edifice. But their adversaries went much too far in their negation, refusing to see behind the letter of the chronicle text elements of folk legend that are neither invented nor created by fantasy."²³ Doubts about the scientific expediency of the barren dispute between the Normanists and the anti-Normanists were born as early as in pre-revolutionary Russian historiography.

* * *

The task of Soviet historical science is self-evident. It is to surmount the colossal inertia of the two-century-long dispute between the Normanists and anti-Normanists, cleanse science of all the prejudice and sediment springing from that dispute, and restore an objective picture of the early history of the Russian state. The solution of the question lies not in *who* created the Russian state but *how* it was created. Considerable progress has been made in this direction by Soviet historical science.

NOTES

- ¹ *Povest vremennykh let*, Part 1, Moscow, 1950, p. 207.
- ² M. N. Tikhomirov, "The Beginnings of Russian Historiography", *Voprosy istorii*, 1960, No. 5, pp. 41-56; B. A. Rybakov, "The Commencement of the Russian State (Ideas of Chroniclers About Rus of the 6th-9th Centuries)", *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, 1955, No. 4-5, pp. 57-77; B. A. Rybakov, *Ancient Rus. Legends. Epics. Chronicles*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 173-300; L. V. Cherepnin, "'Povest vremennykh let,' Its Variants and the Chronicles Preceding It", *Historical Notes*, Vol. 25, 1948, pp. 293-333 (all in Russian).
- ³ *Povest vremennykh let*, Part 1, p. 214.
- ⁴ A. A. Shakhmatov, "Legend of the Invitation of the Varangians", *Proceedings of the Department of Russian Language and Philology*, Vol. IX, Book 4, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 325-333 (in Russian).
- ⁵ *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1965, p. 9 (in Russian).
- ⁶ *Povest vremennykh let*, Part 1, p. 216.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.
- ⁸ *Novgorod Chronicle According to the Collected Synodal Records*, St. Petersburg, 1888, pp. 4-5 (in Russian).
- ⁹ *Povest vremennykh let*, Part 1, p. 209.
- ¹⁰ *Ibidem*.
- ¹¹ B. A. Rybakov, "The Commencement of the Russian State...", pp. 66-74.
- ¹² B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus* (several editions); V. T. Pashuto, "Features of the Political System of Ancient Rus", *The Ancient Russian State and Its International Significance*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 11-76; V. T. Pashuto, "Features of the Structure of the Ancient Russian State", *The Ancient Russian State and Its International Significance*, pp. 77-127; L. V. Cherepnin, "Socio-Political Relations in Ancient Rus and *Russkaya pravda*", *The Ancient Russian State and Its International Significance*, pp. 128-278; M. N. Tikhomirov, *Cities of Ancient Rus*, Moscow, 1956; B. A. Rybakov, "Commencement of the Russian State...", *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, 1955, No. 4, pp. 57-77; B. A. Rybakov, *Ancient Rus. Legends. Epics. Chronicles*, pp. 173-400; S. V. Yushkov, *A Course in the History of State and Law of the USSR*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1949, etc. (all in Russian).
- ¹³ B. A. Rybakov, "The Ostromir Chronicle", *Voprosy istorii*, 1956, No. 10, pp. 46-59.
- ¹⁴ A.-L. Schlözer, *A Portrayal of the Russian Empire*, St. Petersburg, pp. 7-8 (in Russian).
- ¹⁵ G. A. Nekrasov, *Russia's Role in International Politics (1725-1739)*, Moscow, 1974 (in Russian).
- ¹⁶ A.-L. Schlözer, *Nestor*, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 325 (in Russian).
- ¹⁷ A.-L. Schlözer, *Explanatory Notes to Historical Maps. Notebook II, 1809-1810*, p. 15 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ M. V. Lomonosov, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952, p. 30 (in Russian).
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.
- ²⁰ Lenin State Library, Record group 131, Vol. 1, File 11. The pages are unnumbered (in Russian).
- ²¹ *Ibidem*.
- ²² *Ibidem*.
- ²³ A. A. Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

Archival Collections of Leningrad

VICTOR RUTENBURG

The archive of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of History of the USSR (LSIH), which is more than a hundred years old, is one of the oldest and, with more than 200,000 storage units, richest repositories of records on Russian and world history.¹ The documents relate mainly to the age of feudalism, most of them to the history of Russian feudalism. Also, thanks to the efforts by Academician Nikolai Likhachev, a paleographer, archaeographer, historian and student of art, the Institute also came into possession of a large collection of West European manuscripts.

According to origin, the record groups and collections of the archive can be classified in three main groups: (1) Materials obtained by the 1834 Archaeographic Expedition, the 1837 Archaeographic Commission, and institutions that succeeded the latter (the Academy of Sciences' Standing Historico-Archaeographic Commission, Historico-Archaeographic Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and LSIH). (2) Materials received by the archive from a number of Academy of Sciences' repositories in 1931, mainly from the Manuscript Department of the Academy's library (some of the record groups had been in the Academy's possession since the second quarter of the 18th century, such as Alexander Menshikov's Field Office and the "Frontier Acts"; others, such as the Vorontsovs record group, were acquired after the October Revolution). (3) Materials collected by N. Likhachev. They consist of two parts: Russian (11,000 storage units) and Western, which formed the basis for the archive's West European section (more than 22,000 storage units).

The utilisation of the archive's records varies. Papers from the

Archaeographic Commission's collections appeared in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in such publications as *Acts Collected by the Archaeographic Expedition*, *Historical Acts*, *Addendum to Historical Acts*, *The Russian Historical Library*, and others.² Records from collections formerly held by the Manuscript Department of the Academy of Sciences' library have been published much rarer. Note could be made of publications of documents on the history of the Northern War from the Menshikov Field Office collection,³ and of *The Prince Vorontsov Archive*⁴. However, the existence of these publications does not free researchers from the need to turn again to the originals of long published documents. Thus, in preparing a collection of historical materials on the peasant war under Stepan Razin,⁵ it was necessary to refer again to Astrakhan archives, even though most of its documents have been published more than 100 years ago in the *Historical Acts*; in preparing a publication on the Ivan Bolotnikov rebellion⁶ a new study of the Solikamsk acts published in the *Acts Collected by the Archaeographic Expedition* was undertaken.

Materials of the LSIH Archive were published in the *Transactions of the Standing Historico-Archaeographic Commission*, in separate thematic collections, in transactions of the Historico-Archaeographic Institute, and in the *Historical Archive* journal.

The use of LSIH Archive materials was not restricted to the published materials, and hundreds of researchers worked in the archive on original manuscripts. Academician B. Grekov resorted extensively to archive's materials in his work on the history of feudal landownership and peasantry in Russia.⁷ He knew it well, took part in its description and published many documents from its collections. Academician E. Tarle quoted documents from Menshikov's Field Office in his book on the Northern War.⁸ After a thorough study of materials of the Tikhvin Uspensky monastery, K. Serbina wrote a fundamental study of the socio-economic history of the Russian city in the 16th-18th centuries⁹; N. Ustyugov made use of Cherdyn voyevoda office documents to analyse the salt-making industry of Solikamsk¹⁰; A. Mankov statistically processed monastery book-keeping data for his work on 16th-century prices,¹¹ etc.

The LSIH Archive offers extensive opportunities for students of feudal society. Materials from various monasteries (the Antoniev-Siisky, Alexander-Svirsk, Iversky-Valdai, Uspensko-Tikhvin, Kirillo-Belozersky, Spaso-Priluky), and local government offices (*prikaznaya izba*) (Olonets, Belozersk, etc.), the collections of N. Likachev, V. Klyuchevsky, N. Golovin, and others; landowner archives are useful for comprehensive studies of the history of the peasants and other feudally dependent population groups, their

economic and legal status, as well as the history of class struggle. They make it possible to study the economy of the feudal estate and trace the history of land tenure in certain regions of Russia.

LSIH materials shed light on the history of peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. Elucidation of the 16th-18th century history of Karelia is impossible without the documents of the Olonets government office, the Tikhvin Uspensky monastery archives and the Vorontsovs record group; the Yakutsk, Verkhoturk, Irkutsk and other local government offices archives are essential for studying the history of Siberia. Light on the history of the peoples of the Lower Volga is shed by materials from the Astrakhan government office (a description of this record group numbering more than 15,000 storage units was recently completed). Materials on the history of peoples of Central Asia and the Far East can be found in the Vorontsovs record group; materials on the history of the Ukraine are available in the collections of the Kiev revenue department, N. Likhachev, A. Skalkovsky and other record groups and collections.

Materials on the foreign policy of the Russian state from the 17th to the beginning of the 19th centuries, as well as on Russia's economic ties with other countries, are extensively represented in the rich but inadequately studied "Frontier Acts" record group, the S. Solovyev collection, the Pskov, Novgorod and Astrakhan government offices, the Nerchinsk and Irkutsk voyevoda offices record groups, the Vorontsovs record group, a collection of reports of Dutch diplomatic representatives, Menshikov's Field Office record group, etc. Materials on the history of economic thought, economic policy and trade and industry are available in the Vorontsovs record group, in the record groups of the Astrakhan government office, Archangelsk gubernia office, Kholmogory customs department, and Cherdyn government office, and in a number of collections of 17th and early 18th century documents.

The Vorontsovs record group contains materials on the history of Russian public thought of the 18th and first half of the 19th century. The manuscripts of A. Radishchev in it have already been published. LSIH workers used the main manuscript of this record group to prepare the publication of V. Tatishchev's many-volume *A History of Russia*¹²; two manuscripts of Speransky's from this record group have also been published.¹³ Of interest to the student of events of the early 19th century are the record group of St. Petersburg military governor A. Balashov.

The LSIH Archive offers extensive possibilities for students of Russian paleography, diplomatics, sphragistics, etc. It includes the record groups of N. Likhachev, A. Geraklitov and other specialists on auxiliary historical disciplines. The documents of local

government offices can be used for studying 17th and 18th century book-keeping; the extensive territorial and chronological scope of the archive documents offers extensive opportunities for paleographic studies.

Besides historians, specialists on the history of art and literature also make extensive use of the LSIH archive (the Vorontsovs record group, the Likhachev collection, plans and maps, manuscript books, etc.). One third of all the visitors of the archive worked on this subject.

The materials of the archive's West European section also provide considerable opportunities for historians. A portion of the Likhachev collection, which constitutes the basis of this section, has become, thanks to the nature of its acquisition, one of the few collections with materials from almost all countries of Europe, and some countries of America and Asia. The West European section contains materials on the history of Italy and France, Germany and Austria, Spain and Portugal, Flanders and the Netherlands, England, Sweden and Denmark, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, Serbia and Croatia, India and Egypt, Brazil and Mexico, the United States and Canada. The major part (almost 10,000 storage units) are Italian materials, followed by French, German, etc. It also includes materials on the history of the Holy See and the Catholic church, a collection of Greek manuscripts, 15th-18th century ciphers, papers and parchments, materials on the history of libraries and collections of autographs, and finally, foreign materials on Russia.

Work on the West European section of the LSIH archive began before the revolution, but it was restricted almost exclusively to publications and studies of Likhachev himself,¹⁴ as well as the few scientists with access to his collection. In 1902 the text of a dictionary of 16th-century abbreviations was reproduced from the only copy now in the possession of the LSIH.¹⁵

On the whole, the West European section can provide an excellent basis for studying Latin, and to a degree Greek, paleography,¹⁶ diplomatics, sphragistics and other auxiliary historical disciplines. O. Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a leading Soviet expert in Latin paleography, back in the 1920s taught students of a university seminar how to decipher and analyse the most valuable records of the West European section, in the first place the 10th-13th century Cremona acts. The result of this work was not only preparation of the publication of these documents, but also education of skilled Soviet paleographers. This work was continued by T. Lujzova, who studied 11th-13th century Latin manuscripts at the archive and wrote a valuable study on the origin of Gothic writing,¹⁷ and by other scientists.

Soviet mediaevalists and students of modern history have already made their first steps in the publication of the most important documents of the West European section. On the basis of the materials of Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya's seminar and under her guidance, S. Anninsky prepared, and in 1937 published, the 10th-13th century Cremona acts, a most valuable source material on the economic history of Italy,¹⁸ followed by the publication of the 13th-16th century Cremona acts.¹⁹ Some acts from the West European section were published in 1948 in a collection of early feudal documents which appeared in London.²⁰ Archive materials provided the base for a publication on the history of Italian cities.²¹ Medici letters appeared in 1939-1941 as an appendix to a paper by M. Gukovsky²²; he also offered readers a sketch by Michelangelo²³; biographical materials on Voltaire, Rousseau, Béranger, George Sand, Chateaubriand appeared in Books 29-34 of *Literary Heritage*, etc.²⁴

Of interest, in our view, are the compact collections of the West European section of the archive: a large convolute of Padua acts dating back to the 13th-14th centuries, which are already slated for publication; 16th-17th century Bergamo documents; 18th century Vicenza documents, and many others. The institute is preparing for publication collections of letters and other writings of scientists, writers and artists of Italy (more than 300 papers), France (more than 400 papers), Germany (more than 300 papers). It is sufficient to say that the archive has papers of such figures as Lorenzo Valla and Polizano, Muratori and Villari, Helvetius and Gaspard Monge, d'Alembert and Champollion, Hugo and Zola, Luther and Erasmus von Rotterdam, Humboldt and Heine, to realise how interesting the publication of these documents would be despite their fragmentary nature. An example of such a publication is a catalogue of letters of the humanists.²⁵

The greatest difficulty in preparing mediaeval materials for publication is their paleographic complexity. Nevertheless, such publications, provided with photocopies of the papers, are not only aids for students but also offers a basis for new studies. Thus, for example, in 1954 O. Tsybenko in Lvov wrote and defended his candidate thesis "Feudal Land Tenure of the Episcopal Church and the Position of the Peasants in Cremona in the 11th-12th Centuries", on the basis of the volume, *10th-13th Century Cremona Acts*.

Many researches were conducted not on the basis of publications but by direct recourse to materials of the LSIH Archive. Thus, back in the 1930s there appeared a work by Anninsky on an Otto I diploma and on the tsarist embassy in Italy in 1656.²⁶ In the latter 1930s and early 1940s, Gukovsky wrote a work, based on

Italian papers, called "Notes and Materials on the History of the Medici Family", and in the 1940s and 1970s there appeared a series of excellent articles by E. Bernadskaya, A. Gorfunkel and others on the agrarian history of Italy and the history of Italian cities.²⁷ In 1957, two papers by Soviet scientists on the history of trade and industry and the history of agriculture, also based on materials of the West European section appeared in a collection dedicated to the Italian scientist Armando Saporì.²⁸

The French materials of the LSIH Archive provide opportunities for studying bills of the state Bastille prison for 1766 and 1767 and numerous 15th-18th century financial documents, including two memoirs on the country's financial situation in the mid-18th century. Among English materials there is a letter from Mary Stuart to Charles IX, Flemish materials include acts relating to property affairs of Egmont and Horn, among Swedish and German materials are documents pertaining to the Thirty Years War, among Austrian materials are letters by Count Mitrovski on the demoralisation of French troops in Poland (1806-1807) and the state of the Russian army in the early 19th century. Materials of the Holy See and various orders (Jesuits, Hospitallers, Franciscans, Calatrava) and other compact volumes of manuscripts also await their investigations, even though they are being prepared for publication.

The archive's Slavic collections include more than 800 Polish, some 30 Czech and around 20 Serbian and Croatian documents. Family archives, papers concerning land holdings, diagrams of possessions, descriptions of estates, and tax receipts from the Malahowski record group offer a colourful picture of life on a Polish estate in the 16th-18th centuries. The political history of Livonia is reflected in 13th-18th century records from the archive of Prince Sapega (more than 200 items). Letters by Czech scientists and politicians can provide valuable information on the history of Czech culture.

Of indubitable interest to the historian of colonialism are the few documents reflecting a stage in India's struggle against the English colonialists under Tippoo Sahib and relations between England, France and Holland in that connection at the end of the 18th century.

Among the Western documents on Russia special mention should be made of an indulgence of the Livonian Order for participation in the campaigns against Russia (16th century), a letter to Count Walewski with an assessment of the 1861 reforms in Russia, letters on the policy of Peter I in the East, on Catherine II and her foreign policy, on the 1762 events in St. Petersburg, notebooks of the French scientist, montagnard Gilbert Romme,

tutor of Count Stroganov, and also *Voyage en Crimée* (1786) and *Observation de Russie*, compiled in 1780.

Historians of the modern period can study documents and letters of the period of the French bourgeois revolution of the 18th century. They include official documents of revolutionary offices, notably a decree establishing a special tribunal for trying Louis XVI, letters of Babeuf and Hébert, reports of generals Kellermann, Moreau, Ney, orders-of-the-day from the Egyptian campaign, notes by Napoleon and other documents (altogether some 200 papers).

Of interest are records of the Papal nuncio's office in Spain, a collection of records of the Holy See from the 12th to the 20th century, as well as the record groups of Cardinals Prospero Santa Croce and Giovanni Morone (16th century). Cardinal Morone's record group offers excellent material not only on the history of 16th century social movements in Italy, but also on social, political and military history.²⁹

Deserving special attention are Papal bulls dated 1110 to 1914. This is especially true of the earlier bulls, which are interesting not only by virtue of their age, but also in view of the considerable role the Holy See played in the political life of Western Europe in the early Middle Ages. Forty-four of the archive's 680 bulls relate to the 12th and 13th centuries. To them can be added 12 copies of bulls made from originals in the 13th and 14th centuries. Of the total number of early bulls (56) only a small part (13) have been accounted for in registers or special publications. The oldest Papal document of the archive is a bull by Pope Paschal II dating back to 1110. Of great interest are 13th-century bulls revealing the early history of the Dominican Order. Thus, a bull of Pope Honorius III dated May 6, 1221 permits Dominicans to have and use mobile alters to conduct services. The writing and signing of this bull is linked with the stay of the order's founder, Dominic, in Rome in 1221. Eight years later, Pope Gregory IX issued a bull (March 5, 1229) requiring all prelates of the church to encourage preachings of Dominicans and also confirming the right of members of the Dominican Order to take confessions. Some of the early bulls speak of the rules for wearing order attire. They also contain instructions concerning monks leaving the Dominican Order. There are 143 bulls (and copies of bulls) of the 14th and 15th century. They reflect the political and dogmatic church histories of the Papacy and countries connected with it. One of these bulls was published by Polish scientist A. Gieysztor,³⁰ others are awaiting study and publication. The archive's collection of Papal bulls is one of the largest of its kind. The LSIH archive offers an excellent basis for studying West European feudalism and the early stages of capitalism.

NOTES

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- ² *Detailed Catalogue of Archaeographic Commission's Publications Between 1836 and 1918*, 6th ed., Petrograd, 1918 (in Russian).
- ³ *Transactions of the Russian Military-Historical Society*, Vols. 1-4, St. Petersburg, 1909, and others (in Russian).
- ⁴ *The Prince Vorontsov Archive*, Books 1-40, Moscow, 1870-1897 (in Russian).
- ⁵ *The Peasant War Under Stepan Razin. Collection of Documents*, Moscow, Vol. 1, 1954; Vol. 2, Part 1, 1957; Vol. 2, Part 2, 1959 (in Russian).
- ⁶ *The Bolotnikov Rebellion. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, 1959 (in Russian).
- ⁷ B. D. Grekov, *Collected Works*, Vols. 1-4, Moscow, 1957-1960 (in Russian).
- ⁸ E. V. Tarle, *The Northern War and the Swedish Invasion of Russia*, Moscow, 1958 (in Russian).
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- ¹⁴ N. P. Likhachev, *Seals of Constantinople Patriarchs*, Moscow, 1899; *Some Old Types of Seals of the Emperors of Byzantine*, St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1911; *The Historical Significance of Italo-Greek Iconography*, St. Petersburg, 1911; "Manuscript of Patriarch Feodosii Ternovsky", *Bulletin of the Department of Russian Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences*, Vol. X, Book IV, St. Petersburg, 1905; *Une lettre de Nicolas Eymerici*, St. Petersburg, 1910; "Letter from Pope Pius V to Tsar Ivan the Terrible in Connection with the Papal Brevets", *Collection of the Department of Russian Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 81, St. Petersburg, 1906; "On the History of Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See under Tsar Boris Godunov", *Bulletin of the Department of Russian Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XI, Book I, St. Petersburg, 1906 (all in Russian).
- ¹⁵ *Dictionnaire d'abréviations latins publié à Brescia en 1534*, Paris, 1902.
- ¹⁶ E. E. Granstrem, "Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in Leningrad Depositories", *Vizantiiski vremennik*, Vol. XVI, 1960.
- ¹⁷ T. V. Luizova, "The Historical Conditions for the Appearance of the So-called Gothic Writing", *Middle Ages*, Issue V, 1954 (in Russian).
- ¹⁸ *10th-13th Century Cremona Acts in the Collection of the USSR Academy of Sciences*, Ed. by O. A. Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya, Moscow-Leningrad, 1937.
- ¹⁹ *13th-16th Century Cremona Acts in the Collection of the USSR Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 2, Ed. by V. I. Rutenburg and E. Ch. Skrzhinskaya, Moscow-Leningrad, 1961.
- ²⁰ *Codices Latinae antiquiores*, ed. by F. Lowe, London, 1948.
- ²¹ *14th-15th Century Italian City Communes*, Ed. by V. I. Rutenburg, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965 (in Russian).

- ²² M. A. Gukovsky, "Notes and Materials on the History of the Medici Family", *Transactions of the Leningrad University*, No. 39, *Historical Sciences Series*, Issue 4, Leningrad, 1939 (in Russian).
- ²³ M. A. Gukovsky, "The Michelangelo Sketch in the Collection of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR", *Report of the Institute of Art of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*, No. 8, Moscow, 1957 (in Russian).
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- ²⁷ Articles by E. V. Bernadskaya in the collection *Middle Ages*, Issue XI, Moscow, 1958; Issue XIV, 1959, and others; articles by A. Kh. Gorfunkel in the same collection, Issue 34, 1971; Issue 35, 1971; Issue 36, 1973, and others (all in Russian).
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Rock Drawings in North America

ELENA OKLADNIKOVA

World literature on the history of culture reveals a heightened and ever mounting interest in such peculiar archaeological monuments as rock drawings.

Fine samples of primitive rock art have been found in many parts of the world. The most famous sites are those discovered in France and Spain, the Sahara, Sweden, the Soviet Union (Siberia, the Far East, Altai mountains), Australia and North America. Scientifically accepted terminology defines rock art as drawings on cliffsides, isolated boulders, cave walls, etc. The technique employed may be very varied: drawings pecked in rock with a stone implement (petroglyphs), painted (petrographs), etched with a sharp knife-like tool (graffiti), finally, drawings rubbed with stone on stone.

Judging by monuments of world importance, rock art traversed a long road of development. Some of the earliest works, dating back to the early Paleolith, can be found in caves in France and Spain. At the same time, peoples of the Altai mountains and Indians of the Pacific Northwest still knew rock drawing techniques until fairly recently.

Rock drawings made in different periods of history are an invaluable source from which we can judge of the spiritual life of peoples in the ages pre-dating writing. They reflect those peoples' notions of the world, the Universe, objective reality. They are also a mode of creative expression. Unlike objects of material culture, petroglyphs and petrographs, whatever the part of the world or historic epoch they belong to, are primarily works of art, often possessing unique aesthetic value. All this is fully applicable to the rock art of North America.

As early as the 17th century, European travellers noted rocks covered with ancient drawings and "heiroglyphics". In 1683,

Father Jacques Marquette, while studying the lower reaches of the Mississippi river discovered at Alton, in what is now the State of Illinois, a rock with figures of monsters depicted on it in red paint. Thanks to the efforts of another priest, Father Eusebio Kino, the "Painted Rocks" site near Gila Bend was placed on the map of Arizona in 1711. In 1776, Father Silvestre de Escalante discovered rock drawings in western Colorado. Those were initial finds, of no great scientific significance, but they were followed by a succession of discoveries in the next century.

The first monographic study of North American rock art appeared more than 100 years ago. In 1886, Garrick Mallery published a book, *Pictographs of the North American Indians*, followed seven years later by another book, *Picture-Writing of the American Indians*.¹

Since the studies of Mallery, whose work has not lost its scientific value today, a great number of monuments of rock art were discovered to the west of the Mississippi. G. Emmons, F. de Laguna and H. Smith discovered some fine petroglyphs in Alaska and on the North western coast. S. Dewdney, an artist from Ontario, and K. Kidd studied the petroglyphs of Canada and the Great Lakes.² In the last 15 years monographs have appeared in the United States and Canada with descriptions of petroglyphs of the Indians of Nevada, California, Utah, the North western coast and Minnesota. North American rock art as a whole is discussed in a book by C. Grant which appeared in 1967.³

The vast amount of factual material gathered by American and Canadian scientists made it possible for them to refute earlier absurd theories regarding the origin of rock paintings in North America. The works of such researchers as U. Stewart⁴ and C. Grant brilliantly demonstrate that the drawings were produced by American Indians, and not by some hypothetical comers from Greece, China, Rome or Egypt. Petroglyphs are in no way associated with the inhabitants of mythical Atlantis, they are not representing signs of the Zodiac, etc.

The rock art of North American Indians is doubtlessly one of the highly interesting developments in world culture. Vivid and full of life, they draw attention by their remarkable diversity of subject matter, style and techniques. Some were widespread throughout North America as, for example, the realistic drawings of Algonquian Indians discovered both on Vancouver Island off the Pacific coast of Canada, and in Nova Scotia on the Atlantic seaboard. Others occur only in isolated areas, such as the polychrome drawings characteristic of the Indians of California or drawings executed in a mixed technique known only to Indians of the southwest.

We shall commence our brief review of North American rock art with Alaska. The petroglyphs of its indigenous inhabitants, Eskimos and Indians, differ sharply. Whereas Eskimo drawings reveal a restrained and rather abstract manner of representation, the Indians of Alaska were freer in their art: they sought to depict the mystical visions of witch-doctors and mythological creatures; they also display a predilection for meandering ornamentation.

The northernmost of the drawings discovered in Alaska are considered to be not too ancient, because they are of a geometric nature and executed with a sharp knife-like metal tool (the drawings—a network of parallel lines—were discovered on an isolated sandstone boulder at the foot of Brooks range). True, Ralph Solecki,⁵ who published the drawings, holds that they are the most antique in Alaska, and he dates them practically to the Paleolith. A remarkable complex of rock drawings was discovered at the southwestern tip of Kodiak island. They are mainly pictures of circular anthropomorphic masks many of them with so-called "tearful eyes", which usually symbolised rain. There are also numerous drawings of V-shaped face masks, whales, spiral geometric figures and a number of cup-like hollows.

In the course of her archaeological work in the Prince Williams Sound area and the North Eastern part of Kodiak island, F. de Laguna discovered pictures of whales, contoured and uncontoured face masks, boats and anthropomorphic figures.⁶ The abundance of pictures of whales in Alaska is explained by the fact that the Eskimos had secret male whaler societies. Their members performed their rites and mystery-plays in remote caves where they kept mumified whale carcasses. Drawings of whales on seaside boulders were, in the Eskimos' view, designed to bring luck and success in whaling, like the pictures of spirits drawn in the form of anthropomorphic face masks which the performers of the mystery-plays wore.

Alaskan rock art was doubtlessly greatly influenced by neighbouring territories along the northwestern coast of America. Once densely populated by various Indian tribes, it is covered with countless rocks and boulders with different types of petroglyphs. More than 620 rock drawing sites are known along the coastal area. Emmons discovered excellent petroglyphs in 1908 in the land of Tlingits around Sitka, 720 km from Prince Williams Sound. The topics of the Tlingit petroglyphs are diverse, but principle among them is the image of the raven. According to a legend especially widespread among Indians of the northwestern coast, the raven is the creator of man, giver of all good things of life, the great kind spirit Elh who entered single-handed into combat with the elements and evil spirits to protect man. The

extensive cycle of tales about the raven includes legends which tell of migrations of people from northern Asia to America.

Rock paintings of the Etoline island depict various sea and land animals. They are in the classic style of the northwestern Indians, well known from their excellent wood and bone carvings, leather and fur appliques and other art objects that rank among the prize exhibits of many museums of the world.

Petroglyphs discovered at Cape Muge and near Fort Rupert on the northwestern coast are known for the abundance of anthropomorphic face masks of different types, including some in the form of a skull. They are pictures of ancestor spirits and legendary protectors of the tribe. Together with pictures of boats and heart-shaped faces, they confirm the links between the rock art of Indians of the northwestern coast of North America and of the peoples that inhabited the lower reaches of Amur river, as well as the Pacific rock art monuments.

Pictographic representations of non-contoured face masks and shields—symbols of well-being—have been found throughout the territory occupied by the Tsimshian Indians whose lands lay within the basins of the rivers Skeena and Nass.

Numerous rock drawings executed with artistic skill have been discovered on small, often horizontal, rock outcroppings in the lands of the Bella Coola Indians.

The rock art of British Columbia (Canada), which borders on the Northwestern territories, differs sharply in style from the petroglyphs of Alaska and the coast, where whimsical meandering motifs predominate. The petroglyphs of British Columbia are located on sheer flat rock surfaces on large granite and sandstone boulders and cliffs. The most frequent pictures are of animals—goats, deer, owls (of the "Spedis" type, which was drawn as a heart-shaped face with wings on the sides), fishes, and bear tracks. Other subjects include the sun, anthropomorphic figures with halos over the head, and figures of twins. Most of the twin pictures are painted. Myths about twins were as widespread among the Indians of British Columbia as in the Old World, notably Siberia. An especially interesting monument of rock art in British Columbia are the petroglyphs of the Long Narrows area. Not far from the dam there is a petroglyph of a legendary woman-chief turned into stone by the wandering magician Haetl. Her image, carved in a tall cliff, is known among local inhabitants by the poetic name "She Who Watches", because of the remarkably expressive mournful eyes.

The rock art style of British Columbia developed under the influence of petroglyphs of the Great Basin. Natural conditions in Nevada, Utah, Oregon and a large part of California, which lie within the Great Basin, are very harsh. It was there, among the

vast saline deserts with rare sources of drinking water, that the Indian tribes which came to be known as the Diggers, developed their highly typical monumental rock art over the centuries. These nomad tribes left on boulders and cliffs near their homes pictures of animals, anthropomorphic figures of braves and powerful spirits, as well as countless geometric drawings—circles, spirals, rows of cup-like hollows and intricate meanders. Rock drawing appears to have been one of the favourite occupations of these Indians. In view of the meagreness of their material culture, owing to the total absence of contacts with more advanced neighbouring tribes, very few objects of applied art and implements have reached us, mostly digging sticks which were still in use in the 18th century. All the more remarkable is the abundance of rock drawings, the sophistication of techniques and diversity of subjects. This is an indication that the Diggers possessed a rich artistic culture and developed mythology which inspired their petroglyphic art.

A peculiar world of artistic culture and rock art has been discovered in California. In antiquity this was a migration route for numerous tribes of North American Indians, yet the rock art of the region has preserved inimitable typical qualities. Widespread in northern California is the so-called dot-and-groove style. It would be more correct to call it the geometric style, since the designation "dot-and-groove" refers to technique rather than to style. Thousands of boulders throughout the area are covered with rows of cupped hollows. According to Indian beliefs such patterns helped to bring rain. North of San Francisco one finds numerous petroglyphs in the geometric style, as well as pictures of birds and bear tracks. In the neighbourhood of Monterrey there are caves where witch-doctors and young hunters undergoing initiation left pictures and handprints on the soot of walls.

To the south of San Francisco, in the land of the Chumash Indians, the technique of rock drawings and their subjects change somewhat. Here petroglyphs give way to monumental polychrome art. Looking at these colourful frescoes, in which symbolic representations of the sun and other symbolic figures abound, one can only admire the refined artistic taste of the Indians who knew the art of creating beautiful harmonious colour combinations with the help of natural dyes.

These are the main regions of distribution of local groups of petroglyphs and other rock art monuments in North America. As for their origin, as noted before, they were indubitably produced by the American Indians themselves, whose ancestors according to the late scientific data, migrated to America from Asia 30,000 or 35,000 years ago. People came to America not only from continental Asia but from its Pacific Coast as well.⁷

H. Gladwin wrote in his book, *Men Out of Asia*, that the first inhabitants of the "Hunters' Paradise" of North America were Australoids, Negroids, Algonquins, Eskimos, and finally Mongoloids. After thousands of years these races produced the contemporary North American Indian type. The Indians' culture, both material and spiritual, absorbed the positive experience and knowledge brought by the emigrants from the Old World.⁸

We have no precise knowledge as to when, and with what migration wave (and there were many over the millennia), the tradition of rock drawing arrived in North America. There are various theories, one of them voiced by E. Mead, who considers that the oldest drawings of the Northwestern coast are about 4,000 years old.⁹ Among oldest rock drawings, as C. Grant wrote, are the geometric style petroglyphs of Southeastern California.

Of indubitable interest is an examination of the basic motifs of North American petroglyphs. As in petroglyphs discovered in the Soviet Union, one finds several prevailing motifs. Some of them, such as "the hand", "the thunder bird" or "the eagle", are based on different versions of legends known all over the world (world motifs), while others are closely associated with purely Indian folklore.

Well known are monuments of world rock art with carved or drawn representations of the human hand. The first such drawings appeared in France some 30,000 years ago. Hand prints and drawings were made on boulders and rocks by the Australian aborigines. In America, drawings of hands were made by witch-doctors and young Indians during initiation rites, both in the north, in the Tlingit, Tsinshian and Haida Indian territories, and in the south, in California and Texas. In Utah there is the famous "Cave of 200 Hands".

Another image equally widespread in North America, and specific of it, is that of the bear. The North American Indians revered the bear for its strength, courage and agility. A hunter who killed a bear became the hero of the tribe and was awarded a necklace of bear's teeth. In California, there were witch-doctors who called themselves bear healers. They claimed that they could transform into bears, acquiring their strength and agility. Widespread among the Indians of British Columbia were ancient notions of the bear as the totem animal. The Haida and Kwakiutl Indians firmly believed that bears were actually people dressed in skins. These notions of the bear-ancestor or bear-master of the forest reached America from Asia, or, more precisely, Siberia and the Far East. In their rock art the Indians usually depicted bears not in full height but only the head and tracks.

One of the major specific motifs of North American petroglyphs is the horned snake. The huge horned snake was the symbol

of the Toltec civilisation, the supreme deity of which, according to legend, taught the Toltecs the sciences and arts when the world was created. To the north of Mexico the deity appears in Indian rock art as a winged and horned rattlesnake; the Zuni Indians considered such a snake the guardian of sources of drinking water. Pictures of horned snakes have been found on rocks in Oklahoma and east of the Mississippi.

A typical motif of the Salishan Indians of British Columbia and the Hopi Indians was that of the mythical thunder bird. That super-natural creature of Indian folklore is akin to the divine eagle, legendary founder of shamanism, the image of which is recorded in the poetic legends of peoples of Northern Asia and Southern Siberia.

In the southwestern part of the United States adjoining on the Mexican border one often finds pictures of the hunchbacked flutist Kokopelly, mythological personage of Hopi Indian folklore. He travelled from village to village with his flute and a sack of songs on his back, bringing people success during the corn harvesting season.

To typical North American motifs belong so-called figures with shields. These are images of braves and chiefs especially widespread in the Rocky Mountains, the Southwestern territories, and the north of the Great Plains. Figures with shields are especially frequent in the rock art of the Fremont Indians (Utah and Southeast Nevada). At the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, they were constantly forced to repel attacks from their northern neighbours, the Navajos and Apaches. The most expressive and monumental compositions apparently belong to that period.

The labyrinth motif is characteristic of the northwestern part of Arizona. Local Indians called these drawings representations of Mother Earth with a child in her womb. They are similar in delineation to the labyrinths in the petroglyphs of Italy, Crete, Daghestan, and also the stone labyrinths of the Kola Peninsula. Scholars differ regarding the origin of the labyrinth motif in North American rock art. Some postulate that it appeared in ancient times independently of any old world influences. Others consider it a new motif introduced to the New World by the Spaniards. It is, however, difficult to accept this view.

The North American Indians employed certain original means of depicting anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. To these belong, first of all, "the tearful eyes" motif mentioned above, representations of the human hand (in the form of a zigzag or arc), and of the heart and other internal organs. Such devices are characteristic of the rock drawings of the Indians of British Columbia, the Pacific Northwest, Utah and Wyoming. They were

usually drawn as magic incantation symbols which were expected to bring people success in hunting, good weather for the crop, etc.

Thus, the first impression from even a cursory acquaintance with the monuments of North American rock art is their abundance and originality of artistic execution. However, the rock drawings of North American Indians are of interest to Soviet researchers not only as high-quality art monuments with a diversity of motifs and styles. They attract us also because this art in many ways echoes the rock art found in the Soviet Union. The petroglyphs of North America display a definite similarity in both style and motifs with rock drawings discovered in the Soviet Far East, Siberia, and even the Urals.

NOTES

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- ⁵ R. Solecki, "A Petroglyph in Northern Alaska", *American Antiquity*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1952.
- ⁶ F. de Laguna, *The Archeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, Seattle, 1956.
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Developing Countries: New Researches

Developing Nations and the Transnational Corporations

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The present upswing of the national liberation movement in the new states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is accompanied by economic advancement and success in the drive to put an end to the inequality and dependence of these states in the capitalist world system of economic relations. Many of them are working on long-term economic development plans, enlarging the state sector, and promoting industry and foreign trade. These countries are exercising sovereignty over their natural resources and pressing for a larger revenues from the export of fuel, primary materials, and foodstuffs, which for many decades the imperialists had been buying up for a song. "The Soviet Union," it was declared at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "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."¹

The resolutions passed at the Sixth (1974) and Seventh (1975) Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly are milestones of international significance in this drive. At these sessions, and also at the 29th UN General Assembly, the Sixth Session of UNCTAD (Nairobi, 1976), and other international and regional forums, the developing nations declared that they would not reconcile themselves to their dependent and subordinate status and demanded the democratic restructuring of international economic relations and an end to the plundering of their national wealth by foreign monopolies. These anti-imperialist demands were emphatically backed by the socialist states. Against the opposition of the

imperialist powers, the UN adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Order in mid-1974 and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States at the close of the same year. The vast majority of the international community of nations thus voted for a radical and immediate alteration of the developing nations' status in the capitalist world economic relations.

However, imperialism is resisting this course of events. It is modifying its strategy and tactics, looking for more subtle and veiled forms of oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the Third World.

Despite the notable progress made by the developing nations, many have as yet been unable to extricate themselves from poverty, while their status in the capitalist system of economic relations continues to deteriorate. According to UN statistics, one-third of the world's population lives in the poorest of the new states. Their average per capita annual income is only 120 US dollars, or one-thirtieth of the average per capita income in the Western countries. At the beginning of 1976, the external debt of the new nations (exclusive of the oil-exporting nations) exceeded 120,000 million dollars: in terms of cost this is equal to approximately one-third of their gross national product. For a number of years their external debt grew at a rate of 16 per cent, while lately it has increased to 20 per cent annually. The interest paid by the new nations on their debt now tops 20,000 million dollars annually, and is growing much faster than their exports.²

In its strategy and tactics relative to the Third World imperialism is depending increasingly on the super monopolies, the so-called multinational or transnational corporations, which through their subsidiaries are penetrating deep into the economy and foreign trade of the developing nations. These foreign subsidiaries, which enjoy the status of national enterprises in the respective countries, and the system of links between them and their parent companies, a system that has been given the trappings of commercial relations, are used as a flexible, camouflaged, and thereby particularly dangerous instrument of modern neocolonialism.

The transnational corporations with their tentacles in all the major regions and fields of the capitalist world economy not only deform world trade in favour of imperialism and exploit the new nations economically, but, in the new conditions, spread the influence of the imperialist powers. They are becoming the principal agencies holding up the development of the new nations, compounding their dependence, and obstructing national rejuvenation.

The swiftly mounting activity of the transnational corporations,

which has a negative effect upon most of the developing nations has triggered anxiety throughout the world and is the reason that in recent years many international and regional organisations, chiefly the UN and its agencies, are giving increasing attention to the role played by the transnational corporations in international relations and in the development of the new nations. In a UN report it is stated that the power concentrated in the hands of the multinational corporations, the actual or potential use of this power, and their ability to influence the lives of people and policies of governments, as well as their impact on the international division of labour have raised concern about their role in world affairs.³

In the developing nations there is the growing understanding that the neocolonialist activities of the transnational corporations are a serious and mounting menace to their efforts to promote economic advancement and also to their sovereignty. This explains why the efforts of these nations to consolidate their economic independence, remake the conditions of external relations, and the anti-imperialist struggle generally are increasingly directed at the transnational corporations. A joint declaration, adopted by a group of developing nations in August 1975 (the Lima Declaration), notes that the efforts of the new nations to achieve economic liberation and consolidate their sovereignty are encountering systematic opposition from imperialist powers, which are determined to reinforce their privileged economic status in the world by exploiting the developing nations through unequal terms of trade, the export by the transnational corporations of the revenues of their subsidiaries in the developing countries, the transfer of exorbitant interest and deductions, and the supply of goods to developing nations at high monopoly prices.

At the close of 1975, the UN established a special agency, the Commission on Transnational Corporations, with the assignment of comprehensively studying the activities of these corporations and working out recommendations for nullifying their negative impact on world trade and the development of the Third World nations. In 1976, faced with innumerable facts and evidence showing that the transnational corporations were seriously aggravating many problems and imperilling the vital economic and political interests of various countries, chiefly developing nations, UNESCO passed a decision calling for the immediate compilation of a code of international rules, the so-called Code of Conduct on International Corporations, in order to limit the arbitrary actions of these corporations.⁴

UNCTAD is working on an international code of conduct in the transfer of technology, and on the rules and principles relative to so-called restrictive business practices. The purpose of these

documents is mainly to establish effective control over many operations of the transnational corporations, operations based on monopoly diktat. This is evidence that many outstanding problems of present-day economic and political relations between the industrialised capitalist states and the new nations spring from the activities of the transnational corporations.

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The present-day transnational corporations are not an "anomaly" in the capitalist economy. Their growth and increasing power stem naturally from the objective character of the development of the capitalist economy along the channel of concentration and centralisation of production and capital and their internationalisation. Moreover, the emergence of the transnational corporations marked a new phase of this process: their operations have introduced fundamental changes in world capitalist production, in international economic exchanges, and in the foreign economic guideline and foreign policy of the industrialised capitalist states. The transnational corporations are the second generation of the international monopolies of the 20th century and constitute a phenomenon that ranges beyond the framework of traditional notions about the international expansion of monopolies, of the aggregation of production and trade in their hands on the scale of the capitalist world economy, of the subordination of the economy of foreign countries to the monopolies, and of the embitterment of inter-imperialist rivalry.

The main group of multinationals consists of several hundred super-large corporations in five imperialist powers: the USA, Britain, the FRG, Japan, and France. The leading position among them is held by multi-billionaire corporations, of which there were about 200 in the early 1970s: of these, 120 are in the USA. The volume of the operations of some of them (Exxon, General Motors, Ford and others) runs into billions of dollars and is comparable in cost with the gross national product of Argentina, Pakistan, and some other big developing nations.

Until recently the press of Western Europe and Japan has been assiduously spreading the fable that the transnational corporations are a purely American product, while in UN agencies and in the bourgeois economic press a discussion continues about criteria of the transnational corporations (this discussion is by no means dictated solely by academic interest). However, the latest data convincingly point to the fact that the West European and Japanese monopolies have firmly taken the path of foreign economic expansion and neocolonialism in the shape of multinational enterprise, i. e., the path of establishing foreign subsidiaries

and daughter concerns. For instance, as early as 1971, the 210 big companies classified by UN experts as transnational corporations, included 25 British monopolies, 25 Japanese firms, 20 West German concerns, and 15 French corporations.

Over the past decade the inroads made by the transnational corporations into the economy of other countries have given rise to a vast and expanding sphere of production and foreign trade controlled from abroad. By establishing subsidiaries the transnational corporations wrest key sectors from the economy of the new nations and some industrialised countries and include them in their international complexes. The development of these sectors is subordinated to the interests of the monopolies and in many cases comes into conflict with the interests of the countries where these subsidiaries operate. These subsidiaries have firm ties of control and management with the mother concerns, while the most vital are the actual links of the integral international economic systems of the transnational corporations. The parent corporations define the place of each foreign subsidiary in their international manufacturing and marketing operations, and prescribe what and for what purpose each should manufacture.

At the close of the 1960s the transnational corporations had nearly 50,000 subsidiaries and daughter companies in foreign countries. Of these more than 20,000 belonged to the American transnational corporations. Our computations show that at the commencement of the present decade the foreign subsidiaries of the transnational corporations accounted for 10 per cent of the industrial output and over 20 per cent of the foreign trade of the capitalist world.

The transnational corporations symbolise the most pronounced subordination of modern capitalist production and foreign trade to the interests of a handful of monopolists. At the beginning of the 1970s a few score of giant multinationals were in control of most of the economic potential of their countries. In the USA, for instance, 75 transnational corporations control over 20 per cent of the manufacturing industry; in the FRG, 27 corporations account for more than 19 per cent of the industrial output; and in Great Britain, 40 transnational corporations handle about 30 per cent of the output of 1,000 of the biggest corporations. Relative to the foreign trade of the countries in which the transnational corporations are based, computations indicate that in the early 1970s, 29 per cent of this trade was handled by 75 corporations in the USA, 25 per cent by 27 corporations in the FRG, 28 per cent by 29 corporations in Great Britain, and 26 per cent by 40 corporations in France.

Altogether, by the beginning of the present decade the transnational corporations were directly in control of more than

40 per cent of the capitalist world's industrial output and nearly 60 per cent of its foreign trade. The closed channels of their international systems now handle more than one-fourth of the capitalist world trade, most of it being based on non-equivalent exchange, which inflicts colossal losses on many, chiefly developing, nations. We have estimated that of the total exports of the capitalist and developing nations, amounting to 276,000 million dollars in 1970, over 70,000 million dollars was accounted for by the movement of goods between the various links of the transnational corporations.

The transnational corporations do not confine their activities to commerce. Evidence is piling up to show that they are *commercial-political organisations*. This is acknowledged also by some Western economists. For example, G. Robertson writes that the political decisions adopted by the government of one country may be made mandatory for another country through the links between the parent corporation and its foreign subsidiaries.⁵

In their strategy of keeping the developing nations in the orbit of capitalism, the state-monopoly apparatus of the West is using the international systems of the super-monopolies on a growing scale to spread and reinforce their political influence in the new nations. In documents of the US Congress assessing the foreign operations of US monopolies it is stated that a more flexible economic and financial subordination may be as effective as formal political links.⁶

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In the foreign economic expansion of the transnational corporations, the liberated states are accorded the role of objects of incursion and exploitation. According to UN statistics, at the close of the 1960s approximately 32 per cent of the direct foreign investments of the transnational corporations were made in the Third World nations. During that period the US corporations penetrated deepest into their economy. They owned more than half of all the foreign assets in the shape of direct investments.

Early in the 1970s, transnational corporations had nearly 8,000 big subsidiaries and subordinate companies in the developing states. Nearly half were directed by American transnational corporations, some 2,000 by British monopolies, and the rest by corporations of West Germany, Japan, and some other industrialised capitalist states.

Many Western economists assert that the transnational corporations are benefitting the economy of the developing nations by bringing capital, advanced technology, and managerial experience, and that they are being "invited" to do so by these nations. Indeed, with their extensive industrial and economic potential the

transnational corporations could contribute to the economic progress of the developing countries. But the character of their operations, the terms on which they extend capital and technology, and, more importantly, the actual results and consequences of their activities are evidence that the reverse is the case. While they establish subsidiaries in these countries, the corporations in most cases do not help to increase their economic potential. From UN statistics we learn that in 50-60 cases out of a hundred the corporations simply buy up existing enterprises.⁷ As regards the allegation that the transnational corporations spell out a "partnership" between foreign and local capital, it is far from the truth. Here, for instance, is how the activities of the American transnational corporations are characterised in documents of the US Congress: "Because most subsidiaries are wholly owned by the parent companies, local investors are excluded from attractive investment areas if they want to invest in some of the leading industries of their countries, they must buy stocks of US parent firms, yet foreign investors in such firms can have only a mini voice in determining the policies of this companies in their own countries."⁸

In the developing nations the transnational corporations concentrate on exploiting natural resources. Until recently, roughly two-thirds of the capital exported by the transnational corporations was invested in the oil and mining industries and also in plantations. Moreover, recent years have witnessed intensive intrusion into labour-intensive branches of the manufacturing industry. In 1966, some 26 per cent of the capital invested in the economy of the developing nations by the transnational corporations was concentrated in these industries, while in 1970 the proportion rose to nearly 32 per cent. In recent years the manufacturing industry has received a still larger portion of the investments made by the transnational corporations.

This policy is motivated not by a desire to promote the industrialisation of the developing nations but by a striving to extend the exploitation of these nations' cheap labour, whose skill is rising steadily. Writing of this, the Indian economist D. Lall notes, that it has become a usual practice that US corporations in the field of electronics, mechanical engineering and transportation means manufacturing send details and parts to countries with low pays, for labour-assuming assembling and further processing, in order to re-export the half-finished products for their final transformation into ready products in the countries to which the corporations belong, or for sale in other states.⁹

According to statistics published by it in 1973, General Motors, one of the world's largest transnational corporations with 50 overseas subsidiaries, of which about half are in developing states,

paid workers in Argentina 16 per cent and in Brazil 15 per cent of the average wage in the USA. It gave no data about its subsidiaries in Asian and African countries, where it evidently pays workers even less.¹⁰

There is no trustworthy generalised information about the place held by foreign controlled enterprises in the output of the developing nations. This is not surprising. The transnational corporations seek to belittle their domination and direct control of the economy of these nations. Also, this is due partially to the shortcomings in the statistics published by developing and, as a matter of fact, many industrialised nations. However, there are fragmentary official statistics, collected and published by the United Nations. According to these statistics, at the beginning of the 1970s, 56 of the 100 largest enterprises in Mexico belonged to foreign monopolies. In Argentina, 33 foreign subsidiaries accounted for more than 14 per cent of the nation's industrial output. In Brazil, foreign firms held more than half of the assets of 1,000 of the largest enterprises in the country.¹¹ Regretfully, the UN gives no statistics for Asia and Africa.

It seems to us that the assessments published in the West about what proportion of the output of the developing nations is controlled by the transnational corporations are understated. For instance, according to the OECD assessment, in the mid-1960s the enterprises run by foreign corporations in the developing nations accounted for nearly 20 per cent of the gross industrial product. Other estimates are that Western corporations control approximately 30 per cent of the manufacturing industry in the Third World.¹²

These estimates are evidence that at the beginning of the 1970s at least 40 per cent of the industrial potential of the developing nations was in the hands of the transnational corporations. Most of this control was exercised through the integrated subsidiaries of the transnational corporations or through enterprises virtually managed by them. Despite the nationalisation of the oil subsidiaries of the transnational corporations in some developing nations, by the middle of the present decade the control exercised by the transnational corporations had evidently not diminished because the loss of positions in the oil industry was largely compensated by the rapid growth of foreign investments in the manufacturing industry.

In Western economic literature it is asserted that the transnational corporations are increasingly diverting their foreign operations to industrialised countries, and that the significance of the Third World as a sphere of their activities is waning and will continue to wane rapidly. However, many facts and also forecasts by some authoritative economic organisations give a reverse picture. Take, for example, the assessment of the Ministry of

Trade and Industry of Japan, according to which the share of the direct investments of the capitalist states in the Third World are expected to rise to 36 per cent in 1980 and to 38 per cent in 1985.¹³ The fact that state-monopoly capital is increasingly concentrating on the developing nations is shown by Table 1.

Table 1

Dynamics of Direct Investments by American, Japanese and West German Transnational Corporations in Developing Nations

	1971	1973	1974	1975
USA (thousand million dollars)	26.6	25.3	28.5	34.9
Japan (thousand million dollars)	2.2	5.3	6.8	8.7
FRG (thousand million dollars)	6.2	9.7	10.8	12.3

Sources: *Survey of Current Business*, Washington, 1974, 1976; *Bundesanzeiger*, Bonn, 1974, 1975; *BMWi; The Present Situation and Problems of Economic Cooperation*, Tokyo, 1976 (in Japanese).

In the period 1971-1975, the investments of US corporations in developing nations grew by one-third, of West German monopolies by half, and of Japanese concerns nearly fourfold. According to official statistics, in 1975 the share of the developing nations in the total direct foreign investments of US transnational corporations totalled 26 per cent, of the FRG corporations 30 per cent, and of Japanese concerns 55 per cent.¹⁴

As a result of the rapid expansion of the West German and, particularly, Japanese transnational corporations in developing nations, noteworthy changes may be expected in the immediate future in the correlation of strength of foreign corporations. In particular, Japanese capital will evidently outpace American as the principal foreign investor in Asian countries as early as the close of the 1970s.

The facts are thus indicative not of a decline of the penetration of the transnational corporations into developing nations but of the efforts of these transnational corporations to expand their positions and of an intensification of the inter-imperialist struggle for control of the economy of these nations.

The establishment of subsidiaries of the transnational corporations in the mining industry and also in some sectors of the plantation economy, and the rechannelling of production into inner-corporation canals are motivated not only by the drive for super-profits but also by the striving to gain and extend control of external sources of economically and strategically significant

sources of materials (mainly irreplaceable) and monopolise their distribution in the world market in favour of imperialism. In a document set to the US Congress in 1973 by Kennecott Copper Corporation, the big American mining transnational corporation, it is stated: "Foreign investment... gives the United States an assured flow of critical materials in time of war or crises which might not be the case if developments were left to others. In this event, we forfeit control over mining ventures outside the United States, depriving ourselves of the return flow of profits and dividends from foreign investment."¹⁵ It would be hard to state the economic and political aims of modern neocolonialism more lucidly.

The transnational corporations hold stronger positions in the foreign trade of the developing nations than in their industry.

Table 2

**Export of Third World Countries and the Share
in It of Subsidiaries of the Transnational Corporations**

	1966		1970	
	thousand million	%	thousand million	%
Export	37.3	100	52.3	100
of which:				
export of output of transnational subsidiaries	13.5	36	22.5	43
kindred links of the transnational corporations	10.0	27	16.5	31

Computed from: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, United Nations, New York, 1967, 1971; *Implications of Multinational Corporations for World Trade*, New York, 1973.

The above figures have been deduced with great care and they may be regarded as the lowest boundary of monopoly control of the foreign trade of developing nations by the transnational corporations.

The hallmark of the subordination of the export of these countries to the interests of the transnational corporations is that the vast majority of goods are sent to the kindred enterprises of these transnational corporations operating in other countries. At the beginning of the 1970s, nearly one-third of the exports of the young nations went into this channel. An analysis shows that these

were oil, copper, iron ore, bauxite, rubber and other vital commodities. The American corporations have driven the deepest wedge not only into industrial production but also into the foreign trade of the developing countries. Official American sources reveal that in 1970 US subsidiaries handled 36 per cent of the export of Latin American states and 27 per cent of African and Asian countries (without Japan). The domination of American monopolies has spread most rapidly in precisely the two latter regions.¹⁶

A large proportion of the imports of the Third World countries consists of goods obtained by subsidiaries of the transnational corporations from their mother corporations and thus likewise comprise a closed operation in the international systems of the corporations. This is illustrated by data on the structure of exports of the products of 27 West German transnational corporations to India, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

Table 3

	1966		1971	
	thousand million marks	%	thousand million marks	%
Total	1,002	100	2,409	100
of which: to own subsidiaries	440	43.9	1,436	50.6

Source: *Auslandstätigkeit der deutschen multinationalen Unternehmen*, Hamburg, 1975, p. 54.

The above-mentioned group of countries account for nearly one-third of the total West German exports to developing nations. The export of output by West German transnational corporations through their subsidiaries has thus been transformed into the principal channel of marketing. A large proportion of the exports of the USA, Britain and some other imperialist states is directed to the developing countries in a similar manner. The subsidiaries of the transnational corporations deform the import-trade of the developing nations, subordinating its geographical distribution, pattern, prices, and other terms of delivery to the interests of the mother corporations.

A growing proportion of technical know-how, machines, equipment and other industrial products, and also many consumer

goods go to developing nations through the subsidiaries of the transnational corporations on terms prejudicial to their economy. Moreover, obsolete technology no longer used in the West is forced upon the new states, which, on top of everything, pay for it at an exorbitant rate. The prices at which the transnational corporations ship primary materials and other goods from the developing countries and supply them with ready-made goods have lost much of their link with commercial, foreign trade prices and become a special monopoly instrument by which the transnational corporations covertly extract super-profits from these countries.

Many Western economists endeavour to prove that in inner-corporation trade prices may be changed legally by the monopolies in their favour and that the dimension of these deviations and abuses by the monopolies are not substantial and do not constitute a special problem. However, the facts show that the transnational corporations not only "deviate" prices but frequently establish and maintain them at a level several times above the highest (or, correspondingly, lowest) level in the relations between independent exporters and importers. A UN report states that the arbitrary prices for products and services in bargains between parent companies and their branches in various countries constitute one of the aspects of the activities by multinational corporations, which excite anxiety in the countries where they operate.¹⁷

For long decades the oil transnational corporations of the USA, Britain, and other imperialist states have shipped oil from developing countries at prices that served only to give the plunder of these countries the appearance of commercial relations. The exploiting mechanism of the transfer oil prices of the transnational corporations has now been removed, but copper, ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores, tropical foods and other raw materials continue to be shipped out by the transnational corporations at prices and on terms that only serve to camouflage exploitation.

The developing nations lose huge sums of money by overpaying the subsidiaries of the transnational corporations for goods received from the mother concerns. UN documents contain data on cases where chemical goods, radio receivers, equipment, and some other items were purchased by developing nations from the transnational corporations at prices far above those in the world market. In 1975, seven developing countries instituted court proceedings against American monopolies, which had for a number of years supplied them with medicaments through their subsidiaries at prices so exhortant that they caused the importer countries losses running into hundreds of millions of dollars.

The transfer prices of the transnational corporations mean, in effect, that when the developing nations export goods they receive less foreign currency than they should otherwise have got and overpay when they import goods; trade at these prices involve losses measured in tens of billions of dollars. For that reason the growth of the foreign trade of developing nations through the channels of the transnational corporations very frequently lead not to an improvement of the foreign economic position of these countries but to an intensification of their exploitation by foreign monopoly capital. Hence, it is extremely important not only for the developing nations themselves but also for normalising world trade as a whole to bring to light and assess the operations and transfer prices in the systems of the transnational corporations. However, this is not easy to do on account of the resistance from the transnational corporations which take pains to camouflage these operations on the plea that they are a "commercial secret". The transnational corporations make wide use also of all sorts of legal transfers of profits, interest, and other settlements on investments in developing countries: The revenues from these operations exceed the invested capital many times over. As a result, the egress of capital from the developing countries is growing swiftly: in 1965, it surpassed the inflow of capital from the corporations 2.6 times, in 1970, 3.2 times, and in 1973, 3.8 times.¹⁸

Many Western economists and organisations are now compelled to admit that this so-called legal removal of foreign currency from the developing nations intensifies their exploitation by the transnational corporations. In one of its resolutions UNCTAD declared, for instance, that the outflow of capital from the developing countries as a result of direct investments by foreign companies causes alarm.¹⁹ The *Intereconomics* of Great Britain noted that the hopes of the developing nations for a positive change resulting from foreign investments are not coming true. The outflow of capital in the shape of transfers from subsidiaries of multinational corporations is currently exceeding the inflow of capital from without.²⁰

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The facts are convincingly showing that in interaction with the imperialist state apparatus the transnational corporations are broadening their positions in the economy and foreign trade of the Third World, and that their operations are becoming an increasingly dangerous form of neocolonialism. Small wonder, therefore, that the developing nations are vigorously countering

the domination of the transnational corporations endeavouring to subordinate the operations of their subsidiaries to national interests and remake the entire system of relations with them. The interests of the young developing nations and the transnational corporations are, in principle, antagonistic. The struggle between these states and the corporations is mounting on practically all the basic issues of economic policy: volume, direction and terms of investment, distribution and export of profits, price policy, and the choice of trade partners. Objectively underlying this struggle are the headway made by the developing nations in strengthening their political and economic independence, their efforts to establish their sovereignty over their natural resources, the growth of the public sector in the economy and foreign trade, and the overall change in the alignment of forces in the world in favour of social progress and socialism. Also of no little significance is that the imperialist states are becoming more and more dependent on irreplaceable primary and other materials, the reserves of which are mainly in the developing countries.

However, in this struggle and in the aims pursued by them, the developing countries are not always unanimous. Whereas the socialist-oriented countries are consistently opposed to monopoly capital and are doing their utmost to use the results of this struggle in their national interest, the countries with reactionary regimes rely heavily on the transnational corporations.

According to UN statistics, a total of 875 foreign enterprises were nationalised or placed under national control in 62 developing countries in the period from 1960 to 1974. In 1975-1976, this process continued to gather momentum. On the whole, the nationalisation rate in the 1970s was twice as high as in the previous decade.

Many developing nations are taking collective action to halt the exploitative, neocolonialist activities of the transnational corporations. The countries with resources of important kinds of primary materials, which the imperialist monopolies are to this day shipping out on terms of non-equivalent exchange, are combining their export efforts with growing determination. This is most strikingly exemplified by the creation and activities of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Moreover, there are now an Organisation of Copper Exporters and the International Organisation of Bauxite Exporters. The nations producing sugar, bananas, and some other items are stepping up their efforts to improve the terms of trade and stabilise their export trade.

The developing nations are taking increasingly vigorous action against the transnational corporations in UN agencies (UNCTAD, ECOSOC), and at the most representative UN forums they are

securing important political decisions with the support of the socialist countries. However, the examination of the problem of the transnational corporations in the United Nations, the adoption of decisions, and most important, the implementation of these decisions are far from being a coherent progressive process. The countries where transnational corporations have taken shape, principally the USA, are going to all lengths to narrow the framework in which these problems are considered and hinder the adoption of constructive decisions. They frequently have recourse to threats in cases where one nation or another endeavours to invoke the rights guaranteed to it by the UN Charter. Moreover, individual developing nations make serious concessions to foreign monopoly capital.

The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order proclaims the right of nations to exercise complete and inalienable sovereignty over their natural resources and over all economic activity, the right to exercise effective control over the use of these resources by foreign companies, and also the right to regulate and inspect the activities of transnational corporations by adopting measures in the interests of the national economy and on the basis of the sovereignty of the countries in which such corporations operate.²¹

In the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the right of nations to sovereignty over their economy and to control over the operations of foreign monopoly capital are formulated in a manner giving the developing nations new prospects for effective action against the imperialist monopolies. The Charter gives nations the right to regulate and control foreign investments in accordance with their laws and regulations and in accordance with their national aims. It declares that no country may compel any other country to grant special terms for foreign investments. Further, it proclaims that every country has the right, in accordance with its laws, to nationalise, expropriate, or transfer foreign property.²²

The countries with transnational corporations, chiefly the USA, did not halt at denying recognition to the Charter. In 1974, the US Congress passed a Trade Act, which contains provisions on sanctions against countries that invoke the rights proclaimed in the Charter. In particular, provision is made for sanctions in cases when a nation nationalises, expropriates, or in any other way takes over the property of corporations, in which 50 per cent or more shares belong to US citizens; when a nation voids existing contracts relative to these corporations; or when a country forces heavier taxes on them or restricts their operations.²³ This act comes into conflict with the logic of present-day international relations and is aimed at disrupting the constructive decisions of

the United Nations. A campaign against developing nations, which were threatened with a reduction of "aid" in the event they nationalised foreign enterprises, was started in early 1975 in West European states, notably the FRG.

These actions by the neocolonialists have aggravated the contradictions between developing nations and the imperialist powers.

In order to adopt new decisions restricting the operations of the subsidiaries of transnational corporations, developing nations have used the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly, which was convened on their initiative. The Session showed that the developing nations had united more closely in the struggle for their rights, and it demonstrated the failure of the confrontation tactics employed by the imperialist powers. However, the declaration that the industrialised states had gone over from confrontation to dialogue was dictated by their efforts to make it appear that they were prepared to meet the developing nations half way. Actually they have again rejected some of the major demands of the developing nations, and far from renouncing their efforts to maintain their monopolies in their former positions they have made every effort to provide them with the possibility for broadening out their operations. The USA and other countries with transnational corporations have declared that more aid can be extended to developing nations only by increasing private investment, and on these grounds demanded favourable investment terms for the transnational corporations. Due to the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers, the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly did not bring the developing nations the results expected by them.

In early 1976, as part of their preparations for the Fourth UNCTAD Session, the developing nations adopted the Manila Declaration, which is clearly directed against imperialism. In it they put forward some of their most important demands and recommendations. They stressed that, on the whole, the Western powers had taken no concrete steps and had done nothing to carry out their obligations to improve the condition of the developing nations, while in the world economy the position of the developing nations, particularly those with the lowest development level, has deteriorated lately.²⁴ In section three of this document it is noted that decisions had to be passed on an international level against the operations of the multinationals that were prejudicing the developing nations. The problem of restricting the arbitrary operations of the transnational corporations is touched upon in some other sections of the Manila programme.

However, we believe that the platform expounded by the developing nations on the eve of the Fourth UNCTAD Session

was inadequate for broadly formulating at that forum the question of curbing the exploitative, neocolonialist activities of transnational corporations. This was seen in the results of the session. Although these questions were raised in practically all points of the agenda and were indirectly mirrored in the resolutions passed at Nairobi, the problem of the transnational corporations was not discussed concretely, and this affected the character of the documents adopted at the Session. Concrete recommendations upholding the legitimate rights of the developing nations against the incursions of the transnational corporations are to be found only in the resolution headed "Transnational Corporation and the Expansion of Trade in Manufactures and Semi-Manufactures" and in the section of a resolution on restrictive business practices.

The latest events show that despite the manoeuvres of the imperialists, the efforts of the developing nations to improve their position in the world economy and achieve genuine economic independence and social progress are increasingly directed against the operations of the transnational corporations, which are the actual proponents of present-day neocolonialism.

NOTES

- ¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 17.
- ² UNCTAD, TD/183, 1976, p. 67.
- ³ *Multinational Corporations in World Development*, United Nations, New York, 1973, p. 2.
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PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

The Pugwash Movement

VLADIMIR TRUKHANOVSKY

The Pugwash Movement is a movement of scientists from many countries for peace, disarmament and international security, for scientific cooperation and prevention of a nuclear war. It was initiated by the complex political, social and scientific processes of the mid-20th century.

This period faced mankind with an acute problem that was foreseen by the Soviet Academician V. Vernadsky at the beginning of the century, when work on radioactive decay was only just beginning. "The time is not distant," he wrote, "when Man will gain control of nuclear power, a source of energy that will permit him to live as he wishes... Will Man be able to utilise this force, to use it for good rather than for self-destruction? Has he matured enough to be able to use the power that science will inevitably put at his disposal? Scientists must not close their eyes to the possible consequences of their scientific work and of scientific progress. They must feel responsible for the consequences of their discoveries. They must link up their work with a better organisation of all mankind."¹

Today science has become a direct productive force and creates enormous material and intellectual boons. Science's tasks include preventing the destruction of these boons or the use of scientific advances for the mass destruction of people:

In 1946, leading scientists with progressive views on the development of mankind created the World Federation of Scientific Workers, an international organisation of scientists supporting the development of science in the interests of mankind, scientific cooperation, disarmament and peace. The Federation has always maintained close contacts with the World

Peace Movement. Its founders included such leading scientists as Joliot-Curie, Langevin, Bernal, Powell, and many others.

The Federation declared its main goal to be a rise in the welfare of mankind through the application and development of scientific knowledge. The scientific worker, its Charter states, cannot consent to science being used in any way that distorts this noble goal, hampers scientific development, increases human suffering or destroys the things Man has created. Science can be used for the good of mankind only if there is peace and international cooperation.

It is both natural and logical that eminent scientists and public figures later played an active role in establishing and developing the Pugwash Movement. The current President of the WFSW, the well-known physicist E. H. S. Burhop, recounts: "The concept of the conference of scientific workers on disarmament was born in 1954. We were then under the influence of the tragedy of the Japanese fishermen who suffered from the nuclear test even though they were 100 km away from the epicentre. Prof. Joliot-Curie, then President of the WFSW, asked me to organise a congress of scientists, not only those belonging to our Federation, as an expression of our resolute indignation and as a way of specifying the possibilities for our participation in the disarmament process. I asked Bertrand Russell, who was not fully convinced that such a measure would be successful, to help me. He asked Einstein about it, however, and came to the conclusion that first a protest should be composed and the collection of signatures to it be combined with preparations for the conference."²

On January 31, 1955, Joliot-Curie wrote to Russell, "the danger threatening mankind is so great that I believe it urgently necessary for men of science to unite in preparing a joint objective declaration on this topic. In my opinion, it is very important for the people who will formulate and sign this motivated and solemn warning, to enjoy undoubted scientific authority and for their different social background and different philosophical convictions to cause no doubts as to their sincerity or authority among even part of society. Such a document would naturally be of fundamental significance for public opinion and the governments of all countries."³ Russell in his letter of February 5, 1955, replied: "I think it is very important that the signatories should have no common political complexion and that their declaration should strenuously abstain from any blame to either side for past mistakes, or what were thought such. We all have our prejudices in favour of one side or the other, but in view of the common peril it seems to me that men capable of scientific detachment ought to be able to achieve an intellectual neutrality, however little

they may be neutral emotionally. If such declaration as I have in mind is to be effective, the signatories should represent all shades of opinion so that collectively, they could not be regarded as leading towards either side."⁴

The ideas set out in these letters constituted the basis for the Manifesto written by Russell and intended for publication on behalf of scientists from different countries. The idea was for these scientists to represent the different points of view existing in both the capitalist and the socialist countries. Russell first asked Einstein to sign the document. The great physicist signed the Manifesto only two days before he died. Then, at the bottom of the document, the signatures appeared of Joliot-Curie, Born, Powell, Pauling, Yukawa and several others. On July 9, 1955, Russell announced the document later known within the Pugwash Movement as the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, at a press conference in London. The Manifesto stated: "In the tragic situation which confronts humanity, we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction." After noting the serious danger of a world war, the authors of the Manifesto asserted that it was necessary to determine "what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest.... We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest"⁵ was the concluding line of the Manifesto.

The press made this document widely known. The Greek millionaire Aristotle Onassis offered to subsidise the conference of scientists on the condition that it was held in Monte Carlo. The initiatory group for convening the conference considered that Monte Carlo's reputation was not in keeping with the high and noble aims of the proposed conference. They were saved from this difficult situation by the American businessman Cyrus Eaton, who offered to finance anonymously the conference of scientists concerned with the world's future. The first such conference was held in the previously little-known Canadian fishing village of Pugwash (Nova Scotia), where Eaton was born. This village also gave its name to the Pugwash Movement.

The first Conference in Pugwash in July 1957 was attended by 22 representatives from ten countries, including three Soviet scientists: Academician D. Skobeltsin, Academician A. Topchiev, and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Kuzin. The First Pugwash Conference elected a Standing Committee of the Pugwash Movement. In 1974, the Standing Committee was reorganised into the Council of the Pugwash Movement, which took a decision to hold regular conferences.

The Third Conference, held in 1958 in Austria, made a statement on the goals of the Pugwash Movement, known as the

Vienna Declaration. This programme document outlined the goals of the Movement in coming years.

The Vienna Declaration, adopted by scientists from 20 countries, stated: "We meet ... at a time when it has become evident that the development of nuclear weapons makes it possible for man to destroy civilisation and, indeed himself; the means of destruction are being made ever more efficient. The scientists attending our meetings have long been concerned with this development, and they are unanimous in the opinion that a full-scale nuclear war would be a worldwide catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude." The document went on that "the only restraint against their employment in war would be agreements not to use them, which were concluded in times of peace." The authors of the Vienna Declaration stated that local military conflicts entail the danger that they might grow into a major war and so mankind must set itself the task of eliminating all wars, including local wars. The Declaration appealed to all peoples and their governments to establish conditions of lasting and stable peace.⁶

The first decade of the Pugwash Movement, just like its entire history, was determined by two main factors: the development of science and technology in the world and the influence of this development on international relations. During this first decade the West, above all the USA, acknowledged the unacceptability of a possible return missile attack in case the USA and Western countries would unleash a "preventive" nuclear war against the socialist countries. The scientists tried, first of all, to make the governments of the Western countries aware of what a nuclear war would entail; second, to discuss with Soviet scientists, who always consistently supported peace, ways and means of averting a nuclear war.

Up to 1962, ten Pugwash Conferences had been held. They dealt with a fairly wide range of issues, though, in practice, the meetings discussed ways of averting a third world war, limiting nuclear armaments and prohibiting nuclear weapons; disarmament and control over the implementation of possible agreements in these spheres. A special conference was held on preventing chemical and bacteriological warfare. The discussion covered the responsibility of scientists before mankind, the shaping of public opinion, and international cooperation between scientists in various fields.

The ranks of the participants in the Movement grew. At the 1962 Conference in London there were more than 200 scientists from 35 countries, most of them of international renown and many Nobel Prize winners.

The high level of representation, the fundamental nature of the material prepared and of the discussions immediately attracted the public's attention to the Movement and gave it considerable authority. The press, especially the scientific press, published widely the work of the Pugwash Conferences; heads of governments and the UN General Secretary often sent their greetings to the conferences.

The Tenth Pugwash Conference (1962) holds a special place in the history of the Movement. It adopted a Programme for its further activities, taking account of new scientific advances and the changing situation in the world. Specific forms were outlined for the Pugwash Movement's members to participate in the struggle of scientists to ensure complete and universal disarmament. In this connection, a number of international and regional conferences, symposiums and working research groups were planned. The growth in the Movement's ranks was reflected in an expansion of the Standing Committee, on which Soviet scientists held three places.

Subsequent Pugwash Conferences continued to consider the most important world problems connected with averting war and ensuring peace. The international situation changed. In the 1960s, it became clear to both scientists and politicians in the West that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries had managed to establish a military and strategic equilibrium (approximate equality) between the forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. At the 13th Pugwash Conference, held in Czechoslovakia in 1964, the Western delegates expressed the view that the balance and technical standard of equipment of the military forces of the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty were roughly equal. Under these conditions, the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression would not disturb the existing equilibrium.

In the new circumstances, Western governments began to pay more serious attention to Soviet disarmament proposals. The Pugwash discussions also became more constructive. The atmosphere of the cold war was gradually disappearing. The problem of peace and security was now considered in terms not only of its traditional aspects, but also new ones such as security and cooperation in Europe, the aversion of an "ecological war" (i.e., the prohibition of acting on the natural environment and climate for military or other purposes), the organisation of a World Disarmament Conference. The Conference's agenda now included questions relating to the role of scientists in environmental protection and the search for new energy resources, to the population explosion, and several others.

The relaxation in international tensions achieved by peaceloving forces, including the Pugwash Movement, was reflected in a

number of positive advances at that time. In 1962, the UN documents stated: "Realisation that the disarmament issue is important—as important as the survival of humanity itself—is worldwide."⁸ Unfortunately, far from everybody in the West drew rational conclusions from this realisation, and this made it more difficult to achieve any official agreement on disarmament. Even so, certain positive steps were taken in that direction.

In 1963, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was signed. The Pugwash scientists assisted in working out this treaty. At the 1968 Pugwash Conference recommendations were formulated to the governments of the USSR and the USA that they start negotiations on limiting the production of missile and anti-missile technology. Actual discussion of everything connected with these issues helped in working out and concluding the corresponding agreements in 1973. Discussion within the framework of Pugwash promoted the conclusion of various inter-governmental agreements on scientific and technical cooperation. The Pugwash Movement also concentrated its efforts on the elimination of local military conflicts that were simultaneously explosive on a global scale. The public figure and scientist P. Clark wrote: "It will go down in history that the Paris Talks on Vietnam became possible thanks to the efforts of the scientific community, especially the Pugwash Movement, in the struggle for general peace and disarmament."⁹ Even if this statement contains an element of exaggeration, it is basically true that the Pugwash Movement was working for a cessation of hostilities in Indochina.

The state of the Pugwash Movement in the early 1970s was well reflected at the 24th Conference in 1974. It was held in Baden (Austria) from August 28 to September 2 and was attended by 120 scientists from 31 countries, as well as 15 observers from eight international organisations. Among the participants was Cyrus Eaton. The main topics of the Conference were disarmament, energy problems and international cooperation.

The Conference expressed its satisfaction that previous years had seen a detente in international relations, noted specific manifestations of this and expressed its deep concern over the continuing arms race and the lack of military detente to accompany political detente. This was the main content of the discussion and documents adopted by the Conference.

The Final Document of the Conference, as formulated by the Continuing Committee of the Movement,¹⁰ noted that the participants in the Baden meeting, like those of former Pugwash conferences, spoke on their own behalf and, relying on their professional knowledge and motivated by their concern for the security and well-being of mankind, tried during the unofficial

and free exchange of views, to find a solution to some of the most burning problems arising as a result of scientific and technological progress.

The Conference noted that, in spite of the continuing process of detente, events were taking place in the world that entailed a danger for the cause of peace, such as the October 1973 war in the Middle East, the continuing nuclear weapons tests, the growing nuclear potential, the military conflict in Cyprus, and others. All these events, the Final Document declares, emphasised the need for the Pugwash Conference to renew its obligation formulated in the Russel-Einstein Manifesto that started the Movement.

The problem of disarmament was at the centre of the Conference's attention. The participants expressed considerable anxiety over the fact that the arms race, in spite of a change for the better in the international climate, was still going on. A series of events, the Conference's Declaration states, cause anxiety in connection with the growth of nuclear armaments in the nuclear powers (vertical proliferation) and the possibility of the proliferation of nuclear weapons to countries that at present do not possess them (horizontal proliferation). These included certain new programmes for the manufacture of strategic arms, nuclear explosions in the atmosphere by China and France, and so on.

The Conference announced that states that had not yet signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty should do so without delay, and that a comprehensive agreement prohibiting the testing of all types of nuclear weapon should be concluded as soon as possible.

The problem of peaceful nuclear explosions was also discussed at the Conference. Some delegates believed that considerable economic benefits could be derived from them. Others expressed their doubts on this, suggesting that any economic benefits of this type were outweighed by the fact that peaceful nuclear explosions increase the probability of the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. The opinion was put forward that, if programmes for peaceful nuclear explosions were implemented, it should only be under effective control. Considerable attention was focused on the problem of establishing zones free from nuclear weapons, especially of creating such a zone in South Asia.

The Conference unanimously declared that the proliferation of chemical weapons was a real danger against which international measures should be elaborated as quickly as possible. Also urgently needed was ratification by all countries, preferably without any conditions or reservations, of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in a War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare and of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of

Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on Their Destruction.

Expressing its concern over the tendency towards increasing military budgets, the Conference stressed that their reduction as a result of multilateral, regional or bilateral agreements or on a unilateral basis would be very desirable and that part of the resources saved should be used to speed up the economic and social development of the less developed countries.

The participants in the meeting came to the unanimous conclusion, the document states, that World Disarmament Conference attended by delegates from all the nuclear powers and other countries with significant military potentials might further the achievement of an agreement on disarmament measures and might draw the attention of the world public to the lack of progress in this sphere at that time.

The Conference focused considerable attention on the problem of European security, noting that detente and a growing trust between states were the predominant trend in Europe today, that a further strengthening of trust between East and West should become a vital cause of governments, organisations, groups and individuals, and that the maintenance of peace in Europe would be of major significance for consolidating peace in other parts of the globe. The participants supported the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and declared that they saw this as a major, positive element in the process of detente.

The Conference also devoted much time to the Vienna Talks on cutting arms and armed forces in Central Europe and noted that these talks should maintain the existing military equilibrium, but at lower levels of armaments, armed forces and military outlays. Success in Vienna, it was noted, depended not so much on various details and formulae, as on the political will of the participating countries. If there is no desire to conclude the negotiations, it is always possible to use technical difficulties to prevent any real cut-back in forces. It would be desirable, in the final analysis, to dissolve the NATO and Warsaw Treaty military organisations. A reduction in the number of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe would create favourable conditions for actions both within the framework of the Vienna Talks and beyond it.

The view was expressed at the Conference that the creation of combined forces of Western Europe would have a detrimental effect on the cause of security and detente, would fan the arms race and help to split Europe. The Declaration said that bilateral agreements between individual East and West European countries on the urgent cutting of armed forces and defence expenditures would be both possible and desirable.

The discussion also covered specific proposals on creating atom-free zones in the countries of Northern and Central Europe, in the Balkans, on the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, and on joining up several such zones to form one big zone, possibly stretching from the Mediterranean to the Arctic. Everyone agreed that the establishment of such zones would constitute a major step towards disarmament.

The Pugwash Movement's participants are particularly interested in the world energy problem. The Baden Conference noted that this problem was not only connected with the exhaustion of potential energy resources, but also closely tied in with the existing gap between the welfare levels of both the highly developed and the developing countries.

Some of the delegates expressed anxiety over the possible negative consequences of the spread of nuclear power engineering, but those members of the group who deal specifically with this issue said these anxieties were unfounded and that the probability of such consequences was not great. All the members of the group agreed, however, that there should be increased scientific research into security measures connected with nuclear power engineering, and supported the idea of making the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty universal. After all, an expansion of nuclear power engineering might increase the danger of a further proliferation of nuclear weapons.¹¹

The problems of the developing countries attract an ever greater attention of various international public organisations. In January 1976, the 25th Pugwash Conference was held in Madras. Its theme was formulated as follows: "Development, Resources and International Security." The Conference reflected the positive changes that had taken place in the international situation in previous years, the most important of which were the victory of national liberation forces over imperialism in South-East Asia, and detente in Europe, supplemented by various arms limitation agreements. Those who spoke at the Conference welcomed the Declaration on European Security adopted in Helsinki and stressed that detente could not be complete if it did not embrace the developing countries. They recalled that, since 1945, all military conflicts had taken place in these very countries. The stability of the international situation should be based on justice, the non-use of force, on equal participation by all countries in resolving international affairs, and on protection of their sovereignty. Peace and progress are inseparable, the Conference stressed.

The Soviet Pugwash Committee, which is made up of eminent Soviet scientists, tries to get the Pugwash Movement to focus its attention on its main goal—the struggle of scientists for peace and

disarmament. The Chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, Academician M. Markov, noted in one of his speeches in 1972 that the Pugwash Movement had arisen as a forum of scientists for discussing various ways of averting a war that would have disastrous consequences. As the Pugwash Movement expanded its activities, however, the Conferences began to discuss other questions such as the energy crisis, environmental protection, the population explosion, and so on. Markov called on the scientists to concentrate their main attention once again on the struggle against the arms race and on international detente.¹² This opinion was shared by wide circles within the Movement, as the 27th Pugwash Conference, held in August 1977 in Munich, showed.

This was a jubilee conference, marking 20 years since the first conference of this scientists' movement took place in a small Canadian village in 1957. The jubilee meeting showed how the ranks of the movement had grown. It was attended by 223 scientists from 47 countries. As before, the tone was set by leading scientists, many of whom were known throughout the world due to their scientific achievements. The Soviet delegation included Academicians M. Markov, I. Frank, A. Fokin, V. Engelgardt, Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Goldansky, V. Emelyanov, and a number of others. Those from the socialist countries included A. Balevski, President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, M. Nalecz, Vice-President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Academician W. Thurzo from Czechoslovakia, and many other eminent scientists. Rather widely were represented scientists from developing countries. The Western countries were represented by such outstanding scientists as B. Feld and G. Kistiakowsky from the USA, D. Hodgkin and J. Rotblat from Great Britain, F. Perrin and E. Bauer from France, F. Calogero from Italy, M. Oliphant from Australia, and many others. The composition of the Conference testified that the most eminent representatives of the broad scientific community are concerned about the continuing arms race and the fate of the world. They understand that scientists bear a greater responsibility than ordinary citizens for how scientific advances are used—for the benefit of people or otherwise—for scientists have sufficient professional knowledge to foresee the consequences of applying specific scientific discoveries.

The 27th Pugwash Conference was held in a difficult situation. Reactionary imperialist circles in the USA and other countries were taking measures to counter the concept of detente. These people had used the mass media to carefully organise and coordinate a multi-purpose campaign to instil anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in the general public. The place where the Conference was held—Munich—is not only the homeland of

German fascism; it is also the place where today's various anti-socialist, revanchist organisations are concentrated. The political climate was unfavourable enough for the Conference, but the responsibility felt by the majority of the Conference's participants helped to make it a success, as evidenced both by the discussions held and the documents adopted.

The Soviet delegates and their colleagues from the other socialist countries gave a detailed and argued exposition in their speeches and working documents of the peace initiatives of the socialist countries to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. An explanation was given of the proposals contained in the Soviet Memorandum which develops and specifies the corresponding points of the foreign policy programme of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Unfortunately, the position of the Soviet Union on aspects of disarmament is often distorted by the Western press, so scientists from various countries listened with great attention to the Soviet scientists' explanations of this position on all aspects of disarmament, international peace, and cooperation among scientists.

The Conference unreservedly condemned the American military's plans to equip the NATO forces with the neutron bomb. At the very first plenary session, the General Secretary of the Pugwash Movement, Prof. B. Feld of MIT, spoke against the neutron bomb and proved the need for an unconditional ban on it. Previous nuclear weapons were intended to create shock waves, heat waves and radiation, but the neutron bomb relies on radiation capable of penetrating metre-thick concrete or a kilometre of atmosphere and kill everything in its path. Feld underlined, too, that, if the neutron bomb were used, it would lead to an escalation of nuclear war, for tactical and then strategic nuclear weapons would be brought into use. The adoption of the neutron bomb, Feld concluded, would increase tremendously the danger of a nuclear war.¹⁵

The President of the WFSW, the renowned British scientist E. Burhop, announced that, contrary to the false claims of the neutron bomb's advocates that it allegedly was a defence weapon, in fact it was undoubtedly an aggressive weapon of mass destruction.

Feld, Burhop, and many others demanded a ban on the neutron bomb. The concluding speech by D. Hodgkin, President of the Pugwash Movement, made a deep impression on the Conference. She stated that "the neutron bomb is clearly aggressive in purpose and intended for aggressive ends... Its use would be in clear contravention of the humane principles of the Hague and Geneva Conventions... It seems impossible that a

humane president would not decide to discontinue development of the neutron bomb for ever and prevent its production.”¹⁴

The Conference also condemned American plans to build cruise missiles, and noted that Hitler's Germany made the first attempts to employ such weapons at the end of the Second World War. Present-day cruise missiles are technologically much more sophisticated: new materials have made them more compact and comparatively lightweight, and miniature computers allow them to fly at low altitudes, following the contours of the surface, and deliver the warhead exactly on target.

How can their use be avoided? “Active nuclear disarmament is the only choice now open to us,”¹⁵ concluded the Conference. Feld noted that scientists who support disarmament were still discussing the need to ban ABC weapons, i.e., atomic, bacteriological and chemical. Now, though, with the appearance of the neutron bomb and cruise missiles, a ban on ABCD weapons should be added (i.e., including detonated).¹⁶

The Conference did not get by without discordant speeches by the opponents of disarmament and people misled by propaganda lies. Some tried to justify the arms race in the USA on the basis of the growing military might of the USSR, but the thesis did not stand up when compared with the facts. Even the Western participants at the Conference, such as W. Epstein from Canada, admitted in the material circulated at the Conference that the Soviet Union could not but respond to the challenge, that is, take care of its own security in the face of the US arms race. An attempt to make anti-socialist capital out of the human rights question received an argued reply from the Soviet scientists and their colleagues from the other socialist countries, who insisted that the Pugwash Movement resisted propaganda manoeuvres to divert it from its direct tasks. This rational view was shared by the vast majority of the delegates. Some of the participants even attacked the content of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, claiming that it was out of date, but such ideas ran counter to the spirit of the Conference.

A fidelity to the noble goals, and the recognition of the need for cooperation among scientists from countries with different social systems in order to attain these goals are reflected in the final documents of the Conference.

Leading Pugwash bodies were elected. The Pugwash Council, the supreme body, which decides the Movement's policy, includes now scientists from the socialist, Third World and developed capitalist states. Three eminent Soviet scientists were elected to it. The Chairman of the Council is once again M. Nalecz (Poland), and D. Hodgkin (Great Britain) was re-elected President, along

with B. Feld (USA) as General Secretary and M. Kaplan (USA) as General Director.

As a result of the discussions held at the plenary sessions and in the eight working groups, the Pugwash Council adopted a declaration and a statement, documents of major principle importance. The declaration warns the scientific community and the world public that the world is threatened by a new, more intensive and more dangerous round in the arms race. The neutron bomb, cruise missiles and other new types of weapon play a provocative and destabilising role. The development of all these new weapons must be stopped. The Council called on all governments to "halt new weapons deployment and reverse the arms race. We call on men and women everywhere, to redouble their efforts to make their governments understand and act in the face of our common peril."¹⁷ These points in the declaration exactly reflect the thoughts and anxieties of the vast majority of the participants in the Pugwash Movement.

The Statement of Principles of the Pugwash Movement adopted at the Conference is a programme of action for the Movement over the next five years, and it meets the demands of the current international situation to the mass peace movement.

"In the end," the Statement stresses in conclusion, "human-kind can only be saved by human actions. We all bear responsibility for the preservation of the civilisation of which we are the human heritors, and its improvement for those who will come after us. As scientists, we share heavily in this responsibility. Science must be used only for the benefit of mankind—never for its destruction."¹⁸

These concerns and anxieties over the fate of the world, the desire to consolidate peace through disarmament, so convincingly expressed by the Pugwash Movement, are shared by Soviet scientists, the Soviet people, and all reasonable people of good will, wherever they may live.

NOTES

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The Place of Literary Study in the Overall Pattern of Culture

LIDIYA GINZBURG

From the Editors: Reprinted below is an interview given by Lidiya Ginzburg, D. Sc. (Philol.), to A. Latynina, Cand. Sc. (Philos.), which first appeared in *Voprosy literatury* (Problems of Literature), No. 4, 1978. L. Ginzburg is the author of many books, including *Psychological Prose*.

Latynina: Every branch of learning tries to find its place in the overall system of knowledge. Literary study is a relatively young branch of learning, or at least the term is of a fairly recent origin. Perhaps that is why among the pundits in this field there is no agreement as to its aims and place in the system of other branches of learning. Indeed, the question is being raised whether literary study is a science or whether it is a special sphere of knowledge which is distinct from science and art alike?

Ginzburg: Literary study is correlated with different spheres of life, and with different systems of knowledge which interpret and explain these spheres. Accordingly, its functions vary in the overall cultural pattern. Besides, students of literature, like students of art, are in a special kind of position. A bacteriologist, say, doesn't have to love bacteria; even a botanist is not obliged to be fond of flowers. What they must have is a love for the study of bacteria and for the science of plants. As for us, our satisfaction derives not only from scholarship, and not only from the results of scholarly research, but from the very subject of our research. Literary analysis is preceded, and accompanied, by an act of aesthetic apprehension. Thus there emerges a special relationship between the researcher and the subject of his research, a relationship which is not intrinsic to other branches of learning.

That's why literary study is so largely dependent on the state of literature. It becomes impoverished if the experience of contemporary life as reflected in literature is broken off.

L.: The "experience of contemporary life as reflected in literature"—this is what criticism is usually said to be dependent on. Although criticism is a component of literary study, the two

terms are commonly considered to be correlated, not in the sense that one is a part of a whole, but as different, even if conjugated, concepts. "Criticism and literary study" is a widespread expression. It is generally thought that the prerogative of criticism is to survey the phenomena in contemporary literature, and that literary study, while it is free to choose its subject of research, is more concerned with past literature, with literary history.

G.: That criticism is connected with contemporary literature is self-evident. This is explained by the very function of criticism. What I'm saying (and this idea has been expressed before) is that contemporary literature, its tasks and its achievements provide us with a point of view from which to study the past. It is not accidental that great critics had also been great literary historians. The history of Russian literature as conceived by Belinsky (especially in his essays on Pushkin) is permeated with the feeling of the emergent Russian realism of the 1840s. In France, Sainte-Beuve brought about a revival of interest in early French literature, evaluating it from the romantic point of view. His work is of great significance for French culture generally.

The distinct demarcation between criticism and literary history is something that appeared not so long ago. This "specialisation" was practically unknown in the 19th century.

In an understanding of past literature, the experience of the critic and the experience of the writer are equally important. T. S. Eliot went so far as to say that only a writer is properly equipped to write about other writers. This is an extreme position and a paradox, which later Eliot himself repudiated. But the idea is that the writer understands matters from the inside, as it were; he knows how things are put together, how this construction takes place. It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that the opinions and judgements of a writer are invariably subjective, and understandably so. A writer selects from the past that which he needs for himself, but which may seem unexpected for others. When a writer talks about another writer he is really talking about himself, about his own aims and goals.

-L.: So in your view the place of literary study in the overall pattern of culture is mainly determined by its special relationship to its subject or by its organic link with literature, isn't it?

G.: Yes, but this place depends, to no lesser extent, on the object itself, that is, on the nature of literature which is a multi-faceted refraction, perception, or experience of life. Other specific objects of knowledge do not at all possess such a limitless "fullness".

Literature encompasses the most diverse spheres of human experience. Therefore the study of literature intersects with different branches of knowledge, with different systems of

understanding this experience—with philosophy, history, sociology, psychology, ethics, and linguistics.

The science of language is of special significance here; literature is the art of the word, and the material of literature is language which is the tool of human thought and human communication.

Being so multi-faceted in character, literary study, it seems understandable, existed and continues to exist in various, quite different forms. You have correctly noted that the very term literary study is of a relatively recent origin. There have always been philology as a study of texts, poetics, and criticism which is not clearly distinguished from literary history. Even in the 1920s we almost never used the term literary study. Instead, we had “theory of literature” and “history of literature”.

The Germans have such word combinations as *Kunstwissenschaft* and *Literaturwissenschaft*. The Americans, on the other hand, have no such terms. René Wellek and Austin Warren in their book *Theory of Literature* (a second edition of it came out in the 1960s) point out the difficulty arising from the lack of an all-embracing term for the “science of literature”. They divide it into history, theory and criticism.

In using the term literary study, which has now definitely entered into our usage, we must keep in mind the shifting nature of its boundaries, its connection with many quite different cultural spheres. Because of this multi-faceted interconnection the researcher is obliged to select those facets which are to be the object of his investigation. The best literary researches are often not those which try to cover all facets or to deal with a subject from all points of view, one by one. In general, science and art are selective; they are task-oriented, so to speak. In order to say something new about a subject, something of one's own, one must think along a chosen direction.

L.: What you've just said sounds a bit unusual. For nowadays we are talking more and more about a systems approach, a comprehensive approach, about allround coverage, about the “objectivity” of research.

G.: To be selective and to have a specific task in mind do not rule out a comprehensive approach to a subject or a careful correlation of different facets.

Sociology and history, psychology and linguistics fertilise literary study with their own specific tasks. They draw it into one or another cultural sphere. But other spheres must enrich literary study without engulfing it; they must not destroy in it the specificity of its subject of research.

Without relying on effective literature, on one or another sphere of knowledge and human experience, literary study quickly

becomes dead. This field then attracts people not because there is literature for them (with its task and specificity), but because there exists such a department of knowledge as the science of literature in general. Literary study by itself and for itself. This approach does not yield the best results. It only breeds works with no point of view and with no place in the overall cultural pattern.

L.: All along you've been emphasising the connection between the science of literature and other scientific disciplines and the fluidity of the boundaries of literary study. Doesn't it seem to you that such indefiniteness detracts from the merits of literary study as an independent science?

G.: I must say that the question whether literary study is or is not a science, whether it is independent or not, has never troubled me. To me literary study is a field that lies somewhere between science and art, and it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line of distinction between them. The important question here is not one of "figurative" language, to which the student of literature may or may not resort to, but of the very method of cognition. The point here is that the historian of literature, like the artist, can embody his general ideas in the concrete and the specific; that is to say, he can create his own poetic symbols.

At the same time literary study, like all sciences, including the humanities, uses the methods of deduction and induction, synthesis, analysis, and comparison. As a science and in contrast to art, literary study demonstrates, and is responsible for, the *authenticity* of the facts presented.

This applies to history as well. Great historians from early antiquity on, who created history as a science, were artists in their own way. The French school of the Restoration period gave us such historians as A. Thierry and, later, J. Michelet. About the latter's *Histoire de France* Herzen wrote to him with enthusiasm: "Your book ... is a poem, it is history transformed into art, into philosophy."¹

Michelet was not only an essayist who wrote on historical subjects, but also a scientist who had studied a vast amount of archival material, and discovered new facts and interpreted them. He was a scientist who produced works that are pieces of art. Here we may recall Karamzin, the Russian historian and writer of the 19th century. Of course, there were also great historians of quite a different kind.

Methods for understanding literature are found at the intersection of two planes; the proportions may vary—from the complete predominance of art to the complete predominance of humanitarian-scientific thought.

One may approach the study of literature from different angles and by different methods. Some possess a more developed

aptitude for writing, while others have a faculty for formalisation. Man must feel his capabilities and know what he is striving for.

L.: However, in its development literary study often tries to establish itself as a strict science. It is not accidental that it shows an interest in the exact methods of research, for instance, the structural method.

G.: It's true that in our time there is a definite tendency to bring the humanities closer to mathematics (as an ideal).

I've followed closely and with interest the works of the structuralists. In general I'm sympathetic towards all sorts of quests for scientific methods of studying a subject. At times they fail, but at the same time they yield fruit. The worst thing is easy-going amorphism. There are fields where the structural method gives good results, especially where there is a principled repetition of the elements of an object itself, as, for example, in studying folklore, mythology, and mediaeval literary monuments. I'll mention such a basic work as V. Propp's *Morphology of Tale*. The works of such contemporary Soviet authors as E. Meletinsky, V. Ivanov and V. Toporov are along the same line.

More debatable is the use of these methods in studying individual literary works. Here the principle of formalised accuracy often leads, in practice, to interpretations that are completely arbitrary.

L.: This sounds like a paradox.

G.: Perhaps, I'll try to explain it. Formalisation of literary material presupposes the possibility of *describing* it—in the linguistic sense of this word. But artistic imagery and imaginative speech are by their very nature polysemantic, symbolic and associative, and cannot be described as if it possesses one meaning and nothing more. One can only interpret it with all the subjectivity that inevitably accompanies any interpretation. Therefore it is always possible to interpret one and the same text in *different* ways from the same methodological positions. This is particularly obvious when we come to an analysis of lyrical poems. The point is not that instead of one description one can have another description, but that a single-level exactness of *description* cannot catch the semantic quality of poetic speech.

L.: But all the same the student of literature, in presenting his interpretation of a text, is prompted by a search for truth and not by a desire to multiply the number of interpretations. Herein, of course, lies the source of a certain conflict—that between the aim of research and its objective meaning.

Perhaps it's not surprising that the question of degree of objectivity of literary research was the subject of a recent discussion published in *Literaturnaya gazeta*, and that it was also

included in the questionnaire "Do We Need Hypotheses in Literary Study?" published in the magazine *Voprosy literatury*.²

I remember that you wrote, in answer to the question, that hypothesis is a tested means of scientific thinking, but that in the humanities it is generally difficult to establish the borderline between the hypothetical and the non-hypothetical.

If this is so, can we then speak at all about truth in literary study? about accuracy in literary research?

G.: I think there is accuracy in the humanities, but it is of a kind that applies to the humanities only. And we shall be committing a grievous error if we forget this. There are many levels of this accuracy. At the very basis there is factual, documentary accuracy, the accuracy of the whole machinery of research, one may say. I have no patience whatever with inaccuracy and carelessness when it comes to handling facts and texts. Attentiveness to factual details and text, thoroughness in dealing with them—this is elementary in philology; it is a scholarly discipline that must be cultivated. Unfortunately, such discipline is sometimes lacking among us.

The beginner tends to think that if his field is literary theory, factual accuracy and all that fuss about the machinery of research are beneath him. In that case he's simply not ready, not mature enough to work in the field of philology. All outstanding philologists have always understood that in their field much spadework is necessary, but not "hard labour" which one should disdain to perform.

And besides what we may call technical accuracy, there is the logic of elucidation, there is accuracy in applying the methods of synthesis and analysis. And finally, there is an inner accuracy in the building up of a conception and in giving it adequate expression by means of words.

These are the levels of accuracy in the field of the humanities. But on the whole one should not apply the criteria of the exact sciences in our field of work. In the exact sciences, an error is an error, and a discovery is a discovery. An error made by one researcher may be detected by other researchers, and a discovery may be verified by another experiment. Our debates and polemics, on the other hand, are of a different order. What do we mean by truth in literary study? Let's take the work of such a prominent critic as Bakhtin. According to his idea of polyphony in Dostoyevsky's prose, "the dialogue form pursued to the end" leaves the author "little room for expressing his own opinions".³ But far from all critics agree with this; they do not think that Dostoyevsky's own, final opinions about things are absent in his works.

Some specialists in ancient literature do not share Bakhtin's

views concerning various literary genres which he unified in accordance with their connection with carnivalesque folklore. I myself do not share some of Bakhtin's ideas (not to speak of the mechanical application of his ideas in the works of so many of his imitators).

What is remarkable about Bakhtin as a scholar and critic is not that he had uttered some indisputable truths; what is admirable about him is his enormous intellectual energy, the power of his mind tirelessly working on various problems and giving birth to stimulating, fruitful ideas, a mind which investigated problems that had not been investigated by others. In all times much has been said about the author's ideas contained in his works. But in Bakhtin's book on Dostoyevsky idea is shown as the imaginative, artistic fabric of a work. Bakhtin traced an idea from its most general outline to the concrete expression of it in words.

L.: It would seem, then, that a conception may be fruitful and yet not "true". But in this case there may coexist several different conceptions which contradict one another but nevertheless do not cancel one another out, just as in art, where a new discovery does not annul previous discoveries. You are not troubled by the possibility that there may exist several "truths," or more precisely, the absence of "an absolute truth"?

G.: Such a possibility exists just because we do not give unambiguous formulas. We interpret material which possesses more meanings than one owing to its very aesthetic nature. That is why this material can be comprehended from different points of view simultaneously.

But that does not at all mean that such points of view are arbitrary in nature and limitless in number. Our understanding of a literary work is bound by its objective, given structure. Only misunderstanding can have no bounds.

L.: But still you talk about scientific thought, about discoveries in literary study; and here you probably have something else in mind besides the concept of artistic discovery. What do you mean, then, by discovery in literary study? I'm not thinking about the uncovering of new facts—that's obvious in itself. But is it not possible to have a new theoretical understanding of already known facts?

G.: Discovery in literary study—this includes both new facts and new ideas. Sometimes it means the introduction of objects of theoretical and historical research which were unknown previously; or it can mean a new interpretation of already known facts, or a new correlation and arrangement of such facts.

There are different kinds of scholars, Tynyanov, for example, was mainly a discoverer. He selected his evidence with painstaking care. In his work we have a remarkable combination of closely

reasoned arguments and a certain audacity, even a paradoxical research approach.

For instance, he worked out an arrangement of Russian literary trends of the 1810s and 1820s, a correlation between the Karamzinians and the literary conservatives, the older and the younger writers. This was in fact also a political correlation since Tynyanov regarded the literary concerns of the young conservatives as an expression of the sentiments of the Decembrists.⁴

This is undoubtedly a discovery and, like all discoveries, it can be further developed or questioned or re-examined. And herein lies the specific nature of discoveries in literary study. They are close to science in that they are subject to logic. And they are close to art in that the best of them, anyway, possess an independent significance; they live on even if they are "disproved".

In literary study there is hardly such a thing as a truth which is established once and for all (except documents and facts). Tynyanov's concept may be supplanted by another concept, but it remains a picture of historical correlations which was created by Tynyanov.

The same thing can be said about the work done by Gukovsky, another well-known Soviet scholar, on 18th-century Russian literature. Of course, there were others before him who specialised in the Russian literature of that period, but they did not treat it as one whole phenomenon of Russian culture. Tynyanov and Gukovsky made us aware of certain strata of the Russian culture of the 18th and 19th centuries.

You have said correctly that any new discovery in fiction does not cancel out a previous discovery. Something similar takes place with regard to important ideas and concepts in criticism, in literary theory and literary history.

L.: In regarding literary study as a field adjoining art, is there not a danger of consigning scientific methods to oblivion? We often come across works in which the personality of the researcher predominates over the subject of his research, which is relegated to a secondary place. If the author happens to be a talented one, we forgive him for this. But nevertheless it doesn't seem right that a literary work should be turned into a means of self-expression for the researcher, that literary study, in other words, should be turned into essay-writing.

G.: I personally have nothing against essay-writing, if the essays are intelligent and interesting. Earlier I mentioned Sainte-Beuve. He was a brilliant essayist. In the mid-19th century he gave back to France Ronsard and the poets of his circle who from the classic period on had been regarded as lacking in taste, indeed all but barbarous. What Sainte-Beuve did was an act of recreation—and this was accomplished by artistic means—of the great culture of

the French Renaissance which had been buried in oblivion.

After Sainte-Beuve, of course, much was written about the Ronsard period; much new material appeared, but also much was rejected. But what Sainte-Beuve himself wrote has survived. And his work is remarkable indeed, showing the author as a gifted and powerful writer; it is a kind of artistic discovery of a lost culture.

In our conversation today the question of the legitimacy of various aspects of research has come up again and again. Now, every school, every research trend has its own limitations, its own specific one-sided interests, and no secrets are made of this. At the same time there exist different approaches to literary material, and this is logical and natural enough because literary study draws on diverse scientific and social experience.

Diversity is especially characteristic of the Western literature of the beginning of the 20th century. There were all kinds of schools and trends, one interrupting (so to speak) another. There were trends influenced by Marxism, and others based on behaviourist and functional sociology which deals with questions of social roles and small social groups. There were trends oriented to psychology (including psychoanalysis); there were linguistic-stylistic trends, and trends based on theories of myth or on different philosophical systems. For example, the French existentialist school focused its attention on an evaluation of past and contemporary French literature. Sartre is a prolific critic of this school.

L.: You just now spoke of literary study drawing on diverse branches of science. Would you say that linguistics is one of the most important among them? It is often thought that the influence of linguistics on literary study has determined its development in a number of ways. What in your view is the role of linguistic analysis in contemporary literary study?

G.: Linguistics has developed at an intensive pace in the 20th century. Language, in fact, is becoming one of the basic concepts of a number of philosophical systems. Alongside this there have emerged new fields of knowledge in which the study of language intercrosses with other sciences, and so we have mathematical linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics.

It's understandable, therefore, that in literary study, which is the study of the art of the word, there should be a keen interest in language and in style. Approaches to this question vary. Besides structuralism, there is "new criticism" which has been widely practised in France and especially in the United States. It derives from T. S. Eliot's concept of culture with its primary emphasis on language. Poetry, according to Eliot, extends the boundary of language, and in so doing discloses to people their inner experience of which they themselves are yet unaware. The majority of those practising "new criticism" discarded Eliot's

philosophical ideas and concentrated their attention on a close, detailed textual analysis of poems. Wellek in his book *Concepts of Criticism* called this tendency "organic and symbolic formalism".⁵

A fruitful trend, it seems to me, is the one whose foundation was laid by Leo Spitzer, an Austrian linguist and literary historian (who later worked in the United States). Spitzer was interested in the idea, which was new then, of uniting linguistics with literary criticism. He studied traits of style as a means of penetrating the historical and psychological meaning of a work. Spitzer presented microanalyses of many texts (mostly French), and each detail was interpreted as an expression of the general meaning of a work and, more broadly, as an expression of the author's world-view.

Auerbach applied this method to a broad spectrum of systematically arranged material. His well-known book *Mimesis* appeared in 1946.

In Russia, there were attempts to intercross literary study with linguistics early in this century. In the second half of the 1910s, a Society for the Study of Poetic Language—OPOYAZ—was founded.

OPOYAZ's study of the intrinsic aspect of the development of literature was soon found to be ineffective in dealing with historical, evolutionary problems. Already in the 1920s, some OPOYAZ members (Shklovsky, Eikhenbaum and Jakobson) were reconsidering many of the points in the original doctrine adopted by OPOYAZ. We mustn't therefore oversimplify things and consider that the view of those scholars were wholly contained in their early declarations.

Already at the beginning of the 1920s, when I was with former OPOYAZ scholars, none of them had ever told us that we should study form apart from the content of a work, that we should disregard content. The question was a complex one; it concerned the correlation of form and "material". In the preface to his book *Problems of Poetic Language*, which appeared as early as 1923, Tynyanov said that the most *important* question in the study of poetic style was the question of the *significance and meaning of the poetic word*.

Eikhenbaum once said to me somewhat complainingly that the name chosen for the school he belonged to was a most unfortunate one. "We should have called ourselves, not formalists, but specifists," he said.

In subsequent development of literary study in our country, there has been a growing tendency towards linguistic and stylistic analysis from which the world-view of an author is to be inferred and the historical meaning of a work revealed. This approach characterises, in one way or another, the works of V. Vinogradov, M. Bakhtin, G. Gukovsky, D. Likhachev, and A. Skaftymov.

The work of Alexander Skaftymov, one of our outstanding scholars, is not yet fully appreciated to this day, it seems to me. To many readers interested in literary criticism, his Brilliant essays on Tolstoy and Chekhov remain largely unknown.

L.: Would it be correct to say, then, that you, as a literary researcher, are closest to that tendency in literary study which draws together linguistic analysis and historical study of literary works?

G.: An organic combination—which is not the same thing as a mechanical merging—of historical study of a work and structural analysis is clearly one of the basic tasks of contemporary literary study. I may note in passing that we still haven't got rid of the naive habit of confusing the concepts of *structure* with structural methods of textual study. Structure as a working term was widely used already in the 1920s even by those who did not at all accept the doctrine of structuralism. Take the work of Vinogradov, for example.

L.: A historical and a structural approach to literature are often considered to be directly opposed to each other.

G.: But this opposition is being overcome. It would seem that the historical process and the structure of a work are poles apart. Now, every branch of learning has a right to break down its subject into parts, artificially to isolate or single out certain aspects for purposes of analysis or research. But on the level of studying the whole meaning of a work, the two poles tend to be drawn to each other. If one starts from the historical end, the object of socio-historical study turns out to be the aesthetic structures of literary works. And if one starts with structure, one can understand its significance only from a historical point of view.

Tynyanov had pointed out that a literary work cannot in fact be understood outside its historical context; that a historical approach is always present, if not overtly, then in an unobvious form, in the form of the necessary prerequisites for an apprehension of a literary work. I've already written about this, and I don't want to repeat it here.

In this connection there is another important problem that we need to be aware of. What structure, exactly, are we studying? Can we restore the meanings which the author placed in his work, or those meanings which the work has come to acquire as it becomes transformed in the consciousness of subsequent generations. Is it possible that these meanings might be replaced by the meanings which the researcher himself, knowingly or otherwise, puts into the work?

Answers to these questions vary and often contradict one another. Most likely we are dealing here with a certain combined value—with the objective structure of a given work—both in its

original historical meaning and in the meaning it subsequently acquires through the years. It is inevitable that a researcher will interpret all this in the light of his own time.

L.: You spoke of the transformation of a literary work in the consciousness of generations...

G.: I have in mind, not the apprehension of literature by a limitless number of readers, but a general, historical consciousness. This consciousness is the very condition and milieu for the existence of the objective phenomenon of literature. As for a study of different readers' interpretations of literary works with all the attendant accidental as well as regular and law-governed factors, this would be an interesting undertaking, but it's a *different* task altogether.

In general, a researcher must know exactly what he is studying, and why and from what point of view. The psychology of creative work and the psychology of its apprehension, the biography and the spiritual life of an author—all these are important and fascinating questions. But in dealing with them one must know exactly what method one is using. The raw material of the external and internal world of man undergoes a thorough processing before it becomes part of a literary work. And when it does, it can acquire a structural character, in which case without a study of structure, of the "composing frames", one cannot understand the work at all or understands it only partly; or it can be in the form of impulses, of hidden motives and thus remain enclosed in the inner recesses of the creative process. It's possible, of course, to study a literary work on both these planes, but one mustn't get the two confused.

Bakhtin's studies of Dostoyevsky are an example of how, without going into the personality of a writer, one can analyse his work and show not only its aesthetic, but also its philosophic and moral significance.

L.: How would you characterise your own method, for example, the research method used in your books *On Lyrics* and *Psychological Prose* a second edition of which came out recently and is now being widely read? In your introduction you said that the book is intended as a theoretical study. At the same time it contains many observations concerning man's spiritual life, observations that are made on the basis of literary material but not, I would say, from the position of a literary theorist or critic. Take, for example, your observations on the spiritual and emotional make-up of such personalities as Bakunin, Stankevich and Belinsky, and the romantically-inclined inhabitants of Premukhino, the ancestral estate of the Bakunins. Much of this immediately goes beyond the boundary of theory of literature. Thus you spoke of the paradox of romantic individualism, citing Bakunin as an

example, which consists in that "the chosen personalities" are not individualistic and reproduce one single type, say, the "Byronic demon" or the "Schellingian poet", a paradox which gives much food for thought concerning the nature of combination of the personal and the historical, the social and the spiritual life of individuals...

G.: The path I've covered as a literary historian and critic is a long one, and it is not a simple one, of course. I began as a student of the OPOYAZians. But mainly I studied with Tynyanov. Because of his influence and also probably because of my own inclinations, the study of the intrinsic aspects of literature, of literature as pure literature, has never attracted me. In my earliest articles there is already a tendency towards the use of a historical approach. Later on my work was close to what Gukovsky was doing, who tried to study the style of a writer as an expression of his world-view. In my works published in the 1930s I was already searching for unity of a structural and a historical approach to literature.

You spoke of my two latest books. Each of them took many years of study and reflection. *Psychological Prose* is the result of my growing interest over the years in those fields where literary study intersects with psychology, with social psychology, in particular, the theory of small social groups and the theory of social roles, which are now being studied by Western and also, in their own way, by Soviet scientists. These branches of sociology lead to questions concerning the imaginative portrayal of man.

In *Psychological Prose* I was mainly concerned with the problem of depicting a character in the very midst of the realities of life, the problem of "historical character", a kind of semiotic of the individual, one might say, having to do with the form of an individual's behaviour. You regard this as observations of man's spiritual life "not from the position of a literary theorist or critic". It has always been important for me to hear people talk about human problems when speaking of my books. I, personally, avoid essay-writing when I write literary criticism. We are dealing here with multi-faceted material, and I'm well aware that someone else may interpret it in another way. But as to what I want to say, I want to say it in an adequate manner. I try to express my thought accurately. That it is necessary to be accurate with regard to facts and references is self-evident, though no one is really insured against making errors.

L.: This means that in your works your criteria remain the criteria of science, and not of artistic creativity?

G.: What I'm engaged in is after all not art. But for me it is prose. I've always had a liking for the "intermediate" genres—memoirs and similar writings.

But, I repeat, this is my own experience, which is of course not universal. Literary study that starts from linguistics is also perfectly legitimate, and it may be fruitful in some areas where my approach is inapplicable.

L.: You interpret the "intermediate" genres also theoretically. In your book you devoted a good deal of attention to letters, diaries, and memoirs in which the life process is reflected directly, as you put it. You regard the psychological novel as more highly organised structure in this line. How would you explain the decline, which is noted everywhere in the world today, of this "highly organised" structure and the ascent of the "intermediate genres"?

G.: First, about the idea that the novel is a more organised structure. This is not a value judgement. This does not mean that the novel is "superior" to memoirs; it only means that it is organised in a different way.

Sometimes literature is definitely enclosed within its proper borders, but sometimes it comes close to real "human documents". This had happened before. It happened, for example, in the mid-19th century, as Herzen had noted. In France, there was a period of waiting or expectation before the appearance of Flaubert, and in Russia—before that of Turgenev. At that time there was a sharp rise in interest in the "intermediate" genres (Eikhenbaum discussed this in his book on Tolstoy). It's possible that this had to do with a decline of orthodox imaginative literature.

L.: Does such a situation, then, signify an accumulation of strength just before a new take-off?

G.: Such a presentiment cannot be conscious. Then there were much more complaints about the loss of great literature (Pushkin, Gogol) than there were hopes about a new literary take-off. It's true that there is at present an interest in the "intermediate" genres everywhere in the world. And it is not at all accidental that in the West there is talk about a "crisis of the novel". Take first decade of this century—you have Proust, Joyce, Kafka, Mann, Faulkner, Hemingway... But in Western literature today there is nothing comparable in terms of influence and significance.

There is, of course, another reason for the present interest in memoirs and other documentary genres. This is the tense and critical nature of the historical events of our time. On the one hand, reality in our time is charged with tension; on the other hand, this reality has not yet found expression in great literary works, though there are good, very good writers both in our country and abroad.

L.: Then you believe that a great literary work is possible only in new forms?

G.: Yes; but by form I mean significant, meaningful form.

L.: In recent criticism the thought is often expressed that we are on the threshold of a new artistic apprehension of reality, that a literary work dealing with the most urgent questions of our time is just around the corner, as it were. Does a theoretical understanding of the literary process provide us with even a slight possibility of foretelling what literary trend may lead to the creation of a great literary work?

G.: To foretell what a great literary discovery will be like is almost the same thing as to make the discovery. A discovery is by definition something that has not been expected. It often happens that a discovery repels people instead of pleasing them.

Take Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. What a lot was written about it after it appeared. I don't mean the journalistic abuse that was poured on the novel; the fact is that the critics didn't see anything unusual about the work. It was as if nothing special had happened: a rather poorly written historical novel had been published, and that was all.

Obtuse critics see in a literary work only what is already known about it. To be a good critic, one must have the capacity to be surprised, and be able to show others that which they do not yet know about themselves and which the writer has told them about. This, according to Tolstoy, is the writer's task.

L.: In contemporary literature new discoveries will also, then, be connected with the understanding of the new man?

G.: Yes, because man has always been, and probably always will be the main subject of literature. Literary landmarks are at the same time landmarks of imaginative understanding of man. If a new great writer will appear, he will tell his contemporaries about their inner, spiritual experience which has not yet been articulated. And he will do this with means which are yet unknown to us.

Let us hope that the present widespread interest in the "intermediate" genres is not only an evidence of the "crisis of the novel", but also a sign of waiting, of *expectation*. This, as we know, had happened before.

NOTES

¹ A. I. Herzen, *Collected Works* in 30 volumes, Vol. 25, Moscow, 1961, p. 241 (in Russian).

² D. Likhachev, "History—the Mother of—Truth", *Social Sciences*, Moscow, No. 2, 1978.

³ M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 107, 123-124 (in Russian).

⁴ M. Nechkina, "The Decembrists and Their Place in World History", *Social Sciences*, Moscow, No. 4, 1976.

⁵ R. Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism*, London, 1962, p. 354.



Concepts Held Abroad Regarding Proletarian Culture

LYUDMILA SKVORTSOVA

The discussion on proletarian culture which arose at the close of the last century among West European Social-Democrats (including K. Kautsky, P. Lafargue, F. Mehring and K. Zetkin) lasted over four decades. During the first Russian revolution of 1905, the Russian Social-Democratic press took up problems of the new tasks in the revolutionary working-class movement. The keen polemic during the years after the October Revolution was a direct continuation of that discussion, which, between the early 1920s and the mid-1930s, assumed an international character, involving not only Europe but the USA, China and Japan, as well.

Until only a few years ago, it could be confidently affirmed that the polemic on proletarian culture had receded into the past, yet the very concept and the entire range of concomitant problems have come in for close attention and argument of late, first and foremost among critics abroad.

In a general sense, this fresh interest in the concepts of "proletarian culture" and "proletarian literature", and the interest generated at the new stage of historical development are indubitably linked with the consequences of the social upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s, with the radical change in the entire culture and ideological situation created by the exacerbation of the social conflicts in "consumer society."

The turn of present decade saw an obvious and clearly defined shift in the attitude towards the working-class theme evinced by readers, writers and bourgeois publishers abroad, a shift conditioned in many ways by the intensive politicisation of art in the seventies, and the mounting interest in social problems and the life of democratic sections of the population, and simultaneously reflecting the changed perception of the role of the working class in the social structure of present-day society.

As is common knowledge, writings on the working class have had a powerful social impact in a number of countries, as is exemplified by such writers as M. von der Grün, G. Wallraff, A. Plater, D. Chandler, S. Lidman, Nakazato Kisho, to name but a few. The working-class theme has involved writers of the most varying ideological and artistic leanings. There has even arisen a vogue for "working-class novels", this leading to the appearance of a number of works patterned after frankly commercial or conservative literature. At the same time, ever more publicity is being given to slogans that are frankly ultra-Leftist and regard working-class literature as an instrument of purely socio-revolutionary action, without any aesthetic qualities. Thus, there has been a clash between the most differing views on working-class literature, the latter term itself becoming, in the seventies, not only an object of aesthetic polemics but, in no less measure, of an ideological struggle.

Note should also be taken of other new trends, such as the emergence of an extensive social interest in works by writers with a working-class background. In recent years ever more articles have been published dealing with workers who have become non-professional writers, the difficulties confronting them along that road, the need to set up special literary organisations to serve them, as well as publishing facilities, and the like.

Highly indicative in this sense is the course of present-day literary development in the FRG, where a "movement of writing workers" has been in existence for several years and possesses a ramified network of literary groups located in over 30 cities. Known as Workers' Literary Circles, they bring out their own books and collections of other writings.

The first circle of this kind was organised as far back as 1969 under the name of the Group 61 as a union of non-professional worker writers. From the very outset, the Dortmund group proclaimed that it was oriented towards a democratic readership and was out to reflect the world of labour in literature. To this group should go the credit of bringing working-class themes into West German literature (the writings of von der Grün, Reding, Wallraff and other writers). This group's tenth birthday evoked a broad response in the West German press, which brought out articles on its history, and assessed the results of its activities. The ensuing discussion of problems of present-day workers' literature in the FRG devoted considerable attention to the internal conflict in the Group 61, which led to the separation from it, in 1970, of the Circle of Working-Class Literature, and then was the subject of a lengthy polemic.

The discussion revealed that the polemic centered around the very same problems that had been raised in the proletarian

literary movement of the 1920s: wherein lies the specifically proletarian in literature? Does it consist in showing the way the workers live or in getting the workers themselves to write about workers? What is the social function of working-class literature: in a simple depiction of the workers' life in industry, or in tackling the task of agitation aimed at the transformation of society?

"Industrial and clerical workers no longer wished to be merely an object of literature; they were out to become its subject, in other words, not only to be described but also to write, guided by a striving to bring about a change in the conditions of life by means of a description of them"—that was how Walter Fritzsche characterised, in the pages of the journal *Kürbiskern*, the programme of self-determination drawn up by the Circle of Working-Class Literature.¹

Characteristically enough, this was followed by a number of other problems so familiar from the discussions of previous years. Some members of the Circle insisted, for instance, that aesthetic specifics of proletarian literature should consist in the utmost simplicity of its forms, for it was only thus that a mass working-class readership could be won over. Hence the distrust of all kinds of "high-brow" literature and a definite preference for sketches, reportage and documentary writings to all other traditional genres.

First to be recalled was the discussion on revolutionary proletarian art in Germany itself in the 1920s and 1930s, the appearance of which was linked, in particular, with the movement of worker correspondents, with the contraposition of the documentary to the artistic so characteristic of German revolutionary literature in those years. Then there was the dilemma raised in the literary polemic of these years: art versus propaganda of the social revolution. Moreover, almost all the fundamental propositions we find in today's arguments on working-class literature were in their time advanced in one way or another in the practice of the world proletarian literary movement.

One would like to recall in this connection a statement made in 1935 by Johannes Becher, words which are fully in tune with our own days. The statement not only summed up what had gone before but, as shown by the further course of events, also looked into the future. In the report drawn up by the Revolutionary Association of Revolutionary Writers regarding the work of the Paris Congress in Defense of Culture, Becher made the following observation: "All our discussions have shown how important it is to write a history of the Association of Proletarian Revolutionary Writers or, in other words, a history of the problems that have arisen in the course of current developments. It would be even more important to create, at last, a history of the Russian

Association of Proletarian Writers. What emerges is that we have continually—but of course in different conditions—discussed the old problems, with our friends remaining in ignorance of those problems having been discussed in the past".²

We can speak today of an interest in the history of the proletarian literary movement without parallel in the past. We shall cite only a single instance, which may be highly indicative: a list of publications on that problem brought out in Japan. Two publishing houses have brought out multi-volume series containing everything in the least important produced in the past by proletarian literature and now buried in the pages of journals that have now become bibliographical rarities; such publications have included not only stories, poems and sketches but also critical and theoretical articles. The reference is to the *Series on the History of Japanese Proletarian Literature* in ten volumes (Aoki-shoten Publishers, 1957) and the *Series on the History of Japanese Proletarian Literature* in nine volumes, brought out by Sanichi Shobo Publishers in 1958. Over 50 works have come out in separate issues including such solid works as *A History of Japanese Proletarian Literature* by Yamada Seizaburo (two volumes) as well as Ara Masahito's *History of the Japanese Proletarian Literary Movement*, and Ichijo Shigemi's *History of the Theory of Japanese Proletarian Literature*.³ To this should be added the seven-volume series *The World Proletarian Literary Movement. Materials and Documents*, recently brought out in Tokyo by Sanichi Shobo Publishers (1972-1975).

Such a wide range of publications on this problem, even in a country with such rich traditions of proletarian literature as Japan, can be accounted for only within the context of present-day literary developments. For a number of years, a discussion has been under way in Japan on how the heritage of Japan's proletarian literature in the twenties and the thirties should be assessed. The discussion began far earlier in that country than elsewhere, actually in the first years after the war. As pointed out by researchers, the discussion has been directly linked with the artistic practice of today. Characteristic of Japanese literature of the past two decades is its broad appeal to the working-class theme, this under the influence of the most varied artistic and ideological trends; in comparatively recent years, a fairly large group of writers has emerged in that country who have come straight from the factories.⁴

However, any assessment of the history of the proletarian literary movement acquires a significance emerging far beyond the confines of arguments on proletarian aesthetics. In essence, this is a question of the appraisal of the democratic and anti-fascist heritage of literature of the past, the sources of present-day

progressive art, and the traditions the latter follows; last, it is a question of the evolution of Marxist positions in criticism and literary studies, i.e., the history of the Marxist sociology of art.

The present-day situation is marked by a keen interest in the history of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR, its aesthetics and artistic practice.⁵ All these problems have come up for keen discussion abroad, the participants striving to extract from our experience a certain content relevant to our own days. What we have here is a variety of interpretations. Since Left-wing radical cultural concepts took shape, an extreme Leftist position has come to the fore in recent years, revealing itself distinctly at all levels of the present-day discussion on proletarian culture: in discussions on the aesthetics of the present-day proletarian cultural movement, the polemic on the heritage of the twenties and the thirties, and the appraisal of the Soviet experience.

The history of the proletarian literary movement as perceived through the prism of Left-wing extremism has now proved mythologised in many respects. This also fully applies to the history of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR, which is treated in a highly one-sided fashion, outside of its actual role in the emergence of a new and revolutionary culture. As interpreted by the Left-wing radicals, it is seen exclusively as a phenomenon which embodied the destruction of aesthetics, the State based on the principles of the proletarian dictatorship being presented almost as a conservative force in the maintenance of bourgeois traditionalism.

Illustrative of this is the review, published in the West Berlin journal *Alternative*, on the collection of Proletkult documents and texts brought out in 1969 in the Federal Republic of Germany. While giving an unqualified positive appraisal of the Proletkult experience the reviewer sees the causes of the decline of the Proletkult movement in the latter meeting resistance, in its struggle for a new and socialist art, from the "new authorities" which were "wholly oriented towards the 'great' bourgeois art of Western Europe".⁶

There is no need to stress the significance, in the conditions of today, of the task of a Marxist interpretation of the entire range of problems linked with the concept of "proletarian culture".

Presenting definite interests from this point of view is the special issue of *Action poétique* (No. 59, 1974, Paris). This journal, which is oriented towards Marxist aesthetics, dealt with Proletkult and proletarian literature in the USSR. As stated in the introductory article by its editor Henri Deluy, the journal's stand is frankly polemical, on the one hand, in respect of Sovietology and all attempts to "utilise the 1920s and the 1930s against the Soviet reality of today" and, on the other, in respect of all attempts to

give gauchist interpretations that would "strive to give preference to Proletkult slogans as against Leninism".⁷

The very publication of this issue of *Action poétique* is highly indicative and deserves to be dealt with in detail. And though, running somewhat ahead, it should be said that not all the views and statements voiced in the journal are shared by the author of this article, a number of its propositions call for comment, some of them even for argument, but on the whole publication itself deserves serious attention.

What we have before us is an anthology of the proletarian literary movement of the Soviet epoch—about two hundred pages of *non-pareil* text presenting documents and literary texts. Programme articles and declarations are cited of all groups and trends actually existent in the proletarian literary camp: Proletkult, *Kuznitsa* (The Smithy), the *Molodaya gvardia* (the Young Guards) and October groups, the editorial board of the journal *Na postu*, (The Sentinel), the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers and so on. Then there are the reports and resolutions of the various relevant conferences and congresses. Verses by such proletarian poets as Alexandrovsky, Filipchenko, Gastev, Gerasimov, Yakubovsky, Ionov, Kirilov, Knyazev, Obradovich, Poletayev, and Kazin are given in French translations.

The French reader has gained access to the most important documents of Soviet cultural policies, including addresses by V. I. Lenin, and to Party decisions on Proletkult, the resolution adopted in 1925 by the Central Committee of the All-Russia Communist Party "On the Party's Policy in the Area of Fiction Literature", and the decree adopted by the Party's Central Committee in 1932 "On the Restructuring of Literary and Artistic Organisations".

According to the journal's editor, Issue 59 of *Action poétique* was the outcome of a full year's work by a group of translators, poets and specialists. We have dwelt on the significance of this publication only in its very broadest aspect, the reference being in the first place to the materials published of a round-table discussion on problems of proletarian culture, in which Henric Deluy, Léon Robel, Claude Frioux, Annie Sabatier, Elisabeth Roudinesco and others took part. The editorial board described such material as a questionnaire but it was in fact a series of interviews conducted by the editor himself. Addressed to our own times and sometimes designed rather to raise moot issues than to reply to them, these talks are imbued with a desire to reconsider established views on proletarian literature as something already well-known and expressed in petrified formulas and schemes.

The interest in Proletkult and proletarian literature stems from a number of causes including the immediate historico-literary.

However, as emphasised by the editorial board, the authors have in many respects also been motivated by a striving to throw light on the historical conditionedness of the interest shown in present-day France in Proletkult and the ideology of proletarian writers. The participants in the discussion are of the opinion that the events of May 1968 in France provided an impulse to such interest.

Frioux sees in the 1968 situation a repetition of the "infantile disorder of Leftism" characteristic of the proletarian literary movement in the 1920s. The experience of proletarian literature, he thinks, should have cured future generations of the "long-standing extremes of Left-wing culture", since proletarian literature was a kind of "vaccination": in this sense proletarian writers carried on to the bitter end, sliding into error and stubbornly continuing to do so.⁸

Emphasising that there are lessons to be drawn from some of the errors and delusions of proletarian literature, the journal at the same time tries to indicate the positive values in the historical experience of the proletarian cultural movement, contraposing them to the nihilistic and destructive trends in the aesthetics of present-day Left-wing radicalism.

The materials in the journal inform us of certain features in the perception of proletarian culture abroad. To *Action poétique*, that movement is, first and foremost, "a part of the history of the Soviet Union, part of the history of Soviet literature,"⁹ which reveals the pioneering experience of cultural advance following the Revolution. Moreover, that experience is assessed by *Action poétique* as historical testimony to the objectively existent link between cultural development and the revolutionary movement, the struggle of the proletariat.

The proletarian literary movement in the USSR is examined with this historico-cultural yardstick, a positive appraisal being given to the very experience of the posing and solution of "questions of particular urgency" ("which have always existed in reality")¹⁰ bearing upon the relations between revolution and culture, ideology and literature.

The journal has very accurately characterised the negative aspects in Proletkult activities which are defined by Robel as "a demand for autonomy, hegemony in all areas of culture", a rupture with the heritage, and a "rebirth, in new forms, of the *Vperyod* group's trends which were criticised by Lenin."¹¹

While explaining to the French reader the historical significance of the Party's criticism of Proletkult, *Action poétique* has come out against any single-term negative appraisal of proletarian literature, and against the widely spread idea that, on the whole, the movement was barren and condemned by history. Robel

objects to the entire experience of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR being reduced to nothing but negative trends. "It is useful today to study that experience because it cannot be reduced to several schemes. It was most wealthy in its variety of forms and much that is instructive can be extracted from it."¹² Deluy recalls that the very existence of proletarian literary organisations was the outcome of the requirements of a particular stage of the cultural revolution.

One cannot but agree with such statements. It should be noted that Soviet literary studies today are marked by a sufficiently differentiated approach to various aspects of Proletkult and the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, with greatly enhanced interest in this theme.

During the past few decades, a large number of studies have appeared in the USSR in the form of scientific articles, monographs, and collective efforts dealing with problems of proletarian literature or bearing, in varying degrees, on the history of the proletarian cultural movement. Suffice it to mention the following: the anthology *Proletarian Poets of the Early Years of the Soviet Epoch*, with an introduction by Z. Papernik; V. Keldysh's *Problems of Pre-October Proletarian Literature*; the book by S. Sheshukov *Some of the Zealots*; dealing with the history of the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers: V. Gorbunov's *V. I. Lenin and Proletkult*; writings by L. Timofeyev, A. Dementiev, P. Bugayenko, A. Kulinich, L. Farber, A. Belyaev, and E. Baskevich, and the collection *From the History of Soviet Aesthetic Thought*, histories of Russian and multinational Soviet literatures, a history of Soviet literary journalism, and the like, and in which Proletkult and proletarian literary organisations are allotted an appropriate place. (The materials in *Sketches from the History of Russian Soviet Journalism* have been extensively drawn on, for instance, by *Action poétique* in the section "Journals, Groupings, Publications".)

It is a different matter that there now exists a need for a scientific return—enriched with present-day ideas and tasks—to the initial stages of the history of Soviet culture, and for an ascertainment, in the experience of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR of its *historically conditioned and overall content*, so as to distinctly indicate its positive and negative results.

It is noteworthy that those who took part in the discussion launched by the journal have not tried to give concrete shape to the propositions they have advanced in respect of historico-literary materials or to give a broad-based scientific argumentation of those propositions. The reader has been offered "carefully selected proletarian texts"¹³ and certain broad methodological principles which, on the one hand, are to serve as guidelines for a correct understanding of the texts, and, on the other, are designed

to initiate in France a study of the history of our literary movement, this being set by the journal as an urgent task dictated by the conditions of today. The editorial board has, as stated in the Introduction, not set itself anything more than that.

This limited approach is fully justified and sufficient to indicate that the journal has accomplished its task. However, one cannot but note that the polemic nature of the interviews published in the journal sometimes do not enable the authors always to preserve the necessary scientific objectivity and impartiality in their historical appraisals.

That is perhaps most outstanding when *Action poétique* deals with problems of the relations between proletarian literature and "Left-wing art" in the 1920s. In one way or another, that theme is touched upon in many of the interviews and, in essence Deluy and Frioux deal exclusively with it.

In itself, there is nothing unexpected in the journal addressing itself to "Left-wing art" of the 1920s in its links with proletarian literature, or rather in its forces attracting it to, or repelling it from, proletarian literature. This question has acquired particular urgency abroad since the appearance of the cultural concepts of Left-wing radicalism, in which elements of *avantgardisme* and proletarian aesthetics have become intertwined and appraised in a highly complex fashion. An instance of such symbiosis can also be found, incidentally, in the history of the proletarian literary movement: suffice it to recall the declaration of the Czech school of poetry which, as is common knowledge, has come out under the flag of proletarian art.

In his preface, Deluy has emphasised the closeness between the initial sources and impulses which, even prior to the October Revolution, determined the emergence and development of proletarian and *avantgardist* aesthetics, such as a sense of the crisis in present-day art, and a striving to change the very nature of literary practice on the basis of the most up-to-date aesthetics and linguistic theories.¹⁴ In Frioux's opinion, proletarian literature should be correlated with trends in Left-wing art in this particular sense, since it was "the overall intention to explode traditional literature".¹⁵ The journal has sought ways towards an understanding of the specifics of proletarian aesthetics particularly in its present-day and new significance, first and foremost, through the phenomenon of "Left-wing art".

One cannot but consider as justified certain comparisons drawn in this connection by *Action poétique* (Gastev and the aesthetics of LEF; Gastev and Mayakovsky). However, the parallel drawn in the journal between proletarian groupings and LEF ultimately leads up to a certain identity being established between them within the framework of "Left-wing culture". After all, despite the conspicu-

ous community of iconoclastic attitudes towards the cultural heritage, there was a considerable difference between the adherents of LEF, and proletarian writers in their ideas on the new art and its relevance to the revolutionary epoch. Unlike LEF, which advanced as a major task a principled renovation of form and the overthrow of artistic traditions as such, the proletarian writers were most concerned with the "class purity" of the world-outlook as embodied in revolutionary art. Their cultural nihilism stemmed from an intention—taken to extremes of sectarianism because of their vulgar sociological premises—to make a complete break with art that is alien in the class sense. The shortcomings in the aesthetics of the proletarian literary movements consisted in a vulgar introduction of the destructive methods of the social revolution into the area of cultural development. This latter aspect proved beyond the purview of *Action poétique* possibly because, as I see it, it is marked by a certain idealisation of proletarian art and its aesthetics.

In its attempt to discern something prophetic and up-to-date in the experience of proletarian literature, *Action poétique* has permitted itself a certain modernisation of history. An instance is a parallel—insufficiently grounded in history, in my opinion—between the proletarian asceticism of the NEP period and the present-day non-acceptance of the "consumer society". Also somewhat exaggerated is the part played in our country, when the aesthetics of the proletarian literary movement was taking shape, by ideas so popular today of the spread of art into the sphere of reality itself, of the revolution in the style of life and so on.

At the same time, certain accents—new in French literary studies—in a characteristic of the "Left-wing art" of the twenties are highly interesting and indicative. The participants in the discussion devoted considerable attention to what they saw as the main contradiction in LEF aesthetics, a contradiction defined by Robel as "an internal and often destructive conflict", a collision between the struggle for avantgarde art and the striving to win over the mass audience it was intended for".¹⁶ The historical argument between the proletarian writers and LEF, a conflict with many aspects, is being settled today in favour of the former: "...The proletarian writers seemed ridiculous at times but they based themselves on forces that had begun to move and they were the first to promote the growth of such forces even prior to the Revolution. They should be given their due for their ability to attract a mass audience."¹⁷

Such appraisals are a reflection of the cultural and ideological situation that came into being in the West in the mid-seventies; it was a kind of new shift in the sphere of culture following the New Left. Disappointment in the ideology and aesthetics of ultra

Left-wing radicalism, which found itself in the grip of a profound crisis, has now cast its shadow on today's perception of the "Left-wing art" of the twenties. At the same time, there are now to be seen searchings after more constructive and democratic values that can be contraposed both to the destructively nihilistic and the elitist trends in present-day culture.

Also noteworthy in this sense was the international colloquium on the theme "Aspects and Problems of Proletarian Literature", which was held in 1976 in Clermont-Ferrand by the French Centre for the Study of Relations Between the Slav World and the West, and was attended by representatives of Czechoslovakia, France, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USA, the USSR, and other countries. According to its initiator and organiser Professor Jean Perus, the discussion was designed to sum up the international historical experience of proletarian literature and ascertain the common denominator in the problems to be dealt with in it.

The materials of the colloquium provided the basic content for a special issue of the journal *Europe*, which came out with the sub-title "Under Discussion: Proletarian Literature". The articles published in the journal, dealing in the main with the twenties and the thirties, expressed a distinct interest in the theoretical aspect of the Clermont discussion: the real content of the concepts of proletarian and socialist literature; the relations between the social and aesthetic functions of art; the interaction between literature and the world revolutionary process.

In his opening remarks, editor Pierre Gamarra drew attention to questions linked with the history of proletarian literature advancing in no fortuitous fashion into the foreground today: existing in a special ideological and political context, they still preserve great topical interest. This refers first and foremost to the history of Soviet literature which, as emphasised by participants in the colloquium, "has today relieved other literatures of the difficulties of traversing the proletarian stage".¹⁸

The question of the positive and negative results of the proletarian literary movement is indeed sufficiently complex in character. We cannot but realise that the very fact of the appearance of a discussion on proletarian literature at this turn of the century was directly linked with the spread of the principles of the materialist explanation of history to the area of culture, and that, despite its inherent extremes and polemic shortcomings, the discussion raised questions of extreme importance to the emergence of Marxist aesthetic thought: the class nature of art; the cultural heritage, and the relations between revolution and culture.

Yet it cannot but be seen that the road to real solutions of these problems does not lie through any rehabilitation of the

errors and vulgar sociological extremes in the stand of the zealots of proletarian purity. The difficulty lies in the erroneous positions of the proletarian literary movement—of course when we speak of errors of an *historical* nature—not existing in a chemically pure state: they are intimately connected with objective processes in reality, and are at times a consequence of a one-sided and hypertrophied development of various features in it that have been conditioned by history, so that they appear before us in the form of a “continuation of merits”. What seems necessary in this context is an objective examination of the experience of the past with all its strong and weak features and in its historical conditionedness. It would be important to show more distinctly than previously how, through numerous historically inevitable difficulties and seekings, and through what Lenin called the “birth-pangs”¹⁹ of the new society, the road was laid for the art of a new social system, its aesthetic and ideological criteria were evolved, and its historical principles became established.

An understanding of the complex problems of proletarian culture—an understanding in keeping with reality—could become enriched and expanded only given its far more active inclusion in the historical and ideological context of the revolutionary epoch, since the practical tasks of cultural advance were intimately interlinked with the Leninist plan for the socialist reconstruction of the country. Thus, the problem of continuity was not restricted to the attitude to the cultural heritage: it was a question of utilising a number of economic, legal and state and governmental establishments, the employment of bourgeois specialists, and, in a broader sense, of the “human material created by capitalism”.²⁰

The role of the proletariat in the advancement of culture was determined by its position among other classes and social groups in post-revolutionary society, and in the first place by the task of involving them in socialist construction. The question of the proletarian content of the new culture proved closely linked with the proletariat’s attitude to transient and intermediate forms of ideology inevitable in the conditions of a multi-sectoral economy and the complex socio-class structure of the post-revolutionary period.

It is here, in the difficulties posed by an understanding of the contrasts in an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and in an understanding of the complex dialectics of the new and the old in economic, social, and cultural development that explanations of the features of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR should first and foremost be sought.

As the initial period in the history of Soviet literature recedes more and more into the past, the more clearly do the broader and general features emerge from the concreteness of the particular

and the singular. Looking back half a century, we see that the furious arguments on proletarian culture and proletarian literature, which at times seem to sink into petty details as, for instance, the question who should be considered a proletarian writer and the yardstick to be used in such measurements, were always rooted—in the broader sense—in differing understandings of the basic questions of the country's cultural development in the conditions of the victorious proletarian revolution. It was a question of different understandings of the role of the proletariat in the creation of a new culture, of the participation of members of other classes and social groups in that process, and the relation between class and universal features, between the ideological and the aesthetic, the material and the spiritual, in the art of the revolutionary epoch.

The very concept of "proletarian culture" in its various interpretations reflected the first ideas on the culture of the new society, which in many cases was seen as an entirely new culture, without the least continuity with what had gone before. These were arguments on the specifics of what was new in culture and its relation to the past, specifics conditioned by the revolution. The presence, in that discussion on proletarian culture, of this feature, broad and standing beyond the limits of a particular period, explains in many ways the interest felt today in the matter.

When we use the term *the history of literature*, we are accustomed to stressing the second element, something which is quite natural in literary studies. However, the tread of History is often to be heard more distinctly in proletarian literature than the steps of literature itself. In the ideological struggle and the world social processes of the last decades, the echo of history is to be heard even louder. In these conditions there is as much aesthetic as ideological significance in addressing oneself to the historical experience of the proletarian literary movement in the USSR. It is this that gives so much topical interest to new and serious research into the problem on a par with the present level of Soviet literary art.

NOTES

¹ *Kürbischern*, No. 1, 1972, p. 69.

² *Literaturnoye nasledstvo*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 81, p. 102.

³ N. I. Feldman-Konrad, *The Japanese Proletarian Literary Movement in Documents*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 3-4 (in Russian).

⁴ K. Rekho, "From Democratic Literature Towards Socialist Realism," *Voprosy literatury*, No. 9, 1947; also his "The Working Class and Japanese Literature", *The Present-Day Revolutionary Process and Progressive Literature (1960-1970)*, Moscow, 1976 (in Russian).

- ⁵ Thus, documents on the history of the Proletkult movement have frequently been published in the FRG in recent years. See: R. Lorenz, *Proletarische Kulturrevolution in Sowjetrußland (1917-1921). Dokumente des "Proletkult"*, Munich, 1969; *Asthetik und Kommunikation*, 1972, Issue 5/6; P. Gorsen und E. Knödler-Bunte, *Proletkult, Vol. 1—System einer proletarischen Kultur. Dokumentation*, Stuttgart, 1974, *Proletkult, Vol. 2—Zur Praxis und Theorie einer proletarischen Kulturrevolution in Sowjetrußland 1917-1925. Dokumentation*, Stuttgart, 1975.
- ⁶ *Alternative*, 1970, No. 70, p. 45.
- ⁷ *Action poétique*, 1974, No. 59, pp. 5, 10.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- ¹⁸ *Europe*, March-April, 1977, p. 14.
- ¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 341.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 115.

YOUTH AND SOCIETY

Revolutionary Continuity of Generations

VADIM PECHENEV

The strength of Soviet society, the dynamism of its development largely stem from the social and spiritual unity of the Soviet people and from the continuity of its generations. In this continuity, the indissoluble connection between the various stages of the struggle for socialism and communism finds living embodiment.

Each generation of Soviet people has made and is continuing to make its particular contribution to this struggle, is participating in its own way in the movement of history which, to cite Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, is but the succession and interconnection of different generations. In their continuity is manifested both the passage of time measured in general human terms and the participation of people of the given epoch in world history and in revolutionary transformations of vast scale.

* * *

The predominant part of the population of the USSR (about 86 per cent) are people who were born and grew up already after the establishment of the Soviet state. But the ideas which inspired the fighters of the Great October Socialist Revolution do not grow old. They are enriched with new experience, they unite all classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of Soviet society and all its generations.

The continuity of the generations of Soviet society is a natural consequence of its advance towards communism. But this continuity takes shape and manifests itself by no means spontaneously. The very history of Soviet society is a continued process, for at different stages of its development the Leninist Party, carrying out its leading role, has ensured the consistent fulfilment of the tasks

corresponding in the given period, in the given conditions to the vital interests of the working class and all working people, to the ultimate goals of socialist and communist construction. The involvement of the respective generations in this common task of the entire people is also facilitated by the multiform ideological, political and organisational activities of the Party, which bases itself on the concise conclusions of Marxist-Leninist science.

In his writings Lenin shows that the specific features of different generations and the interconnection between them are determined by the constantly changing economic, political and ideological and socio-psychological situation which leaves its characteristic imprint on them. The new generations of working people, including the youth, interpret the ideas of scientific socialism according to their own experience, join the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary construction in their own way. Lenin noted both the fundamental similarity, the close connection and the qualitative difference of the social tasks of the different generations of working people at different stages of the building of the new society.¹ Proceeding from Lenin's premises the CPSU in its policy always takes into account the specific features of different generations of the working people and combines their interests.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people accomplished the history-making task of building a mature socialist society. At the same time practice has shown that the development of socialism is not a less complicated and responsible matter than laying its foundations. It requires steadily raising the level of self-discipline, organisation and consciousness of the people with special attention being paid to the communist education of the younger generation who will have to tackle more monumental tasks than the present ones.

The Party displays tireless concern for the education of the younger generation, for raising its ideological, political, professional and cultural level, for the growth of its creative and intellectual potential. Today nearly 90 per cent of young workers under 30 have a higher, incomplete higher or secondary education; for the whole working class the percentage is 73 (forty years ago it was less than 8 per cent.).

A comprehensive approach to education, which was discussed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, is conducive to raising the effectiveness of ideological and educational work, and among the youth as well. The study of specific problems concerning the interaction of generations is highly important here. A number of scientific studies dealing with the "generation" problems has appeared in recent years, but in many of them their authors confine themselves to a general descriptive picture of the younger

generation. But this is only one aspect, true, a very important one, of the entire complex of problems, of the continuity of the generations. Unless a thorough and in-depth study is made purely "youth" problems will not be explained successfully. This kind of approach tends to make the specific character and certain objective difficulties as, say, the involvement of new generations in labour and socio-political life at times appear simply like "growing pains", and no more. A really scientific and comprehensive approach calls for studying both the specific features of the social aspect of this or that generation and the influence of their parents, assessing various shortcomings of education in the family, the school, and the work collective.

Distinctive of socialist society is the socio-political and ideological unity of all age categories of the working people. Similarity of basic aims and interests, way of life, convictions and value orientations are characteristic of them. At the same time, the specific historical circumstances under which each given generation appears, is educated and acts, shape its particular socio-psychological features. These do not disappear with the passage of youth. Figuratively speaking, these features outlast the times that engendered them and become, in one or another form, the features of the next period.

Constant creative interaction of the generations enables young people to assimilate the experience of their fathers and the latter to preserve the freshness of perception of new phenomena and problems. The objectively dissimilar, varied experience of the different generations of fighters for socialism and communism has produced, under the influence of the purposeful activities of the Communist Party, that priceless amalgam of communist knowledge, convictions and practical actions which is the mainspring of Soviet society's creative development, of its self-renewal. "During sixty years of progress along the road which the October Revolution opened up, wonderful socialist traditions have been established in our society which consolidate the rich experience of revolutionary struggle and creative work. To safeguard these traditions means to creatively develop them. The Party ably sums up and enriches the experience gained by all generations of fighters for the triumph of the Revolution, for socialism and communism who are united by common interests and ideals."²

* * *

The key role in ensuring the generations' revolutionary continuity is played by the Marxist-Leninist class approach to the education of the youth. This approach is determined by the very

nature of Soviet society, of which the working class was and remains the leading force.

The need for a class approach is dictated also by the present international situation which is characterised by intensification of the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism, by bourgeois propaganda's attempts to drive a wedge between the different generations of the builders of the new society.

The moulding of the younger generation's class consciousness, its specific character, is determined today also by the fact that the youth are entering into active life in the conditions of a society which is gradually overcoming class distinctions. The youth of developed socialism do not possess their own experience of struggle with the bourgeoisie inside the country, under the decisive impact of which the socialist consciousness of the older generations of builders of the new society, the veterans of the Revolution and the first pre-war five-year plans, was moulded. They do not know from their own experience of the desperate confrontation, including military, between the world's first proletarian state and international imperialism in conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement.

It is important to bear all this in mind when defining the concrete ways and methods with the aid of which the Marxist-Leninist ideology is imparted to the new generations of working people and close unity of ideological and political, labour and moral education is ensured.

The methodological starting point, both in practical work with young people and in scientific studies of youth problems, is the requirement (constituting one of the principles of a comprehensive approach to education) to take account of the specific features of different groups of working people, and consequently, a differentiated approach to the youth—workers, farmers, students, etc. Here two circumstances should be considered. The first is that in their way of thinking and behaviour all youth groups have certain features in common, which is explained by the common character of the basic features of their life in socialist society; they also have many features characteristic of the juvenile psychology. The second is that the present younger generation, accounting for more than half of the country's workers and nearly half of its intelligentsia, represents a socio-demographic group possessing a greater social homogeneity compared with the older age categories. This opens up additional favourable opportunities for affirming ever more actively genuine democracy and humanism, collectivism and comradeship, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in the relations between people.

The new Soviet Constitution gives a powerful impulse to the

socio-political and labour activity of the youth. Like all citizens of the Soviet Union young people enjoy big socio-economic rights and political freedoms. Socialist democracy most fully brings out its historical advantages, creative possibilities and humanistic essence. It is easier for the younger generation to assimilate the norms of socialist democracy, and to make them a habit. What is needed is properly to organise their study, work and leisure, to pay greater attention to their political and legal education.

The following words of Leonid Brezhnev are particularly applicable to the youth: "We want the citizens of the USSR to know well their rights and freedoms, and the ways and methods of exercising them; we want them to be able to apply these rights and freedoms in the interests of the building of communism, and to have a clear understanding of their close connection with honest fulfilment of their civic duties. It is an important task of the Party and state bodies and mass organisations responsible for the communist education of working people to promote this and to help every citizen achieve a high level of political awareness."³

Here the Komsomol, the 38-million strong Leninist Young Communist League, militant reserve and reliable aide of the Party, plays a big role. Its versatile activities, carried out under the direct leadership of the CPSU, stimulate the political and labour activity of young people, help to meet their manifold interests and ensure their conscious participation in the building of communism.

* * *

Perfecting the education of young people is a creative matter which brooks no formalism or clichés. The younger generation is, to cite Lenin, the socially most responsive part of the population. In our times this "social responsiveness" of young people is particularly vividly seen on the great construction projects of communism, on the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway, in the Non-Black Soil Zone of the Russian Federation, in the regions where the oil and gas deposits of West Siberia are being developed, and in the steppes of Kazakhstan. Everywhere where the fate of the plans of communist construction is being decided, where the future aspect of the country is being shaped, millions of young men and women are working. Their practical contribution to socialist and communist construction, their creative initiative and selfless work on the country's high-priority construction sites have won the Leninist Komsomol labour glory, have earned it the high praise of the Party. "Carrying on the glorious traditions of their fathers and grandfathers," observed Leonid Brezhnev, "members of the Komsomol, young men and women, are in the

front ranks of the builders of communism, maturing on the job, learning to manage the economy and to administer the affairs of society and the state. The country's future is in their hands. We are sure that it is in good hands."⁴

The Komsomol, young people are taking an ever more active part in the socio-political life of the country. About three hundred young elected representatives of the people—nearly 20 per cent of the total number of deputies—carry out with distinction their deputy duties. More than 30 per cent of the deputies to the local Soviets are young people and Komsomol members. The right to initiate legislation accorded the Leninist Komsomol by the Constitution of the USSR, as well as the right of all citizens to participate in administering state and social affairs give a new dimension to the labour and socio-political creativity of the country's young people.

The Party spares no effort to ensure that young people should be well equipped for carrying out the tasks of communist construction today and tomorrow, tasks which for the first generations of proletarian revolutionaries were remote goals, remote ideals. True to Lenin's behests, the CPSU teaches the new generations of working people to treasure and respect the revolutionary traditions, the experience of struggle and labour of those who were the first to overthrow the exploiter system, and to lay the foundation of the new society. Under the beneficial influence of the example of the older generations, said Leonid Brezhnev speaking in Komsomolsk-on-Amur, sons and daughters are growing up in the big Soviet family who are worthy continuers of the common endeavour—the building of communism. Thoughtfully taking into account, in the Leninist way, the aspirations and work of the youth the Party educates young men and women in the spirit of communist ideology, draws them into active participation in the struggle for the triumph of our great cause.

Great responsibility in this matter devolves on the older generations. Lenin's dictum that the older generations should have a proper approach to young people, with due consideration of the specific character of involving them in socialism,⁵ retains its force in our day as well. The education of the younger generation on revolutionary, militant and labour traditions, on communist ideals must always be brought into correlation with their own living experience, with everyday affairs, with the specific tasks of the present stage of the building of communism.

The moulding of the new man is a complex, contradictory process. We know that insufficient attention to the development of intellectual needs in the conditions of the rapid growth of living standards, increased leisure, modernisation of living conditions can

lead to part of the population (including the youth) taking a consumer attitude to life, an individualistic and egoistical stance, which are incompatible with the socialist way of life. That is why the problem of the conscious moulding, of harmonising and elevating the requirements of Soviet people, and the youth in the first place, of forming their requirement for creative labour for the benefit of the nation, acquires such importance today. That is why the Party seeks to ensure that the nature of education should be such that the growth of material opportunities goes hand in hand with the advance of the ideological, moral and cultural levels of people.

Today when the ideological struggle in the international arena is becoming ever more hard-fought, the fostering in young people of communist convictions, ideological steadfastness and an active attitude to life acquires paramount importance. It is essential that the strong immunity to ideas, customs and views hostile to the socialist system and way of life, that has been developed during the 60 years of Soviet government, should become still stronger as the well-being of the people grows, as the opportunities for receiving an education and choosing of profession, expand. A high level of ideological awareness and political culture, ability to be a militant propagandist of the truth about socialism, to conclusively expose by well-grounded arguments the reactionary character and anti-humanism of the capitalist system—this is expected today of every Soviet citizen, of every fighter for socialism and communism.

* * *

In the crucible of class battles, in the process of historic creation, the CPSU has fashioned a powerful weapon of the affirmation, preservation and further development of the new society—the unity of all the generations of fighters for the cause of the working class, for communism. The further cohesion of this unity, of the revolutionary continuity of all generations of the Soviet people is an important factor of new successes of developed socialism, of the realisation of its humanistic ideals.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 283.

² *On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 26-27.

³ *Fundamental Law of the Socialist State of the Whole People*, Moscow, 1978, p. 58.

⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, "The Great October Revolution and Human Progress," *New Times*, No. 4-5; November, 1977, p. 7.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 163.



SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION AND THE COOPERATION OF SCIENTISTS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

One of the significant aspects in the development of science is the progress of scientific information. Interest in the problems involved reflects its growing role in scientific advance in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution and the "information explosion" characterised by the continued increase of scientific publications all over the world. Scientific information base to a considerable extent determines both scientific research and the general cultural potential of a society. The last few years have seen the emergence and development of a relatively new scientific trend, information in social sciences.

This is due to the growing complexity of social processes and the need for scientifically explaining and controlling them. The number of publications in the social sciences is increasing, with approximately one million appearing annually. Scientific information is an effective means of promoting culture and education and improving cultural life. At the same time, the very character and trend of that information are directly linked with ideology. In socialist society, information is utilised for humanitarian purposes of mould-

ing progressive views and convictions and disseminating a genuinely scientific world outlook. In the socialist countries, information in the social sciences is a source of scientific debate in the struggle for peace and consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. This significance of scientific information is increasing today in connection with tasks associated with the fullest realisation of the principles of European cooperation laid down in the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. The Soviet Union, like the other countries of the socialist community, is consistently implementing all its requirements, an important place among which belongs to the development of contacts in the cultural field and the more extensive spread of information.

At present there is an expanding International Information System for the Social Sciences of the socialist countries (IISSS). It was set up under an agreement signed in July 1976 in Moscow by representatives of the academies of sciences of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the USSR, and also envisaged in

the 1971 Agreement on multilateral scientific cooperation between the academies of sciences of the socialist countries.

Formation of the IISSS was a reflection of the urgent need to improve information work so as to further raise the standards of research and instruction in the social sciences in the socialist countries. It was the logical upshot of cooperation between scientific information centres of the socialist countries, which reveals that exchanges of experience facilitates better utilisation of their scientific and organisational opportunities and the pooling of their efforts to raise the effectiveness of science and scientific information.

The establishment of the IISSS and the conditions of its development reflect the community of processes of social development, the community of ideological processes characteristic of the socialist countries and the achievements in cooperation between them.

The experience accumulated today by the IISSS shows that from the outset there is naturally developing a division of labour in multilateral cooperation. Coordination of various essential aspects of the common effort is undertaken by countries that have accumulated noteworthy experience in that field. Thus, joint work on problems of scientific policy is coordinated by the Scientific Information Centre of the Polish Academy of Sciences; problems of the political organisation of society, by Bulgarian scientists; problems of the world economy, by the Central Information and Documentation Department for the Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic; problems of information mainte-

nance of inter-disciplinary research, by the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; questions of utilising technical means in the cooperation programme are coordinated by the Czechoslovak scientists, etc.

The purpose of the IISSS is:

— to assure higher efficiency of scientific information and promote the efficiency of information bodies in the social sciences;

— to remove unnecessary duplication of gathering and processing of scientific information on the basis of international division of labour;

— to provide possibilities for going over to one-time processing of the majority of source materials and multiple use of information.

The IISSS functions on the basis of equal cooperation of national scientific information systems and embraces all social sciences, in the first place those of importance to the social, political, ideological and cultural development of the socialist countries and their peoples.

It is intended, within the IISSS framework, to improve the level of organisation of scientific work for the preparation of joint information publications. All *published* sources on social sciences will be fed into the system, with due account for the unification of processing and compatibility of linguistic and tactical means and mathematical servicing.

The basic institution of the IISSS organisational structure is a *designated national body*, which is, in each country, coordinator of the activities of academic and other competent national information bodies in the social sciences.

The task of coordinating the activities of the designated national and basal bodies lies with a *steering*

body, unanimously agreed by the academies of sciences of the socialist countries to be the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences.

The steering body coordinates the development of the IISSS, acts on proposals put forward by the designated national bodies and common agreed documents of the participants in the system, and provides them with all incoming information. The work of the IISSS is regulated by documents adopted by its Council.

The IISSS functions along two main lines. One is the expansion of cooperation between information bodies in the selection, filing, scientific processing, exchanges and publication of information materials by traditional methods. The other is the elaboration and introduction of automated information systems and their incorporation in a single automated information system. The IISSS prepares joint bibliographies and joint thematic collections.

Abstract information is assembled thematically and retrospectively, which makes it possible to obtain fuller knowledge on the development of research in a given field in a given problem.

The IISSS contributed to an expansion of joint work in elaborating various topical contemporary issues and preparing joint information publications.

The first joint IISSS publication was an abstract collection, *The 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*. It was widely circulated and it presented the most fundamental research of scientists of the socialist countries on one of the principal topics of social development in the present epoch.

Information publications were put out on the subjects, *The Socialist Way of Life; Developed Socialist Society. Theory and Practice; Violation of Human Rights and Freedoms in Capitalist Countries*, and others. A number of bibliographic handbooks were published: *A Critique of Contemporary Bourgeois, Reformist and Revisionist Theories; The Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Among CMEA Member Countries and Yugoslavia. The Development of Socialist Economic Integration; Joint Works of Scientists of the Socialist Countries in the Social Sciences*, etc.

Joint work has been carried out in preparation of thematic abstract collections, publication of which is coordinated by the respective academies of sciences; *The Development of the Socialist Community* (coordinator—Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences); *Problems of Science Policy in Conditions of Socialism* (Scientific Information Centre of the Polish Academy of Sciences); *Aggravation of the General Crisis of Capitalism at the Present Stage* (Central Information and Documentation Department for the Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic); *Problems of Proletarian Internationalism* (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and Slovak Academy of Sciences), *Critique of Bourgeois Ideology, Reformism and Revisionism* (USSR Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Sciences); *The Socialist State at the Stage of Building Developed Socialist Society* (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), *The Development of Socialist Democracy* (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), *Major Problems of the World Revolutionary Process at the Present Stage* (Academy of Sciences of the GDR).

As the IISSS develops, it is envisaged to set up international information subsystems for the main branches and for special types of information in the social sciences.

This work takes into account the specifics and the sources of information in the social sciences and the growing significance of interdisciplinary problems and interdisciplinary research. IISSS information centres devote considerable attention to the elaboration of an automatic information system. The idea is based on the principle of decentralised (within the respective countries) processing and introduction of information, and centralised formation and circulation of cumulative information arrays.

Much has already been done to create the conditions for introducing the automatic information system.

Over the last few years IISSS national information centres have sponsored a number of conferences devoted to the development and specific forms of cooperation of scientists: a conference of experts on questions of pre-machine and communication formats used in the IISSS automated information system (Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, November 1977); a conference of member countries on questions of the effectiveness of the traditional system of selective distribution of information and on the IISSS rubricator (Warsaw, Poland, December 1977); a conference on the preparation of joint bibliographic and abstract publications (Berlin, GDR, March 1978); a conference on methodological problems of information supply of interdisciplinary research in the social sciences (Budapest, Hungary, April 1978); a conference of ex-

perts on the IISSS Automated Information System (Moscow, USSR, June 1978).

In September 1978, the first scientific conference "The Role of Scientific Information in the Development of the Social Sciences of the Socialist Countries and the Tasks of Development of the IISSS" was held in Bulgaria.

The IISSS national bodies take an active part in international scientific cooperation in information on the social sciences. In 1977, the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences sponsored the first European conference of information and documentation centres in the social sciences. The second European conference was held in Poland in 1978 sponsored by the Scientific Information Centre of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Scientific Information Centre of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is preparing a handbook of European research organisations in the social sciences, and the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Information in the Social Sciences is preparing an international bibliography, *The Use of Mathematical Methods and Computers in the Social Sciences*.

The plan for 1979-1980 approved by the IISSS Council provides for extensive work in various aspects of multilateral cooperation: preparation of 20 joint abstract collections, 12 bibliographic indices, and a number of important works on the establishment of the Automated Information System. It is designed to promote the objectives outlined by the Long-Term Programme of Multilateral Cooperation of Scientific Organisations of the Socialist Countries in the Social Sciences drawn up by the

Standing Conference of Vice-Presidents of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries in the Social Sciences, and approved by the First Conference of Presidents of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries.

The IISSS's objective for 1979-1980 is to promote the further perfection of forms and methods of multilateral cooperation of member countries in scientific information in the social sciences, enhance the effectiveness of scientific information and, thereby, the level of scientific research and teaching of the social sciences in the socialist countries.

Joint publications planned for the coming period will cover a variety of topical problems in the

social sciences: "Developed Socialism and the Formation of a Socially Homogeneous Society", "The Development of International Socialist Integration", "Marxist-Leninist Dialectics as a Theory and a Method", "The Socialist Countries and the Struggle for Peace", "The Political System of Socialist Society", "The Interconnection of Sciences and Inter-Disciplinary Research in Modern Science", and others. Much work is envisaged in the development and coordination of traditional forms and methods of information supply, and exchanges of literature and exhibitions.

M. Gapochka

Congresses • Conferences • Symposiums

CENTENARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE BALKAN PEOPLES FROM THE OTTOMAN YOKE

An international scientific conference held in Moscow in May 1978 was devoted to the centenary of the Balkan peoples' liberation from the Ottoman yoke. Scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Rumania and the USSR took part.

Opening the Conference Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasised that 100 years after the liberation of the Balkan peoples the grandeur of what had been accomplished at that time could be seen especially vividly. In the difficult times of foreign domination and during the upswing of the national liberation movement the significance of the Balkan peoples' cooperation with Russia was especially tangible. At a time when the leading West European countries were advocating preservation of the *status quo* in the Balkans, only Russia could render active assistance to the peoples in that region. The liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Ottoman yoke during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 consolidated the age-long traditions of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our country and the Balkan Penin-

sula. And revolutionary ties between them were also strengthened. The Balkan peoples now faced the prospect of progressive development.

Academician A. Narochnitsky and L. Beskrovny (USSR) in their paper "The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and Its Historical Significance", analysed the concrete historical conditions of the war and its social and political character; they disclosed its place and significance in the history of the countries concerned. It was a period of wars for national liberation in Europe, crowned by the formation of new states. The paper dwelt on the specific features of the Eastern crisis which culminated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878—one of the most important events of the second half of the 19th century; it exerted the decisive influence on the historical destinies of the Balkan peoples.

A national bourgeois revolution occurred in Bulgaria during the war. In Serbia and Rumania bourgeois relations became a predominant form. The victory of capitalism in these countries placed on the agenda the abolition of the remnants of feudal relations in

Southeastern Europe. Although the Russian government's support to the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples was prompted by class aims, objectively it played a positive role. The principal task advanced by the peoples who began to fight for their national liberation was solved: Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania gained complete independence, with the help of Russia, and became sovereign states. Ottoman oppression was done away with in the course of the war and a Bulgarian state was restored.

The war had a profound impact on Russia's domestic life, particularly on the Russian revolutionary movement and the development of Russian military art.

The paper by K. Vinogradov (USSR)—"The Basic Aspects of the Foreign Policies of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Germany During the Eastern Crisis of the 1870s" traced the main trends of these countries' foreign-policy moves in that period. The speaker noted that all these policies were spearheaded against the Balkan nations. Small countries were being fettered with shackling agreements; it became apparent that a threat of new enslavement—by European capitalist countries—would take the place of feudal oppression. Economic dominance was accompanied by a more intensive political activity of these countries' agents and the fanning of national strife between the peoples and states of Southeastern Europe. On the basis of the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, Western powers provoked clashes, disrupted the creation of strong and viable states and hampered the joint actions of the Balkan peoples in defending their interests.

Academician D. Kosev, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, presented the paper "The Role of the Bulgarian National Revolution in Russia's Policies in the Balkans During the 1860s". He concluded that the insufficient scope of the Bulgarian national revolution and the absence of an organised and centralised national revolutionary movement prevented Russian statesmen, up to 1858, from posing the question of the autonomy of the Bulgarian principedom. The subsequent steady growth of the Bulgarian national liberation movement became an important factor in determining Russia's Balkan policies. Objectively, the positions of Russia and the Bulgarian national revolution coincided and this resulted in Bulgarians taking an active part in the Russo-Turkish War on the side of Russia.

Another Bulgarian scholar, Academician H. Khristov, read the paper "Russia, Western Powers and the Liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish Domination". Comparing the positions of West European powers and Russia on the question, Khristov refuted the assertions of bourgeois historians that Russian policy in the Balkans was allegedly a predatory one. He emphasised that Russia's military intervention played the decisive role in the liberation of Bulgaria.

L. Boicu (Rumania) in his paper "On Rumanian-Russian Political Relations in 1875-1877" emphasised that historical conditions did not allow the Balkan peoples to solve the Eastern question without active help from outside. That help, in the concrete-historical conditions, could be rendered only by Russia.

Scholars from the GDR,

S. Wegner-Korfes and H. Wolter, discussed the policy of Bismarck in 1875-1878. They noted that all his statements about Germany's lack of interest in the Balkan developments were but a ruse. In actual fact, one of the aims of his energetic diplomatic activity was to use the national liberation movements in Southeastern Europe and contradictions between the great powers to strengthen Germany's positions. This was shown also by the results of the Berlin Congress of 1878.

E. Palotás (Hungary) in his paper "The Balkan Moves of Austria-Hungary and the Berlin Congress" examined the Balkan policy of Austria-Hungary in the late 1870s. He pointed out that at the time Austrian diplomatic efforts were aimed, among other things, at subjugating the Balkan Peninsula. However, as a result of the Russo-Turkish War the Balkan peoples acquired the right and opportunity to uphold their national independence.

The role of the public in solving the Eastern crisis was discussed by V. Grosul (USSR) in his paper "The Eastern Crisis of the 1870s and the Russian Public", and K. Herman (Czechoslovakia)—"Solidarity of the Czech People with the National Liberation Struggle of the Balkan Peoples in the Second Half of the 19th-Early 20th Centuries". Grosul stressed that it was the democratic circles of the Russian public that were the first to assist, in broad and varied forms, the Balkan peoples in their struggle for liberation. At the same time the Eastern crisis exerted great influence on the development of the political consciousness of the peoples of Russia, which facilitated the ripening of another

revolutionary situation in our country. Herman noted that the support given to the Balkan peoples' struggle by the Czech and Slovak public was prompted by their sympathies for the enslaved peoples and the conviction that a solution of the Eastern crisis would have an impact on solving the nationalities question in Austria-Hungary.

A number of papers were devoted to the influence of the Russo-Turkish wars on the national liberation movements in the Balkan Peninsula.

V. Karasev (USSR) in his paper "Bourgeois-National Revolutions and the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878" traced the emergence and specific features of the bourgeois-national revolutions of the 1870s in the Balkans and their connection with the Eastern crisis. Citing a wealth of factual material the author showed the role and influence of internal and external conditions on the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism in the Balkans.

E. Niederhauser (Hungary), in his paper "A Comparison of the National Liberation Movements of the Balkan Peoples in the 19th-Early 20th Centuries" offered a periodisation of the liberation struggle of the Balkan peoples and of the process of the formation of national states and described the concrete historical conditions in which the struggle for national emancipation in the Balkans was proceeding.

N. Todorov, Corresponding Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in his paper "The Russo-Turkish Wars and the Balkan Peoples" noted that the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 was a logical result of Russia's positive

role in the development of the Bulgarian national liberation movement. Russia decided to enter the war due to the situation that had emerged in the Balkans. The author concluded that the victorious conclusion of the war had a positive influence on Balkan peoples.

V. Vinogradov (USSR) and N. Ciachir (Rumania) devoted their papers to Rumania's participation in the national liberation movement in the Balkans. Ciachir in his paper "Rumania as an Active Factor of the Struggle for National Liberation of the Balkan Peoples (1856-1877)" characterised Rumania's policy and its significance for national liberation struggle in the Balkans. Vinogradov in the paper "The 1877-1878 War—the Concluding Stage of the Rumanian People's Struggle for Independence" emphasised that the weakening and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire as a result of the Russo-Turkish wars contributed to the Balkan peoples' liberation from Turkish domination. In-

dicative in this respect is the example of the Danube principalities. The attempts of conservative and liberal circles to gain autonomy by diplomatic means did not win support on the part of the cabinets of Western countries. Vinogradov pointed out that at the concluding stage of the Eastern crisis results could be achieved only if the successes of the national liberation movement were combined with Russia's assistance.

The closing speech at the Conference was made by Academician E. Zhukov, Chairman of the Organisational Committee, Academic Secretary of the Division of History, USSR Academy of Sciences. He noted that the war for the liberation of the Balkans from Ottoman domination was a milestone in world history. The scholars of this period will have to solve the methodological problem of approaching historical phenomena from the class point of view.

V. Terekhov

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE LAW

The 10th International Congress of Comparative Law was held in Budapest in August 23-28, 1978. The congresses of comparative law differ from all other congresses sponsored by the numerous international specialised juridical organisations in that they embrace the entire diversified system of the science of law. They, therefore, offer opportunities for establishing interdisciplinary contacts, for identifying the tendencies characterising the interconnections and interactions between the various specialised branches of jurisprudence.

The congresses of comparative law are sponsored by the International Academy of Comparative Law where eminent scholars of law from many countries are represented. Its membership includes 50 full and 64 corresponding members, including 7 full and 11 corresponding members representing the socialist countries. The Academy's researches are concerned with making a comparative study of the various existing legal systems taken both as a whole and at the level of their component branches and legal institutions. The main form of the Academy's

activities is the organisation (every four years) of international congresses and the subsequent publication of the final general reports.

The 10th International Congress of Comparative Law was attended by more than 700 scholars from most countries of the world. Nearly 350 of them represented Western Europe, the USA and Canada, more than 50 came from Asia and the Far East. Among the delegates were many well-known comparativists.

Over 200 scholars came from the socialist countries. The Soviet delegation, headed by V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, consisted of 18 scientists, including the author of these notes.

The main work was carried out in 40 panels, for the Congress embraced all the key branches of the science of law. Soviet scholars participated in almost all the panels: in three of them they delivered general reports and in four others worked as chairmen or vice-chairmen. The Soviet delegation presented 20 papers, most of which were included in the collection *The Development of Soviet Law and Jurisprudence* published by the "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board, USSR Academy of Sciences, in English and French.

I should like to note the good organisation of the Congress (credit for which goes first of all to the Hungarian Committee responsible for preparation and holding of the Congress) and, particularly, its positive atmosphere when the theoretical discussions and debates, of which there were quite a number, did not go beyond the

limits of the topics under consideration.

Here are some of the problems that aroused especial interest and were dealt with in several panels.

These were, notably, the methodological problems of comparative law. They were discussed both on a general plane (for instance, the correlation of comparison with other methods of research) and in relation to individual branches of the science of law. The use of the comparative method in criminology was widely discussed (general speaker—V. Kudryavtsev). The difficulty here lies in the fact that the object of comparison is not the legislation or other legal norms of various countries but a totality of social factors that are rather difficult to pick out for comparison since the causes of crime are different in different social conditions. The problem of applying the comparative method in law ethnology (several panels of history and law devoted their work to this discipline) is also complicated especially when a comparison of customs and traditions of the past with present legal norms and institutions leads to an unjustified modernisation of the former. Also discussed were some interesting aspects of the use of the comparative method in international law (the role of comparison at the stage of the elaboration of international legal acts, especially the use of the comparative method in international private law).

Several panels, which discussed problems of general theory and the philosophy of law, focused on the correlation between the state and law, and particularly the law-making role of the state in ensuring national and international law

and order. The view that today it is the state that plays the leading role in the development of legal systems in the conditions of great social dynamism was prevailing in the discussion (it was also supported in a number of papers presented by scholars from the socialist countries). Similarly the state plays the main role in the legally recognised system of international relations that has taken shape; the development of international law is also inseparable from the state. Some Western scholars, while recognising the growing role of the state, were inclined to assess this process negatively contending that judicial law is better than legislation, that the state should not be regarded as the main subject of international law, etc.

The Congress devoted considerable attention to constitutional law with the accent on the new Constitution of the USSR. Thus, one of the major results of the work of the panel "The Constitutional Bases of Judicial Organisation" was the positive analysis of the basic principles contained in Section VII of the Constitution, "Justice, Arbitration, and Procurator's Supervision". During the discussion at another panel of the question of how the principles of international

law are reflected in constitutional law it was acknowledged that the Constitution of the USSR, more fully and consistently than any other constitution in force, incorporates the major principles of international law (Arts. 28 and 29), which thereby become constitutional principles of the state's foreign policy. There was also an animated discussion of another important constitutional problem: the organisation and functioning of the standing commissions of the higher representative bodies (parliaments).

Many panels dealt with applied problems of the specialised juridical sciences—labour law, agrarian law, civil and economic law, criminal and civil procedure. A special and very large panel treated of the problem of teaching related disciplines (economics, history, psychology, etc.) at the colleges and departments of law.

At its General Meeting held during the Congress, the International Academy of Comparative Law elected the distinguished Hungarian scholar Academician Imre Szabó its new President.

It was decided to convene the next congress of comparative law in 1982 in Caracas.

V. Tumanov

THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The international scientific conference "The Working Class and Social Progress" was held in Moscow in June 1978, sponsored by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was attended by prominent figures in the working class movement, heads

of research centres and scholars. Soviet representatives, along with more than 50 of their colleagues from 28 countries in Europe, North and Latin America, Asia, Africa and Australia spoke at plenary sessions and panel meetings. More than 60 papers and communications were delivered. Pres-

ent at the conference were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, R. Arismendi, member of the Executive of the Central Committee of the Argentina Communist Party and Head of the V. Codovilla Centre of Marxist Research, R. Ghioldi, and other outstanding figures of the international working-class movement.

The introductory speech was made by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who observed that the programme of the conference provided for the discussion of a wide range of problems. Among them, the history of the working class and its movement, the present-day development of the working class (notably, its role in production in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution), as well as such timely questions as unity of action of workers' organisations of different political orientations in the struggle for democratic changes, social progress, peace and disarmament. It is quite natural, P. Fedoseyev noted, that as the influence of the working class and its organisations on society is growing, scholars pay greater attention to the problems of the working-class movement. This conference, whose participants represent scientific organisations in many countries, testifies to this fact. The scholars belong to varied ideological and theoretical trends and schools, and this is a positive factor of great significance for the further investigation of the problems of the working class, the development of international scientific ties and improvement of their mutual understanding.

The paper "The Historic Mis-

sion of the Working Class and the Present-Day Working-Class Movement" was read by Professor V. Zagladin. Today, just as in the time when *The Communist Manifesto* appeared, the speaker noted, the question of the historic mission of the working class stands in the centre of tense ideological battles, for it is the principal social and political issue of our epoch, an issue whose solution is of paramount importance for the future of all mankind. Each social class emerging in the historical arena had to solve its own concrete tasks, whose essence was determined by the objective requirements of a given stage of social development. The bourgeoisie—the last exploiter class in human history—also faced such tasks.

However, in our day, said V. Zagladin, it is becoming increasingly evident that the continued existence of the capitalist system not only puts a brake on the development of mankind, but also represents a threat to its very life. It is socialism that is able to save mankind from the danger of imperialism and lead it onto the path of allround progress. The speaker dwelt at length on the specific features of the struggle of the international working class for peace and against military threats in present conditions.

Papers read by Soviet scholars T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Galkin, M. Zaborov, B. Koval, A. Sobolev and others dealt with the results of comprehensive research conducted in the USSR and cited concrete examples of the advantages of Marxist-Leninist methodology in studying the radical problems of the history and theory of the working-class

movement. They have demonstrated the untenability of the conclusions reached by bourgeois historiography and substantiated the development trends of the effort of the world proletariat to fulfil its historic mission. It has been noted in A. Galkin's paper, "Some Results of the Study of the History of the International Working-Class Movement", that the suggestion that the history of the working-class movement is but a branch of historical science, is not quite correct, because a study of the working-class movement both in the historical and theoretical aspects cannot be conducted by methods of the historical science alone. Soviet scholars hold the view that this is an interdisciplinary field, lying at the junction of history, philosophy, economics and sociology.

Showing great interest in the work of Soviet scholars specialising on the working-class movement, a number of representatives of foreign research centres, including those in Mexico, the USA, France and Spain, expressed the desire to see in translation into their languages the already published volumes of the collective work *International Working-Class Movement. Problems of Theory and History* (Chairman of the Main Editorial Commission—Academician B. Ponomaryov) (See article by F. Khudushin in *Social Sciences*, No. 3, 1976).

The conference devoted much attention to changes in the conditions of the development of the working class and the activities of its organisations in the age of the scientific and technological revolution. The papers "Technological Progress and the Working-Class Movement" by J. Hund (FRG) and

"Scientific and Technological Progress, Mankind's Future and Ideological Struggle" by Academician R. Richta (Czechoslovakia) discussed the international and ideological aspects of the problem.

An argument developed over some scientific and methodological problems tackled at the conference. H. Steiner (Austria) disputed the interdisciplinary character of the studies of the working-class movement. There was a heated debate around the evaluation of the processes of politicising of the mass workers' movement in West-European countries.

Participants also discussed problems of social and political alliances of the working class and non-proletarian sections of the working people. A number of papers emphasised the necessity to more profoundly study the dynamics of the non-proletarian sections, their significance as potential allies of the working class, their social qualities, political role and ideology at concrete historical development stages, the search for effective methods and forms of the Communists' cooperation with political representatives of the non-proletarian masses, particularly, with the revolutionary democrats.

Discussion also centred around the social aspects of the struggle of working people and the activities of their organisations in campaigning against the arms race and for disarmament. In his paper "Detente, the Working Class and Social Progress", A. Todorov (Bulgaria) stressed that the real social essence of detente could be defined only when complete account was taken of a new type of relations between the concepts of war and peace in our time, and also the world-

historic mission of the working class.

A session was held, within the framework of the conference, to discuss the results of the international comparative investigation "Automation and Industrial Workers". Representatives of national research groups from 15 countries took part in preparing it: six socialist countries (Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR, and Yugoslavia) and nine capitalist (Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and the USA). Participants in the discussion concluded that the joint research work had proved quite fruitful, for it produced a detailed analysis of the social consequences of automation in the enterprises under study in 15 countries, and showed its principal distinctive features and advantages under socialism. It was quite natural that keen arguments and heated discussions arose between the Marxist scholars from socialist countries and their colleagues from Western Europe and the United States, when analysing the results of the investigation. However, profound scientific arguments on the part of the authors from socialist countries and objective sociological and statistical information obtained as a result of empirical investigations made it possible to uphold the principal views, elaborated in the papers by the scholars from the USSR and other socialist countries, and to adopt them by all the participants in the project. It should be noted that a number of scholars from capitalist countries made an objective evaluation of the social aspects of automation under socialism and capitalism.

In conclusion, the conference discussed prospects of conducting

international comparative investigations on the theme "The Scientific and Technological Revolution: Problems of Improving Labour Conditions and Raising the Cultural and Educational Level of Workers".

When the conference ended, the Executive Committee of the World Association of Institutes and Societies for the Study of the History and Social Problems of the Working-Class Movement held several meetings. This association had been inaugurated in Mexico early in 1978. Two new members—Australia and Hungary—were admitted to the organisation. The Executive Committee discussed the question of setting up commissions on two international research projects: the history of May Day manifestations in various countries (on the suggestion of Mexican scholars), and the social aspects of disarmament and the working class, the latter receiving great attention. All speakers emphasised its timely character and the need of its study not only in historical, but modern aspects as well. A decision was unanimously adopted to organise an international research group on the subject "The Working Class and the Questions of Struggle Against Militarism, for Peace and Disarmament". Scholars from Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, France, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Spain, the USA and the USSR agreed to participate in the project.

The subjects mentioned are to be discussed at the next congress of the World Association to be held in Mexico at the end of 1979.

V. Balmashnov

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The all-Union scientific conference "The International Working-Class Movement and the Struggle for Democracy (History and Our Time)" was held in Odessa in June 1978. It was sponsored by the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the Integrated Problem "History of the International Working-Class and National Liberation Movements", by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the I. I. Mechnikov Odessa State University, and the Department of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Republic.

Prominent Soviet scholars from many research centres took part in the conference, which heard 22 papers and communications.

In his introductory speech, G. Kim, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted the scientific and political significance of the conference devoted to the generalisation of the historical experience and present-day problems of the struggle for democracy of peoples of different countries and continents, the problems of combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, the growing role of the working class, the Communist and Workers' parties in creating broad political alliances to secure democratic rights in conditions of detente, and questions of further developing democracy in socialist countries.

The main report "The Dialectics of World Development and the Strategy of the Class Struggle at the Present Stage" was delivered

by A. Sobolev. He made a thorough analysis of the world revolutionary process, outlined its specific features and described the conditions in which the struggle for democracy is now proceeding. The threat of a thermonuclear war and other global problems facing mankind have an impact on this process. The struggle of all progressive forces against an impending nuclear catastrophe places a special responsibility on the world proletariat and determines the specific conditions of its struggle for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism, elevating the international working-class movement to a new level and extending its possibilities.

In his paper, "The Working Class and the Movement for Detente", N. Kovalsky emphasised that the role of the working class had grown immeasurably in all spheres of social life, including foreign policies of states and international relations. The working class is the force which rallies all strata of society in the struggle for detente and the creation of a stable system of defence of peace. The long-standing traditions of anti-militarist struggle on the part of the working class help it to find ways and means of influencing international relations in the conditions of today.

M. Shafir devoted his paper to the further development of socialist democracy. The new Constitution of the USSR reflects the major principles of socialist democracy—democracy of a new and higher type. It ensures for the working people the broadest participation

in managing the affairs of the state and society not only in the political, but also in the economic and cultural spheres. The Fundamental Law records the further expansion and development of personal rights and freedoms and emphasises their unity and indissoluble connection with the Soviet citizens' duties to society. The adoption of the new Constitution is of great international significance. This document is a weighty contribution to the struggle of the proletariat and all progressive forces for democracy, and greater cooperation between the peoples, for social progress and lasting peace.

N. Goriach spoke about the role of the Soviet trade unions in the development of socialist democracy.

Several papers and communications were devoted to the historical experience and theoretical problems of the struggle for democracy at the present time.

R. Evzerov's communication dealt with the elaboration by Lenin of the strategic and tactical aspects of the struggle for democracy and socialism in 1905-1917. The speaker cited a wealth of historiographical material to show that, contrary to abstract schemes and opportunistic conceptions, Lenin's approach to these problems was a revolutionary one, based on an analysis of concrete historical situations in different countries: those where bourgeois-democratic revolutions had triumphed, those where they were in the offing, and those—in the outlying regions of the world of imperialism—where the national liberation movement was on the upgrade. Lenin regarded the worldwide struggle for democracy in all its complexity and multiformity; it was not reduced only to

questions of political democracy. Lenin considered the dialectical connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism as a law of the revolutionary movement under imperialism.²⁴

I. Yazhborovskaya's paper "The Dialectics of the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism in the Revolutionary Transformation of the Countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe" analysed the revolutionary process in the region where a number of national states had emerged after the Great October Socialist Revolution, and at the final stage of the Second World War popular democratic and socialist revolutions successfully developed. During the period following the October Revolution the working people in that region had actively participated in solving the urgent democratic tasks, while the popular democratic revolutions of the 1940s served as the basis for their subsequent growth into the socialist ones. Implementation of democratic transformations had prepared the ground for the triumph of socialist revolutions which consolidated the democratic gains of the masses. Correctly correlating the dialectics of democratic and socialist tasks and improving the ways and means of their realisation, the working class of Central and South-Eastern Europe made a valuable and original contribution to the collective experience of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

L. Gililov's paper was devoted to the role of the working class in organising broad political alliances in the struggle for democratic transformations in industrialised capitalist countries. The speaker noted that the struggle for democracy is of particular significance for

the working class, inasmuch as all sections of society interested in limiting the dominance of monopolies can be persuaded to take part in it. The working class can unite the majority of the population in a single anti-imperialist front, restrict the power of the monopolies, win important positions in the economic, social and political spheres and thereby ensure conditions for a transition to socialism without the need for a civil war. Today the struggle for democracy is the main road to socialism.

Various forms of the struggle for the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people in the industrialised capitalist countries were analysed by S. Appatov, N. Frokin, V. Liven, A. Potekhin and I. Danilevich. The papers and communications presented by S. Semyonov, A. Davidson, D. Ursu, A. Kiva and A. Plotnikov dealt with the specific features of the struggle for democracy in the Third World countries. B. Rasputnis examined the relationship between struggle for democracy and struggle for socialism, as reflected in Soviet historiography.

A. Kruglov's paper "On Some Socio-Economic Problems of the People's Republic of China at the Present Stage and Criticism of the Anti-Democratic Maoist Course of the Chinese Leadership" denounced the anti-popular policy of the Peking rulers which runs counter to the interests of the toiling masses, particularly the working class.

Summing up the conference results, G. Kim stressed the need for a more profound elaboration of the theoretical aspects of the working-class struggle for democracy, creative development of the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and programmatic documents of the communist movement, a more thorough analysis of the present state of the working people's struggle for democratic rights in the conditions of detente and intensifying ideological confrontation, as well as an analysis of the place and role of the working people's struggle for democracy and socialism in the international working-class and national liberation movements.

V. Koval

CHRONICLE

* Delegations of philosophers from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam took part in a session of the international summer school of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in Varna (Bulgaria), which discus-

sed "The Place and Role of Philosophy and Sciences in the Modern World". The delegations were headed by S. Ganovsky, M. Solveira, R. Richta, M. Buhr, J. Lukács, S. Norovsambu, Z.-Kuksewicz, C. Mare, B. Ukraintsev and Pham Nù Cúong. The following papers were read at the session: "The Place and Role of Philosophy and Sciences in the Modern World" (M. Buhr), "Sci-

This review covers the events that took place in May-July 1978 in Moscow, unless stated otherwise.

entific and Technological Progress, the Future of Mankind and Ideological Struggle" (R. Richta), "The Problem of Rationality and Scientific Methods in the Development of Cognition" (J. Lukács) and "Philosophy and Biology" (N. Dubinin—USSR). During the session a round-table conference of outstanding Marxist philosophers and young scholars was held, devoted to the problem "Philosophy, Our Time, Peaceful Coexistence and Ideological Struggle".

* *An international scientific conference "Materialist Dialectics—Laws of Development—Consciousness in Developed Socialist Society"*, devoted to the 100th anniversary of the publication of F. Engels' *Anti-Dühring* was held in Berlin. It was sponsored by the GDR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Berlin Humboldt University. The conference was attended by more than 800 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. At the plenary session the main paper on the historic role and the present significance of *Anti-Dühring* was read by Professor K. Hager, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG. T. Oizerman, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivered a paper "F. Engels and Modern Opponents of Dialectical Materialism". Among the speakers were professors W. Weichelt, W. Kalweit, J. Auth, D. Klein and W. Eichhorn (all from the GDR), A. Gedö (Hungary) and E. Mateyev (Bulgaria). The confer-

ence then continued its work in five panels where Soviet scholars, Professors B. Bogdanov, V. Zhamin and L. Mamut, also spoke.

* Some 60 well-known philosophers from 20 countries attended a three-day *round-table conference in connection with the 2,300th anniversary of Aristotle's death*, sponsored by UNESCO in Paris. Participants spoke on the following subjects: "Mathematics and Logic", "Physics, Astronomy and Biology", "Aristotle's Heritage", "Aristotle's Philosophy", "Ethics, Society, the State". Simultaneously, a gala meeting was held at UNESCO, attended by about 1,000 people. The meeting was presided over by UNESCO Director-General A.-M.M'Bow and Minister of Culture and Sciences G. Plytas of Greece. Soviet philosopher T. Oizerman, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, read a paper "The Place of Philosophy in Aristotle's Universe". Among the speakers were G. Kreisel (Great Britain), J. Lacan (France), M. Messadi (Tunisia), J. Theodorakopoulos (Greece) and A. Wagner de Reyna (Peru).

* *The 150th birth anniversary of N. G. Chernyshevsky*—an outstanding revolutionary democrat, scholar, writer, philosopher, publicist and critic—was widely observed in the Soviet Union. A celebration meeting was held on the occasion attended by leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. The main paper was delivered by the Chairman of the All-Union Jubilee Committee Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The

meeting was also addressed by G. Markov, First Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union, V. Gusev, Secretary of the Saratov Regional Committee of the CPSU, and V. Shinkaruk, Member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

* * *

An All-Union scientific conference on the theoretical and literary heritage of N. G. Chernyshevsky was held in Leningrad. It was attended by noted Soviet historians, philosophers, economists, sociologists, jurists, as well as writers and literary critics from many Soviet cities.

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In Soviet times N. G. Chernyshevsky's works have been published in 227 editions with a total circulation running into 12,378,000 copies in 24 languages of the peoples of the USSR and foreign countries.

* *A round-table conference "Philosophy and the Artistic Culture of Mature Socialism"* was held by the Philosophical Society of the USSR. It was opened by the Society's President Academician F. Konstantinov. The main paper was read by the Chairman of the Aesthetics Section of the Society, Professor A. Zis, D. Sc. (Philos.). Outstanding philosophers, philologists, and art critics took part in the discussion.

* 560 representatives from 61 countries took part in the work of the 5th General Assembly of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The Vice-

President of ICOMOS A. Khalturin (USSR) was elected President of the Assembly. A message of greetings to the participants from the USSR Council of Ministers was read by P. Demichev, Alternate Member of the Politburo, CPSU Central Committee, and the USSR Minister of Culture. The Assembly heard and approved the report by ICOMOS General-Secretary E. Connally on the activity of the Council during the 1975-1978 period, adopted a programme of action for the coming years and elected a new Council leadership. R. Lemaire (Belgium) was re-elected President of ICOMOS, A. Khalturin was re-elected as one of the vice-presidents. A scientific colloquium on "Historic and Cultural Monuments in Contemporary Society" was held within the framework of the General Assembly in the town-museum of Suzdal, V. Ivanov (USSR) delivering the main paper. The following papers were also heard and discussed: "Monuments and Humanism", "The Educational Role of Historic Monuments", "Historic Monuments in the Urban Environment", "Monuments in the Rural Environment", "Historic Monuments and Cultural Identity", "Historic Buildings: Their Role in Economic and Social Development", "Monuments and Youth", "Monuments and Tourism", "Public Opinion and Safeguarding of Monuments", "Monuments as a Factor in International Cooperation".

* *An International Conference on "Scientific Centres and Reciprocal Intellectual Relationships Between Western, Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe from the Late 18th Century to the First World War"* was

held in Vienna. It was the first such conference held within the scope of UNESCO's participation programme "The Evolution of Socio-Cultural Structures in Europe and Cross-Cultural Relations in the 19th and 20th Centuries". It was sponsored by the Austrian Commission for UNESCO, the International Association for South-East European Studies, and the Austrian Institute of East and South-East European Studies (AIESEES) in collaboration with the Secretariat for ties between scholars of Central Europe and the Danube region in social science. The conference was attended by nearly 70 scholars from Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, the FRG, the GDR, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia, who submitted more than 40 papers. Soviet scholars delivered three papers: "The Role of Moscow University in the Development of Cultural Ties Between European Countries in the 18th-19th Centuries" (B. Krasnobayev), "Division of the Prague Schools and Its Significance for the Formation of the Czech National Intelligentsia in the Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries" (M. Kuzmin), and "Russian Students and Instructors in West-European Schools of Higher Learning at the Turn of the Century: the Social Phenomenon" (Ya. Shchapov).

* Some 90 military and civil historians from 17 countries, including Bulgaria, the GDR, the USSR and Yugoslavia, attended an *International Symposium of Military and Political Historians on the History of the Second World War* held at Hanasaari (near Helsinki) and

sponsored by Finnish military-historical research institutions. Two major problems discussed were: "The Great Powers and the Scandinavian Countries in the Second World War" and "Organisation of the High Command of the Armed Struggle during the Second World War". In the course of free discussions more than 40 papers and communications were heard. The paper on the liberation mission of the USSR Armed Forces in Europe and its influence on the Scandinavian countries was delivered by Colonel A. Noskov, D. Sc. (Hist.). The paper on organisation of the Supreme Command of the Soviet Armed Forces during the Great Patriotic War was read by Professor, Major-General B. Panov. Professor G. Kumanev devoted his paper to the organisation and leadership of partisan struggle behind the enemy lines in 1941-1944. M. Howard (Great Britain), K. Hillings (Denmark), O. Vehviläinen (Finland) and others who spoke in the debate, paid tribute to the staunchness and courage of the Soviet people and the high degree of organisation and able leadership of their armed struggle at the fronts and in the rear of the Hitler invaders.

* *A scientific conference on problems of the contemporary history of China* sponsored by the Institute of the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences was attended by more than 200 Soviet Sinologists, as well as scholars from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia and Poland. Sixty papers were submitted to the conference, 12 of them delivered by foreign guests. Attention of participants was centred around the

most pressing problems of the present situation in China, periodisation of the history of the Chinese People's Republic (1949-1978), and criticism of the Maoist and bourgeois conceptions of its development.

* A conference sponsored by the Centre for Studying Mediaeval Civilisation in Poitiers (France) heard and discussed the following papers: "The Economic and Urban Development of the West in the 12th Century", "The Emergence and Development of Roman Art Between the Loire and the Gironde", "Art and Theology in the Latter Half of the 12th Century", "The Art of Cappadocia", "Arthurian and Courtly Humanism in Cligès", etc. Soviet scholars specialising in the Middle Ages E. Gutnova, N. Kalmykov, L. Mils-kaya, R. Nasledova, K. Osipova, T. Osipova and A. Svanidze took part in the conference.

* A scientific session devoted to the 70th birth anniversary of Salvador Allende was held at the Institute of Latin American Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was opened by Professor L. Klochkovskiy, Acting Director of the Institute. V. Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, spoke on Allende's life and work. Yu. Zubritsky, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), read a paper "The Working-Class of Chile in the Years of Allende's Presidency", and A. Korovin, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), read a paper "Salvador Allende and the Problem of an Alliance Between the Communist and the Socialist Parties of Chile".

* A Commission of Historians of the USSR and Bulgaria held a session in Kiev, devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and Bulgaria. The Soviet delegation was headed by the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. Markov, and the Bulgarian delegation by D. Kosev, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The session was opened by P. Tronko, Vice-President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The session heard and discussed about 20 papers and communications by scholars from the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and history departments of higher educational establishments of Byelorussia, the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine.

* A colloquium of Soviet and French historians was devoted to three subjects: "Economic and Cultural Relations between the East and West on the Black Sea in Ancient Times and in the Middle Ages (up to the 16th Century)", "Voltaire and Rousseau in the History of Social Thinking of Russia and France", and "The Rural Community in Russia and Agrarian France in the 19th-20th Centuries (Comparative Analysis)". Papers and communications on the first subject were read by the following Soviet scholars: Z. Udaltsova — "Distinguishing" Features of Byzantine Culture (Typological Observations); E. Golubtsova — "The Polis-Chora System in the History of the Lands to the North of the Black Sea";

I. Kruglikova — "Archaeological Excavations on the Site of the Greek States on the Territory to the North of the Black Sea"; M. Kobylina—"Import of Greek Art to the North of the Black Sea During the Period Between the 4th and 1st Centuries B.C."; S. Beleyev—"Tauric Chersonese in the Late 4th-5th Centuries and Its Significance as a Trading Centre"; A. Novoseltsev—"The Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Crimea in the 9th-10th Centuries". The French scholars presented the following papers: E. Lévy—"The Scythian Mirage"; M. Ballard—"The Commercial Activity of Italians, Particularly Genouese, on the Black Sea in the 13th and 14th Centuries"; G. Veinstein—"The Ottoman Ports in the South of the Crimea in the Late 15th-mid-16th Centuries".

The Soviet participants made the following reports and communications on the second subject: A. Lyublinskaya—"Voltaire and History in 'Encyclopaedia of Diderot and d'Alembert'"; P. Zaborov—"From the History of Russian Voltairianism"; I. Sivolap—"Radishchev and Voltaire"; L. Albina—"Voltaire, Reader of Historical Literature"; T. Voronova—"Edition of Voltaire's Marginal Notes"; A. Ioannisyan—"J.-J. Rousseau's Theory and Radical Egalitarianism of the Epoch of the French Revolution"; V. Alexeyev-Popov — "Rousseau and the Fighting Trends in Enlightenment"; V. Dalin—"Rousseau in Babeuf's Assessment"; G. Kucherenko—"Rousseau and Marechal"; M. Sokolova—"Rousseau's Social Ideal and the Influence of the Early Utopias of French Renaissance on It". The French participants' papers were:

A. Soboul—"Rousseauism in French Revolution Almanac"; L. Trénard—"Voltaire's Influence on the Evolution of Economic and Social Ideas in the Late 18th Century".

The following papers were read by Soviet historians on the third subject:

A. Anfimov, P. Zyryanov—"The Peasant Community in Post-Reform Russia (1861-1917)"; Yu. Trunsky—"Typical Features of the French Village's Evolution in the 19th-20th Centuries"; V. Alexandrov—"Typology of the Rural Communities in late feudal Russia (17th-Early 19th Centuries)"; L. Danilova—"The Russian Rural Community from the Early Middle Ages to the 1861 Reform". Their French counterparts read the papers: P. Barral—"Relations Between Classes in French Agricultural Syndicalism (1880-1950)"; M. Devèze—"Public Forests and Private Forests in France (19th-20th Centuries)".

* Economists from France, Great Britain, India, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Switzerland, Tanzania, the USA and the USSR attended an international conference on "Relevance of Economic Theories to Present-Day Society", held in Warsaw and sponsored by the International Economic Association and the Polish Economic Society. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician T. Khachaturov. The head of the Polish delegation, Professor J. Pajestka, President of the Polish Economic Society, made an introductory speech. The participants discussed the following issues: a review of worldwide problems related to the evaluation of relevance of economic theories; theoretical conceptions of and ap-

proaches to economic rationality (new dimensions in view of prospective conditions and social objectives); theoretical approach to the income distribution and consumption patterns as confronted with present and future conditions of socio-economic progress (a shift of emphasis from efficiency to evenness); the world economy and problems of a new international economic order; economic theories and the limits of using natural resources (a shift in emphasis from best utilisation to conservation); economic development, its social mechanisms and effects, critical appraisal of growth theories, a need for interdisciplinary approach; management of development processes (regulation, programming, planning—national and international scale).

Soviet economists delivered two papers: "Use of Natural Resources: Worldwide Problems and Socio-Economic Aspects" (R. Simonyan), and "Economic Planning, Forecasting and Regulation" (R. Belousov).

* At a meeting of the Soviet-Polish Economic Commission to discuss the socio-economic problems of the efficiency of social production under socialism, held in Tallinn, the Soviet delegation was headed by Academician T. Khachaturov, and the Polish delegation, by H. Cholaĵ, Corresponding Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Soviet economists read the following papers: "Basic Problems of the Theory of Economic Efficiency of Socialist Production" (A. Nötĵin), "Modern Methodological Problems of the Efficiency of Capital Investments" (V. Krasovsky), "Socio-Economic Efficiency of New Technology" (M. Vilensky), "Problems of Efficiency of the Regional Economic

Development of Production" (V. Tarmisto), and "Scientific and Technological Progress—the Foundation for Production Efficiency" (A. Arakelyan). The Polish side presented the papers: "The Category of Economic Efficiency Under Developed Socialism" (H. Cholaĵ), "National Rationality and Criteria of Efficiency of Economic Organisations" (J. Pajestka), "Innovations and the Use of Labour Resources in the Process of Raising Economic Efficiency" (A. Melich), "Micro- and Macro-economic Efficiency of Capital Investments" (K. Secomski), and "Economic Models in the Process of Planning Poland's National Economy" (W. Welfe).

* At a Soviet-American symposium of economists on the subject "Management of a Large Industrial Enterprise", held in the town of Togliatti, the Soviet delegation was headed by Academician T. Khachaturov and the American, by Professor L. Reynolds. Soviet economists read the following papers: "Formation of Organisational Structures for Management of Manufacturing Firms and Control of National Economic Plans in the USSR" (B. Milner); "Organisation of Management Training in the USSR" (G. Popov, A. Naumov); "The Role of Price Formation in the Work of Socialist Enterprises and Associations" (A. Gusarov); "The Management of Scientific and Technological Progress in a Production Association: Organisational Aspects" (V. Rapoport); "The Methodology of Forming Organisational Structures of Management—Soviet Experience of Recent Years" (L. Evenko); "The Organisation of Environmental Protection Function in the Enterprise"

(V. Sitarov); "Planning the Development of the Enterprise (Volga Automobile Plant Experience)" (P. Katsura); "Financing and Crediting of Associations" (V. Rybin); "Workers' Participation in Management of the Enterprise" (V. Egitov). The American side submitted the following papers: "Labour Productivity in the United States" (A. Rees); "Selection and Promotion of Managers in Large Companies" (D. Granick); "Industrial and Investment Planning and Control Theory" (D. Kendrick); "Ambiguity and the Engineering Choice" (J. March); "Training Business Managers" (R. Rosette); "Managerial Problems of Large Highly Diversified Enterprises" (J. Markham); "A Decision Analysis of the US Breeder Reactor Program" (A. Manne); "Some Disabilities of Internal Modes of Organisation" (O. Williamson).

The participants in the symposium visited the Volga Automobile Plant, the Kuibyshev Hydro-Electric Power Station and travelled to Volgograd. While in Baku, Moscow and Leningrad the American economists familiarised themselves with the work of Soviet economic research institutions.

* *A seminar of Soviet and American economists on "Mathematical Models in Economics", within the framework of the theme "Econometric Modelling of Soviet-American Scientific and Technological Cooperation in Using Computers for Management", was held in Skyland, Va. The Soviet side delivered the following papers: "Problems of Construction of Economic Planning Models with Many Industries and Regions" (E. Baranov, I. Matlin); "Modelling the National Economy as a*

Large Territorial System" (A. Granberg); "Modified Lagrangian Functions and Economic Modelling" (E. Goldstein); "Economic Normatives in Planned Economic Management" (N. Petrakov); "Goal Formation for Socio-Economic Development" (B. Saltykov, V. Tambovtsev). The American economists read the papers: "The Stanford PILOT Energy/Economic Model" (G. Dantzig); "An Algebraic Framework for Interregional Modelling" (P. Petri); "Interregional Econometric Forecasting and Interaction Model" (C. Harris); "On Incentive Problems in the Design of Non-Wasteful Resource Allocation Systems" (L. Hurwicz); "Prices in Input-Output" (C. Almon); "Temporal Aggregation and Econometric Models" (H. Fromm, E. Hwa).

* *An All-Union scientific conference "Problems of Evaluating the Socio-Economic Efficiency of Capital Investments" held in the town of Togliatti, was sponsored by the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the problem of the "Economic Efficiency of Fixed Assets, Capital Investments and New Technology". Participants listened to and discussed more than 20 papers and communications on the theory of social efficiency and its place in the general theory of the efficiency of social production; methodological questions of defining the socio-economic efficiency of capital investments in the non-productive sphere of the national economy and its individual branches, such as trade, passenger transport, housing construction, health protection and tourism; methodological questions of calculating the efficiency of expendi-*

tures channelled into the protection of the environment. Special attention was devoted to the problem of evolving plans of the social development of big economic complexes (Togliatti, for example) and individual branches of production. Prospects were discussed of the development of public services and the choice of ways and means to raise the efficiency of capital investments, taking due account of their social effect.

* About 150 representatives of institutes, scientific centres and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences and institutes of the Academies of Sciences of the Union republics took part in the work of a *symposium on systems of programmes for the solution of tasks of optimum planning* held in Narva (Estonia) and sponsored by the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the integrated problem "Optimum Planning and Management of the National Economy", and the Institute of Cybernetics of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Two papers were read at plenary sessions: "Modern Trends in the Development of Simplex-Method as Numerical Method of Solving Tasks of Linear Programming" (U. Malkov, Yu. Padchin, A. Stanevičius, S. Surin), and "On Services" (I. Romanovsky). Then the work of the symposium proceeded in four panels: "Linear Programming", "Stacks of Applied Programmes and Software", "Non-linear Programming", and "Discrete Programming".

* About 300 scientific experts on criminology and practical workers

from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR attended an *International Congress of Criminologists of Socialist Countries* held in Zakopane (Poland). The Soviet delegation was headed by V. Naidenov, Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR. The Congress was devoted to participation of the general public in combating crime. The general paper was delivered by the Director of the Polish Institute of Problems of Crime, Professor B. Hołyst. The heads of the delegations read national papers at a plenary session. After that the congress work continued in the following panels: "General Problems of Participation of the Public in Combating Crime", "Participation of the Public in Court Procedure", and "Participation of the Public in Combating Juvenile Delinquency". Some 100 papers and communications were read. The Soviet side presented 26 papers, including: "The Soviet Procurator's Office and the Public" (K. Skvortsov), "Participation of the Public in General Supervisory Functions of the Procurator's Office" (S. Kashanov), "On People's Assessors' Participation in Passing the Sentence" (V. Nazhimov), "Practical Experiences of Preventing Juvenile Delinquency in Leningrad" (N. Grabovskaya).

* An *All-Union scientific conference "Problems of Soviet Copyright"* held in Zvenigorod (near Moscow) and sponsored by the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Copyright Agency of the USSR (VAAP) was attended by some 140 scholars, legal experts and representatives of various departments and unions of art and

literary workers from many Soviet cities. About 40 papers and communications were read and discussed. It was emphasised that the Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1977 provided an important basis for the further development of copyright legislation. Questions were also discussed connected with an expansion of international cultural exchanges. The recommendations adopted by the conference contain proposals for further improvement of Soviet copyright legislation.

* The *First International Congress on Cervantes* was held in Madrid. Leading Spanish literary scholars, experts from almost all capitalist and socialist countries of Europe and representatives of many Latin American countries, the USA and Canada attended the congress. Experts in Spanish literature from some Asian and African countries were also present. About 200 papers and communications were read on the following subjects: Cervantes and world literature; Cervantes' outlook and its interpretation; studies of Cervantes' works; *Don Quixote*, its sources, influence, textology, structure and significance. Several papers were devoted to more specific questions, and also to the problem of creating a complete international bibliography of Cervantes' works. The basic trend of the congress was largely determined by the striving of the majority of the Spanish participants to demonstrate a break with the Franco legacy, to show, through the example of Cervantes, the profound popular nature of Spanish progressive culture of the Golden Age and to connect with it Cervantes' relevance to present-day Spain, and his unfading world

significance. The Soviet participant in the Congress N. Balashov, D.Sc. (Philol.), delivered a paper "Topical Problems of the Studies of Cervantes' Works".

* An *all-Union conference devoted to Shakespeare* was organised by the Shakespeare Commission of the Scientific Council on the integrated problem "History of World Culture" of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of the History of Art of the USSR Ministry of Culture. The conference opened with a paper by A. Anikst, D.Sc. (Art.), "Modern Problems of Shakespearian Studies". N. Yelina read a paper "Folklore Tradition in Shakespeare's Drama", M. Sabantseva—"Shakespeare's Treatment of the Ancient World and the Problem of Pre-classicism"; N. Kiasashvili—"The Hidden Metaphor 'All the World's a Stage' as a Structural Element of *Hamlet*"; M. Tarlinskaya—"Rhythmical Characteristic of Shakespeare's Personages". There were also many reports made by experts representing many Soviet cities.

* An *all-Union scientific conference on "Jangar" and problems of epic creations of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples* was held in Elista (Kalmyk Autonomous Republic). It was sponsored by the Scientific Council on Folklore of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy's Gorky Institute of World Literature, and the Kalmyk Research Institute of Language, Literature and History. The conference heard papers devoted to "Jangar"—the Kalmyk heroic epic glorifying the feats of Kalmyk legendary strongmen and their leader Jangar. Some of the papers dealt with "Jangar's" historical relevance, described the role

played by epic traditions in the development of the artistic culture of the Kalmyk people, new written versions of "Jangar" and the role of the narrator in the system of the epic tradition of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples. At panel meetings the epic's poetics, typology and language were discussed. The questions of "Jangar's" relation to other epic monuments of the Turkmen, Tatars, Buryats, Bashkirs, Altaians, Mongols and other peoples were exhaustively examined.

* A Soviet-Finnish symposium of archaeologists on "Cultural Ties of the Peoples and Countries of the Baltic Basin in the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages" was held in Hanasaari (near Helsinki). It was another stage in the joint research of scientists of the two countries on the problem "Ancient History of the Baltic Finnish Tribes". Archaeologists from the GDR, the FRG, Sweden, and members of the International Union of Slavonic Archaeology who arrived in Helsinki for a session of the Union Executive, also took part in the work of the symposium. Twenty-one papers were heard and discussed. The Soviet participants delivered the following papers: "The Art of Drawing of the Ancient Tribes on Kola Peninsula" (N. Gurina); "The Lake Byeloye and the Volga Way" (L. Golubeva); "International Trade Routes and Early Urban Centres of Northern Rus" (E. Nosov); "Slav-Baltic-Finnish Contacts in Izborsk and Its Region" (V. Sedov); "Development of the Estonians into a Nationality" (J. Selirand). The Finnish scientists read the papers: "Finnish Society in the 9th-12th Centuries" (C.-F. Meinander); "Early Stages of

Urban Construction in Finland" (U. Salo); "Baltic Contacts as Reflected by the Pottery of the Epoch of the Vikings" (C. Carpelan); J. Herrmann, an archaeologist from the GDR, read the paper "The Role of Rügen Island in Economic and Cultural Relations Between Tribes and Peoples in the Baltic Regions in the 8th-9th Centuries" and B. Ambrosiani, a Swedish archaeologist, presented his paper on "Birka".

* The First British-Soviet Geography Seminar on "Contemporary Trends and Methods in Geography", held in London and sponsored by the Institute of British Geographers, was attended by a Soviet delegation headed by Academician I. Gerasimov. The delegation included M. Bandman, D.Sc. (Geogr.), T. Zvonkova, D.Sc. (Geogr.); K. Kosmachev, D.Sc. (Geogr.), V. Preobrazhensky, D.Sc. (Geogr.), G. Sdasyuk, D.Sc. (Geogr.) and R. Zimina, Cand. Sc. (Geogr.). The Soviet scientists presented a paper "Modern Soviet Geography" compiled by research associates from a number of scientific institutions. Professor E. Jones delivered a report "Contemporary Methods in British Geography". Other papers on various problems, trends and methods of geography were read by Professors R. Moss, J. Thornes, M. Blacksell, J. Cole, F. Slater, J. Johnson, A. Wilson, D. Smith, D. Diamond, G. Manners and G. Howe.

* A scientific conference on the "Ideological and Theoretical Problems of Scientific and Technological Progress", held in Sverdlovsk, was organised by the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the CPSU, the Urals Scientific Centre of the USSR

Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends under the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Scientific Council on the integrated problem "The Socio-Economic and Ideological Problems of the Scientific and Technological Revolution" of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The conference was opened by the First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the CPSU, B. Eltsin, and Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The following papers were read at the plenary sessions: "Science and Global Problems" (Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences J. Gvishiani); "Philosophical Problems of Scientific and Technological Progress" (Academician M. Mitin); "The Urals Scientific Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences: Its Role and Tasks in Scientific and Technological Progress" (Academician S. Vonsovsky); "Energy Crisis and Prospects for the Sources of Energy" (Academician E. Velikhov); "Ecological Crisis and Social Progress" (Academician E. Fyodorov); "The Socio-Economic Functions of Live Labour in the Conditions of the Scientific and Technological Revolution" (Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Sergeev); "Methodology of the Evaluation of the Global Environment" (Member of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia F. Davitaya); "The Ecology of Man as an Arena of Ideological Struggle" (Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences A. Ado). Then the conference heard and discussed 61 papers and

communications at meetings of the panels: "Philosophical Problems of Scientific and Technological Progress", "Social Aspects of the Global Problems of Scientific and Technological Progress", "Ecological Problems and Social Progress", and "Society of Developed Socialism and Scientific and Technological Progress". About 350 scientists from a number of Soviet cities attended the conference.

* *An all-Union scientific conference "The Socio-Political, Economic and Legal Problems of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property and Improvement on That Basis of Agricultural Management"*, held in Kishinev, was sponsored by the Institute of Philosophy, the Institute of Economics and the Institute of the State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Economics and the Department of Philosophy and Law of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, and the Lenin State University in Kishinev. At the plenary sessions papers were read by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, I. Bodyul, D.Sc. (Philos.)—"The Agrarian Policy of the CPSU and Its Role in Solving the Tasks of the Gradual Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property"; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ts. Stepanyan—"The Socio-Political Problems of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property in Conditions of Inter-Economic and Agrarian-Industrial Cooperation"; Chairman of the Council of Collective Farms of Moldavia N. Zaichenko—"The Influence of Inter-Economic Cooperation on Raising the Degree of Socialisation

of Collective-Farm and Cooperative Property"; Member of the USSR Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences N. Alexandrov—"Economic Problems of Improvement of Management of Agriculture at the Present Stage and the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property"; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party I. Kalin—"Improvement of Educational Guidance with the Growing Role of the Subjective Factors of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Property"; Professor V. Semyonov—"The Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property and Transformation of the Social Structure of the Village"; Professor K. Sheremet—"Problems of the Improvement of Jurisdiction of Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Managing Ag-

riculture"; Professor M. Kozyr—"Legal Problems of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property"; Professor V. Yakovlev—"Problems of Unification of the Legal Status of Agriculturists on the Basis of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property"; L. Nikiforov, Cand.Sc. (Econ.)—"Economic Problems of the Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property". Some 200 papers and communications were read and discussed at the meetings of the five panels. In conclusion, the conference adopted recommendations for comprehensively studying the process of the drawing together and subsequent merging of the two forms of property and mapping out ways for the guidance of these processes in various spheres.



BOOK REVIEWS

Владимир Ильич Ленин. Биографическая хроника. т. 8. М., Политиздат, 1977, 704 стр.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle, Vol. 8, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1977, 704 pp.

A many-volume biographical chronicle of Lenin holds a special place in Leniniana. On the basis of the latest Soviet scientific achievements it systematises thousands of known facts about Lenin's life and introduces hundreds of new ones.

The 8th volume contains, in full or in part, more than 900 new documents; almost 2,800 facts relating to the period from November 1919 to June 1920 have been collected and systematised. They all describe Lenin's energetic activities along three lines—military, economic and cultural—and show his attention to the development of theory and elaboration of major questions of the strategy and tactics of Communist parties. This was a period of the consistent implementation of the new foreign policy strategy proclaimed by the first decree of Soviet

government—the Decree on Peace—and founded on the complete equality of the peoples and respect for their sovereignty. War was declared a crime against humanity.

Characterising the main development trend in the period under review, Lenin noted in his speech to the Third All-Russia Congress of Water Transport Workers "that although the fight on the bloody front is coming to an end, the fight on the bloodless front is only beginning, that no less effort, exertion and sacrifice is required here, and that the stakes are no smaller and the resistance greater rather than less.... Victory demands a tremendous struggle and iron, military discipline" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 432).

The end of 1919 and beginning of 1920 were marked by the Red Army's victorious offensive, the rout of the troops of the interventionists, Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich. Hundreds of facts collected in the volume show at what heavy price the victory was won and describe the many-faceted activities of Lenin in organising the country's defence.

A peaceful respite was gained and the Communist Party exerted all its energies for the swiftest possible rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy. The Party and the people faced the task "that will be greater than those we have worked in the military sphere in the past two years" (Ibid., p. 188). Lenin put forward, as a first-priority task, the elaboration of a uniform economic plan for the rehabilitation and transformation of the national economy on the basis of electrification. He wrote: "The electrification will rejuvenate Russia. Electrification based on the Soviet system will mean the complete success of the foundations of communism in our country ...". (Ibid., p. 368).

Lenin headed the struggle to build a new life. The material collected in the volume indicates that during the period under review he chaired 45 meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, 42 meetings of the Council of Defence and the Council of Labour and Defence, which discussed more than 1,400 urgent questions of the country's economic, political and cultural life and military policy. Lenin made 60 public appearances and spoke at working people's meetings and various conferences; held some 200 talks with workers, peasants and Red Army men, with Party and government leaders, and with representatives of different circles from abroad.

Despite his gigantic work load in leading the Party and the country, Lenin continued his intensive theoretical activity. During a period of seven months he wrote 15 works, among them *Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, *On Compromises*, *The Constituent As-*

sembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, *A Publicist's Notes*. Researchers will, undoubtedly, notice how thoroughly the material contained in the volume discloses the process of creating the book *Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. Lenin collected documents and literature pertaining to ideological trends in "Left-wing" socialism and communism, studied the experience of the legal and illegal struggle of the Communist parties in different countries and closely followed the growing interest of the working people in the October Revolution and the socialist transformations in Russia, and in the struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

Lenin devoted a great deal of effort to the development of a new, socialist culture. The anti-illiteracy campaign, the radical reform of schools and higher educational establishments, the reorganisation of the entire activity of cultural institutions, etc., required a maximum of energy and much time. The more than 40 records of Lenin's talks and correspondence with the People's Commissar for Education, A. Lunacharsky, show that Lenin attached great importance to this work.

Lenin believed that the putting up of monuments should serve the people, especially the youth, as a vivid lesson in history, and help to educate and bring up new generations, therefore he consistently and persistently monitored the implementation of the plan in the field of monumental propaganda.

Lenin's talks with Lunacharsky covered a wide range of problems. They discussed ways and means of reorganising school education, pos-

sibilities for improving the material conditions of teachers (first and foremost, more and better food), the organisation of scientific research and creation of better living conditions for scientists, the combating of religious prejudices, etc. Great attention was paid to the educational work among homeless children and adolescents.

Lenin was interested in how newspapers were distributed and whether they were accessible to all working people. He also displayed concern about the state of cultural and educational work in the Red Army. Neither did he overlook the work of the leading theatres and other cultural institutions of the country.

The wealth of material contained in the eighth volume of the biographical chronicle makes it possible to clearly see not only the enormous scope of Lenin's political and state activities, but also his characteristics as a man of a new, communist society and the greatness of his personality.

A multitude of books and articles have been written about Lenin. His name has stirred the hearts and minds of well-known writers who have described him as a great thinker, revolutionary reformer of the world and a wonderful person, an embodiment of man of the emerging communist society. Lenin's comrades-in-arms left many recollections about him. Many new facts of his life and work had come to light due to the extensive research carried on by scientists as his scientific biography was written. All these data were thoroughly selected and systemat-

ised in the volume under review.

Despite his titanic work in leading the Bolshevik Party, the state and the international communist movement, Lenin never forgot about people, their needs and cares.

Lenin's concern for people had nothing in common with sentimental, all-forgiving kindness, which is sometimes ascribed to him by some authors. He was intransigent to irresponsible persons, those violating discipline and displaying thriftlessness. There are many similar examples in this volume.

Inalienable features of Lenin were his modesty and complete lack of vanity. There are many facts showing these traits of Lenin's character in this book.

The publication of the eighth volume of the biographical chronicle is a milestone in the undertaking begun in 1970. Colossal and painstaking care has been taken to verify facts about the life and activities of the founder of the world's first socialist state. The sources of the publication, as a rule, are Lenin's works and documents, Party and government documents, articles and letters of his comrades-in-arms and contemporaries. Wider use has been made of archive documents and new data contained in recently published monographs. The publication of the many-volume biographical chronicle of Lenin is a major event in the country's scientific and social life.

A. Titov

Ш. П. САНАКОЕВ, Н. И. КАП-
ЧЕНКО. *О теории внешней
политики социализма*. М., изд-
во «Международные от-
ношения», 1977, 296 стр.

Sh. P. SANAKOYEV, N. I. KAP-
CHENKO, *Concerning the
Theory of the Foreign Policy of
Socialism*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye
otnosheniya Publishers, 1977, 296 pp.

The authors of this monograph make clear the profoundly scientific character of Soviet foreign policy, which is based, first and foremost, on the fact that it is shaped and implemented in accordance with the objective laws of social development. The credit for evolving the theoretical foundations of the foreign policy of socialism goes to Lenin, who combined the theory of scientific communism with the implementation of the state's foreign policy. With the emergence of socialism beyond the borders of just one country and the creation and consolidation of the world socialist community, its foreign policy has become a function of the entire system of states, an interstate factor.

The authors state precisely a number of premises pertaining to the essence and aims of socialist foreign policy, its basic principles, the sphere of their application and influence on the world development processes.

The authors trace the history of the shaping of the international relations of a new, socialist type and describe their class nature, theoretical foundations and principal distinctions from the capitalist interstate relations. One of the

pivotal problems here is a correct combination of the national and international interests of the countries of the socialist community. The monograph emphasises that successes in solving the major socio-economic tasks facing a socialist country directly depend on the strength and stability of its ties of friendship and cooperation with other socialist states. Their close unity forms the basis of their concerted foreign policy. Such a policy exerts an ever growing influence on world developments.

Outlining the fundamental principles of foreign policy, namely, proletarian, socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, the authors note that they should be viewed in their dynamics. The changing correlation of world forces leads to the emergence of new forms of the manifestation of these principles. The book criticises the bourgeois and revisionist concepts distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian internationalism.

For many years now bourgeois ideologists and reactionary politicians have been attempting to persuade the masses of people that the path to peaceful coexistence is not the strategic line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy but a time-serving slogan conflicting with the doctrine of proliferating revolution throughout the world. Actually, this view is shared by the Maoist theorists. The authors of the monograph show the untenability of claims about the so-called functional incompatibility of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. The material they cite proves the opposite, namely, the

dialectical unity of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence, their inherent interconnection.

The authors devote considerable attention to the unity of the theory and practice of socialism's foreign policy and Lenin's doctrine of peace in action. They show that it is the consistent struggle for peace waged by the states of the socialist community that is paving the way to a radical reshaping of international relations.

A special section deals with the impact of the general crisis of capitalism on international relations. The global crisis of the foreign policy strategy of imperialism has resulted, above all, from the fact that this strategy is in glaring contradiction with the interests and requirements of social progress. This strategy is aimed at preserving historically obsolete principles and institutions. The peaceful policy of the socialist countries is increasingly demonstrating the untenability and futility of imperialist policy. This trend will continue to grow, reflecting, as it does, the constantly increasing role of socialist foreign policy in the system of present-day international relations. The authors of the monograph rebuff the reactionary forces in the West that are trying to shift the blame for all the crisis processes capitalism is going through onto the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence. But the crux of the matter lies not in détente, for the cold war that has unleashed an unprecedented arms race and led to the formation of

imperialist blocs of aggression in no way has helped the Western countries to overcome the economic crises. Neither has it helped to preserve the unity of the "free world" under the US aegis, something so hoped for by its inspirers and organisers.

Examining the role of socialism's foreign policy in the revolutionary transformation of the world, the authors stress the significance of a proper evaluation of the correlation of class forces in analysing the world development prospects. They criticise the balance-of-power theory current in the West, revealing its biased character, and show the growing role of the popular masses as a major factor of world policy and the specific character of its manifestation under capitalism and socialism.

The monograph analyses the reasons for an intensification of the ideological struggle in the international arena and describes how the monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to use this struggle for the purpose of "eroding" socialism from within, organising ideological subversions against the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

The monograph ends with a chapter describing the manifold activity of the CPSU in working out the strategy of peace and social progress at the present stage in history.

L. Nezhinsky

В. Г. ДОЛГИН. *В единстве — сила содружества социалистических стран.* М., изд-во Политической литературы, 1977, 199 стр.

V. G. DOLGIN, *The Strength of the Socialist Community Lies in Its Unity*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1977, 199 pp.

The monograph under review deals with the problems of cooperation between socialist countries in foreign policy and economic development. It emphasises the intrinsic coherence of these states' foreign and domestic policies. The author describes the main trends and forms of the interaction of the fraternal countries, beginning with the emergence of the world socialist system and up to the present day, and shows the role and significance of their unity as a major factor of the strength and prestige of world socialism.

The author examines one of the key problems of the theory and practice of world socialism—that of the drawing together of socialist countries—tracing and analysing the process of strengthening of the cohesion of the peoples who have taken the road of socialism in the light of their experience. He shows that the relations between the Soviet republics formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire, relations based on the right of every nation to self-determination, equality and sovereignty, and at the same time their friendship, mutual trust and allround support became a prototype and the first example in history of international relations of a new type, the fraternal unity of

the peoples and the community of their national and international interests.

The book discusses the correlation of the general and the specific in the development of the socialist countries, the objective and subjective factors of this process and discloses the dialectical character of their unity. The author defines the essence of this unity as a "natural state of relations between the socialist countries stemming from the objective laws of world development and characterised by their joint, concerted actions in defence of the vital interests of socialism, a state based on the uniformity of their social systems and ideologies, the coincidence of aims that correspond to their class nature, and their guidance by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions".

The author criticises views advocating national exclusiveness, making a fetish of national distinctions and rejecting the general laws of socialist development. At the same time, while emphasising the community of the vital national and international interests of the countries of socialism, the author does not simplify the problem by presenting cooperation between these countries as a process strictly determined by objective conditions. Studying the political, economic and other aspects of the relations between the socialist countries and disclosing their multiformity, the author enables the reader to fully comprehend the conclusion of the 25th Congress of the CPSU that the road to the consolidation and further cohesion of the socialist countries lies through the joint efforts of the fraternal parties on

the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The book analyses the main directions and spheres of the growing rapprochement of the national and international interests of socialist countries. This gives the reader a comprehensive idea about how socialist internationalism is implemented in socialist economic integration, in an ever closer cooperation and mutual assistance between the fraternal countries in all spheres of their economic development. Numerous facts are cited to show how this objective necessity is realised in the coordinated actions in the sphere of foreign policy aimed at strengthening the international positions of socialism, ensuring peaceful conditions for the implementation of the plans of socialist and communist construction, in the solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle, in the support for the working people of the capitalist countries and for the national liberation movements.

Discussing the problem of the unity of aims and actions of the socialist countries in the international arena, V. G. Dolgin also outlines the joint concrete efforts of the fraternal parties and states in the sphere of foreign policy and ideological cooperation.

Citing concrete examples of the cooperation, common aims and the spheres of mutual interests of the socialist states, the author reveals the deeply-rooted character of their cohesion, for, as Engels noted, "where there are no com-

mon interests there cannot be unity of purpose, much less of action". The rich historical material contained in the book and the data about the Soviet Union's allround assistance to the fraternal countries, about the course and efficiency of their economic and political cooperation, enable the reader to better realise what the peoples of the socialist countries have gained by the intensified internationalisation of their economic life, the growing interconnections between their national economies, the socialist mutual help and support, the multiform cooperation and exchange of experiences in the sphere of Party, state and economic management. The book shows how all this has helped the fraternal peoples solve the basic tasks of bringing the popular democratic revolutions to a triumph, consolidating workers' and peasants' power and creating conditions for the further transformation of society along socialist lines, and finally make a transition in many countries to the construction of developed socialist society.

Socialist internationalism manifests itself as the most efficient method of relations between the fraternal parties and countries marching along the road of socialism and communism. V. G. Dolgin's work emphasises this principal conclusion which follows from the entire history of real socialism.

F. Petrenko

Управление развитием народонаселения в СССР (проблемы и перспективы). М., изд-во «Статистика», 1977, 219 стр.

Control Over Demographic Development in the USSR (Problems and Prospects), Moscow, Statistika Publishers, 1977, 219 pp.

The role of scientific management of the socio-economic processes is growing ever greater at the current development stage of socialist society. This calls for the type of control over demographic development which would be in the fullest possible accord with the interests of the state and those of each Soviet family.

The book under review is a profound essay on the basic features of demographic policy in the conditions of mature socialism. The authors formulate and substantiate the possibility and necessity of a planned demographic development in our society, and show the untenability of a spontaneous and uncontrolled approach to this process.

This process cannot be reduced to just the natural shifts in the population—the dynamics of birth and death rates. It is also manifested in the deep-going social changes, including the functions and structure of the family. The questions of the spatial distribution, of the population and migration control are of great importance, too.

The book convincingly shows how the social development of the

population is vividly reflected in the changes of its qualitative characteristics. Their significance is becoming the greater with a decrease in the natural influx of the new labour resources. Hence the need for demographic science not only to more thoroughly make a traditional quantitative analysis of the demographic processes, but also to carry out a more profound study of the trends in the dynamics of the qualitative characteristics of the population.

Demographic control is part and parcel of managing the entire socio-economic life of society. Accordingly, demographic policy is a component of the socio-economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. One cannot but agree with the authors in their evaluation of the aim of an efficient demographic policy: the formation of such a type of the reproduction of the population which would best contribute to solving the tasks of satisfying in the best possible manner the people's material, intellectual and cultural requirements and the harmonious development of Soviet man.

The problems of controlling demographic development under mature socialism are complex and many-faceted. Only the first steps have been so far taken in elaborating them. This book is one such step.

S. Sokolov

Критика современной буржуазной политической экономии. Отв. ред. А. Г. Милейковский, И. М. Осадчая. М., изд-во «Наука», 1977, 581 стр.

A Critique of Modern Bourgeois Political Economy, Edited by A. Mileikovsky, I. Osadchaya, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 581 pp.

This collectively written monograph contains a multitiered analysis of the crisis of bourgeois political economic thought at the present stage. The authors, known for their studies in non-Marxist economic doctrines, convincingly show the untenability of many traditional bourgeois doctrines, disclose the content and direction of the search by spokesmen of the economic theory and practical politics of the West for new concepts of state-monopoly capitalism, for new recipes for "stabilising" the state's influence on the economy.

This search, we read in the Introduction, is proceeding along lines of integrating ever more closely political economy with sociology, and attempts to contrast to Marxism-Leninism a more "integral" and flexible apologetic theory embracing in one, single complex the processes under way in the economy and social life of the capitalist world.

The Introduction, written by A. Mileikovsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gives a comprehensive and theoretically exhaustive analysis of the essence and determining features of the present stage in the crisis of Western political economy. The author critically examines a broad spectrum of

economic concepts which advocate the need for capitalism to intensify social manoeuvring by developing interaction between the state and the monopolies.

One of the manifestations of the present crisis is the exacerbation of the differences between the various trends and schools of bourgeois economic thought. Of great interest in this respect is the analysis of the differences in the reformist researches of the various US and West European schools.

The crisis in Western political economy does not, however, mean that it now plays a smaller role in the governments' elaboration of imperialism's doctrines and in the ideological substantiation of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle. Hence the close attention paid by the author of the Introduction to Western political economy's attempts to adapt itself to present-day reality, to evolve new concepts of capitalist economic development to replace those which have become insolvent.

The first section of the monograph—"Traditional Trends in Bourgeois Political Economy in the Conditions of the Intensification of the Contradictions of Capitalist Reproduction"—opens with an analysis of the theory of economic growth showing the increasing inability of bourgeois economic thought to find a satisfactory way of stabilising the capitalist economy. This section also examines the crisis upheavals of the 1970s which led to the collapse of the Keynesian doctrines which had long held sway in the theory and practice of capitalist economic regulation and had revived monetaristic concepts. Further, the authors, drawing on copious factual material, investigate the essence and fea-

tures of inflation which has become one of modern capitalism's most acute problems, and critically evaluate the bourgeois theoretical interpretations of this phenomenon.

The second section of the monograph is likewise devoted to a critical study of the various trends in the West in search for new doctrines and concepts. Here the authors explore a wide range of issues—institutionalism, sociological trends in political economy, various theories of the transformation of capitalism, managerial concepts and concepts of human capital and the democratisation of capital. Their investigations clearly reveal the contradictory character of the social manoeuvring of modern capitalism and of the theoretical constructions of Western political economy.

The critical analysis of new ideological trends, specifically of radical political economy and of new Left concepts, makes particularly interesting reading. Such an analysis is most timely, especially considering that a variety of radical concepts have surfaced in recent years in the USA and other capitalist countries, which are critical of individual institutions of contemporary capitalist society and assert the discovery of "new" truths.

"Radical political economy, many of whose supporters aspire to the role of 'prophets'," we read in the monograph, "is least of all capable of challenging the economic theory of Marxism-Leninism. The term itself 'radical political economy' is far-fetched. As an integral economic theory there is no such concept. What there is is a conglomerate of diverse trends, engendered by the crisis and retrogression of bourgeois political economy" (p. 550).

The concluding section explores a cluster of important problems connected with the effect of capitalism's deepening general crisis on the bourgeois economic doctrines of world development; shows the insolvency of imperialism's apologists and the crisis of the political economy of cold war, traces the positive changes taking place in the world under the impact of the consolidation of socialism's positions and its growing attractive force.

The team of authors have written a valuable and highly interesting book, notable for its theoretical breadth and analytical depth, for its clear-cut exposition and well-grounded arguments.

Yu. Bobrakov

Школы в науке. М., изд-во «Наука», 1977, 523 стр.

Schools in Science, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 523 pp.

The book under review includes articles by 39 scientists from the USSR and the German Democratic Republic, which define, from vari-

ous angles and points of view, the essence of the concept of scientific school.

The book is divided into two parts. The first examines the general characteristics of scientific school and the place of that category in the science of science. The second describes concrete scientific schools in various fields of science.

B. Kedrov considers scientific schools as the basic units of science where scientists are moulded. He emphasises the importance of the school leader's personal qualities and singles out the ability to foster independent thinking by students and to cultivate a free choice of the field of investigation and search for answers to unresolved difficult problems.

Using material about the L. Mandelshtam — A. Andronov school, E. Boiko explains the mechanism of the formation of the essence of scientific activity and its dependence on the personalities of the school's leaders.

M. Rudnick and F. Herneck, scientists from the German Democratic Republic, deal with the question of socio-political circumstances bearing on the development and decline of schools. L. Läscher from the GDR examines a system of communications, forming the working atmosphere in a scientific collective by analysing the features of the Emil Fischer school. On the example of the A. Terentyev school, A. Zuckerman highlights the leader's way of thinking as a factor forming a scientific school.

A number of articles give a thorough logical analysis of the category "scientific school". A. Ogurtsov examines the processes of the formation of scientific schools on the basis of the principles evolved by Karl Marx for analysing cooperation and the division of labour in material production. The author has in mind the social nature of creative work, the social comprehension of the ways determining the development of the science of choice. At the same time, the author says, a scientific

school which isolates scientists from other groups can hamper (especially during the period of its decline) the critical and reflective work of a scientist and thereby entail pernicious consequences for science. The "scientific school" phenomenon is not simple and requires a many-sided systems analysis.

In this connection a detailed article by H. Laitko (GDR) is of interest. It discloses a rather complex object essence of the concept "scientific school", which is viewed as a social form of the maximum intensification of creative processes. The author shows the real multiformity of the phenomena described by this general concept and analyses it in comparison with such concepts as scientific discipline, scientific collective, etc. The three basic parts of the definition of scientific school he interprets as a phenomenon of the process of investigation, a phenomenon of social group and unification of research processes divided by time. Proceeding from this premise, H. Laitko arrives at the following definition: the scientific school represents a limited sum total of various forms of research activities connected with each other and carried on by various individuals, between whose components temporary continuity exists. This definition is noteworthy because it shows the nature of a phenomenon and makes it possible to pose a question about the mechanisms ensuring the fruitful (or, on the contrary, harmful) nature and influence of concrete schools. The author also makes quite an interesting analysis of the conditions of the emergence of scientific schools, which makes it possible, on the one hand, not to restrict the concept under investigation to the situa-

tions of direct pupilage from the school's leader and, on the other, to identify the school and the direction of research. Particularly important is the conclusion that scientific schools are possible only if there is no single pattern in the given field of science, and they emerge contrary to some paradigm claiming exclusiveness. The author comes close to the problem of school typology, pointing out four ideal types (standards) to which real schools more or less gravitate. These four types embrace the historical multiformity of schools. The author further expresses interesting ideas about connections between the formation of scientific schools and the management of science, emphasising that the progress of scientific work cannot fully be programmed, while the emergence of scientific schools probably represents such a phenomenon of science, which lends itself to a minimum of planning. H. Laitko stresses that socialist society, oriented as it is on the flourishing of each individual, prepares the social ground on which productive scientific schools can be formed.

M. Yaroshevsky's article "The Logic of the Development of Science and a Scientific School" shows that a study of scientific schools alters the traditional self-awareness of science. The author opposes the passive-objectivist attitude towards science, which, in essence, is a sub-system in the system of social relations. He emphasises the paradoxical nature of the fact that science, striving for objective knowledge often develops in an antagonistic contradictions between scientific schools. The objectivity of laws reflected in scientific progress relates not only to science as know-

ledge, but also to science as activity. The logic of discovery is inseparable from its psychology. M. Yaroshevsky elaborates the very important concept of "investigation programme" which can serve as the category basis for forming scientific collectives. This concept is illustrated on materials from the history of psychology and psychophysiology. In using the example of the W. Wundt school, the author examines the emergence of a new discipline within a school. The formation of psychology as an independent science is thus discussed. This example is also used to illustrate the process of school disintegration connected with the exhaustion of its programme and the emergence of strong competing programmes.

H. Steiner (GDR) analyses a connection between the social and cognitive factors in the creative activities of scientific schools. Giving a general characteristic of the essential features of a scientific school, the author brings out the specifics of the functioning of scientific schools in different social conditions and shows the extent to which science is dependent on the structure of scientific schools.

V. Gasilov compares three research programmes in the science of science: "Scientists in Organisations", "An Invisible College", and "Scientific School". The author regards the scientific school as a systems object with specific characteristics. He cites ten such characteristics which can serve as the foundation for defining a school and gives an interesting classification of the use of the term "school" by different authors, the fact which testifies to a complex and indefinite character of this concept.

L. Salyamon presents valuable ideas about the bifunctionality of scientific schools which have the task of preserving a certain amount of knowledge and at the same time accumulating new, heuristically valuable knowledge. E. Dahm (GDR) emphasises the role of the personality of a school's leader and its atmosphere.

E. Mirsky discusses the schools of natural science in the system of scientific activity, analyses the contraposition "school—prevailing paradigm", and describes the mechanisms of the traditional paradigm's self-defence from a school that disassociates from it, as well as the means by which a

school wins a worthy place in "big" science. Mention should be made of the author's considerations about the defensive role of such "self-titles" as neo-Lamarckism or neo-Darwinism, and the transformation of the latter into a synthetic theory of evolution, when that school has developed into a paradigm.

The book under review proves the fruitful nature of the "scientific school" research programme, discloses the significance of this concept, and also shows the already existing achievements in this field.

Yu. Shreider

Концепция человека в эстетике социалистического реализма.
М., изд-во «Мысль», 1977,
264 стр.

Concept of Man in the Aesthetics of Socialist Realism, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 264 pp.

This collection compiled by the Department of the Theory of Literature and Literary Criticism of the Academy of Social Sciences examines the character of the individual and the innovatory approach to him by the literature of socialist realism.

The book is divided into three sections: the first and largest contains articles of a theoretical and generalising nature; the second deals with the presentation of the individual, the main character of modern prose works; the third analyses the new qualities of the theory of poetics in the literature of socialist realism.

The book opens with S. Petrov's article "The Problem of Man in the Literature of Socialist Realism", which dwells on the presentation of the new man, beginning with pre-revolutionary and early post-revolutionary works up to writings of our day. The author argues that it is impossible to promote the education of a harmoniously developed builder of communism with the help of literature without a broad approach to the individual.

S. Petrov makes some interesting points in discussing the ideological unity of Soviet writers and the social essence of the aesthetic ideal of the literature of socialist realism.

The article "Philosophy of Historical Optimism and the Concept of Man" by L. Yakimenko demonstrates convincingly that historical optimism is a distinguishing feature of the art of socialist realism, and cites Maxim Gorky's creative experience and his presentation of the heroic. The author reaches the

conclusion that the method of socialist realism presupposes a thorough historical approach to the relations between the individual and the circumstances in which he finds himself. In doing this, the writers of socialist realism proceed from their understanding of the complex dialectics of life. It is not only circumstances that affect the individual; the latter, too, changes while changing the surrounding world.

E. Sidorov's article "The Positive Character in Modern Soviet Literature" analyses the innovatory trends of Soviet literature, which not only describes the actual traits of the new man, but also actively helps mould his personality. The system of proofs and the logic of the article are based on the author's perception of the revolutionary humanistic essence of the socio-economic formation in which the new literature and its hero exist. In his concrete analysis the author mentions as examples various stylistic trends of the art of socialist realism, showing different ways of expressing the writer's aesthetic ideal—romantic and purely realistic. E. Sidorov discusses the innovatory poetic character of modern Soviet prose, its new artistic means of cognition and presentation of man's character, the growing interest of writers in the motives of the fundamental choice in life by the character or an epic presentation of the positive character and the flourishing of lyrical and conventional forms.

The article by A. Ivanchenko "Principles of the Depiction of Man in Soviet Military Prose Writing" is devoted mainly to Yu. Bondarev's novel *The Shore*. The analysis of the novel is centered around the presentation of the

main character's inner world. *The Shore* is compared with novels by F. Abramov and V. Bogomolov, and this allows the author of the article to maintain that the more profound psychological nature of modern Soviet literature is revealed in the writers' intensive search for the truest possible motives of the characters' actions.

M. Popkhadze, in his article "The Problem of Choice and Original Psychological Approach in Prose Writing about the Great Patriotic War" examines some aspects of the Marxist interpretation of the essence of man, the problems of the freedom of choice in Soviet literature in the 1960s-1970s about the Great Patriotic War, particularly in the works by J. Avyzius, P. Kuusberg and V. Bykov. The author of the article makes some interesting observations in analysing the moral conflict between Sotnikov and Rybak in V. Bykov's novel *Sotnikov*. Here one can see the author's approach to the problem of humanism in the literature of our day as a reflection of man's spiritual wealth.

M. Sverenyak, in his article "The Character and the Epic Aspect of the Modern Novel", systematises the innovatory features of many modern novels. He also notes the significance of an epic artistic character as the pivotal figure in the structure of an epic novel.

This theme is further elaborated in the article by O. Kashirin "The Individual and the Collective in Modern Prose Writing About the Working Class". The timeliness of examining this problem is evident just as the need of an analysis of new ties and interrelationships of characters, and also an analysis of what could be termed psychological

circumstances. The article is definitely valuable today because it attempts to bring out certain kinship between the novels, stories and essays on the theme of industrial production, published in our time and those writings about socialist construction that appeared in the 1930s. The article aptly examines the artistic traditions of L. Leonov, V. Katayev, A. Malyshev and Yu. Krymov and the development of these traditions in modern prose writing.

The three articles in the concluding section of the book call for an exhaustive analysis of the original artistic traits of new phenomena in the literature of socialist realism. Ch. Huseinov, in his "Artistic Type and the Quest for Style and Genre in Modern Soviet Literature" traces the development of the Sholokhov traditions (primarily his interest in difficult human destinies and a contradictory character) and connects with it the concept of the maturity of literature, emphasizing that that concept is not immutable but extremely changeable. It is by comprehending the most intricate social problems and types that literature can reveal its creative poten-

tialities. Ch. Huseinov's ideas about the typology of confessional prose, as well as his observations with regard to the innovatory character of the poetic means of the contemporary novel are very interesting.

Elaborating some of the problems posed by Ch. Huseinov, G. Bozhko in his article "Functions of Inner Monologue in the Prose Writing of Socialist Realism" examines numerous examples of the use of this monologue by 19th-century Russian classical writers and the development of this tradition in Soviet literature in the 1920s-1930s.

The collection concludes with I. Buzylev's article "About the Intellectual and the Emotional in Modern Soviet Literature", which demonstrates the dialectical connection between the intellectual and the emotional in various components of fiction.

The strict conceptual and timely character of the problems tackled by the contributors to this book makes it interesting reading for the broad public.

L. Zamansky

A. A. ОЗАДОВСКИЙ. *США и Африка. Проблемы неокolonизма*. М., изд-во «Мысль», 1977, 325 стр.

A. A. OZADOVSKY, *The USA and Africa. Problems of Neocolonialism*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 325 pp.

The monograph under review is a study of the US policy in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. In it the author examines the mechan-

ism, the ways and means by which the United States is trying to achieve its economic, political and ideological objectives on that continent.

A distinctive feature of the monograph is its wealth of source material: documents, official publications of the State Department, treaties and agreements between the USA and African states, and legislative acts of the US Congress. The author also draws extensively on the publications of political

leaders of the developing countries, on the principal documents of the independent states of Africa and the Organisation of African Unity, on various publications of UN, UNESCO and other international organisations, and on memoirs, monographs and books by American, British, French and African scholars, journalists and diplomats.

In his analysis of the USA's relations with the young independent states Ozadovsky convincingly shows that the American monopolies, taking into account the continent's enormous resources, nourish hopes of using it as their economic reserve. He notes that Washington's foreign policy-makers calculate that by rendering economic, financial and technical aid to the young African states they will be able to direct the latter's development along the capitalist path and thus preserve the present structure of the world capitalist economy and ensure US monopoly control over the African countries' economic future.

The wide range of material cited in the monograph graphically shows that in recent years the USA's drive for spheres of influence has to an ever increasing extent been combined with Washington's attempts to involve other industrialised capitalist countries in a common coordinated policy in this region of the world and to retain the main levers of control and domination in its hands. Washington's African policy, we read in the monograph, is dictated not only by the economic interests of the monopolies but also by the political interests of the USA, both being linked by common aims of struggle against the forces of progress and socialism.

Of special interest are the sections in the monograph showing the new aspects of neocolonialism, conditioned largely by the development of the scientific and technological revolution. Take, for example, the satellite programme designed to scout out mineral resources on the African continent. By proposing that the results of this programme be used as a means of mining the natural resources discovered, the USA is thus paving the way for its monopolies to these resources.

The author gives a panoramic picture of the activities of the US diplomatic apparatus' various links in Africa where, in addition, over 70 US information centres are functioning, not to mention thousands of Peace Corps volunteers, many university African-study centres and other organisations.

The analysis in the monograph of the US programme of military aid to developing countries gives the reader a deeper insight into the nature of American neocolonialism in Africa. The Pentagon, specifically, shows particular concern for training cadres in US military institutions for some of the young states, sends its military advisers there, and spares no effort to place the national armies under its control by way of armaments supplies.

At the same time, the monograph shows that also in this continent anti-imperialist trends are steadily gaining ground, that the struggle for economic and political independence is intensifying, a struggle which will ultimately spell the collapse of neocolonialism's plans.

I. Mosin



BIBLIOGRAPHY

NEW BOOKS BY SOVIET ORIENTALISTS

We present here short annotations of books by Soviet Orientalists that appeared in the Soviet Union in Russian in 1977-1978.

A. B. Belenky, *Ideology of the National Liberation Movement in Indonesia. 1917-1942. Radical Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 392 pp.

The book devotes special attention to teachings and ideologies representing radical petty-bourgeois nationalism. This stems from the specifics of the national movement in colonial Indonesia, which was characterised by the dominance of petty-bourgeois democracy over bourgeois liberalism. The book analyses in detail the impact of various trends of Western political thought, as well as of the liberation movement of the colonial countries of the East, upon the ideology of Indonesian national organisations and public figures. Much attention is given to the influence of Marxism-Leninism on the Indonesian people's liberation struggle.

V. F. Vasilyev, *The Working Class of Burma (The Formation and Development of the Industrial Proletariat. 1870s-1970s)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 312 pp.

The author examines the evolution, structure, numerical strength

and growth dynamics of the industrial proletariat; the development and forms of the working-class movement in Burma, in connection with the main stages of political struggle in the country in both the colonial period and after it attained independence in 1948. A special place is devoted to the present period, which began with the coming to power in 1962 of the Revolutionary Council with its programme of socialist orientation.

The Foreign Policy of the Ching State in the 17th Century, Ed. by L. I. Duman, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 385 pp.

The book analyses the forms and methods of the foreign policy of the Ching Manchurian-Chinese empire in the early stages of its formation. It examines relations between the Ching state and Korea, Mongolia, the Dzungari khanate, Hami, Turfan, Vietnam, and the Russian state. It presents the differences and similarities in the approach of the Manchurian-Chinese ruling circles to different countries. The authors show the aggressive trend and traditional

character of many diplomatic moves of the Ching empire.

D. R. Voblikov, *The Sudan Republic. 1956-1970 (Problems of Formation and Development)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978.

The monograph examines the socio-economic and political problems of the development of Sudan, its relations with other liberated countries, imperialist powers and the community of socialist countries. Attention is concentrated upon the struggle between the forces of internal reaction and imperialism, on the one hand, and the progressive forces of the country, supported by the world progressive public, on the other, on the choice of the ways of development of that major African-Arab state.

I. V. Vsevolodov, *Burma: Religion and Politics (Essays on the History of the Buddhist Sangha in Burma)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 270 pp.

This monograph is the first work in Soviet and world Oriental studies to examine the history of the Burmese Buddhist community throughout the whole history of the country. The author reveals important laws in the evolution of the Sangha as a social institute, its role in political and economic history, and its present-day essence. The Sangha is examined in close inter-relationship with national history, against the background of the historical process in South-East Asia as a whole.

L. M. Gataullina, *Problems of the Non-Capitalist Way of Development. The Mongolian People's Republic*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 303 pp.

The author analyses various aspects of the 1921 popular revolu-

tion in Mongolia, the nature of government and its functions during the democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, the nature of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the problems of its ideological and organisational consolidation on the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The work discusses the essence of non-capitalist development in liberated countries at the present stage, and the significance of the Mongolian experience for countries of socialist orientation in Asia and Africa.

L. D. Grisheleva, *The Contemporary Japanese Theatre*, Moscow, Iskustvo Publishers, 1977, 237 pp.

The book analyses the formation and development of all theatre genres represented on the Japanese stage today, their present state, and the place they occupy in the nation's cultural life. It analyses the activities of leading companies and actors, the problems facing theatre workers in Japan, and possible ways of resolving them.

L. L. Gromkovskaya, E. I. Kychanov, *Nikolai Alexandrovich Nevsky, "Russian Orientalists and Travelers" Series*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 216 pp.

The book tells about the life of the eminent Soviet Orientalist Nikolai Nevsky who graduated from the Petersburg University where among his teachers were Sinologist A. Alexeyev and ethnographer L. Shternberg. N. Nevsky spent almost 15 years in Japan travelling to its most distant areas and studying ethnography, dialectology and folklore. The authors discuss N. Nevsky's contribution to the development of Japanese ethnography and to the studies of the Aino people and of the

language of the Taiwan tribe of Tsou. Special attention is paid to the Tangut studies: N. Nevsky was posthumously awarded the Lenin Prize for deciphering Tangut scripts.

The Ninth Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Theses and Papers, Ed. by A. N. Khokhlov, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 715 pp.

The collection presents papers and articles by 97 authors. The first part is devoted primarily to archaeology, the ancient and mediaeval history of China, and old Chinese ideology and culture. The second part comprises material on the economy, administrative system, external and internal policies, public thought and the national liberation movement of the peoples of China in modern times. The third part is devoted mainly to contemporary times. The materials of the collection reflect the results of the latest studies of Soviet scientists working in various spheres of Sinology.

Z. D. Katkova, *The Foreign Policy of the Kuomintang Government During the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 239 pp.

The book examines relations between Kuomintang China and the major imperialist powers: the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan. The first half examines China on the eve of the anti-Japanese war, the policy of the Kuomintang government at the beginning of the war, the attempts of Kuomintang diplomacy to find a compromise formula for dealing with Japan and ending China's foreign isolation. The second half shows the activities of Kuomintang

diplomacy during the Second World War. It analyses the diplomatic tendencies of the Chiang Kai-shek government aimed at establishing domination over neighbouring countries at various stages of the war in the Pacific.

G. F. Kim, F. I. Shabshina, *The Alliance of the Working Class and Peasantry and the Experience of the Socialist Countries of Asia*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 307 pp.

The authors analyse the emergence and consolidation of the alliance of the working classes and the peasant masses in the struggle of the peoples of Mongolia, Korea and Vietnam for national and social liberation; the role of that alliance during periods when the revolutionary situation was maturing, when it was evolving into national democratic revolution, at the general democratic stage of the transformation of society. The authors examine the experience of the alliance of the working class and peasantry in Mongolia, where the working class was virtually non-existent during and immediately after the revolution, and in Korea and Vietnam, where it was numerically small, as well as its significance for the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa today.

V. M. Konstantinov, *Hokusa Monryaku or a Brief Account of Wanderings in the Northern Waters by Katsuragawa Hōsyū* (Translated from the Japanese with Commentaries and Supplements), "Monuments of Oriental Writings" Series, XII, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 472 pp.

This book is a translation and analysis of the earliest Japanese record about Russia at the end of

the 18th century written by Katsuragawa Hoshu, a learned physician, on the basis of the accounts of Daikokuya Kodayu, skipper of the *Shinshyu-maru*, a ship that was wrecked off the coast of Russia in 1783, with Katsuragawa's commentaries from Dutch and Chinese sources. The translation was done by V. Konstantinov according to the *Hokusa monryaku* text published in Japan in 1937 by Professor Kamei Takayoshi, with the Japanese commentaries.

The first three of the 11 chapters of the *Hokusa monryaku* describe the wreck of the *Shinshyu-maru* and the Japanese sailors' return to Japan. Seven chapters are devoted to various aspects of life in 18th-century Russia as observed by Captain Kodayu. Chapter 11 contains Japan's first Russian-Japanese glossary of about 2,000 words.

Stanislav Kuchera, *Chinese Archaeology in 1965-1974: the Paleolithic—the Yin Age, Findings and Problems*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 268 pp.

The book is devoted to the explorations of Chinese archaeologists between 1965 and 1974. The author restricts himself to analysing and summarising materials relevant only to the Paleolith, Neolith and the beginnings of Chinese civilisation. The material is presented very thoroughly. Two chapters of the book are devoted to the principal anthropological findings of the Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic cultures, writing, bronze and iron metallurgy, and the culture of the Shan-Yin period. The third offers a complete selection of radio-carbon dating published in the Chinese People's Republic by

the time of writing and a generalised analysis.

R. G. Landa, *The Rise of the Anti-Colonial Movement in Algeria (1918-1931)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 309 pp.

The author analyses the influence of the October Revolution on Algerian Communists making their first steps under the leadership of the Comintern, and on the nationalists, the most active and militant detachment of which, the North African Star Association, was set up and initially developed under the great influence of the Communist Party of France. The book traces the economic and social processes that took place in Algeria in the 1920s and early 1930s. It shows the emergence and development of various trends of national reformism and national revolutionism.

B. A. Litvinsky, *Tools and Pottery from Burial Mounds in Western Fergana (Archaeological and Ethnographic Materials on the History of Culture and Religion in Central Asia)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 216 pp.

The book examines in detail such manufactures as spinning, weaving, flour-making, and the manufacture of metallic and wooden articles. The author examines the tools, pottery and respective manufactures in close connection with the development of material culture in the East in general. A special chapter analyses rites and beliefs associated with looking glasses and other objects, the twin gods cult, burial rites and others.

I. N. Mashkina, *China and Vietnam (3rd-13th Centuries)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 352 pp.

The book shows relations between China and Vietnam in the Middle Ages. The introductory chapter presents the Chinese sources on which the work is based and a brief review of literature on the subject. Chapter 1 is devoted to the policies of imperial China in occupied Vietnamese lands and to the struggle against the invaders waged by the Viets throughout the 10 centuries of foreign domination. Chapter 2 examines inter-state relations between the Chinese empire and the Dai Viet from the mid-10th century to the Mongol conquest of China. An addendum offers a translation of a Vietnamese chronicle from the Chinese with a commentary. This 14th century chronicle is the first extant work by Vietnamese authors written in Chinese.

Meroe. History, History of Culture, Language of Ancient Sudan, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 303 pp.

The collection includes articles on the history of the Meroe state (8th century B.C.-4th century A.D.), on problems of the Meroite language, sources, the religious and international contacts of the state.

The National Intelligentsia in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 144 pp.

This is the first attempt in Soviet Oriental studies of an integrated analysis of a poorly studied social group in the liberated countries. The book examines the genesis and development of the modern intelligentsia in the East, its place in the social structure, ideological and political life of the developing

countries, and its participation and role in the development of national culture.

E. P. Pir-Budagova, *Syria in the Struggle for the Consolidation of National Independence (1945-1966)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 236 pp.

This monograph examines stages in the socio-political and socio-economic development of the Syrian Arab Republic since it gained national independence and until the coming to power of the Left Revolutionary-Democratic wing of the Baath Party. Special attention is devoted to social and class changes during the period and the Syrian people's struggle against attempts to draw the country into aggressive alliances and pacts.

E. M. Primakov, *Anatomy of the Middle East Conflict*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 374 pp.

The author examines the causes and essence of the Middle East conflict. Considerable attention is devoted to the history of the formation of the Palestine liberation movement and its role in the Arab national liberation movement as a whole. He analyses the Middle East policy of the United States and outlines in detail the Soviet stand with regard to the Middle East conflict, and in particular, the Soviet proposals for eliminating that dangerous hotbed of international tension.

Present-Day Nationalism and the Social Development of the East, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 328 pp.

This collectively written monograph is the first in the series "Roads of Development of the Liberated Countries of the East" (editorial board of the series:

G. F. Kim (Editor), A. B. Belenky, K. N. Brutents, An. A. Groznyko, A. S. Kaufman, M. S. Lazarev, A. I. Levkovsky, V. F. Li, L. R. Polonskaya, V. G. Rastyanikov, B. G. Sapozhnikov, N. A. Simonia). The book offers a theoretical analysis of the contemporary evolution of nationalism in countries of the East and its various aspects in connection with fundamental questions of social development. It examines the place of nationalism in the current ideological struggle, problems of overcoming economic backwardness, traditional ideas and norms, and the role of religion in nationalistic concepts of social development.

N. A. Syromyatnikov, *Development of the New Japanese Language*, Ed. by N. I. Konrad, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 304 pp.

This book is a continuation of a work by the same author, *Emergence of the New Japanese Language* (Moscow, 1965). It traces the development of the national language in the pre-national and early national period (17th-early 19th century), when the new language gradually took over one genre after the other from old Japanese, in conditions of the interaction of the Western and Eastern dialects. The author establishes the general and specific causes of changes. The work is written from the positions of systems linguistics; besides declination and conjugation, it examines modal suffixes and conjunction elements, as well as the extensive system of personal pronouns and polite (pejorative) predicate forms characteristic of the development of feudalism in Japan.

F. A. Toder, *Taiwan and Its History. 19th Century*, Ed. by S. L. Tikhvinsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 338 pp.

The book presents a history of Taiwan, which in the 19th century became a bone of contention between capitalist countries, culminating in 1895 with the island's occupation by Japan. The work considers the specific features of socio-ethnic development of Taiwan and analyses the conditions for the penetration of foreign capital. It also tells of the rise of the resistance movements of Taiwanese Chinese against the colonialists in 1895-1897 and of attempts to establish a popular state, Mingchukuo, on the island. The volume concludes with an analysis of the first stage in the colonial transformation of Taiwan by the Japanese administration.

I. M. Filshinsky, *Arab Literature in the Middle Ages. The Literary Art of the Arabs in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 291 pp.

This is the first volume in the planned multivolume work on the history of Arab literature in the Middle Ages. It embraces the period from the appearance of the first samples of Arab literature (end of 5th and beginning of 6th centuries) to the mid-8th century and includes a description of pre-Arab (pre-Islamic) poetry, early samples of Arab prose writing (both pre-Islamic and early Mediaeval), as well a poetry of the Omayyad period. A separate chapter is devoted to the emergence of Islam, the activities of the prophet Muhammad and a historical, cultural and literary analysis of the

Koran, the first monument of Arab prose writing. The book is provided with an extensive bibliography in the Russian, West European and Arabic languages, as well as many translations of poetic and prose excerpts.

Financial and Economic Problems of the Developing Countries of Asia (Essays), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 316 pp.

The book investigates problems of reproduction in the multi-sectoral economies of the developing countries of Asia, the economic activities of the state; factors of economic growth; the role of scientific and technological progress, the development strategies of these countries. It consistently examines the specific features and operation of redistribution systems—finances, credit and money turnover—in these countries; shows new developments and trends in this sphere and the contradictory nature of the involvement of the systems in restructuring backward economies, which is determined by the class character and socio-political orientation of the state.

V. A. Chernyshov, *The Dynamics of the Language Situation in Northern India (the Hindu Language Area After 1947)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 176 pp.

This work examines relations between Hindi and Urdu, on the one hand, and Hindi and regional languages within the area of its distribution, on the other, in the period between 1947 and 1978. Considerable attention is devoted to the growing role of Hindi alongside the establishment of a number of regional languages, as well as the movement for a popular language and the reorganisation of states of the area on a linguistic basis.

South-East Asia in World History (Editorial Board: S. N. Rostovsky, E. O. Berzin, V. F. Vasilyev, A. R. Vyatkin, G. I. Levinson), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 352 pp.

This collective work by Moscow Oriental historians is a sequel of the monograph, *South-East Asia: Problems of Regional Community* (Moscow, 1977). It undertakes the first attempt in Soviet historiography to present a regional history of South-East Asia from antiquity to 1945. Special attention is given to the problem of common roots, inter-influences, parallel development and the historical development of differences between the countries of South-East Asia. On this basis the book sheds light on the formation of contemporary links in the area.

SCIENTIFIC THEMATIC COLLECTIONS

Since 1969, the "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board, USSR Academy of Sciences, has been publishing the "Problems of the Contemporary World" series dealing with current problems in philosophy, history, economics, politics, sociology, law, psychology, ethnography, philology, and other social sciences. The collections acquaint the reader with the latest achievements of Soviet scholars in these fields of knowledge and with their approach to problems of broad interest to scientific and social circles.

In 1978, the "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board, meeting the wishes of numerous specialists abroad, started the publication in Spanish a new series of thematic collections under the title "Latin America: Studies by Soviet Scholars". They include writings by leading Soviet experts in the history, economics, home and foreign policy, culture, national liberation struggle and the working-class and communist movements in Latin America.

The Editorial Board would appreciate your opinion on the scientific collections in the "Problems of the Contemporary World" and "Latin America: Studies by Soviet Scholars" series. Your remarks and suggestions will be taken into consideration in further plans for the series.

Below please find lists of collections that have been already published or are being prepared for press.

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Orders for the collections can be placed with firms and bookshops handling Soviet publications in your country, including the firms listed at the end of this issue. Sample copies are sent on request by the Editorial Board.

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OUR GLOSSARY

SOCIALIST REPRODUCTION (SR) includes the following inter-related components: 1) continuous renewal and expansion of production assets socialised along socialist lines; 2) reproduction of the labour-power of the toilers of socialist society, advance of their material and cultural standards of life; 3) systematic growth of the gross and net products of socialist society; 4) reproduction and development of socialist relations of production as the driving force of the process of reproduction. SR is effected on a planned basis by dividing the social product into the funds of compensation, accumulation and consumption (with the use of moral and material social stimuli, economic levels, commodity-money relations, financial and credit relations) for the sake of obtaining the largest possible physical volume of the society's net product (national income), the latter being a source of satisfying the growing requirements of the people and of the further development of socialist production for this purpose. In contrast to capitalist reproduction, SR proceeds without periodical crises, depressions and slumps and secures the possibility of the uninterrupted growth of the economy.

The basic features and laws of SR are common to all socialist countries. At the same time, in each country SR has its own specifics, conditioned by different levels of economic development, different sizes and structures of national wealth and hence different national per capita incomes, different roles and structures of foreign trade, etc.

Representing a single process that covers the entire national economy, SR is effected through the reproduction of individual enterprises, branches and all links of the social division of labour according to a general state plan. The attained level of social production exercises essential influence on the further course of

SR. As the economy develops this level constantly changes due to the high rates of the growth of the gross and net products of socialist society.

INTERNATIONAL PRODUCTION COMPLEX (IPC) is a totality of sectors, subsectors and types of production in the integrating CMEA countries which have close and stable production and technological ties that transcend the national borders. The deepening of international division of labour and, especially, of interstate specialisation and cooperation of production is the objective basis for the formation of IPC. The document entitled "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labour", elaborated by the 15th Session of CMEA, says that alongside the comprehensive development of the national economy of each country the international socialist division of labour promotes the formation of production complexes with the participation of several socialist countries.

The process of the formation of IPC is speeded up by the scientific and technological revolution. Under its impact ever new sectors, subsectors and new types of production make their appearance, the assortment of output is expanded and renewed at a rapid rate, production relations, production processes and production itself become complexified, its ties with science being intensified. Under these conditions even the largest and economically highly developed nations are unable to secure the highly effective development of science and production with their own resources, in equal measure and in all directions. This circumstance necessitates the pooling of the efforts and resources, of the scientific and industrial potentials of the socialist countries for the sake of settling the general economic tasks that face them.

Several IPCs may simultaneously take shape and function, depending on the range of these tasks (for instance, in the sphere of the production and processing of raw materials and fuels, the manufacture of machinery and equipment for atomic power engineering, electronics, chemical industry, agriculture, etc.) The IPCs provide for a rational distribution of productive forces and optimal production proportions in each country and in the socialist community as a whole. They promote the ever more efficient use of economic resources in the integrating CMEA countries.

FOREIGN TRADE (CONTRACT) PRICES operate in the trade between the CMEA countries. These prices make up a special system of prices on the world socialist market.

This system of prices is based on the totality of principles and methods elaborated by the CMEA countries during their coopera-

tion. The chief principle is the mutually beneficial and equivalent exchange.

At present, the contract prices are based on world prices which are corrected with a view to ridding them of the detrimental influence of the ups and downs on the capitalist market. The main corrections deal with the careful selection of the principal and most optimal commodity markets whose prices are taken as the basic ones; the removal of the influence of the cyclic nature of capitalist reproduction, market conditions, speculative, inflationary and other factors of the world trade; the comparison of the contract and world prices from the standpoint of the quality of goods compared and of the payment terms; the use of special methods of calculating the transport guide. All this helps to crystallise the objective value aspect of the world prices.

The system of contract prices develops under the constant impact of such laws of the socialist economy as the fundamental law, the law of planned development and the law of value. In this process the fundamental economic law determines the top-priority function which the system of contract prices must discharge, that is, promote the steady rise of the living standards in the socialist countries. This initial target guideline, which expresses the substance of socialism's economic programme, is realised in prices chiefly through the consideration of the operation of the law of planned development. In this way price-formation acquires a planned nature. It must be noted that under the law of planned development the law of value fully loses its spontaneous nature and its role in price-formation is reduced in fact to the fixation of socially necessary expenditures defined by a relevant plan, i.e., to the planned formation of concrete price levels and correlations. Thus, the CMEA countries' foreign trade prices have two basic features: the value nature and the planned nature, which makes it possible to regard this economic category as a product of the development of planned commodity-money relations which express the directly social character of production and exchange under socialism.

TRANSFERABLE RUBLE (TR) is collective currency circulated on the international market of the CMEA countries, the basis of its currency-credit machinery. By its economic nature, TR is credit money guaranteed with commodities, since it emerges only as a result of the export of goods and services. The importer is granted credit in transferable rubles to be repaid by cross deliveries. This credit is given out of the means put to the account of the exporter for the goods he had delivered.

As collective currency TR operates, first, as a unit of measurement of contract prices by discharging the function of the

measure of the value of goods circulating on the market of the CMEA countries. In this function TR represents ideal money, the more so that the cancellation of mutual demands and obligations existing between the CMEA countries in cases of bilateral or multilateral relations is in the final analysis effected through clearing. Second, TR discharges the function of payment facility in the payment of goods, services and repayment of credits and also in the regulation of the balance of non-commodity payments. The significance of this function of TR grows as the multilateral character of trade and accounts increases. It depends on the development and improvement of the system of international socialist credits. Third, TR discharges the function of the means of accumulation in the process of the formation of credit resources to be used by the International Bank of Economic Cooperation (IBEC) and the International Investment Bank (IIB) to grant credits to CMEA countries. This function finds expression in the concentration by these countries of their currency in TR in their current accounts and deposits to the IBEC.

The improvement of TR's functions is associated with the improvement of the whole system of economic cooperation and its machinery within the framework of which it is formed and the development of which it must serve.

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GHANA

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GREECE

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c/o Masumoto Bldg., 1-5-16, Suido,
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Tokyo 100-31;
Far Eastern Book-Sellers,
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Progressive Book Society Ltd.,
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Norsk-Sovjetrussisk Samband,
Rådhusgt, 8-V, Oslo;
A/S Norsk Forlag NY Dag,
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Paradise Subscription Agency,
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Marina Hotel, Bonus Road,
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People's Publishing House,
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Box 62 S-101 20 Stockholm;
Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandel,
Lund;
Forbundet Sverige-Sovjetunionen,
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Rue Al-Kouatly,
En Face du Cercle des Officiers,
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Wellingborough Northants.

USA

Four Continent Book Corporation,
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N.Y. 10010;
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Pennsauken, N.J. 08110;
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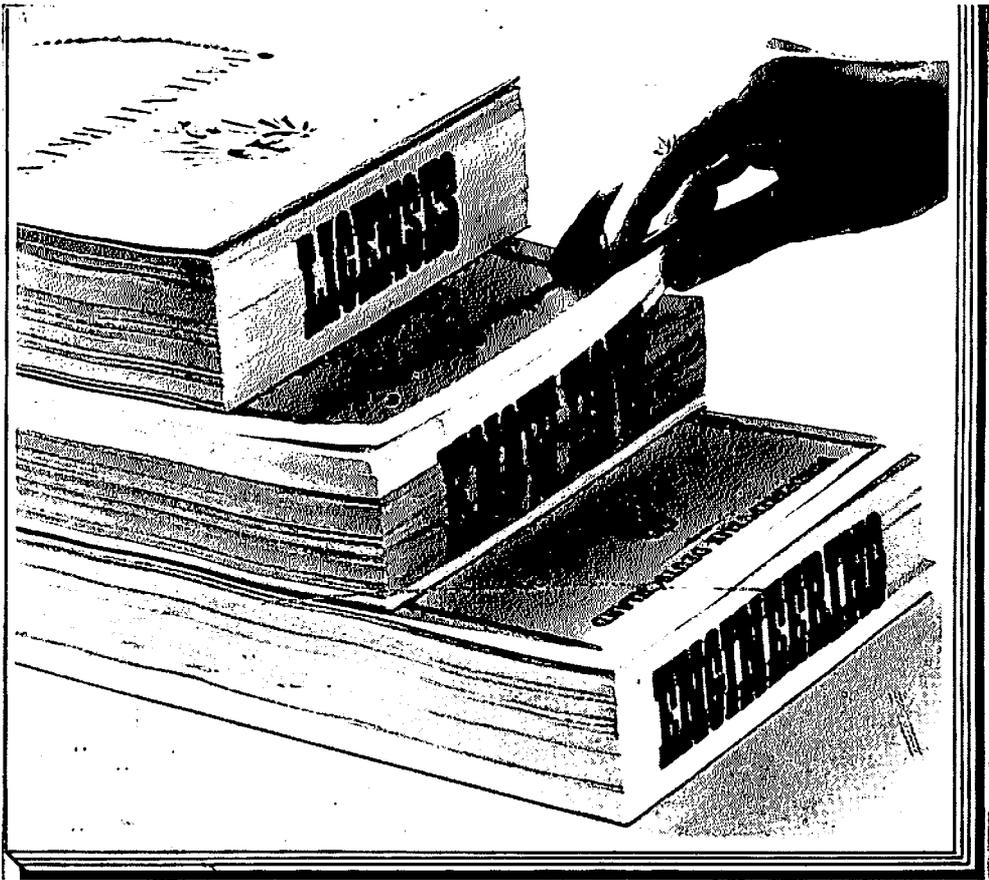
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