ISSN 0134—5486

SOCIAL SCIENCES

1

1981

USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

A quarterly of the Section
of the Social Sciences,
USSR Academy of Sciences.
Founded in 1970.
Published in Moscow in English,
and also in French, Sciences Sociales;
in German, Gesellschaftswissenschaften;
in Spanish, Ciencias Sociales;
and in Portuguese, Ciências Sociais

The journal is published by agreement:

in Bengali,
Samaj Bijnan (Bingsha Shatabdi Publishers,
Calcutta, India);

in Japanese,
Shakai Kagaku (Shakai Kagaku Co.,
Tokyo, Japan);

in Greek,
Kinonikes epistemes (Planet Publishers, Athens,
Greece);

in Arabic,
Al Ulum al-Ijtima'iya (Dar al-Farabi Publishers,
Beirut, Lebanon);

in Portuguese,
("Avantel" Publishers, Lisbon, put out
the edition for circulation in Portugal).

The Spanish edition is reprinted in Colombia
by Centro de Estudios e
Investigaciones Sociales (CEIS) Publishers, Bogota.

*

Since 1976 the Editorial Board has been
publishing the journal **Obshchestvennie nauki**
(Social Sciences) in Russian. It appears six times a year.

For subscriptions apply
to national distributors dealing with
V/O "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga"
that are listed at the end of this issue.

"Social Sciences" Editorial Office, 33/12 Arbat, Moscow 121002, USSR.

USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Philosophy
History
Economics
Politics
Sociology
Law
Philology
Psychology
Ethnography
Archaeology

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. XII, No. 1 1981

CONTENTS

To the Reader

This century has seen the appearance of many different social theories. Some have passed unnoticed, others have been short-lived.

It is a specific feature of Marxism-Leninism that, with the passage of time, it finds ever more convincing corroboration and ever broader recognition.

Inspired by this theory, the CPSU consistently guides itself by it in its home and foreign policy. In his report at the CPSU CC Plenary Meeting of June 1980, which adopted a decision to hold the 26th Congress of the Party, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised: "Peace is of a lasting value for mankind. It was Lenin who raised the banner of peace and cooperation among nations. We shall be true to that banner."

Academician **B. Ponomaryov,** *Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, devotes his article to the great vitality of Leninism.*

Developed Socialism: Theoretical Aspects

The central part of this issue which will appear on the eve of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, a major event in the life of the USSR, treats of various facets of the society of developed socialism: Academician **P. Fedoseyev** *analyses topical socio-economic problems of our society which is simultaneously a stage within the socialist phase and a stage in communist construction. President of the Soviet Political Sciences Association* **G. Shakhnazarov** *emphasises the social optimism of the system of views which is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and constitutes the world outlook of the working class.* **V. Medvedev,** *Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, develops the ideas of a comprehensive approach to regulating the processes of the economic, social, ideological and political spheres of the life of*

society. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences **A. Anchishkin** *analyses prognosticating methods which help disclose the objective regularities of the dynamics of Soviet development and consolidate the scientific foundations of socialist planning. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences* **V. Kudryavtsev** *notes the importance of the further theoretical development of jurisprudence in the interests of increasing the social effectiveness of Soviet law.*

The Methodology of Social Science. Contemporary History

Historism as a basic principle of the dialectical approach to the study of nature and society is the theme of the last speech made by Academician **E. Zhukov** *(1907-1980) at the annual General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences in March 1980 when he was presented with the Karl Marx Gold Medal.* **R. Faramazyan** *writes about the most pressing problem of the day, that of converting military production into civilian production. In April 1961, the Soviet cosmonaut Gagarin was the first in the world to orbit the earth in space. We mark the twentieth anniversary of this outstanding event with an essay by* **V. Gubarev,** *a* ***Pravda*** *science correspondent, about world-famous Soviet cosmonauts.*

Philosophy

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences **I. Frolov** *stresses that the prospects for solving such global problems as the prevention of a thermonuclear war, the protection of the environment, the implementation of an active demographic policy, etc., arouse everybody's concern. A Marxist analysis of human consciousness as a result of the joint activity of people and of the dialectics of the correlation between spiritual and material production is to be found in the article by* **V. Mezhuyev.**

Economics

New trends in the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalist reproduction are discussed by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences **A. Mileikovsky. G. Smirnov** *in his article shows that the Soviet experience of planned economic development can be of help to the emergent nations in their socio-economic development.*

Culture and Literature

This issue carries a review of the "round-table" discussion on the basic trends in modern English and American literature, which was organised by the ***Inostrannaya literatura*** *journal (No. 10, 1979).* **S. Zalygin,** *a well-known Soviet novelist, shows the keen interest of Soviet writers in the pressing issues of nature protection.*

Interdisciplinary Research

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences **T. Gamkrelidze** *and* **V. Ivanov** *try to define, in the light of the latest findings and data of ethnolinguistics, the territories where the bearers of the Indo-European parent language used to live.* **V. Zakharov** *summarises the views of oceanographers about the influence of polar ice on the changes of the climate.*

Sociology

I. Levykin *and* **L. Shestakova** *comment on the dynamics of the value orientations of various groups of Soviet young people in the conditions of developed socialism. The crisis phenomena in family life in Western countries and various concepts in the sphere of sex, marriage and the family are analysed by* **I. Andreyeva.**

* * *

Subsequent issues of our journal will carry articles by leading Soviet experts in scientific communism, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, sociology, economics, etc., on the wide range of topics that will be discussed at the forthcoming forum of Soviet Communists.

Each Congress of the CPSU opened up new vistas before our Party, country and science. Soviet scientists, who are among the most active contributors to the development of our society, express firm confidence that the forthcoming congress, as Leonid Brezhnev noted, will be no exception, as it will determine the new landmarks of communist construction in the years to come.

The Editors

The Great Vital Force of Leninism

BORIS PONOMARYOV

From the Editors: This is the report made by Academician Boris Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting in Moscow on April 21, 1980, commemorating the 110th Birth Anniversary of V. I. Lenin.

Communists and working people in all countries turn again and again to the works of Lenin, to his theory and practice, to the great things created by the genius of a revolutionary fighter, thinker and statesman.

Words of profound respect and love for Lenin can be heard in all parts of the world, and especially in the countries of the socialist community, which are building a new life on the basis of Leninism and are successfully giving concrete form to Lenin's ideas in the practice of social and inter-state relations.

Nobody has done so much for people, for the working masses, as Lenin has. Marx and Engels turned socialism from a Utopia into a science. Lenin translated the theory of socialism into practice. Marx and Engels scientifically substantiated the world-historic role of the working class. Lenin led the working class to power, founded a state of workers and peasants and bequeathed to the working people a socialist country and the science of building socialism. Relying upon new international experience, Lenin enriched Marxism with great ideas and generalisations and gave the only triumphant theoretical guidelines for the working class in its revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party founded by Lenin became a mighty revolutionary transforming force, headed the great socialist revolution which cleared the way for the peoples of Russia and for the entire mankind to freedom, peace and socialism.

Leninism has made such a powerful impact on the course of history that any attempts to ignore it, to localise its role or to confine it to the past are, theoretically, pitiable and, politically, reactionary and are doomed to failure.

Our century has seen the appearance of hundreds of diverse social theories. Some have come and gone unnoticed, others have been short-lived; life has disproved them. It is a characteristic feature of Marxism-Leninism that with the passage of time—and over a long period of history—its validity is increasingly being confirmed and it is gaining ever wider ground. The growing numbers of its followers and its embodiment in social practice in ever more countries convincingly demonstrate the universal significance and correctness of scientific communism. Today the name of Lenin is known to every more or less literate person in the world. Hundreds of millions of people read his books and learn from them.

At every new historical stage Lenin's teaching reveals its richness ever more fully, demonstrates its correctness and profundity, spurs to creativity and action, and inspires faith in the ultimate victory of socialism. It is a living, constantly developing and effective teaching. The unremitting efforts of the CPSU to build real socialism are graphic manifestation of its creative development of Leninism.

Leninism yesterday meant the triumph of the October Revolution, the building of the world's first socialist society, a ringing call for freedom and social justice which stirred hundreds of millions of people to action.

Leninism today means existing socialism embodied in the community of socialist states, powerful communist and liberation movements, the abolition of colonial domination and the establishment of the newly independent sovereign states, the fundamental change in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism and peace, and the possibility of banishing war from the life of mankind.

Leninism tomorrow will mean a communist society in our country, the triumph of socialism in many other countries, new victories of social and national liberation, and important achievements in the struggle for a lasting and just peace and friendship among all nations.

DEVELOPED SOCIALISM IS THE TRIUMPH OF LENIN'S IDEAS

Celebrating the 110th birth anniversary of Lenin, we honour him as the great architect of the new social system. He revealed and substantiated with great depth the constructive tasks of the

revolution, mapped out the brilliant plan of the socialist transformation of our country and personally directed the establishment of the world's first socialist state. His ideas and practical work encompassed all aspects of the building of the new world—economics and politics, the role of the Party as the leading force of society, legislation and the machinery of state, questions of management and defence, science, culture and art, the work of mass organisations, moral standards and ethics.

Carrying out the behests of Lenin, our Party and people have traversed a long road. Socialism has won great historic victories. Lenin's ideas of the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of the countryside, the solution of the national question, and the cultural revolution have long since become a reality. There is every reason to state that the Party and the people have boldly translated into life what Lenin dreamed of and planned. A developed socialist society has been built. A new and unprecedented historical community of people, the multinational Soviet people, has emerged.

The entire activity of the genius of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action continues to serve us, to serve socialism and will serve the future as well, both in the field of the basis, the economy, and in the field of the superstructure, politics and ideology.

The immense creative work of our Party is directed by the Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev, outstanding leader of the Leninist type and staunch champion of the efflorescence of the socialist Motherland, of communism. The Party and its Central Committee are consistently tackling the practical problems of the allround advance of our society.

That is vividly demonstrated by the resolutions of the Central Committee on improving the economic mechanism adopted in 1979 and by the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. These resolutions mark a major step towards the implementation of the Party's economic strategy elaborated by its 24th and 25th Congresses. They are imbued with a truly innovative spirit, with the Leninist approach—bold, comprehensive and scientifically substantiated—to pressing problems. They provide for improved planning and management, the strengthening of the role of the state plan, with simultaneous extension of democratic principles and the rights of work collectives.

The Party resolutely pursues the policy of developing agriculture on an industrial basis which, in Lenin's words, is the main prerequisite for "boosting the productivity of agricultural and of farm labour in general...".[1] The Leninist agrarian policy of the Party at the present stage has found vivid expression in the

decisions of the July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Educational Work" is graphic evidence of the Party's work in the sphere of ideology. It is a long-term programme of educating the Soviet people in the spirit of lofty ideological principles and loyalty to the Motherland and the ideals of communism. The CC Resolution and the subsequent All-Union Conference became a major event in the country's ideological and political life. They are intended to improve the ideological work of the Party in accordance with the current stage of the development of Soviet society, gradual transition to communism, the confrontation of the two world systems.

Leonid Brezhnev's trilogy is an embodiment of Lenin's traditions in ideological and political work. *Small Land, Rebirth, Virgin Lands* and his other works are published in many countries. The USSR Committee for Lenin and State Prizes has conferred the well-deserved award to Leonid Brezhnev for them.

Key problems of present-day development are tackled by the Party on the basis of Lenin's behests. Here are some of the most important directions of its work at the present stage.

First. Defining the constructive programme of the revolution, Lenin advanced, in all its magnitude, a task that was new to the working class, that of running the state, managing material production and constantly improving management as the economy grew.

Economic management has always been and remains the main aspect of the transforming activities of the CPSU. According to Lenin, it is our main, most interesting and, as historical experience has shown, highly complex sphere of work.

The socialist economy must develop on the basis of an integrated and scientifically substantiated state plan. The famous GOELRO Plan was the first embodiment of this idea. Whenever we recall it, we are amazed by its scope and foresight.

Lenin's idea was to enable "hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan". The Party has translated this idea into life. Today our economy is a great coherent, integral complex.

While creating the conditions for raising the living standards of the people, Soviet economic progress is called upon to accomplish another historic task, that of ensuring victory in the peaceful competition with the capitalist system considering that this economic competition is a reality that will exist for quite some time yet. The 25th Congress of the CPSU advanced the task of bringing economic management into accord with the requirements of developed socialist society. The resolution of the CPSU Central

Committee on the improvement of the economic mechanism outlines a whole system of specific measures the implementation of which will spell a great stride forward.

The need to learn rational and efficient economic management is intransient, constant. As new steps of economic and social progress are ascended, this need arises again and again, each time on a higher level.

What is meant by efficient management today? The Party has given a clear-cut answer to this question:

It means orienting oneself to utilisation of the intensive and quality factors of economic growth and achieving high results in the national economy.

It means working with a long-term goal in mind, correctly combining day-to-day and long-term aims, taking account of both the immediate and distant consequences of the decisions adopted, mastering the modern methods of management, planning and forecasting, and resolutely overcoming conservatism and the force of inertia.

It means recognising the indissoluble connection between economic problems and social and ideological processes and tackling them comprehensively.

It means consistently improving organisation and observing state and planning discipline at all levels. The Leninist slogan to master the science and art of management today determines one of the main aspects of the work of Party, state, planning and economic management bodies and mass organisations.

Second. Lenin substantiated the principle of combining government by the working people with the most advanced technical basis and also the need to utilise the achievements of science and technology for raising labour productivity and ensuring the victory of the new social system. Everything of value that human civilisation has accumulated should be utilised. "We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without this we shall be unable to build communist society,"[2] Lenin said.

Socialist society has proved its superiority over capitalism if only by the fact that it is free from the ills and vices which are the inevitable concomitants of the bourgeois system based on private property and the exploitation of man by man, that it has eliminated crises and unemployment from the life of society. Socialism has proved its superiority in economic growth rates and the output of many key industrial products. It is a fact that the socialist economy has been on the upsurge for decades now. The Soviet Union leads the world in the production of steel, oil, coal, coke, iron ore, pig iron, fertilisers, Diesel and electric locomotives, cement, saw-timber, woollen fabrics, leather footwear, refrigerators and some other products. The socialist system has everything

necessary to solve the task set by Lenin, that of overtaking capitalism in qualitative indicators as well, including the level of social labour productivity.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU advanced the task of harmoniously combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers (1979) attaches particular importance to the USSR Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress over a 20-year period. The consistent implementation of this programme will ensure fuller satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the people and a steady rise in their well-being.

The scientific and technological revolution is a global international process. As we draw from this worldwide process the best that has been created by scientific thought and by the experience in organising production, we should, first of all, do everything necessary to ensure scientific and technical progress in the USSR, to improve the forms and methods of the organisation of production that have been evolved under socialism.

Third. Lenin included the moulding of conscientious labour discipline and a communist attitude to work among the main constructive tasks of the revolution. The development of such a discipline, he warned, is "a very protracted process" linked with overcoming the grim legacy of centuries of forced labour, labour under the whip.

According to Lenin, socialist emulation is to play the main role in revealing the possibilities of voluntary work, encouraging the labour enthusiasm and initiative of the masses. Lenin's idea lives today in the movement to work in a communist way, a movement embracing millions of working people who show high standards of production and efficiency. The experience of front-rank workers testifies to the enormous possibilities and reserves that we possess.

Communist *subbotniks* to mark Lenin's birthday have become a splendid tradition. The money earned by their participants goes for public health. In 1980, it totalled more than one thousand million rubles.

Much still needs to be done to raise labour discipline and improve the organisation of production. Of vast importance here is the Leninist principle of combining the interests of society, the work collective and of each individual worker.

Fourth. Lenin linked the accomplishment of the constructive tasks of the revolution with the development of socialist democracy. He saw in the democracy of the higher, Soviet type an inexhaustible source of the strength of the new system.

The Party never loses sight of that. While concerning itself

with consolidating the principle of centralisation it proceeds from the assumption that both in politics and in economics we need democratic centralism which opens up broad scope for initiative from below.

The new Constitution of the USSR is a major step in the development of the Soviet state. It guarantees the achieved level of popular rule and at the same time provides for the further unfolding of socialist democracy: ever broader participation of citizens in running the affairs of the state and society; perfecting the machinery of state; enhancement of the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies; greater activity of mass organisations; stronger people's control; consolidation of the legal foundations of the state and public life; constant account of public opinion.

At the 1980 elections, 2,275,000 people's deputies were elected to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics and to the local Soviets. Of them, 57 per cent are non-Party people and 43 per cent Communists; 43 per cent of the deputies are workers and 25 per cent collective farmers. What better illustration of the nature of our democracy!

An impressive panorama of the historic successes in our country unfolded in the course of the elections. These successes, particularly those of the last decades, were reflected in the speeches of the country's leaders, local officials and voters in general. Soviet people spoke with legitimate pride of how our socialist Motherland was becoming ever more powerful and beautiful with every passing year. At the same time, they spoke of shortcomings, of the problems that still await solution, outlined plans for further advance.

Fifth. Lenin saw the main meaning of socialist and communist construction in the subordination of social production to the task of raising the well-being of the people, of ever more fully satisfying the material and cultural needs of the working people.

Today we can say: our country has long since and far outpaced capitalism in ensuring the basic rights and freedoms of the citizens, such as the right to work, education, rest and leisure, health protection, mother-and-child care and security in old age. We have also proclaimed the right to housing, unheard of in the capitalist world. The USSR builds more apartments than any other country—5,500 every day. In the last decade alone more than 22 million new apartments were built and 109 million people were able to improve their living conditions at state expense.

The social programme elaborated by the Party shows the Leninist concern for man. It is consistently being implemented. In the last two five-year plan periods, real per capita incomes increased by 50 per cent and payments and benefits from the social consumption funds by 80 per cent.

Lenin stood at the sources of the cultural revolution which transformed the country's spiritual life. That enabled the Soviet state to become one of the most advanced in level of public education. The assimilation by our people of the achievements of world culture is yet another accomplishment of socialism, a sphere where it has left capitalism far behind for ever.

Culture and labour are closely allied in socialist society. This is profoundly manifested in the popular character of culture itself and in the creative contribution of workers in the field of culture and the arts to communist construction, and to the education of the man whose principle of life is to measure up to the Lenin standards and to learn from him.

The guiding activity of the Communist Party which boldly, like Lenin, advances the tasks of communist construction and mobilises the people to accomplish them, has always been and remains the guarantee of all our successes.

The Communist Party shows an example of the Leninist attitude to its duty to the people and service to the people. Its entire activity follows the Leninist style which presupposes a scientific approach to social processes, a high degree of exactingness towards oneself and towards others, and intolerance of any manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism.

The Leninist style of leadership also implies frank discussions of urgent issues and difficulties, and laying bare their causes. That was graphically illustrated by the November (1979) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and particularly by the profound speech made at that meeting by Leonid Brezhnev.

The Party is constantly developing criticism and self-criticism. The right response to criticism is a sign of the political maturity of personnel and organisations. The Party regards any attempts to suppress criticism inadmissible.

Lenin's behest to give careful attention to people's letters is strictly observed. The CPSU Central Committee emphasises that this work is an important means of strengthening its ties with the population, and also a source of information.

In political and educational work, constant attention is paid to the study of Lenin's works in the context of communist construction. The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 110th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth" has formulated an extensive programme for the further study of Leninism and its realisation. Open Party meetings "To Live, and Work Like Lenin, Like Communists" became a new important form of the assimilation of Lenin's legacy. They helped to strengthen the links between ideological work and practice, further raised the level of activity of primary Party organisations and rallied the working people still closer around the CPSU.

Today, on the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth we are a Party full of strength and energy and enriched with fresh experience. The CPSU unites more than 17 million Communists. In guiding the entire revolutionary transforming activity of the Soviet people and confidently charting the course of our country in the complex international situation, the CPSU faithfully follows Lenin's basic behest to preserve and strengthen the unity of its ranks, the cohesion of the Party and the people, the unbreakable alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship between all nations and nationalities of the USSR. Leonid Brezhnev put it splendidly: "The cohesion and unity of society is a unique asset of socialism, our priceless and invincible force.... And let our adversaries remember the lessons of history. Let them know that the unity of Soviet people manifests itself with special force precisely at a time when attempts are made to talk to us in the language of threats." [3] The adversaries of our society should have long ago learned the lesson of its more than sixty-year history and realised that there is no force in the world capable of eliminating the great achievements of a people who have come to know what socialism means.

We still have to work hard to achieve all the programmatic objectives of the CPSU. As they enter the 1980s, the Soviet people confidently look into the future. Our ideology and the socialist way of life are pervaded with the spirit of historical optimism. Time is on the side of communism!

LENINISM AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT

The greatest service rendered by Lenin is that he discovered the basic trends and the mechanism of world development in the new historical epoch and revealed its fundamental laws. In its significance, Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and other of his works analysing world processes rank with Marx's brilliant work *Capital.*

Lenin advanced and substantiated the idea, crucial for the destinies of mankind, that imperialism breeds world wars and that socialism brings peace to the nations. The achievements and force of socialism create conditions making it possible, given the unity of all antiwar forces, to banish world wars from the life of society.

The teaching on socialist revolution, on the possibility of socialism's victory initially in one country, on the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, on the role of the national liberation movement in our times, and on the forms of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the conditions of

present-day capitalism is inseparably linked with Lenin's assessment of imperialism. Lenin elaborated these problems and equipped the working people with a reliable scientific method of studying the alignment of class forces and the ways of revolutionary transformations.

The first socialist state, founded by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, already from the outset occupied a central place in international relations and world progress, even though it was encircled by imperialist powers. Today, side by side with it are other states, comprising the socialist community which, as Lenin predicted, exert a tremendous influence on world politics. And wherever the basic principles of Leninism are observed, there you have success, the consolidation of the positions of socialism and the constant rise of the material and cultural standards of the people. And wherever these principles are violated and Leninism deviated from, as in China, for instance, there you have stagnation, regress and the danger of losing what has been gained earlier.

The historic victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and later in the socialist community, the unfolding of the creative potentialities of the socialist system were a key factor in the remaking of the entire world and the driving force of the entire social progress in the contemporary epoch.

Socialism's ability to stand up for itself and defend its gains against the encroachments of imperialism was another decisive factor. In 1980, the broad masses, and the Soviet people in the first place, marked the 35th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. The Soviet Union and its glorious Armed Forces not only defended the country's freedom and independence in the bloodiest of all wars but also brought liberation to other nations and saved mankind from the danger of fascist enslavement.

All nations acclaimed the exploit of the Land of Soviets and expressed their deep gratitude and admiration for it. Many Western heads of state and government spoke of this publicly.

US Presidents expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Armed Forces. President Roosevelt said: "The Russian Army and the Russian people in their continuing struggle against Nazi conquest today bear the brunt of the massed weight of the Nazi might and displayed incomparable heroism." [4] Eisenhower stated that the Red Army's great exploits during the war in Europe earned the admiration of the whole world.[5] Even such an anti-Soviet-minded statesman as President Truman wrote: "We fully appreciate the magnificent contribution made by the mighty Soviet Union to the cause of civilisation and liberty. You have demonstrated the ability of a freedom-loving and supremely courageous people to crush the evil forces of barbarism, however powerful." [6]

The British Premier of that time declared: "Future generations will acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as unreservedly as do we...".[7]

All those who are fulminating against us, who stoop to blasphemous demagogy, should recall those pronouncements. The truth is that the nature of the Soviet Union, the character of the Soviet people and the essence of our Party have not changed since then. Today, just as at that time, the Soviet Union is opposing the forces of aggression and defending the cause of civilisation and freedom. And the peoples of the world have the right to ask those ruling in the United States and Great Britain: Why are you misleading the people? Why are you launching a campaign of anti-Sovietism, and aggravating international tensions and increasing the threat of war? It is in the interests of the nations to stop the anti-Soviet campaign, the whipping up of international tensions and increasing the war danger, to re-affirm the policy of detente, and to put an end to the arms race.

The 1970s witnessed a fresh and considerable advance of the anti-imperialist movement in many regions of the world. I mean the victory of the Vietnamese people and the unification of Vietnam, the consolidation of popular government in Laos, the elimination of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique have liberated themselves from the shackles of imperialism and their peoples have carried out major social transformations and are now outposts of socialist orientation in Africa. South Yemen is playing an important role in this context. The dictatorial regime has been overthrown in Nicaragua. The revolution in Afghanistan, the elimination of the Shah regime in Iran and the victory of the Zimbabwe patriots have been further blows at imperialism.

It is not the notorious "hand of Moscow" but the inexorable objective laws of social development that further the world revolutionary process.

The communist movement has appreciably grown and increased its influence in recent years. The ruling parties of the socialist community are its most powerful and numerous contingent. They have assumed full responsibility for the destinies of their states, act as the leading and organising force and are confidently leading their countries forward.

The influence ot the Communist parties in the non-socialist zone of the world has also grown. Their membership has increased by almost 1,250,000 in the last decade alone and now totals about 4.5 million people. There are more than 90 Communist and workers' parties in the world today. More than 800,000 new members have joined the Communist parties in Western Europe

during that period. The number of Communists has also increased in North and South America and in Africa. The Communist parties are strengthening their positions in a number of Asian countries. About 40 million people in non-socialist countries vote at parliamentary and municipal elections for the Communists.

The influence of the Communist parties is, as always, growing considerably faster than their membership. No serious international problem, no crucial issue of our times is decided, or can be decided, without the communist movement.

The imperialist circles have launched massive anti-communist campaigns. They are resorting to slander, intimidation and attempts to defame communist leaders, to discredit the policies pursued by the Communist parties and stir up terrorists against their branches. But, just as in the past, this campaign is doomed to failure.

What are the Communists fighting for?

Communists are the most consistent and resolute advocates of peace and fighters against the aggressive policy of imperialism, show the peoples where the threat of war comes from, who is to blame for the wasteful and dangerous arms race and who provokes and kindles armed conflicts. That is how Communists, rousing the popular masses to struggle, are fighting to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

It was Communists who warned mankind in advance about the threat of the Second World War and called upon all nations to form a united front against its carriers—the fascists. And it was anti-Sovietism that blinded those who ignored that warning and that call.

Today, Communists are again raising their voice against the plans and actions of imperialism, which increase the threat of war. That was proved by the Paris Conference of European Communist Parties which has called upon all peoples to struggle against the threat of war. All those who really want peace should heed the voice of the Communists.

Communists are uncompromising and consistent fighters against the domination of monopoly capital, for the liberation of people from all forms of exploitation, for genuine democracy which would give the working people real rights and freedoms, and for the triumph of socialism.

Communists come out for the eradication of colonialism, for the national freedom and equality of all peoples. Consistent patriots and internationalists, they come out for a fraternal alliance of the working people of all countries and against national strife and racial oppression.

The sweeping advance of the world revolutionary forces in the most diverse forms is taking place in the conditions of the mounting crisis of the imperialist system. As Lenin foresaw, imperialism leads to the ever greater monopolistic concentration of capital, and the merging of the monopolies and the state, to their amalgamation into one gigantic exploiting mechanism.

Lenin emphasised more than once that these new features of capitalism, far from removing its inherent antagonisms, intensify and aggravate them. Capitalism's "last word" is the national state-monopoly systems, on the one hand, and the multinational monopoly "empires", the giant octopuses which exploit the workers both in their own countries and abroad, on the other hand.

What has that led to? Have a "new" crisis-free capitalism and a welfare state appeared, as bourgeois and reformist apologists heralded? Quite the contrary. The exploitative basis of the bourgeois system, the oppression and arbitrary rule by big capital, monopolistic rapaciousness and corruption have been intensified as never before.

Herein lie the deep roots of the tidal wave of crises which swept over capitalism in the 1970s. The economic basis of state-monopoly capitalism, its economic policy and the entire strategy of adapting imperialism to the scientific and technological revolution and to the contest of the two systems, are in the grip of a deep crisis. The unprecedented rise of the cost of living, inflation, mounting unemployment and rampant terrorism are the most obvious manifestations of this crisis.

The capitalist system ever more openly impedes the solution of mankind's most urgent problems. As the scientific and technological revolution unfolds, ever more flagrant become the contradiction between the material potentialities of the modern productive forces and the intensified exploitation of the working people, and the state of hunger and poverty to which many peoples have been reduced as a result of the way imperialism is utilising modern science and technology. That is why the class struggle in the camp of imperialism and the liberation movement of the peoples are gaining in intensity.

The wasteful arms race and the gigantic misappropriation of public wealth by the military-industrial complex are a glaring manifestation of the degradation of imperialism. Lenin repeatedly pointed to the dangerous consequences of militarisation: "States, which possess a military apparatus expanded as a consequence of imperialist rivalry, have become military monsters...".[8] A particularly sinister role is played today by US militarism. The US military budget has reached the astronomical sum of more than 160 thousand million dollars a year and is expected to be

increased to 253 thousand million dollars within the next five years. Military expenditures are growing rapidly in other NATO countries as well.

The aggressive nature of imperialism shows itself today in:

— the growing influence upon foreign policies exerted by the military-industrial complex, the forces of militarism, ultra-reactionaries and anti-Communists;

— the unlimited NATO military build-up and attempts to create new military-political blocs spearheaded against the USSR and the socialist community, against all freedom-loving nations; the gross interference in the liberation struggle and attempts to suppress the progressive movements in the non-socialist world;

— the drive to achieve military superiority over socialist countries, a new spiralling of the arms race, holding up and torpedoing disarmament talks and attempts to turn Western Europe into a launching pad for basically new US nuclear missiles;

— the expansionism and hegemonism of US imperialism and its drive to achieve world supremacy and, with that end in view, to instal ever new military facilities and bases outside the United States, of which there are more than 2,500 already;

— the establishment of a mobile force to perform the function of a world policeman and to invade the territories of other nations;

— the policy aimed at undermining international detente and dissipating the "spirit of Helsinki";

— the switch-over from individual acts of ideological sabotage to large-scale "psychological warfare" with the object of inciting hostility towards the Soviet people, to the ideas of socialism and to the national liberation movement.

These features are most fully embodied in US imperialism. And it is very important that the popular masses should know the true nature of imperialism, and of the NATO aggressive bloc. This is necessary in order to expose it and effectively struggle against it.

The consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the mounting general crisis of the capitalist system—these are the principal causes of the abrupt and dangerous turn in imperialism's foreign policy, of its crusade against detente, the true source of the anti-Soviet hysteria which Lenin once, in similar circumstances, aptly called "the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie".[9]

All that had begun long before the events in Afghanistan. Those events were simply a pretext for an offensive against detente which had begun still earlier, and for a relapse into the cold war. The Soviet stand was stated clearly and unequivocally by

Leonid Brezhnev on October 6, 1979, and again on January 13, 1980.

Today when we celebrate Lenin's birth anniversary we should recall that as far back as 1921 he emphasised: "...Russia will always remain the first friend of the High Afghan State to the benefit of both peoples."[10] The Soviet people are confident that the proud and freedom-loving Afghan people will defend their national interests against external aggression and internal reaction and will follow the road of independence and prosperity they have chosen in an atmosphere of friendship and peace with their neighbours and with all other nations.

The strategy of US imperialism becomes clear from the example of Afghanistan. It includes interference, up to armed intervention, wherever peoples become the masters of their own destinies and wherever foreign oppression and *diktat* are abolished. The "right" to intervention, to the export of counter-revolution is now openly justified by "America's vital interests", or in other words, by the colonialist desire to grab what does not belong to imperialism. And when the peoples repulse such encroachments, the imperialists begin threatening "global confrontation" and brandishing nuclear weapons.

Leonid Brezhnev said: "The narrower become imperialism's possibilities of dominating other countries and peoples, the fiercer its most aggressive and myopic representatives react to this. This aggressiveness can be restrained only by the might and reasonable policy of the peace-loving states and the resolve of the peoples to frustrate the dangerous plans of the claimants to world domination."[11]

Today hardly anyone is likely to dispute that the threat to humanity emanates from imperialism, and US imperialism in the first place, which has again laid claim to "leadership", that is, to world dominion.

At the close of the First World War, Lenin, turning his wrath against the bloodbath perpetrated by the imperialists, warned that such wars could "undermine the very foundations of human society".[12] He declared at that time that the proletariat alone could save world culture, save humanity from this madness.

Today the possibilities for the working class to accomplish this universal mission have grown immeasurably. They have grown, above all, because Leninism is embodied in great deeds, because it is represented by the great material and ideological might of the countries of the socialist community, by the organised forces of the international working-class and communist movement, and also because its inspiring and just ideas have won the minds of hundreds of millions of people in all countries.

We have every reason to say that the salvation of humanity and its future lie in the consolidation and further development of the social forces that rely on Leninism and are guided by it.

To fulfil Lenin's behest and carry through socialism's historic mission of safeguarding peace means:

— to strengthen in every way the economic and defence might of the Soviet state and the ideological and political unity of the great multinational Soviet people;

— to strengthen in every way the fraternal union of the socialist states, their cooperation and allround mutual assistance;

— to consolidate, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the international communist movement, the most organised and high-principled force of our time;

— to achieve the fullest possible utilisation in the interests of peace and progress of the huge potential of the present working-class and national liberation movements;

— to cooperate with those who really want to avoid a world war, are inclined to reckon with the realities of our times, are ready to respect the legitimate interests, independence and freedom of every nation.

Our Party and the Soviet Union are waging a historic battle for peace on earth, for a lasting and just peace for all nations. The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Leonid Brezhnev, devote all their energy, experience and talents to this great cause, thereby fulfilling Lenin's behest.

In order to save humanity from another military catastrophe, the Soviet Union, the Soviet people have to divert considerable forces and resources to strengthen the country's defences. And if for more than 35 years now the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community have been enjoying the benefits of peace it is first of all because the Soviet Union together with its allies has everything necessary to give a resolute and powerful rebuff to any encroachment on our country or on our allies. We have what to defend, the means for defence, and the forces for defence.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation is a reliable shield of the socialist gains.

The economic might, political prestige, firm and principled implementation of the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and the active concerted peace policy of the socialist community have created a strong potential of detente which cannot easily be destroyed. One of the main elements here is that the peoples and even the ruling circles of some countries fully realise that the Soviet policy is a policy of

peace, that we do not want war and do not seek war. As a result, it was possible in the last decade to resolve many cardinal problems left over from the Second World War and also some that had accumulated during the more than 20 years of the cold war. The Helsinki conference formalised the principles of peaceful coexistence as a universally recognised international norm.

That means that the aggressive encroachments of imperialism and its henchmen can be limited and bridled.

To the strategy of imperialism our Party and the Soviet Union contrapose the Leninist foreign policy of the struggle for peace and the security of nations, the constructive proposals for preserving and strengthening detente and curbing the arms race.

Our Party proceeds from the fact that the constructive work within the country and the foreign policy of our state, the entire cause of peace and social progress on an international scale are organically interconnected. We always remember what Lenin said in 1921: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy.... The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale." [13]

The profundity and significance of this thought are enormous. Our economic efforts have always been and continue to be of vast international significance in the general political, military and ideological respects. Both inter-state relations and the varied contacts with the public abroad depend on the results of these efforts.

Therefore whatever section of the great communist construction a collective of Soviet people or a Soviet citizen is working at, they can by their labour make their contribution to the cause of ensuring a lasting peace on earth, to the cause of universal social progress.

Whatever anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaigns imperialist reaction may launch against the Soviet Union, it will never eclipse the magnificent achievements of socialism and the clear, noble goals and principles underlying Leninism and the policy of our Party.

Lenin's followers are building a new civilisation on earth, one that meets the interests of all nations. We heartily and sincerely wish the working people all over the world peace and happiness, we are giving help to many nations.

Lenin's entire life and work are an example of devotion to the working class, to the cause of the working people, of sympathy for the exploited and oppressed and irreconcilability to the oppressors, an example of honesty, adherence to principles, staunchness in the struggle for communist ideals.

To be faithful to Leninism means to uphold consistently the principles of Lenin's teaching, to develop it creatively, to always keep in touch with practice and with the masses, to learn from their experience and to translate Lenin's ideas into practice.

All peoples, all mankind, need Leninism. And we are convinced that as time passes the more will people throughout the world come to realise that Leninism and the vital interests of human society are indivisible.

NOTES

1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 31, pp. 161-162.

2 Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 70.

3 *Pravda*, February 23, 1980, L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the meeting of voters of the Bauman Constituency of Moscow, February 22, 1980.

4 *The Public Papers and Addresses of F. D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 1, 1942, pp. 444-445.

5 *Za rubezhom*, No. 19, Moscow, 1965.

6 *Correspondence Between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the Presidents of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945*, Moscow, 1957, Vol. II, pp. 230-231.

7 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 305-306.

8 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 491.

9 Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 101.

10 V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Moscow, Vol. 52, p. 318 (in Russian).

11 *Pravda*, February 23, 1980.

12 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 422.

13 Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 437.

Developed Socialism: Theoretical Aspects

Current Problems of Socio-Economic Development in the USSR

PYOTR FEDOSEYEV

The main result of the work of the CPSU and the Soviet people in translating Lenin's ideas into practice is the building of *developed socialist society* in the USSR, a crucial, new stage in the development of the communist formation. Lenin foresaw the need for this stage even in the early Soviet years, when the country was making its first steps in socialist construction. He used the term for the first time in March 1918, in the first draft of his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government". In it, developed socialism was compared to the first steps in socialist construction and described as its ultimate aim. In February 1920, amplifying his thoughts on mature socialism, Lenin stressed that it would take many years to reach it and would involve a series of partial transitions and that "the whole difficulty of politics and the art of politics lies in the ability to take into account the specific tasks of each of these transitions".[1]

In this and other Lenin's articles developed socialism is treated as a scientific forecast.

What is the essence of the scientific approach to the understanding of the nature of socialism, its development stages and the laws governing its growing over into communism? To this question Lenin gave a clear-cut answer in his discussion of the Marxian methodology of analysing socialism as the first phase of the communist formation, the main stages and regularities of its development, and its growing over into full-fledged communist society.

Marx's scientific predictions have been fully corroborated by history. Their scientific validity, Lenin pointed out, lay in that Marx consistently applied materialist dialectics, that is, the theory of development, to the study of the emergence of the communist formation, regarding communism as a society that logically developed out of capitalism, and analysing the ensuing stages of its economic maturity. In line with the materialist understanding of history, Marx and Engels held that the communist formation (as all preceding ones) would result from the growth of material production and the development of man, the dialectics of the interaction of the productive forces and production relations. It was this that enabled the founders of Marxism to formulate the fundamentals of the theory of socialism and communism, and etch the contours and basic features of the communist formation. But unlike the Utopian Socialists, they never sought to work out that theory in detail, rightly believing that this should be left to those who will erect the edifice of socialist society.

Like the founders of Marxism, Lenin studied the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the laws governing the rise and development of socialism as a historical process. Lenin vehemently opposed general talk about communism, believing that only the collective experience of the masses, accumulated in practical work, would provide the concrete forms and methods of building the new society. And he attached the greatest importance to the experience and initiative of the masses. He wrote: "We must have more variety in practical experience and make a wider study of it."[2] And, on another occasion he noted that the "whole thing now is *practical work:* that the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed into practice, vitalised by practice, corrected by practice, tested by practice; when the words of Marx, 'Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes' become particularly true".[3]

Theoretical work, Lenin insisted, must not be divorced from or lag behind life; we must see the prospects ahead, while not running ahead, leaping over historically necessary stages. And it was from this standpoint that Lenin trenchantly criticised *Khvostism* ("tailism") (see "Our Glossary") and opportunism, but also useless projects, the impatience and haste of the "Left" Communists.

Lenin's methodology of analysing the regularities of the development of socialism and its growing over into communism has retained all its importance for our society today, too. For on the one hand, it calls for a strict scientific definition of the stage reached in socio-economic maturity, and a realistic definition—without unwarranted "running ahead", but also without artificial delay—of the immediate problems confronting the Party and the

people and, on the other hand, measuring these problems against the foreseeable future and the ultimate aims of communist construction.

Developed socialism is, at one and the same time, an important natural stage within the socialist phase and a stage also in the building of communism. In effect, this is the very essence of a scientific understanding of the historic place mature socialism holds in the rise of the communist formation.

* * *

Policy statements of the CPSU provide a rounded-out characteristic of developed socialist society in the USSR, formulate the tasks involved in carrying out the necessary improvements in the economic, social, political and cultural fields, elaborate short-term and long-term socio-political and economic strategy. Drawing on Lenin's theoretical prognosis, the CPSU documents clearly define the historic place of socialism in the rise and development of the communist formation, the distinctive features and regularities of existing socialism in the world of today.

Socialism is not some transient and brief period between capitalism and communism. It is an independent and lengthy phase in the economic, social and political advance to communism and consists of two basic periods: socialism, which has in the main been built, and developed (mature) socialist society. The priority task before Soviet researchers is now to give the general, fundamental propositions about these stages a concrete content, defining and comprehensively substantiating the practical ways and means of the transition to the highest phase, communism.

The main prerequisite of socialism's development, Lenin indicated, was the building of a material and technical base adequate to the tasks and requirements of the new society.

The Soviet economy and the social structure of society have been virtually transformed in line with Lenin's ideas. Lenin's idea of an alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry, of all men of labour, was not only a contribution to the theory of communism, but also a real and powerful factor in bringing about the social unity of Soviet society of which our people are so justly proud.

When Lenin was working out the plan of Russia's economic rehabilitation, there were, along with industrial centres, vast areas where patriarchal relations, semi-savagery, even real savagery still reigned. But he was convinced that the Soviet system could, with the cooperation of the people, change all this and make the Soviet Republic strong and rich.[4]

Looking back on the record of the Soviet years, we can justly speak of a complete renewal of the country. New cities have appeared, new industrial centres, new territorial-production complexes, a vast network of power stations, mines, and much more. There is no trace of the former rural backwoods separated from the rest of the world. In place of the backward outlands oppressed by tsarism, there are now flourishing socialist republics with highly developed economies, culture and science, who are equal members of the united Soviet state.

Following Lenin's course and under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet people have built up a powerful economic potential. The USSR has a widely diversified industry equipped with the latest technology, and a developing agriculture. The economics of developed socialism make for a stable growth of social production.

The scale and rates of our industrial growth can best be appreciated by comparing it with that of capitalism's most developed country, the United States, which, moreover, was spared the ravages of war. In steel output, in 1913, Russia produced one-seventh of the US figure; today it produces one-fifth more than the US. Coal output in 1913 was only 50 per cent of America's; now it is 11 per cent more than America's. Cement—from one-eighth of the US figure in 1913 is now 65 per cent above the US level. Russia had no tractor industry; today we produce 2.3 times more tractors than the USA.

Sweeping changes have taken place in heavy industry, resulting from the accelerated development of engineering and power industry. This has given us a much faster growth in capital investment and energy supplies to industry.

An important economic and social achievement has been implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan, which transformed small commodity farming along socialist lines. The growing efficiency of our collective and state farms has opened the way to higher economic and cultural standards in rural areas, equalising them with urban areas and eliminating essential differences between the two.

Economic progress has meant a material and technical base equal to the needs of developed socialism, and with this base in existence it became possible to alter economic proportions towards increasing the share of investments in consumer goods and services to markedly improve living standards.

The results of increasing investments in agriculture are now apparent. Fixed assets in agriculture, below the national average before the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975), are now well above the average.

Accelerated industrialisation brought with it far-reaching social changes. The working class, the main social base of the Soviet system, has increased nearly sevenfold since the revolution. Progress in science, technology, education and public health made for a substantial increase also in the intellectual professions: from 3 million before the revolution to 37.5 million, a more than twelvefold increase due largely to the cultural revolution. Urban population rose by 132.5 million, or from 18 per cent to 62 per cent.

All these changes are progressive, but they also pose difficult problems. One of these is housing. What is involved in providing dwellings for an additional 132 million odd urban people? Some idea can be gained from this comparison: that figure is bigger than the present combined urban population of Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and Denmark. And there is also another factor, the destruction by the nazis of whole cities during the war, Minsk, Stalingrad and Sevastopol being the more outstanding examples. Besides thousands of houses, city blocks and streets were destroyed in Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov and other cities. And though in the Soviet years we have built 3,300,000,000 sq metres of new housing—an astronomical figure—housing is still a problem.

Another equally complex problem is food. Gross farm output increased 260 per cent in the Soviet years. But that figure has to be seen in the context of sweeping demographic change. The number of people engaged in agriculture has declined from 75 to 21 per cent. In the past one person engaged in farming produced enough food for two or three persons, today he produces enough for 11. Farm productivity has risen appreciably, particularly with the use of more machinery, but the food problem is still near the top of the list. The Soviet Union is exerting every effort to extend and improve agricultural technology and use it to greater effect.

Our society has a proud record of achievements in relations between the various nationalities. The cornerstone of the Leninist nationalities policy is complete equality of all nations, and not only political, but actual equality, i.e., equality in economic and cultural relations. This problem has been solved; the socialist federation of republics is a federation of equals.

This democratic solution of the national question is a natural sequel to the operation of Lenin's policy. Social unity has given us a historically new form of intercourse between nations. The new pattern of relations between them can be summarised in the formula: friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation in all spheres. There has also arisen a new social and international community, the Soviet people. And here I emphasise that the Soviet people is not a new nation, arising out of the merger of all

Soviet nations and nationalities, but a social and international community embodying the unity of our multinational people.

The merger of nations is a long historical process which culminates, rather than begins, with the obliteration of national differences. After the Great October Socialist Revolution this found practical expression in their voluntary membership in a united state, their continuous drawing closer together, closer mutual trust resulting from the fraternal assistance the Russian people rendered formerly oppressed nations. And throughout the entire process of building and developing socialist society, right up to full communism, there will be not the elimination of national differences, but the flourishing of nations, the development of their language and culture based on international cooperation and indestructible friendship.

When we speak of the spirit of a people, of the close-knit unity of the Soviet people, we naturaly take the outstanding example, the Great Patriotic War. For us the war was a test not only of our technology and military prowess, but in the full sense of the word a test of men's souls, of the people's faith in socialism, their unity, the loyalty of our peoples to each other. The unprecedented heroism and fortitude of the Soviet soldier, the dedicated labour of our workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, the courage of the partisans in occupied areas—all this epitomised the great and invincible strength of the people, reared by the Party of Lenin in the struggle for the triumph of socialism.

And in the postwar years, too, the Soviet people have gone through difficult tests of their fidelity to communist principles, perseverance and devotion to their socialist country in the heroic and difficult struggle to rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy and put the country on to the road of economic and cultural upsurge. That is why our people show such a keen interest in reading and studying Leonid Brezhnev's *Little Land, Rebirth* and *Virgin Lands,* for they provide a vivid picture of the spiritual qualities and unparalleled exploits of our people in war and peace.

* * *

Our country is at the summit of modern progress. We consider the developed socialism built in the Soviet Union the modern achievement of civilisation. But there are many towering problems ahead on the road to communism.

The USSR has built up immense potentialities in industry, agriculture and in all other branches of the economy. But the end result is not always and not everywhere up to these potentialities. That was noted by Leonid Brezhnev at the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU. Our increasing production

facilities, i. e., plant and equipment, are sometimes being used with diminishing effect. More materials than are really needed are being used in production. That is one of the main reasons for the lowering of growth rates and quality standards. We have a situation, for example, when appreciable growth in mechanical engineering is accompanied by a lag in reducing low-productivity manual labour. Or another example: energy output is not keeping pace with the growing demand by industry and for general purposes.

While concentrating on technical equipment, intensification and more economical use of energy, fuel, metals and all types of raw material, the Party is also working to expand the country's fuel, iron and steel and other industries.

High growth rates in new technology must not, as in the past, be achieved at the expense of a slow down in the development of the consumer goods industry. In other words, planning should be so repatterned, in terms of work performance and working time, as to ensure maximum use of fixed assets. Higher efficiency and quality standards through use of intensive growth factors is the paramount aim for the Soviet economy.

Accordingly, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have introduced measures designed to improve economic planning and management, promote democratic procedures in the running of industry and the creative initiative of work collectives. All planning and management activity now centres on raising the efficiency and quality of production, achieving high results in terms of end-product, and fuller satisfaction of constantly rising public and personal requirements.

The key problem of economic and social development is now balanced and rapid growth of socialist production. Improved target-programming methods in planning acquire first-rate importance in achieving a balanced economy, a prerequisite for intensified production. Socialist planning has always been goal-oriented, concentrating on such major programmes as electrification, heavy industry, in particular the country's second and third coal and metallurgical centres, the Kursk magnetic anomaly, cultivation of the virgin lands, development of the non-black earth region, the Baikal-Amur Railway, etc. Now, however, when our economy is truly colossal and the scope of planning has increased gigantically, the objective, I would say, vital, need is for wider use of computerised programming methods in planning. It is only natural that the matter resides not in an increase of the number of programmes, but in a qualitative change in the approach to planning, which presupposes a radical restructuring of the methods and techniques of planning and management. But we

shall, of course, retain the guiding principle of economic policy, namely, the Leninist principle of a single state plan which is not merely the arithmetical sum of individual isolated programmes. This would not be socialist planning, but the type of programming employed in the West in state regulation of the economy. Under socialism, goal-oriented programmes are based on the requirements of balanced economic development and are component parts of a single state plan.

The advance to the highest phase of the communist formation is inconceivable without continued progress in science and technology. The transformation of science into a direct productive force that mutually complements and mutually stimulates the development of science and production and influences all aspects of social and individual activity in a developed socialist society, represents one of the chief motive forces of social progress. And these processes acquire a qualitatively new dimension and significance. Let me try to concretise the Marxist thesis of science becoming a direct productive force in the process of laying the material and technical foundations of communism.

Some Western technocratic theories maintain that the scientific and technological revolution lessens the role of the working class, and in general the working masses, in production, management and social life. According to these theories, the scientists and technocrats are now the real makers of history.

We stand by Leninism and flatly reject all such theories. Yes, science is an intellectual motive force, a kind of reactor of the scientific and technological revolution. But the working class, the collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals, represent a very real productive force, one that promotes scientific and technological progress.

The alliance of the working class and representatives of science and technology, Lenin once said, constitutes a great and invincible force.[5] That is now just as valid, and just as obvious, as in Lenin's day. For all the achievements of the technological revolution, from microelements, the instruments needed for the study of the microworld, to nuclear reactors and spaceships, are the result of the efforts of our workers, scientists and technicians. For Soviet people the application of science and technology in production is not only a matter of economics, but one that poses philosophical and ethical problems.

In other words, built into the world outlook of the Soviet scientist, technologist and production manager, is the understanding that all the achievements of science and technology become realities only through the activity of the masses.

By combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, and by boosting

material production, we are perfecting production relations and forms of property and are bringing the latter closer together.

The two forms of socialist property (state and cooperative) did not originate fortuitously. They stem from the qualitative differences in the earlier forms of property and earlier development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture. However, these differences were not ossified or eternal, but transient, and were gradually being obliterated as socialist society developed. At present, with developed socialism, the two forms are coming much closer together in all directions.

Society's movement towards complete social homogeneity, as Lenin foresaw, is attended by the elimination of existing differences between classes, between physical and mental labour, between town and countryside. And a primary requisite for eliminating the differences between physical and mental labour is elimination of the remnants of the old division of labour and, first of all, of strenuous physical work.

Full social homogeneity requires gradual elimination of existing distinctions between town and country as outlined in the comprehensive programme approved by the CC CPSU at its July 1978 Plenary Meeting. It envisages the supply of much more farm machinery, higher incomes for farmers, higher general education and professional standards, more cultural facilities and services, more housing and a series of other measures calculated to improve working and general conditions in rural areas.

An important aspect of this process is making agriculture a variety of industrial activity by supplying more farm machinery for agricultural production and improving its social form along the lines of agro-industrial integration.

In applying dialectics to analysis of the rise of the communist formation, Lenin took into account the fundamental principle of dialectics, namely, that every phenomenon must be seen in its interdependence, that is, there has to be a systems approach to the theoretical conceptualisation and practical solution of all the fundamental problems of socialist society. Only such an analysis of social development and reality in their totality, Lenin wrote, can correctly determine the main task, the central factor of one or another period of history.

This integral approach to the problems of socialist construction finds its theoretical and practical reflection in the thesis so comprehensively substantiated by Lenin, first, the interaction of all aspects of social life, economic, political and spiritual, and, second, the need to ensure their close interconnection with achievement of our ultimate aim, complete social equality and conditions for the allround development of the individual.

The assertion of socialism as an integral organic system is a long historical process, the result of deep-going social and economic change. Only after the new system reaches the stage of developed, mature socialism, Leonid Brezhnev has emphasised, the restructuring of social relations on the basis of the collectivist principles inherent in socialism is completed.

This new quality of our social system is reflected in the growing interdetermination of all aspects of social life. Thus, our efforts are now concentrated not merely on the continued, uninterrupted growth of social production, its higher efficiency, accelerated scientific and technological progress, higher quality standards throughout the economy, but also on perfecting and enriching social contacts, on higher material and cultural standards for our people by extension of the entire non-productive sphere and the social services, advances in science and culture. Conversely, changes towards fuller social homogeneity of Soviet society, higher prosperity standards for its members, better working and living conditions, better amenities in education and culture, are valuable not only in themselves, but also as factors in the allround development of the individual and of the socialist way of life. The problems of communist education are resolved together with economic development, for successful attainment of our Party's goal of higher efficiency and quality standards throughout the economy and the cultural sphere relies, in the final analysis, on the objective and subjective factors distinguishing the socialist way of life.

At the same time, the growing integral unity of developed socialism should not be taken to mean that material production, the economy, sheds its decisive importance. For our movement towards full social homogeneity and continuously rising material and cultural standards, as well as the socialism-capitalism competition, will largely depend on the dynamic growth of our economy.

The incomparably greater possibilities for raising prosperity standards and for the allround development of the man of labour under mature socialism, compared with the preceding stage, by no means obliterate the "tremendous", to use Lenin's words, distinctions between the two phases of the communist formation; developed socialism, the highest stage of the first phase, nevertheless does not go beyond its bounds. From this it follows that the building of developed socialism does not involve the abandonment but, on the contrary, the fullest implementation, of socialism's fundamental principle: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. This means, in particular, that even with developed socialist society a reality, this principle will continue to fulfil an important function not only in producing a better system

of distribution, but also in improving production efficiency and quality. For it is oriented on an equitable relation between what society assigns for consumption (the social consumption funds) and the principle of payment for work done. The latter will operate for a long time to come, though it should be observed that in our theoretical literature this principle is not often analysed. Yet, its importance, I think, is enhanced, not belittled, as socialism advances to a higher stage of maturity. The advance to communist labour and to the communist principle of distribution can only be through operation of the corresponding socialist principles and the use of the vast potentials of developed socialist society.

The main problem, the main difficulty of socialism, Lenin pointed out, was in cultivating a high and conscious work discipline. Even before the October Revolution, he explained, and subsequently reaffirmed on the basis of early Soviet experience, that until we reach the highest stage of communism, society and the state must exercise stringent control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption.[6] Proper accounting and control in this respect, Lenin emphasised, are essential for the proper functioning of the first stage of communism.

In line with Lenin's teachings and the practical experience in socialist construction, the CPSU attaches the utmost importance to cultivating conscious work discipline and efficiency in social production and social life. And the Party stresses that this is not only an ideological problem but, first and foremost, a means of preparing the younger generation for productive work, of raising the competence and technical know-how of the entire work force, of improving organisation and efficiency, economic management and forms and methods of stimulating higher performance.

These elements of higher work standards are becoming an essential condition of economic development and, conversely, low efficiency, diffusion of responsibility, etc., inevitably undermine work discipline.

Higher standards (at all levels) in respect to discipline in all production collectives is a priority goal in all organisational and ideological work.

Lenin regarded the Party as the main link in promoting proper organisation and discipline. And he had to combat tendencies within the Party and the international communist movement to belittle the role of the Party as the leading and organising force of the revolution and of socialist construction. The "Left Communist" theorists even argued that there was no need for a political party under socialism. In criticising this "leftism" as an infantile disorder in the communist movement, Lenin explained that rejecting the party leadership was tantamount to attempting a leap direct from capitalism to the highest

phase of communism, bypassing both the lower and medium stages.

In this way the question of organisation and discipline in a socialist society was linked, in Lenin's writings, with the question of the Party and its growing leading role right up to the complete triumph of communism.

Under developed socialism unity of the Party and the people is at its highest level. For having originated as the party of the working class and remaining that in its class essence, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is becoming the party of the entire people.

Lenin saw in the strengthening of socialist state and labour discipline not only an organisational, administrative or even economic question, but the organic interconnection of these questions with the most general principles of reconstructing society along communist lines, and with the very essence of the communist world outlook. And he attached exceptional importance to socialist emulation, and material and moral incentives in resolving these questions, and also to combating negative phenomena that hamper the forward movement of the new society.

In some scientific works on these problems there is still a certain tendency to run ahead and draw the premature conclusion that in present-day conditions work has, for the overwhelming majority, if not for the entire Soviet people, become life's prime necessity. But that is still a goal to be reached.

Lenin pointed out that individual excesses could happen under communism, too, but they would be only individual. Socialism is free of the social and objective causes of law breaking and deviation from social norms. Socialist society offers everyone opportunities to apply his or her creative talents, physical and mental abilities, occupy a worthy place in life and take an independent and active part in the life of society. Socialism knows of only one way to enhance one's well-being and social standing. That can only be done through honest and devoted work, better education and professional training and service to society. That path is being followed by the majority of our people, though it is no secret that not everyone wants to achieve prosperity in this way. Some try to increase their material well-being and enjoy more services not through their work contribution to society, but by under-hand methods and contravention of socialist laws and norms. These survivals of the past are alien to socialism, and their spread and tolerance are being fought, for a conciliatory attitude to such facts undermines work discipline and the socialist way of life. For, as the saying goes, a bad example is catching. Impunity with regard to such abuses is socially dangerous, because it could

create the impression that one can better reach one's fortunes not through work, but by contriving to get from society more than contributing to it.

Most important, of course, is to block all the channels of non-earned income and benefits. We are building a material and technical basis to raise labour productivity and in this way to create an abundance of material and cultural benefits so that all reasonable requirements of society and its members are fully satisfied out of what society produces. But that will be achieved only by steadily heightening the efficiency and quality of our work.

Of special importance in the battle for higher state and labour discipline, a higher standard of socialist organisation and an end to the negative residue of the past, Lenin pointed out, is the cultivation of communist consciousness, of the will and ability to build communism. And Lenin understood communist consciousness to mean fidelity to communism, fulfilment of one's social and civic duty, the organic unity of convictions and practice.

* * *

Lenin's theoretical legacy is an inexhaustible source of progressive ideas of our epoch. His doctrine has stood the test of time and wins more and more supporters with every passing year. It is exerting a revolutionary influence on world development, on all the forces battling for peace, social progress, socialism and communism.

NOTES

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 30, p. 331.
[2] Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 354.
[3] Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 413.
[4] Ibid., Vol. 27, p. 159.
[5] Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 399.
[6] Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 469; Vol. 27, p. 345.

The Ideology of Social Optimism

GEORGI SHAKHNAZAROV

Ordinarily, when speaking of a system of views based on Marxist-Leninist theory and forming the world outlook of the working class, its consistent scientific character is above all stressed. This, indeed, is absolutely true. At the same time another of its important features is worthy of attention: according to its nature, it is optimistic and opens up wide and clear prospects of social progress.

The popular masses, since time immemorial, have nurtured a dream about a just society and believed that this would come true. This hope for a bright future was reflected by philosophical thought in a peculiar form which later was named Utopia. The notion of a just social system, together with a society's development, acquired a more comprehensive nature, became enriched with achievements of knowledge, with the experience of class struggle; nevertheless, it remained utopian as the road for the realisation of this dream could not be determined.

The founders of Marxism, by creating a revolutionary theory showed that a new society would be transformed from a dream into reality not due to somebody's wishes, but as a result of the natural development of productive forces and production relations, as a result of revolutionary struggle and the consolidation of the political power of the working class, of the working people. "Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality will have to adjust itself," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote. "We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things." [1]

The discovery of the laws of social development provided the working class and its communist vanguard with a powerful

ideological weapon for the transformation of the world. It was also of no less importance that the ethical problem of the meaning of life and of social activities found its solution within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Without this social progress would be impossible.

Indeed, people, besides satisfying their material requirements, in order to live are in need of understanding the purport of their existence. Without a lofty aim, human life, which nature has allotted a definite span, cannot but seem incomplete, insufficiently inspired and meaningless. Science, at the dawn of civilisation, was too weak to point out such an aim and the myth of the "next world" as an ersatz of the meaning of life came into being which asserted itself in the consciousness of many generations.

The discovery and the elaboration of the ideas of scientific socialism are also the greatest triumph of science in that respect that they reveal the purport of human life, that lofty aim worthy of the successive work of many generations. This is the setting up of a perfect social system. This is the cognition of nature and its remaking for the sake of the progress of the whole of mankind and the happiness of every person.

The realisation of this great aim became the historical mission of the working class. The Communist Party, heading the struggle of the working class for a bright future, was always profoundly convinced in its energy and its unflagging will for victory. "...We are ardent optimists in what concerns the working-class movement and its aims," Lenin pointed out.[2]

It is precisely due to the fact that Marxism-Leninism personifies the ideology of social optimism, that its enormous and steadily growing popularity is to be explained. The opponents of our revolutionary teaching have been for almost 150 years attempting to refute it either fully or part by part, to place in doubt one or another of its theses. Marxist-Leninist ideology, despite this, continues to confidently win over to its side new and new social sections and political trends. And the main thing, it continues to develop and perfect the existing socialist society which has been created according to the design of its brilliant architects, Marx, Engels and Lenin, both in the USSR and in other socialist countries.

* * *

While giving Marxism, which had come into being, a hostile reception, bourgeois political thought was in no position to completely deny the revolution in the science about society, connected with the creation of dialectical and historical materialism. It was also compelled in the course of time to recognise, be it with reservations, the correctness of Marx's economic theory. But the third component of the Marxist-Leninist teaching—scientific socialism, evokes a real fit of allergy among bourgeois ideologues; they find no epithets and names for it, other than Utopia, fantasy or invention.

Following the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, the bourgeoisie, observing with ever increasing anxiety the successes of the "socialist experiment" and seeing how ever wider masses of the working people in the capitalist countries are imbued with admiration for communist ideas, had started feverishly to look for their own "project of the future," with which Marxism-Leninism could be countered. The result of this social demand of the bourgeoisie was the emergence of futurology.

It came into being during the period when it seemed that capitalism had acquired a new lease of life as a result of the scientific and technological revolution and cybernetics had entered the stage of early blossoming and was seeking a sphere of application for its growing opportunities. Hundreds of works appeared within a short period in which the brilliant prospects of the developed capitalist countries were extolled in every possible way. Just as ill-starred mediaeval cartographers who filled in the expanses of the as yet unknown for them lands at their own will and fantasy, some futurologists with a flare of overconfidence undertook to predict the course of events for the next 200 years. It was on such unsteady soil that the "ideal society" was designed as an alternative to communism.

Futurologists have used different terms for their projects of the future—"post-industrial society", "technotronic era", and the "tertiary civilisation", to mention but a few. Nevertheless, despite all the differences, their essence is the same. This is nothing but an attempt to prolong capitalism's existence using for this purpose scientific and technological progress as well as more or less radical reforms. Their authors have advanced quite a number of interesting suppositions as to the coming world structure and its details. Nevertheless, the basis of their pictured "social paradise" is that very same private ownership of the means of production and, hence, the oppression of man by man, class inequality and national strife which are inseparably linked with it.

A substantial and thorough criticism of these projects is to be found in Soviet literature. Their reactionary-utopian nature was laid bare and this, above all, is due to the fact that they do not break with capitalism. At best, they attempt to solve an impracticable task—that of creating a hybrid of two social systems.

Not more than 15-20 years have passed since futurological conceptions have appeared, but even during this short period they

have already lost their lustre, have been covered with dust and have been unable to retain even that fleeting interest which they had at first evoked as a vogue theoretical novelty.

What is the reason for this? How can such a short and in general inglorious life of these bourgeois Utopias be explained? The reply is obvious. Their weakness lies in the absence of that social optimism which is inherent in any genuine innovatory teaching which has as its source the conditions of real life and which is in accord with the urgent problems of the epoch.

True enough, at a time when bourgeois futurology has suffered a fiasco in the main problem—the quest for an alternative to communism—cybernetics has given life to such a sphere of scientific knowledge as prognostication which in essence represents the technology and methods for the research of the future. A number of models have been elaborated using electronic technology, which reply to the question as to what changes will take place in the world within 25-50 years, given the present rates and basic trends of economic growth.

Global modelling has made it possible to draw attention of the world public to such urgent present-day problems as the threat of growing starvation resulting from the "demographic explosion", the need to take urgent measures for environmental protection, etc. This trend, however, has not even attempted to reveal the deep social roots of the difficulties experienced by mankind. So far it has limited itself to the recommendation of diverse international projects, capable of retarding the course of the malady but, by no means, to ensure recovery.

* * *

There is nothing more alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism than a certain formal optimism—that point of view that everything in this world is developing in the right direction. The historical process is always intricate and multiform; characteristic of it is that retrogression is also to be observed in individual periods of time. It stands to reason that the final result of the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and capitalism is historically predetermined. This struggle, however, just as every lengthy class confrontation, is marked by victories and defeats, by successes and failures of both sides.

It is generally known that during diverse stages of socialist development in our country as well as in other countries there were quite a number of difficult and intricate situations. At times, on these grounds diverse opportunist deviations came into being, including a crossing to the camp of the class enemy.

And what is most characteristic. Those who presented the prospects only in rosy colours and who had no desire to realise that progress is achieved at the price of hard and persistent work and requires ideological and moral steadfastness in the loftiest meaning of this word suffered from confusion most frequently and most easily.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of social optimism, and not the product of project-mongering or twaddle. When mobilising the Communist Party and the working class for the October Revolution, and later for the transformation of backward tsarist Russia into an advanced socialist state, Lenin time and again warned the Communists and the working people that before them was an aim which could be achieved only by maximum self-devotion and creative enthusiasm, by the tireless quest for new forms of social life. It is precisely such a Leninist tempering of Soviet man's character that helped him in holding out during the years of economic dislocation and intervention, to stand up to the grimmest of tests and to score the great victory in the mortal encounter with nazism.

Today developed socialism has been built in the USSR, and the Communist Party advances new tasks for the people, calls upon them to mobilise all their energy, and by persistent labour to attain new heights. Such is the keynote of the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the subsequent decisions of its Central Committee, particularly the decision on the further improvement of ideological, political and educational activities.

A distinguishing feature of the Land of Soviets is steadily nurtured social optimism and it stems from the confident and undeviated forward movement. Irrespective of what difficulties had to be surmounted, the country's social wealth is increasing from stage to stage, its productive forces are acquiring an ever more developed nature, social relations are being elevated to a new stage, the general level of culture is on the upgrade, the life of Soviet people is improving and their spiritual world is being enriched.

Social development is a great totality of diverse operative factors and it is by far no simple matter to gauge them. There are, however, events which like a bright flash illumine the path traversed, provide for clearly defining the position of society on the coordinates of history. Such an event is the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR.

It is common knowledge that constitutional legislation has been substantially renewed in many other socialist countries. This fact, taken by itself, speaks of the dynamism of the socialist social and the state system, of the need to constantly adapt political institutions and establishments, the forms and methods of

economic activity to a new level of the development of productive forces and production relations. The direction of these changes is stable. It is predetermined by the objective regularities of the building of socialism and communism, by the policy of the CPSU and of the fraternal parties aimed at achieving a rise in the national well-being and the creation of conditions for the allround development of the individual.

An approach to the solution of these tasks is of great importance. The point is that in the bourgeois projects of the future the population's prosperity is associated with the rule of technocrats: if the working people want a decent life, then they should entrust their fate to an elite consisting of specialists, and, in the same way as the Roman plebeians, they would receive from the hands of the former "bread and circuses". In other words, even in their futurological "idylls" the bourgeoisie assigns the masses the role of passive consumers, that of executors and of the governed.

The Fundamental Law of the world's first socialist state of the whole people counters this by asserting that the main source of perfecting society and improving the well-being of the people is the social activity of working people, of their work collectives, of the entire Soviet people. The enhancement of the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies and of mass organisations, the enrichment of the social and political rights of citizens, the expansion of diverse forms of their participation in the administration of the state, of the opportunities for constructive criticism of shortcomings and of control over the activities of the administrative apparatus—all this is called upon to serve this task. Incidentally, the utilisation of all these opportunities becomes not only the right but also the duty of the Soviet citizen.

* * *

The orientation of Soviet society towards the future, the social optimism of communist ideology find their graphic and vivid manifestation in the enormous work conducted in planning our development. "...We have many problems ahead, and these are big problems," Leonid Brezhnev pointed out. "But the strength of socialism lies precisely in the fact that the new social system makes it possible not only to anticipate such problems but also to draw up plans in advance for their solution."[3]

The very fact of drawing up plans, covering along with the economy all other spheres of social life, shows that society is confident in its morrow, knows what it wants and what it is capable of, and that it successfully attains the aims it sets itself.

It stands to reason that new grand aims demand the exertion of huge efforts and resources—manpower, material and financial. A number of far from simple problems will have to be solved connected with the limited nature of the resources of some types of raw materials, energy sources, and manpower reserves, the need to maintain the country's defence potential at a sufficiently high level. The task of attaining a sharp increase in the efficiency of social production and the quality of work, advanced by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and designed for several five-year periods, makes it binding to constantly improve the management of the national economy, to more fully use economic levers for a rise in labour productivity. This, in turn, assumes the further expansion of initiative and independent action of work collectives, the perfection of diverse links of the political system of socialism, the development of socialist democracy. This is precisely demanded by the resolution of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government on improving planning and increasing the impact of the economic mechanism on the efficacy of production and the quality of work, centring attention on the utilisation of economic and political factors of progress in their indissoluble unity, on strengthening the role of long-term planning.

To put it in a nutshell, ever greater importance is today being acquired, first by a comprehensive and, secondly, by a long-range approach to social development problems.

The present level of the socialisation of production and the dynamic nature of scientific and technological progress insistently call for medium-range forecasts. As is known, large-scale work in this sphere is being conducted within the CMEA framework, both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

It is believed that a useful role could also be played by the elaboration of a forecast for the period up to the year 2017—the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Such a forecast would above all provide an opportunity to obtain additional data for choosing optimal economic solutions, to specify the parameters of the socialist way of life and, on this basis, to enhance the results of social planning.

The appraisal of the foreseeable future could be one of the most important incentives in attaining new stages in communist construction.

It is generally known that Marxism-Leninism has not only pointed out the road for building the future but has also determined the aim to which the solution of this task should be subordinated. This aim is not economic development for its own sake, not technical progress as such, not the extension of our knowledge of nature and not the winning of new worlds in outer space. This can be nothing but *man, his allround development.*

The development of the economy is needed in order to create comfortable conditions of existence; technical progress—in order to rid man of arduous and ungrateful types of work; the extension of knowledge—that people be in a position to better adapt themselves to nature; the exploration of new worlds—to enlarge the borders of consciousness. Finally, justice in social relations is needed to facilitate the education of lofty morals and thus reveal more profoundly the essential nature of man.

Jean Fourastié, a prominent French sociologist, claims that the more man knows himself, the less he understands himself, the less he knows what aim man should set to himself. "Neither justice, equality, nor even freedom are aims, but only forms, at best conditions, of existence. But what will people do when they become equal, with what will they be preoccupied when justice is established in society, what will they do when they are in a position to do 'everything'?" [4]

Jean Fourastié is right in only one point: neither freedom nor equality, taken by themselves, present an aim. They are prerequisites or means for its attainment. Contrary to Fourastié's paradoxical syllogisms, man, by getting to know himself, also learns in a better way the meaning of his life. It is precisely due to the fact that his essence is humane, that he is capable of developing only in one direction—the display of his creative potential on the way of affirming freedom and equality. Everything else can only lead him to a blind alley.

R. Higgins, a British economist, has enumerated six of the main "enemies" threatening mankind: overpopulation, starvation, a shortage of resources, environmental pollution, abuse of nuclear energy, the uncontrolled development of science and technology. He added to this list a seventh "enemy"—the characteristics of human nature. By ascribing to mankind all the sins, in one or another way connected with the systems of exploitation and oppression, he claims that the reason for all these calamities is to be found in the aspiration to attain the realisation of some idea or system of values—this, allegedly, does not lead to the only possible truth, but to the coming into being of new antagonisms.

How can man be saved, how can he atone for his sin? This, it appears, can be attained by devoting oneself to a new religion, the essence of which are love and tolerance. "Love is the best motivation and finally the only valid one.... At its highest it also seems to be indivisible. If we truly loved anything—whether it be music, plants, mountains or primitive peoples—we would love all. And the precondition of all love is the escape from egoism. Preoccupation with the false self has to give way to love of the true self. Without that, our new and unprecedented destructive powers will sooner or later eliminate our species." [5]

This new example of "God-seeking" shows once again how futile are the attempts of bourgeois-oriented thought to open up a real prospect for society and for man.

Such a prospect is revealed in reality not by abstract discourses on love for one's fellow man (when pondering over this matter, the British theoretician has not invented anything new as compared with the Gospel), but by the communist ideas, replete with optimism, in all their boundless and profound meaning. Communism, according to its essence, is identical with humanism, as it assumes the allround developed personality in a most well-arranged society.

NOTES

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works,* Vol. 5, Moscow, p. 49.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, Moscow, p. 237.

[3] L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism,* Moscow, 1978, p. 177.

[4] *Diogeno,* No. 95, 1976, Paris, p. 29.

[5] R. Higgins, *The Seventh Enemy. The Human Factor in the Global Crisis,* London, 1978, p. 274.

Developed Socialism: Economics, Politics, Ideology

VADIM MEDVEDEV

A comprehensive approach to the management of social processes is central to all major Party policy statements of recent years and to the speeches of Leonid Brezhnev and other CPSU leaders. A comprehensive approach is an imperative of our times. It follows from the very nature of developed socialism as an organically integral system, a degree of socialist maturity in the economic, social, spiritual, ideological and political areas and their closer interaction.

* * *

Material production is the very basis of the functioning and development of any society. Marx and Engels noted in their time the simple fact that before men could take up politics, science, art, etc., they must eat, drink, have a roof over their heads and clothes to wear. And to provide all this society has to engage in material production. Any society would perish if it stopped production for a few weeks, let alone a whole year.

History has many examples of how the dominant order of things and the psychology of the exploitative classes determined the attitude to material production as the preordained lot of second-class people. Such a society bears the brand of parasitism and is doomed by history. Regardless of the subjective attitude of one or another class or social stratum, production has always exerted a determinative influence on all other fields of endeavour. Economic relations based on the position of a class or group vis-à-vis the means of production and its results have always been the substructure of the entire system of social relations, their "driving axle".

Material production, naturally, retains its determinative role in socialist society. The aim of the socialist system, its functioning and development, is the prosperity and free allround development of society as a whole and of each of its members. All areas of endeavour, all activity of individuals, collectives, state and public organisations are geared to its attainment. But the chief role belongs to material production which satisfies the rising requirements of the people. Without the expansion and improvement of production progress is impossible in the non-productive sphere, in social and political relations. Consequently, likewise impossible, is the development of man himself, not only as the main productive force, but also as the subject and creator of social life.

Socialism's supreme aim is predetermined by its economic system, by the dominant type of economic relations based as they are on socialist property in the means of production. Socialism's development is objectively subordinated to the interests of the people precisely because the means of production are the common property of associated producers, of all members of society, which assures their equality in relation to the means of production and equal obligation to work in accordance with their abilities.

The decisive role of material production can be traced throughout the development of socialist society. Experience has shown that the building of socialism requires, above all, solution of economic problems, the development of an appropriate material and technical basis, and the fundamental restructuring of economic relations.

The building of developed socialism in the USSR necessitated the building of a powerful economy with an intricate industry and territorial structure, rapidly rising scientific and technical levels, and serviced by skilled personnel. Fixed production assets have increased nearly 40-fold since 1913 and 13-fold since 1940 and are valued at more than one trillion rubles. The USSR has more engineers and technicians than any other country, and accounts for a quarter of the world's scientists. The economy of developed socialism represents a qualitatively new stage of socialisation, socialist forms of production, exchange and distribution of the social product. It also provides ample scope for the operation of the economic laws of socialism, for uniting the public, collective and personal interests of the working people, and for an effective system of planned management.

In combination, this makes for uninterrupted expansion and optimal employment of the country's productive, scientific and

technical potential, natural and manpower resources, to achieve high and stable economic growth rates. The Soviet Union's industrial potential is greater than that of Western Europe and close to that of the United States. Per capita production in the early five-year plans, i.e., in the second half of the 1920s, was 40 per cent below the world average; at present, per capita industrial production is more than 200 per cent above that.

Production retains its determinative role also in the transition to the highest stage of communist society. The economy is the main arena in the fight for communism. And the advance to communism will require a truly historic leap in the development of the productive forces, and a fundamental reorganisation of the forms and methods of production in line with the scientific and technological revolution. That is the only way to provide the necessary conditions for full satisfaction of the people's basic requirements, flourishing of science and culture, the allround development of the individual, and finally to erase class distinctions and achieve full social equality.

Intensive economic growth powered by the technological revolution calls for allround perfection of socialism's economic system and the entire mechanism of socialist planning and management. That task is set out in the 1979 resolutions of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers on economic problems. They envisage a revamping of economic organisation through expansion of industrial and other amalgamations, better planning and an optimal combination of long-range and current plans in a more balanced pattern to heighten economic performance. The 1979 resolutions are also designed to make better use of economic levers and stimulators and raise quality standards.

The Party and its Central Committee are concentrating on raising the efficiency of socialist production and better functioning of the entire economic mechanism. In the tenth five-year plan period, attention was focused on fulfilling the 25th CPSU Congress' decisions. In his speech at the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU and also to the voters of the Bauman Electoral District of Moscow Leonid Brezhnev gave a detailed analysis of the tasks in the concluding period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and indicated the ways and means of their accomplishment. The aim is higher efficiency and quality in all branches and at all levels of the economy. Work has already begun on the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, which is a component of a longer-term development plan that will take the country up to 1990. The Soviet economy is developing at a steady rate, is confidently forging ahead, laying the material and technical foundation of communism and creating the conditions for the continued perfection of the entire system of social relations.

* * *

While stressing the importance of the economy and of material production, Lenin warned against underestimating other facets of socialism: "...while being based on economics, socialism cannot be reduced to economics alone".[1] The role of the social, ideological and political system increases under developed socialism and helps towards the allround development of the individual. The subjective factor, too, plays a bigger role in the functioning and development of society.

Marxism-Leninism scientifically explains the interaction of basis and superstructure, of the objective laws governing the development of society and the activity of its members. Engels, in his time, countered the claims that Marxism underestimated the subjective factor in social development, noting that in its early stage, in the struggle for a materialist understanding of history, he and Marx had primarily stressed the importance of the material factor, but they never underestimated the ideological and political superstructure, the role of the masses in the making of history.

In Lenin's words: "Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class."[2] The work of Lenin and of our Party are an example of this.

In socialist society, there are qualitatively new aspects of the interaction of the objective and the subjective. That stems from the functioning and development of a consciously directed process. Much more importance attaches also to the reverse influence of the subjective factor, i.e., the intelligent activity of people united in the socialist state and guided by the Party, on the process of repatterning material production and other spheres of social life.

This is manifested primarily in the active, constructive role of the Party. In Lenin's words, politics concerns relations between classes, nations and states. In socialist society, politics cease to be an arena of class conflicts and clashes, but continue to play a vital role as a system of relations between classes, nations, social groups and individuals in the exercise of political power and in relations with foreign countries.

Soviet policy, scientifically formulated by the Party, is premised on the long-range and current requirements of social develop-

ment, the fundamental interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, of the whole multinational Soviet people. And these interests lie in building communist society which, with an exceptionally high level of productive forces, assures the allround development of the individual, elimination of class and social differences, and the achievement of full social equality. The Soviet people's essential political interests in world affairs lie in securing durable peace on earth, superiority over capitalism in the economic competition, and in creating the conditions for the triumph of socialism.

Developed socialism's political system, which includes government, public organisations and work collectives, makes for the satisfaction not only of the country's general requirements, but also of the specific interests of each nation and nationality, socio-ethnic and professional group, region, and also of the many different individual requirements. Disregard of the social, national and other interests can only result from distorting the principles of socialism and retreating from the very essence of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries shows up the absurdity of philistine notions about socialism as a society that suppresses individuality. It shows up also the futility of attempts to contrast it to pluralist bourgeois democracy, which, we are told, looks after the interests of diverse groups, encourages individuality, and so on and so forth. The truth, however, is that only socialist society, having freed man of all exploitation and oppression and having made him the master of his own life, makes possible the free and allround development of the individual and his full share in social progress.

Lenin's thesis on the primacy of politics over economics and the need for a political approach to every economic problem,[3] retains all its validity in developed socialism. For here, too, the direction of social processes is subordinated primarily to definite political aims. Every question of social development must be examined in the context of the ultimate aims of communist construction and of the strengthening socialism's international position.

Closer social and political unity of society, deeper socialist democracy, and wider scope of scientific guidance, increase the influence politics exerts on every aspect of social life. As long as there are classes and the problem of their relations, as long as there is a problem of class struggle and other forms of class relations on the international scene, the need will remain for political leadership of society.

The policy of our Party should be seen as a comprehensive system of defining long-range and short-term aims and the ways,

forms and methods of their attainment in every area of socialist society. We therefore draw a distinction between economic, social and agrarian policy, policy in the fields of education, science and culture, foreign policy, and so on.

Policies in all these fields do not merely mirror requirements, but represent independent, active, constructive factors. The objective determination of social development should not be equated with "rigid" determinism. For society enjoys a definite degree of freedom of action, can choose alternative and even multivariant solutions of its problems and the ways and means of resolving them in every concrete situation, in every combination of internal and international circumstances.

Implementation of objective laws and opportunities depends upon optimal decisions, but society cannot go beyond these opportunities. Any attempt to break free of economic necessity leads to subjectivism and voluntarism, that is, to a break with reality and its pressing needs and tasks. This has found its ugliest manifestation in the theory and practice of Maoism, with its anti-Marxist slogan "politics is the commanding force".

Subjectivism and voluntarism are just as alien to the management of social processes of developed socialism as are spontaneity and *Khvostism* (tailism) (see "Our Glossary"). In emphasising the growing role of scientific management of society, the Party seeks to shape its policies in a way that accords with the requirements of developed socialism and enables maximum use of all its advantages.

A scientifically-substantiated policy is of vital importance for the functioning of socialist society, application of its objective laws and resolution of possible contradictions to achieve our intermediate goals in building communism.

* * *

The ideological factor plays an increasing part in ensuring the unity and interaction of the economic, social, ideological and political mechanisms of developed socialism.

Ideology is a system of theoretical views and conceptions, of the aims and ideals of a definite class, and reflects its position in social and, more particularly, economic relations. The socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideology originated as the ideology of the working class. The building of socialism and communism, the political, social, economic and cultural convergence of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia and the strengthening of their alliance, have made Marxism-Leninism the ideology of the entire people, of the whole of our society. It has an active mobilising and transformatory function.

Many bourgeois and revisionist theorists regard ideology as a kind of new, false social doctrine, a kind of mythology that does not correctly reflect the objective world and, is, therefore, unscientific.

Not every ideology, of course, is scientific, only those that express objective truth and serve the progressive forces of society, whose interests coincide with the requirements of social development. This applies to the socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideology. It faithfully reflects the regularities of social development, the truth of life, and in that lies its immense and constantly increasing influence on hundreds of millions throughout the world.

Now as in the past, the ideology that seeks to justify and uphold the obsolete capitalist system is unscientific and reactionary. That is why bourgeois propaganda, in a desperate attempt to retain its ideological influence, is compelled to resort to subtle methods of manipulating the public mind, distorting or suppressing information, using half-truths or outright lies.

By their very nature, the socialist and the bourgeois ideologies are mutual opposites. Any idea of their peaceful coexistence, let alone reconciliation, is wholly unrealistic. And any attempt to unite socialist and bourgeois ideology, borrowing some elements of the former and some of the latter, can only lead to abandonment of the principles of the working class and, in the end, going over to bourgeois positions. The battle of ideologies on the international scene is inevitable, but it must not be allowed to develop into psychological war, interference in the internal affairs of other countries; it must be kept to the realm of ideas, arguments, facts.

Promotion of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, its acceptance by members of socialist society, together with the norms of communist morality and their guiding and stimulating role, constitute the content and purpose of ideological, political and educational work. And that work is conducted through oral propaganda, the press, television and radio, education, science and culture. The activities of all Party, government and public organisations centre on educating the new man.

The objective necessity of enhancing the role of ideological, political and educational work in building communism is clearly explained in the materials of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches of Leonid Brezhnev. The need for ideological work stems from the very nature of communist construction and its aim, the allround and harmonious development of the individual. For embodied in the individual is, in effect, the whole process of communist construction. The building of communism's material and technical basis, the transformation of socialist relations into communist, are unthinkable without development of the individu-

al. The general criterion of progress, the development of the productive forces must, in socialist society, be on a level with the harmonious development of the members of that society. And harmonious development presupposes primarily a conscientious attitude, high ideological, political and moral standards. As we advance to communism, more importance attaches to the social and cultural requirements of the people, and their satisfaction is conditioned by advances in the ideological sphere, education, science and culture.

Man's spiritual development is not only an aim of communist construction, but, at the same time, a means to that aim. For no major socio-economic problem can now be solved without a high level of political understanding, culture and education. Every economic and political problem requires genuine scientific understanding, the conviction of the masses that it has to be solved and the concentration of their efforts to accomplish the tasks set. As Lenin wrote: "The more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."[4] With the continuous development of socialist society, management methods and reliance on the political and ethical awareness of the people acquire much greater importance.

Every organisational decision, whether pertaining to technology or economics, must take into account its social and educational implications. But it is no less important to take into account another factor, namely, ideological work, which exerts a powerful influence on economic results. This applies, for instance, to educating our cadres and the people generally, in practical economics which circumstance turned in the 1970s into a major trend of our Party's ideological work and is now having a direct and constantly growing influence on efficiency and quality of production.

The use of sophisticated technology adds to the value of the human factor.

Socialist emulation is a vivid expression of the unity and interaction of economic, social and educational work. It has proved an effective lever in boosting output and bringing the workers to share in the management of industry, at the same time promoting their skill, moral and political awareness.

It is only natural, therefore, that the Communist Party should devote so much attention to ideological work, the encouragement of consciousness and initiative, and creative activity by the masses. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Educational Work" says

in particular that, "the CPSU regards communist education of the working people as crucial in the battle for communism. Upon the success of ideological, political and educational work increasingly depends the economic, social, political and cultural development of the country, full use of the advantages of developed socialism, implementation of the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy, and the consolidation of its international positions." [5]

This major Party document contains a profound analysis of the state of affairs at a key sector of communist construction, and notes the historic achievements of the USSR in moulding the new personality, the developments of science, culture and education. But it also draws attention to weak spots and shortcomings in some vital areas of ideological work, where it does not always measure up to the higher educational and cultural standards of the people and the dynamic socio-economic processes in the spiritual life of society. Nor is the drastic sharpening of the international ideological struggle always taken into account.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution contains a comprehensive programme of concerted effort by the entire Party to improve ideological and politico-educational work.

The growing role of the ideological factor does not contradict the primacy of politics, but is rather a necessary condition for a realistic political approach to economic, social, cultural and other problems. The higher the political understanding of the masses, the wider their vision, the deeper their appreciation of the laws of social development, the more effective is the political element realised in the management of social processes.

Politics and ideology are inextricably connected. Politics give concrete expression to the ideals and aims of communist construction formulated in line with Marxist-Leninist theory. Politics give ideological work the necessary direction and topicality. And one purpose of ideological work is to bring ever broader masses into association with the Party's policy and the effort to translate it into reality. In this sense the growing role of the ideological factor helps towards a political approach to economic, social, cultural and other problems. Alongside the political and organisational activity of Party, government and mass organisations, ideological work is today a cardinal factor in building communism.

The leading role of the Communist Party, which constantly increases in a developed socialist society, is inseparable from the ideological and political character of social management. For it is the Party, drawing on Marxism-Leninism, and taking into account the sum-total of internal and external conditions, that shapes the country's policy and organises its practical realisation in all areas, by all government, economic and mass organisations, and by the broad masses. Leaning on the unanimous support of the people, the Party is confidently leading the country to communism.

NOTES

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 22, p. 325.
[2] Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 36.
[3] Ibid., Vol. 32, pp. 83-84.
[4] Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 498.
[5] *Pravda,* May 6, 1979.

The Methodology of Prognosticating Economic Development

ALEXANDER ANCHISHKIN

Under socialism, prognostication is part of the economic planning and management system, and in this system prognostication has its distinctive role, both as a means of cognition and provision of objective processes seen in their concrete, quantitatively defined forms. Prognostication rests on the achievements of the social and natural sciences in disclosing the regularities of development in nature and society, and on the trends of socio-economic and scientific and technological progress in developed socialism.

The theory and practice of prognostication develop with the development of planning and economic theory in its interconnection with other branches of science. Prognostication is used to formulate medium- and long-term growth forecasts of the national economy and its subdivisions and also scientific and technical and demographic prognoses. It is too early to speak of prognostication as a fully formed system, though analysis of accumulated experience allows for the formulation of certain methodological principles.

Prognostication holds a special place and has special functions in the system of socialist planning. Its *aim* is to study and predict objective tendencies in economic development. Not all objective processes lend themselves to planning. Much depends on the nature of these processes and on the level of the planning system. For instance, though demographic processes can be influenced systematically, they cannot be a direct object of social planning. The current demand for consumer goods, though it can be

regulated by planning directives in production, incomes and prices, is primarily determined by the unplannable behaviour of the consumer. The development of external economic ties depends, along with other factors, on the state of the world market. And so [illegible]e are different kinds of objective processes that can and sh[illegible]d be prognosticated, but cannot be the object of direct planning.

The degree to which economic processes can be planned depends also on the development level of the planning system itself. And that system is formed and shaped in the process of gradual widening of plannable elements. Thus, social, scientific and technical development fully come within the planning orbit only at the stage of mature socialism. Constantly changing reality naturally affects the system of planning and management. For instance, ecological processes acquire special importance and urgency at a definite level in the development of the productive forces, which makes it necessary to plan these processes. The same goes for urbanisation and certain other objective processes. Extending planning to these and other areas is obviously inevitable. But even in the absence, or inadequate development, of some parts of the planning system we can still prognosticate many processes. More, such prognostication is an essential condition for the formation of new planning elements.

Prognostication and planning differ also in their *functions.* Planning is a process of adopting and implementing management decisions, whereas prognostication formulates the scientifically-grounded premises for such decisions. These include qualitative and quantitative analysis of economic development trends, problems and new phenomena; probabilistic, alternative forecasting, with due account of tradition and set aims; appraisal of potentialities and consequences of active influence on forecasted processes and trends; forecasts to substantiate the choice of main directions of socio-economic, scientific and technical policy.

Using prognostication as a base, planning (in the narrow sense, as a process of adopting economic decisions) consists primarily in distributing limited resources and providing the economic conditions for attainment of set goals. Unity of prognostication and planning finds expression in the fact that the former provides the necessary premises for scientifically-grounded planning, of which it is an organic part. Plan and forecast are not two alternative approaches to assessing socio-economic and scientific and technical development, but complement each other, representing stages in the drafting of economic plans, which are the main instruments in managing the socialist economy and pursuing the economic strategy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

This general difference between the object and functions of planning and prognostication allows for a more concrete formulation of their peculiarities. First, plan indicators must meet the requirements of management, must be of a directive nature and addressed to definite economic units. The nature of forecasting, on the other hand, though it must take into account the aims set by the planners, depends on the process being studied. In other words, plan indicators must closely correspond to the structure and requirements of management, whereas forecasts correspond to the requirements of disclosing objective processes. But there has to be a transitional link between forecasts and plan indicators. Second, the directive nature of planning presupposes that it is addressed to a definite unit, while forecasts do not have to correspond to the organisational structure of the economy and need not have a definite address. Third, the plan differs from the forecast by its more determinative character. The very nature of planning presupposes maximum determination of future development and overcoming the objectively existing probabilistic character of economic development. Forecasts, on the other hand, are based on probabilistic prevision. Fourth, the process of drafting the plan involves several variants and the plan itself is the optimal variant that has to be put into practice. Forecasts, on the other hand, offer alternatives not only in the drafting process, but also as its end result.

And so, though part of the planning system, prognostication has its own specific function, namely, probabilistic, alternative forecasting of the future on the basis of concrete disclosure and assessment of the objective regularities of socio-economic, scientific and technical development.

In considering the place of prognostication in the general planning system, one must bear in mind the special role of long-range forecasts, their link with the Comprehensive Programme of scientific and technological progress for the next 20 years, the Main Guidelines of National Economic and Social Development for a ten-year period, and target-oriented programmes. Obviously, long-term forecasts include partial and integrated forecasts designed to provide a fuller picture of the regularities of scientific and technical and socio-economic development. In particular, the 20-year Comprehensive Programme, which sets out the main elements, implementation methods and results of a uniform technical policy, will absorb the wealth of information provided by numerous scientific and technical and socio-economic forecasts. Obviously, too, target-oriented programmes should be only based on careful prognostication.

Prognostication of economic development is comprehensive. It extends to all its aspects and levels, is interconnected with

forecasting in the social, demographic, scientific and technical fields, and also with the use of natural resources and the development of international relations. Forecasts for each of these areas play an independent role and, to a certain extent, can be worked out irrespective of the others. This applies also to the problems relating to one or another industry or region. In compiling a comprehensive forecast of economic development all the main directions and aspects of prognostication should be treated in their unity.

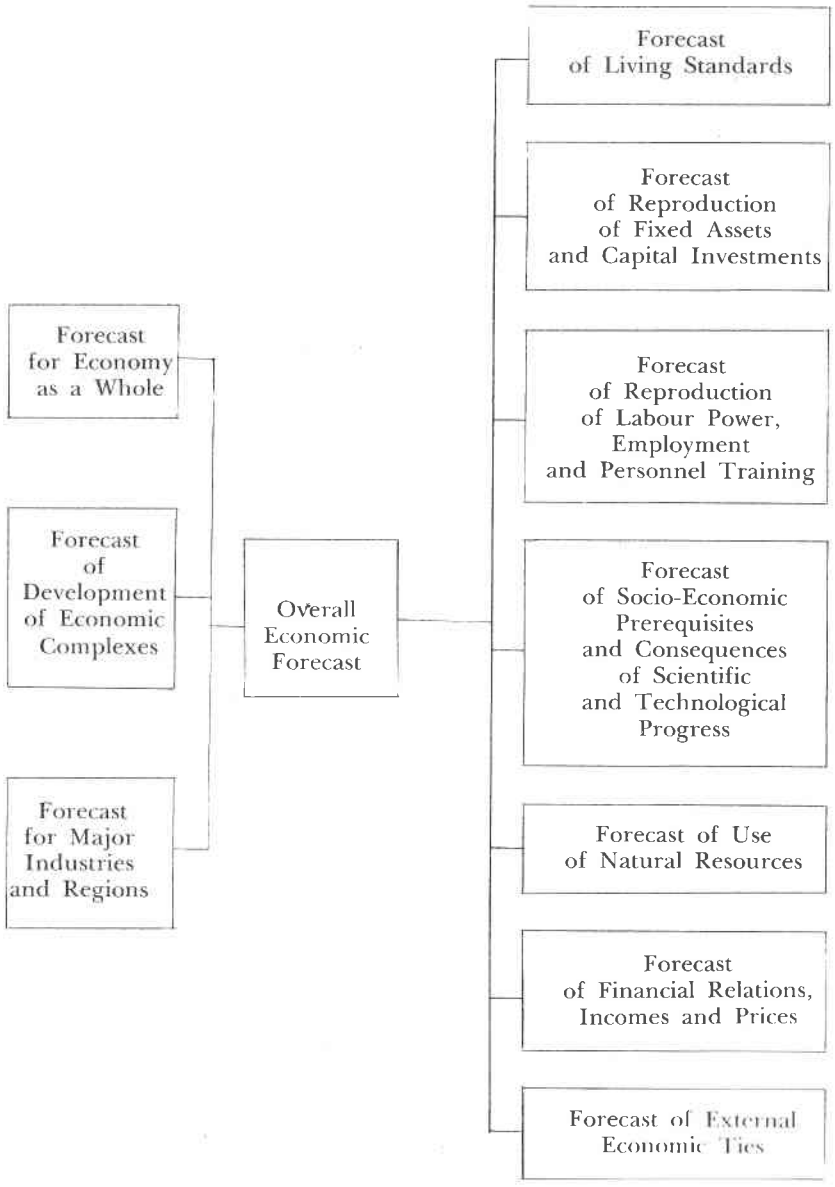
The *structure* of prognostication includes the different aggregation levels of the economy and the various aspects of its development (see Table). Thus, there are macroeconomic and structural (inter-industry, inter-regional) forecasts, and also for economic complexes (fuel and energy, agriculture and industry, investment, construction materials, industrial infrastructure, service industry), major economic branches and regions.

Prognostication also covers these aspects of social reproduction: living standards, employment and labour expenditure, reproduction of fixed assets and capital investments, use of natural resources, socio-economic requisites and consequences of scientific and technological progress, external economic ties. Each of these forecasts has its own specific function but is coordinated with all others when formulating the overall prognosis for the national economy.

The *order* in which overall forecasts are formulated depends on the scale of prognostication, the base-point of economic development and the concrete tasks of the macroeconomic forecast. Generally speaking, the process of working out overall forecasts is of an iterative character, but there are also other directions which must be correlated within the framework of an overall forecast. For instance, in drawing up an overall forecast we can proceed from general (macroeconomic) indicators to structural indicators for inter-industry complexes. Or we can proceed from production and structural limitations in the development of material production, its various branches and various types of product, to general reproduction indicators. Or we can proceed from socio-economic goals to prognosticating effective use of productive resources and, conversely, from productive resources to the attainment of socio-economic goals.

This reciprocal process of drawing up an overall forecast of economic development makes it possible to disclose both the main sources and main problems of long-term economic growth. In particular, the elaboration of the Comprehensive Programme of scientific and technological progress and its socio-economic consequences for a long term has shown that the main directions of

TABLE



scientific and technological advance can be prognosticated by applying two reciprocal approaches, viz., examination of stable trends in scientific and technological progress, availability of scientific resources and appraisal of the results of their application in the economy, and, at the same time, defining the objective requirements as regards the directions and rates of scientific and technological progress stemming from long-term economic development requirements. Interaction of these two approaches will make for fundamentally new technical solutions and rational allocation of scientific and technical resources.

The alternative variants of the overall plan, or its components, have to be correlated and coordinated. The difficulty here is working out correlated indicators for the different alternative variants. This is particularly important in dealing with problems of production intensification and higher quality standards. For we have to reckon with discordant development indicators in the volume and efficient use of resources, growth of output and quality standards, changing scale and structure of production.

The structure of a macroeconomic forecast is linked also to the term covered. We can single out short-term forecasts (two-three years), medium-term (five-seven years) and long-term (15-20 years). The character of such forecasts is determined by the nature of the prognosticated processes. The more stable these processes and tendencies, the wider can be the range of forecasting. Reproduction processes proceed at different speeds, have different time-cycles. Thus, the reproduction cycle for fixed production assets depends on their depreciation periods, while reproduction of labour power depends on the length of demographic processes and the time needed to train personnel; product renewal in the engineering industry depends on the dynamics of the technical level of equipment, etc. We must therefore distinguish between the time frames and character of forecasts of different aspects of economic development.

Short-term prognostication is best suited to one-year and five-year plans and current economic processes linked with the movement of finance, prices, changes in the purchasing capacity of the population, fluctuations in agricultural output, their influence on the economy, etc. Medium-term prognostication is aimed primarily at forecasting the rate and structure of economic development within a given investment frame. Long-term prognostication is focused mainly on aspects of economic development associated with demographic processes, cardinal solution of major social problems, scientific and technological progress, development and use of natural resources.

* * *

Application of the underlying prognostication principles makes for unity of the different methods and models used in working out comprehensive development forecasts. Singling out certain principles does not mean that they are independent of each other and can be used selectively. While reflecting various aspects of scientifically-grounded prognostication, they should be seen as part of an integral whole.

The theoretical foundation of economic prognostication in the USSR rests on the Marxist-Leninist economic theory. Comprehension of the objective character and cognisability of the laws of economic development determines the main content of prognostication, namely, qualitative and quantitative analysis of economic processes to bring out their objective conditions, factors and development trends. The Marxist-Leninist theory of extended reproduction is of key importance in forecasting economic development. It provides a uniform picture of all the main elements of the reproduction of the productive forces and production relations, the rate and contributing factors of economic growth, the criteria and mechanism of proportional, balanced development. The theory of extended reproduction provides the methodological basis for formulating the concrete principles of economic prognostication.

The main principle is systems prognostication: the national economy is treated as a single object, but also as the sum total of relatively independent prognostication blocks. The practical compilation of an overall forecast based on the systems approach presupposes the construction of methods and models corresponding to each individual block, but at the same time capable of being integrated in an overall forecast. This poses considerable methodological difficulties. An integrated forecast requires unification of models, information and computation methods, whereas the specifics of individual economic objects can be expressed only given maximum approximation to their internal content. Unification tends towards a single "supermodel", which inevitably leads to an excessively rigid construction that does not give proper weight to economic processes. The second method is to devise a system of partial models, which complicates the construction of a uniform and intrinsically coordinated forecast.

The best method of constructing a comprehensive forecast is the so-called block method. This requires indicators that are exogenous to all aspects of the forecast, defining the order of forecast calculations and the corresponding input and output indicators for each block and also the sequence of iterative specification of intermediate results.

The principle of accordance of the forecast to objective regularities. Implementation of this principle presupposes quantitative measurement of stable trends and interconnections in economic development as the basis for a theoretical analogue of economic processes. A sufficiently complete and accurate simulation of these processes is the main prerequisite and guarantee of the forecast's scientific authenticity. By theoretical model for analysis and prognosis of economic development is meant a practically applied model that provides a true reflection of reality.

In applying this principle account must be taken of the probabilistic, stochastic character of real processes. This means assessing existing and possible deviations from prevalent trends, and determining the margin of deviation. With the lengthening of the period of prognostication, the area of deviation increases and, in the end, the magnitude of possible error can be compared with the magnitude of the prognosticated indicator. This is contrary to the principle of accordance and nullifies the value of such a prognosis. Higher aggregation levels improve the quality of prognostication of long-term development trends.

The use of this principle requires tested methods and models from the point of view of their ability to simulate existing trends. Before becoming an instrument of forecasting, such methods and models must be an instrument of cognition. This can only be established through experimental calculations that guarantee that theoretical propositions, the system of indicators, mathematical models, base information and computation methods, all conform to the content of the processes being analysed.

In passing from simulation of existing processes and trends to forecasting their future development, it is necessary to construct alternatives, i.e., determine the probable course of economic development. *The alternatives principle* is linked with the possibility of the economy or its components following differing trajectories, forming differing patterns of interconnections and structural proportions. The probabilistic character of prognostication reflects the presence of fortuitous processes and deviations, with the retention of qualitative homogeneity and stability of prognosticated trends. The alternatives principle, on the other hand, presumes the possibility of qualitatively different variants of economic development.

The main task in applying this principle in practice is to separate feasible variants from those which cannot be realised under existing or anticipated conditions. This calls for dividing alternatives (variants) according to the likelihood of their practical realisation. The extrapolational variant is the most likely to be realised, inasmuch as it is based on existing stable conditions and trends. This does not, however, mean preference for extrapola-

tional variants. Some existing tendencies can be overcome by using balanced non-extrapolational alternatives, envisaging effective use of resources, realistic possibilities of solving problems as they arise, etc. Realisation of non-extrapolational alternatives calls for sustained supervisory influence, the intensity of which should be the greater the wider the proposed alternative deviates from the extrapolational variant.

The chief method of determining the feasibility of one or another alternative is testing its balanced character in all main aspects. We must take into account the real limitations (in resources, structure, efficiency indices) within the context of which the chosen balanced alternatives have to be formulated.

"Bottlenecks" and unbalanced elements can crop up in the forecasting process. Leaving aside their origins, note has to be taken of their constructive functions. Discrepancy between certain elements of anticipated economic development reflects non-antagonistic contradictions within the given variant. Such discrepancies, or "points of discontinuity", pose certain problems that affect the dynamics of development. Their solution will pinpoint areas requiring qualitative change in the structure and effective use of production resources, the need for new, fundamental technical solutions and improvement of the economic mechanism.

Every alternative has its own totality of problems, the solution of which is hampered by the persistence of existing trends. It may well be that one or another alternative does not, at the moment, lend itself to a balanced solution. In such cases it is necessary to define the additional conditions needed to bring the alternative to realisation. The extent to which these requirements are met can be fully established only in drawing up the plan. But in all cases, even within the forecasting framework we should, if possible, determine the scale, time and results of solving these problems.

Alternative variants arise mainly as a result of qualitative changes in the reproduction process, for instance, in the transition from mainly extensive to mainly intensive expansion. The concrete goal set for a given alternative variant largely determines its structure. And concrete goals are shaped by existing regularities in the development of social requirements and the need to solve concrete economic problems. In this way the principle of alternatives interacts with the principle of *goal-orientation* in forecasting.

The transition from existing trends to those that more closely reflect the aims of long-range development determines the active character of prognostication. The structure of our economic forecasts and all their components rests on a close study of elements, parameters and variables through which supervisory influence can be exerted on economic development. Of course, we

can hardly envisage direct regulation of, say, returns on production assets, but through changes in the economic mechanism (rent payments), in technology and organisation of production, we can exert real influence on these returns, too. The active character of prognostication presupposes also appraisal of the interconnection between supervisory influence and its results. The wider the gap between the chosen alternative and its extrapolated variant, the more intensive must be supervisory influence, expressed primarily in expenditure of resources and changes in the economic mechanism.

The macroeconomic prognostication principles listed above are the main ones, though not the only ones, and they underlie the system of concrete methods and models of forecasting. Their variety stems from the specific nature of different economic processes, the flow of information, the potential of computer techniques, accumulated practical experience and other factors. And taking into account this wide variety, we have to single out two universal approaches, the genetic and normative, both of which encompass partial methods and models.

The genetic approach reflects the existence within the prognosticated process of stable trends that, to some extent, give economic development an inertial character. Every forecast has its origins in the past and the present. And no matter how much the future may differ from the present and the past, it is always linked with them, is shaped by existing elements, though in different proportions, to form the system of new relations.

The normative approach is expressive of another aspect of prognostication processes, already mentioned above, namely, their supervised character, their tie to the development aims of socialist society. And these aims can be a predetermined stage of development (level of achievement of goal, and structure of prognosticated object), or a given rate and direction of transition from the existing to the normative state.

The two approaches are complementary, since future economic processes are determined by existing ties and trends and also by the goals and requirements of society. More, the normative approach can be scientifically substantiated only to the extent that it accords with the realistic possibilities for conscious regulation of objective processes. The genetic approach does not contain all the necessary prerequisites for constructing a scientifically-substantiated forecast, inasmuch as the development of socialist society is a controllable process. There can be no purely genetic or purely normative approach.

The relation between the two approaches changes depending on the period and object of prognostication. The longer the projection period, the weaker is the link between the resources of

the existing economic structure and the plan target. This increases the area for distributing and redistributing resources in accordance with the aims of future development and widens the sphere for application of the normative approach. Reduction of the projection period works in the opposite direction, narrowing the use of the normative approach and affording greater scope for the genetic method.

The relation between the two approaches depends also on the specific nature of the object of prognostication. As noted above, there are various objective opportunities for planned regulation of different aspects of socio-economic development (for instance, demographic processes lend themselves less to regulation than the dynamics and structure of production). The higher the degree of the manageability of a process, the better can it be studied by normative methods.

Conversely, the less the process is subject to supervision, the wider the scope for the genetic method.

Economic prognostication being a stage in plan formulation, the relation between the genetic and normative approaches should be seen from that standpoint. Genetic methods are designed to keep planning closely tied to real trends and potentialities, while the function of normative methods is to substantiate the passage from existing trends to socially necessary ones. In this way forecasts can give maximum assistance in working out realistic, goal-oriented plans. To this should be added that economic prognostication in the capitalist countries is mainly of the genetic type, for under capitalism there is no such thing as national planning and no need, therefore, for the normative method, which is based on the interests of society.

The genetic approach is realised chiefly through a system of economico-mathematical models of the econometric type. *Econometric models* are based on the processing of statistical information and on assessments of individual variables and their parameters obtainable through expert calculations and incorporated into these models. Without dwelling on the concrete forms of these models and the methods of their construction, we can single out two types, factoral and structural, which can be combined to form a factor-structural model. One and the same type can also be applied to economic objects of different aggregation levels (macroeconomic, inter-industry and inter-regional, industry and regional), and to different aspects of economic development (reproduction of fixed assets and labour power, finances and prices, consumption).

Econometric models are the chief but not the only form of the genetic approach, for the possibilities for quantitative measurement in analysing and forecasting socio-economic processes are

very limited. These limitations are related not only to the availability of statistical information, computer techniques and technical facilities, but also to the very nature of economic processes, which in very many cases cannot be expressed in quantitative terms. For instance, job motivation (level and forms of wages, moral incentives, etc.) exert a definite influence on the level and dynamics of labour productivity, but that influence is not measurable in quantitative terms. Yet only measurable processes and phenomena are taken into account in working out forecasts. The necessity thus arises of employing *expert methods*, i.e., methods based on the collection and processing of qualitative and quantitative estimates by individual scientists and specialists. These methods, used principally in drawing up forecasts of scientific and technical development, can be considered universal methods of prognostication. In character they are genetic methods: objective regularities and trends are analysed and prognosticated through their reflection in the process of scientific cognition.

As a variety of heuristic methods, expert methods enable us to prognosticate processes still in their embryonic stage, provide for possible changes in development conditions and trends unmeasurable by all existing quantitative methods. Expert methods play a particularly important part in drawing up long-term forecasts, where econometric models find minimal application. Expert methods make it possible to introduce into long-term prognostication estimates of qualitative changes in trends of scientific, technical and socio-economic development which do not always lend themselves to direct econometric substantiation.

Normative methods play a big role, though they are less developed than genetic, especially econometric, methods. They enable us to disclose the regularities of the development of social aims and requirements, and also the order of priorities necessary to achieve these aims. The elaboration and introduction of normative methods presuppose the existence of a theory of the development of social requirements and methods of their measurement. And since these aims may hinge on the solution of major economic problems, the normative method must disclose their substance and offer solution variants.

Normative prognosis is focused on the principal socio-economic aims of long-range development, formulated with due account of a concrete stage of social progress. The function of prognosis is to spell out these aims in a system of social normatives reflecting the society's perception of the progress made, so that it can pass to a higher stage in satisfying its requirements. For instance, solution of the housing problem, at the present level of social perception, implies achievement of a certain per-capita housing figure, reasonable comfort and rational distribution of

housing. Social normatives are not the result of subjectivist constructs, but reflect the real level and dynamics of social requirements that can be satisfied in the prognosticated period, with due account of the development of material production.

Focused on the principal social aims and normatives, the normative forecast should set the priorities in satisfying social requirements. The system of priorities should provide both for complementary and interchangeable requirements. For instance, a rational structure of popular consumption may include not only an optimal pattern of consumption of, say, food, clothing and footwear, but also a pattern of interchangeable foods capable of satisfying one and the same requirement (in fats, for instance). The most used method of normative prognosis of social requirements, especially in long-term forecasts, is elaboration of a rational consumer budget.

In combination with genetic methods, normative forecasting can bring out long-range problems the solution of which is essential to the achievement of national goals based on balanced and effective development of the entire economy and its components. The very problem and its magnitude can be appreciated when analysing the gap between the goals set out in a forecast of social requirements and prevalent trends. The wider this gap the more complex is the problem and its solution.

In normative forecasting, prognosis of resources and their efficient use is meant to show how the gap between goals and existing trends can be eliminated. In several cases this requires changing current trends, and to do that it is necessary to revise the scale and structure of resources distribution, devise methods to ensure their more effective use, and amend plan targets (in volume and time). All these methods of coordinating aims and existing tendencies can be applied simultaneously. The wider the deviation of trajectory in transition from existing levels to the target, the greater must be the change in distributing resources and ensuring their more effective impact, and also in technical levels and organisation of production. From this follows that in normative prognosticating, the forecast of aims precedes the forecast of resources. The normative forecast must be coordinated with the genetic. This requires "unfolding" the genetic forecast from a shorter to a longer term, and the normative forecast in the opposite direction. Correction of forecasts of resources, aims and social requirements makes for a gradual merger of the trajectories of genetic and normative forecasts.

Prognostication methods, both qualitative and quantitative, help to disclose the objective regularities of socio-economic development, thereby consolidating the scientific foundations of socialist planning.

Legal Norms and Factual Behaviour

VLADIMIR KUDRYAVTSEV

The present heightened interest in law in our country is due, I think, to two circumstances. First, the need to assure proper functioning of legal superstructure (the legal system) so that legal norms are fully adhered to. Second, wider opportunities for an indepth study of the law in all its implications. Legal phenomena, as all social phenomena, can now be studied comprehensively, in their diverse interconnections and conditions. This has stimulated analysis of "the law in action", when it appears to us not merely as a set of normatives given in such traditional forms as the law, the precedent, but also in such typical forms as the factual behaviour of people, their value orientations and judgements.

Any analysis of "the law in action" should start with an understanding of the relationship between legal norms and factual behaviour: to what extent the two coincide in scope and content; why disparities between the two are possible; how to bring them closer together. And this, in turn, requires a clear understanding of the concept and criteria of the legal norm.

The concept of norm. We know that the juridical (legal) norm is a variety of the social norm and as such functions as a regulator of human behaviour. Inasmuch as this process can proceed indirectly, the legal norm often describes and models not the behavioural criteria of individuals or collectives, but elements of social relations, the status of state institutions and public organisations, their structure, conditions of the legal protection of rights, guarantees as regards the fulfilment of obligations, etc. It is therefore presumed that the content of the legal norm goes far beyond factual behaviour.[1] On the other hand, human behaviour

is regulated not only by legal norms, but also by the rules of morality, the principles of socialist intercourse, traditions and other social factors. Consequently, in comparing legal norms with factual behaviour, we are dealing only with part of the problem.

Let us examine that comparable part, i.e., one and the same subject of regulation, a type of factual behaviour provided for by the legal norm. What is the relationship between the two? Here there are two factors to be considered.

First, there is an obvious difference between the norm and factual behaviour in terms of their contact with reality. Factual behaviour lies in the sphere of the existing ("what is"). The legal norm—should we regard it as the existing or as the required ("what ought to be")? Or as both one and the other?

Characteristically, the general concept of norm as used, for instance, in natural-science literature is closer to the "what is". The norm is often understood as conditioned by a mass process, something that "has already asserted itself and has long been part of reality"[2]; a rule that governs a definite process or its result. As applied to human behaviour, it can be said that the social norm epitomises behaviour based on typical social contacts and relations accepted by the majority of a given class or social group.[3]

It would be wrong, of course, to regard this "factual" norm as a statistical average, as the more common form of one or another process, as a widespread phenomenon, or recurring event. Such quantitative characteristics of the norm are secondary, the qualitative aspect is much more important. Every norm is but a reflection (true or distorted) of a natural or social regularity. A system can be considered normally functioning if this functioning corresponds to the system's nature and basic properties, is optimal or at least adequate for the given process, phenomenon, institution. The ideal concept of norm is the criterion of the useful, optimal and therefore typical functioning. It is no accident that social behaviour accepted as the norm is encountered more often than pathological deviations from the norm.

The foregoing allows for the conclusion that the norm (in the meaning used here) represents a characteristic of the actual state of affairs: not only "what ought to be", but also what already exists. A normal phenomenon or process is a very real variety of events that takes place with a rather high frequency. In this sense, the norm reflects not only what is desired and aimed at, but primarily what is achieved in objective reality.

In sociology, psychology, and more especially in jurisprudence, the concept of norm differs markedly from its use in the natural sciences. For here the norm denotes not so much what exists, as what is aimed at; not so much the reality as what is desired and prescribed by the social environment. This modification of the

concept is explainable both epistemologically and historically. The transition from natural to social phenomena changes the character of the objective regularities governing these phenomena. There is a gradual transition from rigid, so-called dynamic, laws to statistical, which relate only to mass of phenomena. Consequently, there is a greater possibility of deviation from the typical, normal course of the process. The concept of factual norm is "washed out". In mathematics or mechanics, for instance, a more or less significant deviation from the norm is impossible, in biology it is possible, whereas in psychology it is little short of the rule, so that the very concept of norm is but in doubt. As applied to the medical norm of "health", some experts believe that it is "a pure abstraction... or a non-existent and unattainable ideal, or a standard that often proves wrong".[4]

The disparity between the two meanings of the concept "norm" has its historical origins. In an antagonistic class society "reality" and "ideal" do not always coincide. For what one class accepts as normal behaviour will be rejected by another class or group. The aims of the ruling class cannot always be attained without coercive mechanisms and, consequently, cannot be made the general behavioural norm. The gap between "what is" and "what ought to be" is part of reality and is bound to affect ideology, science and social consciousness. As a result, in sociology, to take one example, the concepts of norm as the standard of "what ought to be", and as a characteristically typical and widespread behaviour do not always coincide.[5] The concept of the norm as an external binding prescription (regardless of whether or not it is carried out) is generally accepted by jurists. "The legal norm," in the view of some authors, "is a binding, legally defined rule of conduct prescribed and upheld by the socialist state."[6] There is no mention here of the norm as a typical, mass process of actual behaviour.

We cannot, of course, disregard the concept of norm worked out by professional jurists, but neither should we overestimate it. In analysing "the law in action", we cannot overlook the fact that in many (prevalent) instances the norm of actual behaviour coincides with legal norm. Thus the rule that one works according to one's ability and is rewarded according to results, the underlying principle of socialism, is legislatively consolidated. But this principle is also the behavioural norm of the overwhelming majority of people. Equally indicative are such behavioural norms as protection of the socialist Motherland, concern for education of one's children, etc.

In present-day socialist society, social, including legal, relations are consistently being modified to promote closer unity of all classes and strata. What we have is the obliteration of class

distinctions, the drawing closer together of social groups, and this is bound to affect normative behaviour. On the one hand, the law of developed socialism in many cases consolidates what has already become a behavioural norm for the majority, or represents a clear-cut tendency in that direction. On the other hand, the legal norm, with its obligatory rules of behaviour, meets with positive response from the majority of the Soviet people, and thus becomes an accepted rule.

Thus, factual behaviour is always "what is", but it can also be "what ought to be" (as the standard of one's conduct). The legal norm is always "what ought to be", but it can also be "what is", when it is realised in adequate behaviour.

The second characteristic of the relationship between norm and factual behaviour is *partial coincidence* of their *forms* of outward expression. Actual behaviour has two aspects, objective and subjective. Objectively, it is realised in concrete outward actions. Subjectively, it is expressed in the motives, aims, interests and intentions of subjects, their prevision and desire of concrete results. The legal norm is "materialised" not in two, but in three aspects. As indicated above, objectively, as a mass phenomenon, it can coincide with factual behaviour. Further, the subjective aspect of normative behaviour is expressed in social and individual consciousness in the form of ideas of "what ought to be", in a system of values and guidelines. "Normative standards of behaviour are ingrained in mass and individual psychology, customs and habits, and also in relations between people..."[7] And the normative standard is realised as a generally accepted (desirable or undesirable for a given individual) behavioural model the individual must take into account in socially significant situations.

The third aspect of the norm, which is not to be found in factual behaviour, consists in its codification in sign systems which originate from legal sources, above all (in present conditions) legislation. This gives legal normatives formal definitiveness, clarity and stability, and in this way markedly distinguishes them from other social normatives, for example, the rules of morality.

The legal norm is not identical with the text of the law. The two should not be confused, for besides the law there are other sources of behavioural norms (customs, precedent, etc.), and because, also, by equating the two we leave out such important expressions of the norm as widespread actual behaviour and the system of legal values, elements of legal consciousness generally accepted by society. In this context we should, I think, accept the idea that "the legal norm, in its totality and currency, is not merely a normative judgement of the legislator, and cannot be reduced to one's legal consciousness, but exists objectively in the legal relations between people and their behaviour."[8]

However, it would be equally wrong to contrast the norm to the law. In developed socialist society the main, cardinal source of legal norms is the laws and by-laws. Rules and other standards of behaviour, even those widely accepted and approved by society, cannot be considered legal norms unless they are recorded in official, state-approved juridical acts. In other words, a standard of behaviour approved by the state becomes a legal norm, as distinct from social norms (e.g., norms of morality).

State approval of rules of behaviour entails the proclamation of appropriate legal guarantees, sanctions, constraints, etc. This makes law an effective instrument of state guidance of society. The recognition of the fact that law is organically linked with the state, with the will of the ruling class, is central to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of law.

Genesis of the legal norm. Factual behaviour, i.e., concrete social relations as they take shape in real life, in many cases precedes prescribed rules and regulations that give human behaviour a definite legal pattern. That is how law is shaped in the process of history. Marx wrote: "At a certain, very primitive stage of the development of society, the need arises to bring under a common rule the daily recurring acts of production, distribution and exchange of products, to see to it that the individual subordinates himself to the common conditions of production and exchange. This rule, which at first is custom, soon becomes *law*."[9]

At the present stage, legal norms often serve to seal what has already justified itself in practice and taken shape as an optimal behavioural norm, an effective form of human organisation and activity. This applies in particular to Soviet legislation on old-age pensions for collective farmers. The law was preceded by local initiative: collective farms began to grant pensions in accordance with their democratic principles. Or another example: Soviet and foreign experience was carefully analysed in drafting the law on the conclusion, implementation and denunciation of international agreements.[10] The law on the USSR Council of Ministers[11] juridically confirms certain functions, forms and methods long applied in practice. Other examples could be cited.

Of course, not all stable norms of behaviour require legal confirmation. It might be asked whether such confirmation (by the state) is at all necessary, since once appropriate behavioural patterns are already generally accepted norms? Legal norms, I think, are necessary at least for the following four purposes (a) to stabilise and strengthen these forms of behaviour; (b) prevent deviations, even if only rare; (c) keep the population informed of optimal forms of behaviour and raise the level of legal culture; (d) evolve a system of interconnected legal norms and institutions and in this way fill some of the legislative gaps.

There are many ways of factual behaviour evolving into legal norms. Among them are generalisation of the experience of various organisations and institutions, analysis of the experience in our courts, procurators' offices, etc., and careful account of proposals and suggestions from the public. Before becoming a legal norm, a rule of behaviour can manifest itself as a philosophical or legal principle, or as a guide to decision making, or lastly as a tradition in relations between individuals.

For many years now the Soviet courts have consistently been applying the humane principle that all unresolved doubts concerning the evidence shall be considered to favour the accused.[12] That is not set out in the legislation on criminal procedure, but nonetheless it has been the basis for acquittal in very many criminal cases. In other words, this principle is a factual norm of court procedure. The 1977 Soviet Constitution provides for additional safeguards of legitimate rights and interests of the citizens by prescribing a number of procedural guarantees including the presumption of innocence (Art. 160). This was amplified by the USSR Supreme Court ruling of June 16, 1978 on implementation by the courts of the laws safeguarding the accused's right to defence. Point 2 of that ruling emphasises the inadmissibility of "placing on the accused (defendant) the onus of proving his innocence... All unresolved doubts must be interpreted in favour of the accused (defendant)".[13] Inasmuch as this is binding on all courts, it acquires the strength of a law, i.e., of a juridical norm. And the process, I feel, should be carried to completion by including this norm in the Fundamentals of Criminal Procedure of the USSR and the Union republics, and in the appropriate criminal codes.

In noting the dependence of the legal norm on public behavioural standards, we should not overlook another aspect of their interconnection: analysis of social requirements can be the basis for drafting legislation (in the form of a law, ukase, ruling) which is then realised in the factual behaviour of individuals, officials and collectives. In some cases social practice cannot be the basis for such legislation in the spheres of constitutional, financial and criminal law. Besides, if the law were formulated solely on the basis of behavioural patterns that have taken shape in real life, its creative role would be very limited. And yet Soviet law not only seals and safeguards existing social relations, but also helps to create new relations of interest to the legislator. In such cases the legal norm can be, and often is, preceded by progressive social trends (e.g., the initiative of innovators in industry). We can also envisage a situation in which offences described in the law have not been actually committed and are based on social analysis and scientific prevision. A case in point is legislation on computer systems and the

use of nuclear energy. The same method was employed in drafting many international legal acts, on peaceful uses of space vehicles, for instance.

These two forms of the interaction of behaviour and law, taken in their genetic aspect, determine the character of possible differences between the legal and factual norms of behaviour. The first group of such differences is manifested in a situation in which typical, socially useful forms of behaviour that have become, or tend to become, generally accepted norms have not, for one reason or another, been codified and, consequently, do not enjoy the necessary state approval and support. For instance, we still lack adequate legislation on socialist emulation, though this mass movement has its legal aspects. At the 25th CPSU Congress note was made of the fact that our economic laws do not meet all present requirements and attention was drawn to the need to bring all our legal laws into accordance with the levels achieved by our society. The CPSU Central Committee decision on the further improvement of the economic mechanism and the tasks of Party and economic bodies (1979), calls for legislative confirmation of the more effective forms of economic management.

The second group of differences: the legal prescription formulated in a legislative or other legal enactment has not yet become the general norm of factual behaviour. The law is not being carried out in practice and thereby loses its practical value. "A law exists and operates," Leonid Brezhnev has stressed, "only when it is observed."[14]

It stands to reason that besides these polar opposites, the operative law and non-operative prescribed rules, there are a number of intermediate, transitory situations in which the legal norm is realised to one or another degree. Thus, in the USSR all drivers stringently observe the right-side traffic rule. We thus have an administrative ruling coinciding with a factual norm of behaviour. But another administrative ruling—drivers shall stop at intersections to allow people to cross—is not universally observed, i.e., has not yet become a norm of factual behaviour by all drivers. Or to cite other examples, inadequate observance of legislation on environmental protection, and of some norms of our economic laws.

The psychological aspects of normative behaviour as the connecting link between the requirements of the law and concrete behaviour, merit closer attention. Legal norms can only become factual norms only if they are properly understood and respected. That has to be taken into account in drafting new laws. The level of legal consciousness both of the general public and officials, must be considered in working on new laws, because this is bound to tell on the way they are enforced.

Sociological surveys conducted by the Institute of the State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences, and other research centres show that, in the vast majority of cases, people's notions of the optimal (correct, just) norm of behaviour coincides with the law. The majority of Soviet citizens comply with the requirements of the law, have a principled and stable attitude towards the law. At the same time, however, the survey revealed many distorted interpretations of the law and so-called "group norms" of factual behaviour that run counter to our legal system. Thus, 28.7 per cent of all juvenile delinquents covered by the survey said that they did not know about criminal responsibility for what they had done, while 4.1 per cent "heard but did not believe"; about 9 per cen of teenagers and 5 per cent of youths pleaded misunderstanding of the law as a major cause of their misdemeanors.[15] The chief aims of promoting better understanding of the law are to inculcate proper knowledge of legal norms and cultivate a stable habit of law abidance.

Bridging the gap between factual behaviour and the requirements of the law calls not only for a better understanding of the law by the public and officials, more information on valid laws, but also for a more precise formulation of legal norms so that they more closely reflect the requirements of social development and are accessible to, and understood by, broader sections of the population.

Factual behaviour and the concept of law. Efforts by a number of scholars to relate the understanding of law to reality, to communist construction, is, in the view of this author, a positive development of scientific and practical importance. One cannot but agree that "the purpose and effectiveness of the law is revealed only in its transition from the possible to the real, in the embodiment of the legally prescribed in regulated relationships".[16] A comparative analysis of normative rulings and actual behaviour enables us to reveal the strong and weak aspects of one and the same juridical institution and determine what is needed to improve its functioning. But this should not lead to lumping together different social and legal phenomena, juridical norms and factual behaviour. And yet we find this being done. For instance, some authors maintain that "factual, spontaneous" norms operate prior to their approval by the state, that "law is above all social life itself (and not its abstraction or reflection)".[17] In the opinion of another author, "the right, in the form of legal relations, precedes the emergence of the right in the form of norms".[18] Here the legal norm is equated with the text of the normative act, and law as a whole with factual behaviour. One cannot accept the contention of some authors that legal matter is never abstract. For it should be perfectly clear that every norm,

whether of law, morality or technology, is a generalisation, an abstraction. Indeed, the very concept of law, no matter what concrete meaning we put into it, is a broad generalisation. But our main objection is that if we accept that law is but "social life itself" in all its manifestations, then we erase the dividing line between the socially necessary and accidental, the socially useful and harmful, the socially just and unjust, what is sanctioned by the state and what is forbidden by it. For all these things are part of real social life. And yet law, regardless of what definition we give it, always stands opposed to lawlessness, violation of law, crime. Consequently, it must (and does) have clear-cut normatives, juridical boundaries.

As for legal relations preceding the legal norm, let us note the following. Social relations, as pointed out above, can take shape before the emergence of a norm and serve as its social source. But that hardly warrants defining these relations as legal if they are not sanctioned by the state, not protected and guaranteed by it, and if their violation is not penalised. Such loose definitions lead to lumping together legal and factual relations.

Lumping the two together can only lead to confusing the desired and the real. For if every legal norm is not only prescribed, but is "real life itself", the logical inference is that the prescribed rule is everywhere fully observed. Those who hold this view are constructing an ideal model, which in some cases corresponds, and in some does not correspond, to reality. Indeed, if the law is understood and obeyed by all who should obey it, and finds practical expression in their behaviour, then we have every right to say that the ideal has been achieved, legal norms and factual behaviour coincide. But, of course, that is not always the case. Violation of the law means that some legal norm is not being carried out, or the factual behaviour of the lawbreaker is the very opposite of what is prescribed by the legal norm. In such cases we cannot regard the legal norm as fusion of what is legally prescribed and what is observed in reality.

Attempts to identify legal norms with factual behaviour lead to an overrating of the state of law and order and of the level of law enforcement. The impression is thus given that the real law and order fully correspond to the requirements of the law. However, that situation can only come about when "people will gradually *become accustomed* to observing the elementary rules of social intercourse... They will become accustomed to observing them without force, without coercion, without subordination, *without the special apparatus* for coercion called the state".[19] The complete merger of legal norms and factual behaviour will signify the withering away of the legal superstructure.

It would be equally wrong to counterpose the two. As noted above, the aim is the continued drawing closer together of the two, and this can be achieved, on the one hand, by raising the scientific level of law-making, by fuller account of public opinion and of the spontaneously developed optimal forms of behaviour, and, on the other, by raising the political and legal culture of the population, and strengthening our socialist legality.

It is along these lines that the mechanism of Soviet law can be further improved and its social effectiveness heightened in the conditions of developed socialism.

NOTES

[1] A. S. Pigolkin, "The Legal Norm and Individual Behaviour", *Proceedings of the All-Union (Correspondence) Institute of Law*, Vol. 56, Moscow, 1978, p. 58 (in Russian).

[2] A. A. Korolkov, "The Concept of Norm in Biology and Medicine", *Philosophical Problems of Contemporary Biology*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1966, p. 78 (in Russian).

[3] A. M. Yakovlev, "Law and Objective Social Norms", *Proceedings of the All-Union Research Institute of Soviet Legislation*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1974, pp. 19-34 (in Russian).

[4] V. D. Zhukov, *The Subject of Medicine*, Moscow, 1978, p. 59 (in Russian).

[5] S. V. Bobotov, *The Bourgeois Sociology of Law*, Moscow, 1978, p. 165; M. I. Bobneva, *Social Norms and Regulation of Behaviour*, Moscow, 1978, p. 13 (both in Russian).

[6] S. S. Alexeyev, *Problems of Legal Theory*, Vol. 1, Sverdlovsk, 1973, p. 203; A. F. Cherdantsev, *Interpretation of Soviet Law*, Moscow, 1979, p. 21 (both in Russian).

[7] O. G. Drobnitsky, *The Concept of Morality*, Moscow, 1974, p. 260 (in Russian).

[8] V. D. Zorkin, *The Positive Theory of Law in Russia*, Moscow, 1978, p. 63 (in Russian).

[9] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 365.

[10] *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR*, No. 28, 1978, p. 439.

[11] Ibid., p. 436.

[12] *A Collection of the USSR Supreme Court Plenary Session Decisions, 1924-1968*, Moscow, 1969, p. 582 (in Russian).

[13] *Byulleten Verkhovnogo suda SSSR*, No. 4, 1978, p. 10.

[14] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1972, p. 49 (in Russian).

[15] K. E. Igoshev, *Juvenile Delinquency, and Responsibility of Minors*, Sverdlovsk, 1973, p. 125; Yu. D. Bluvstein, *Criminology and Mathematics*, Moscow, 1974, p. 66 (both in Russian); "The Formation of Respect for Socialist Law", *Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo*, No. 4, 1975, p. 44.

[16] D. A. Kerimov, *The USSR Constitution and the Development of Politico-Legal Theory*, Moscow, 1979, p. 173 (in Russian).

[17] G. V. Maltsev, *Social Justice and Law*, Moscow, 1978, pp. 223, 241 (in Russian).

[18] L. Ya. Gintsburg, *Socialist Labour Legal Relations*, Moscow, 1977, p. 127 (in Russian).

[19] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 25, p. 462.

* * *

The Historism of Marxism

EVGENY ZHUKOV

From the Editors: We here publish the last speech of Academician Zhukov (1907-1980) delivered at the annual meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences in March 1980 when he was presented with the Karl Marx Gold Medal.

Historism is a fundamental principle of the dialectical approach to the study of nature and society. Every phenomenon can be understood only if considered in its movement, development, in its relation with other phenomena, in the process of their reciprocal influence, with due account of the concrete situation in which these interconnected phenomena exist.

In his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, Lenin wrote that it was important for Marx "to find the law governing the phenomena he is investigating, and of particular importance to him is the law of change, the development of those phenomena, of their transition from one form into another, from one order of social relations to another.... Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intentions, but, rather, on the contrary, determining the will, consciousness and intentions of men." [1]

Historism, which in the 19th century became a distinguishing feature of scientific thought, required a genetic analysis of social phenomena—concrete study of their development stages from their very inception. (There was a certain tendency towards historism in the historical thought of the bourgeois Enlighteners, but it was substantially weakened by the abstract and rationalistic method of the Enlightenment as a whole.) Nineteenth-century historism, which found its fullest philosophical expression in Hegel's conception, could not, however, serve as the basis for

objective investigation of the process of history. In analysing each phenomenon in its development, bourgeois historism treated it as something isolated and individual. In the words of GDR historian Schleier, though the kernel of bourgeois historism was its recognition of the link between the general and the particular, it was the latter that held the attention of the researcher. Its absolutisation led to all historical phenomena being treated as unique. Bourgeois historism therefore negated the possibility of objective regularities of social development and cognition of the historical process as a whole.[2]

The transition in cognition from the concrete (empirical) to the abstract (theoretical) is always associated with an elementary understanding of the general. In characterising this necessary primary stage of cognition, Lenin noted that "the simplest *generalisation*, the first and simplest formation of *notions* (judgements, syllogisms, etc.) already denotes man's ever deeper cognition of the *objective* connection of the world".[3] The ensuing reverse process of cognition of the concrete through the prism of the general enables us to regard this concrete in more definite terms, in the light of its numerous connections and relations.

There can be no question that an element of relativity is present in every act of scientific cognition. Lenin wrote: "Dialectics—as Hegel in his time explained—*contains* an element of relativism, of negation, of scepticism, but *is not reducible* to relativism. The materialist dialectics of Marx and Engels certainly does contain relativism, but is not reducible to relativism, that is, it recognises the relativity of all our knowledge, not in the sense of denying objective truth, but in the sense that the limits of approximation of our knowledge to this truth are historically conditional."[4]

"From the standpoint of modern materialism, i.e., Marxism," Lenin noted, "the *limits* of approximation to our knowledge of objective, absolute truth are historically conditional, but the existence of such truth is *unconditional*, and the fact that we are approaching nearer to it is also unconditional."[5]

In scientific research the relativism of ultimate judgements is conditioned above all by the fact that, as a rule, the researcher cannot break out of the *a priori* schemata and notions of his time and society. Nonetheless, social progress, practical experience, and the logic of research widen his horizons. Some hypotheses that are accepted as truth are discarded as untenable and replaced by new conceptions that accord with a more correct understanding of the many properties and forms of matter in motion. The process of transition from relative to absolute knowledge is virtually endless.

"Human conceptions of space and time are relative," Lenin wrote, "but these relative conceptions go to compound absolute truth. These relative conceptions, in their development, move towards absolute truth and approach nearer and nearer to it. The mutability of human conceptions of space and time no more refutes the objective reality of space and time than the mutability of scientific knowledge of the structure and forms of matter in motion refutes the objective reality of the external world."[6]

This applies in equal measure to the study of social development. History reflects the law-governed course of social development in its concrete chronological form. The materialist understanding of history is premised on the unity of the world historical process. This means that the operation of the general regularities of social development are not confined to any one continent or region, but are of a global character. Society passes one and the same development stages regardless of its concrete forms. Passage through the same stages does not coincide chronologically due to the variety of conditions in which this process takes place, but the general direction is, in the final analysis, the same.

Fundamental differences in time and place, the material conditions in which the given society functions, often change not only the form in which these common regularities manifest themselves, but also the eventual strengthening or weakening of their effect. And so, the historical process, influenced by aggregate of regularities, is not in some mystical way predetermined.

The concept of the unity of world historical process is based on the primacy of social man's productive activity which, in turn, is determined by the state and development of the material productive forces. Changes in these are of a revolutionary character and are followed by changes in the mode of production, i.e., determine such far-reaching changes in the life of society that act as the motive force of its development.

Marx wrote in *The German Ideology:* "History is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, each of which exploits the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations, and thus, on the one hand, continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances and, on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity."[7] In another work Marx remarks that "the new productive forces and production relations do not develop from nothing, out of thin air, out of a self-imposed idea; they develop from within, in the struggle between the development of production and the inherited, traditional property relations".[8]

The revolutionising role of the productive forces is not belittled by the fact that their development, notably the pace of their movement, is influenced by the production relations dependent upon them, and by the forms of organisation of society. Marx

explained this in a letter to Annenkov: "What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal actions. Are men free to choose this or that form of society? By no means." [9]

And so, economic determinism, a key component of the Marxist perception of the world, is the theoretical foundation for recognising the unity of the world historical process. The laws of social development are an expression of the objective, *economically determined direction in which society moves.* These laws are not dependent on men's will and cannot be established or repealed at will, and as they point only to the general direction of society's movement, they do not extend to every aspect of its life and activity. As Lenin noted, every sociological law "is narrow, incomplete, approximate". [10] The fallacy of the metaphysical, formal-logical interpretation of the law of social development by the opponents of Marxism should therefore be perfectly clear. Laws operate not of their own, but only through social activity, which can either accelerate or decelerate their operation, or even temporarily contradict the prevalent trend of social development as expressed in the law. The experience of history tells us that the forward movement of mankind often follows a zigzag course, and that there are also retreats at definite times and in definite circumstances. This underscores the important part in history played by the progressive social forces which more accurately reflect the needs of their time, the concrete historical epoch. Their activity helps to bring out the general sociological and historical laws that accord with the dominant trend.

The multiformity of social phenomena is a reality and it is not repealed by the laws of social development.

Opponents of Marxism deny the existence of objective laws governing social development, arguing that the multiformity and variety of the concrete forms of that development do not lend themselves to regulation. Their main criticism is that there is no such thing as laws in social relations, that historical development precludes the very possibility of identical or coinciding situations and, hence, we cannot deduce objective regularities in the life of society, as distinct from nature where such laws exist. It should be noted, incidentally, that unique and distinctive events and phenomena are not exclusive to social development. In nature, too, there is a vast variety of non-recurrent phenomena, which nonetheless are subject to objective laws.

Most present-day opponents of Marxism reject the very idea of objective regularities in the historical process. To build up their case, they deliberately vulgarise and falsify the concept of economic determinism, present it as operating automatically, to the total exclusion of man's intelligent constructive activity.

They reduce economic determinism to an absurdity, and allege that materialism treats history as an arrow-straight and one-colour process. This only shows that these critics abhor dialectics. For the essence of economic determinism is that man's free will is limited by socio-economic and also natural conditions. Man cannot go beyond the existing level of society's material possibilities or of his own social milieu. Should he choose a wrong course, it will, ultimately, be set right by factors independent of his will. And this will be the resultant operation of economic determinism of social development. Naturally, this can lead not only to deceleration, but also to temporary retreat in society's forward movement.

If the choice of one's goal and the means of attaining it are based on knowledge of reality, on an understanding of the dominant trend of social development (its regularities), then that choice will prove successful. In this case freedom will really be a realised necessity. "Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class." [11]

"Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will according to a collective plan or even in a definite, delimited given society. Their aspirations clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by *necessity,* the complement and form of appearance of which is *accident.* The necessity which here asserts itself athwart all accident is again ultimately economic necessity." [12]

In disclosing the form in which economic determinism manifests itself, Engels explains: "The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag. But if you plot the average axis of the curve, you will find that this axis will run more and more nearly parallel to the axis of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with." [13]

Men freely choose their goals and the means of their attainment. And the choice is made from a multitude of opportunities. Consequently, the choice belongs in the category of the accidental (though in each concrete case it is determined by one cause or another of an objective and subjective nature). The choice may be right or wrong. If it is wrong, the goal will not be attained. That directly influences the process of history and might

be accompanied by major, or even tragic, consequences for one or another category of people.

Marx noted that "world history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances. It would on the other hand be of a very mystical nature, if 'accidents' played no part. These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such 'accidents', including the 'accident' of the character of the people who first head the movement." [14]

The activities of *progressive* social forces—classes, parties and individuals—that correspond to the requirements of society's forward movement are the subjective aspect of the historical process and become the expression of its objective, law-governed trends.

Both as a dialectical materialist perception of the world and as a general theory of development in nature and society, Marxism is comparatively young—its history goes back little more than a century. Its enemies are fond of describing Marxism as a collection of dogmas existing outside of time and space and therefore constraining the free development of creative thought. That has absolutely nothing in common with reality. The very fact that Marxism emerged in the middle of the 19th century, when a new revolutionary class, the proletariat, became the central figure of the epoch, gives the lie to these assertions. Referring to the three sources and three component parts of Marxism, i.e., its origin, Lenin emphasised that "there is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away from* the highroad of the development of world civilisation". [15] Marxism arose as the direct continuation and development of the achievements of progressive social thought. Philosophical materialism was enriched by dialectics, i.e., the teaching of development in its fullest, deepest form and free of all one-sidedness. So momentous an achievement as Marx's discovery of historical materialism provided, for the first time, an understanding of the objective laws of society's progressive, forward movement. Marxist theory, Lenin said, is not something fully complete and inviolable, it only laid the cornerstone for the revolutionary doctrine which Marxists must develop in all directions. [16] Marxism never remains unchanged. It is developed and enriched by the experience of the working-class revolutionary struggle, the activities of the international communist movement and the achievements of progressive social thought.

Marx regarded his teaching merely as a method. "It does not provide ready-made dogmas, but criteria for further research and

the method *for* this research." [17] Marxism demands of the researcher complete objectivity, but it also arms him with dialectics, enabling him to find reliable criteria in his research, helps him to follow the correct path in the labyrinth of processes and phenomena. It is the task of the historian to disclose the often deeply hidden regularities in the development of a given society, single them out from the mass of "accidents", reveal the specific forms in which a given regularity or its derivatives manifest themselves. The dialectical link between the general, the particular, and the individual allows one to see in the particular, which reflects local or temporary specifics, the general which, in the final analysis, reveals the objective qualitative characteristics of the historical process.

There is the evidence of history that the battle of opposite social forces over a certain period can proceed with alternating success. The law-governed trends are here opposed by objective counter-trends expressing the inertia of the past that will not voluntarily give way to the new.

It should be emphasised that not only theoretical considerations, but also study of the historical process, provide an objective basis for an optimistic assessment of the future.

The regularities of social development operating throughout the history of society show that society is in constant forward movement.

The objective laws of social development allow for safe prognostication of the historical process. Mankind's past presents itself not as an amorphous conglomeration of isolated facts and events, but rather as an explainable forward movement, highly complex in its internal contradictoriness. We can thus build a bridge from the past to the present and see today as the continuation of yesterday. And so, history as a science can go beyond the strictly delimited framework that separates it from reality and take its place among the disciplines that contribute to social thought and activity and make for a closer understanding both of our present and of our future.

The present stage of communist and socialist construction in the world's progressive countries has brought to the fore a combination of hitherto unknown economic, political, social and cultural problems and phenomena posed by the building of the new world. This makes it possible to reveal the regularities of mature socialist society expressive of its specific nature, regularities inseparably linked with earlier, more general sociological laws.

It needs hardly be proved that this approach is of special, crucial perhaps, importance for our age when the communist formation, standing opposed to capitalism, and though still in its initial stage, is successfully developing in conditions of the

constantly growing role of the subjective factor, which, operating on the basis of objective regularities, has become a tremendous transforming force.

Society is not in a state of inertia. Only its own activity, only the results of its internal struggle, bring to reality the objective trends of development determined by expansion of its material productive forces. That is why the materialist understanding of history is wholly alien to vulgar mechanicism. The laws of social development are hewing a way for themselves and triumph, often to different degrees, faster or slower, in one or another historical period, but in all cases dependent upon the activities of the real makers of history, the masses.

NOTES

1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 1, p. 166.
2 *Referativny zhurnal,* "History" Series, No. 2, Moscow, 1973, p. 18.
3 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 38, p. 179.
4 Ibid., Vol. 14, p. 137.
5 Ibid., p. 136.
6 Ibid., p. 175.
7 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology,* Moscow, 1968, p. 60.
8 K. Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie,* Berlin, 1953, p. 189.
9 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 518.
10 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 38, p. 151.
11 Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 36.
12 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 503.
13 Ibid., pp. 503-504.
14 Ibid., Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 421.
15 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, p. 23.
16 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 212.
17 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 3, p. 506.

The Philosophy of Global Problems

IVAN FROLOV

With their dangerous implications for mankind, the series of crises of the past few decades have focused scientific and public attention on the world's pressing problems. They are usually termed global problems, for they affect all countries and can be solved only by their worldwide concerted efforts. The problems are variously catalogued, but every list includes the following: prevention of a world thermonuclear war and an end to the arms race; favourable conditions for social development and economic growth; rational and comprehensive use of natural resources; solution of the energy and food problems; protection of the environment; an active demographic policy; development of international cooperation in scientific research and use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of the peoples (elimination of dangerous and widespread diseases, exploration of outer space and the World Ocean, etc.); progress in education, culture, etc. These and other cardinal problems of our age should be seen in their dialectical interconnection with basic social processes in this age of transition from capitalism to socialism. And largely concentrated in them are the contradictions and complexities of the social and spiritual development of our civilisation and its future. That is why global problems have become the subject of fundamental scientific and philosophical investigation, of sharp ideological struggle and clashes of philosophies.

Marxists have a part in the discussion of these problems, often initiating a new approach to their theoretical, practical and political implications. In fact, global problems figure in policy

statements of the Communist and workers' parties. They are widely discussed in the Soviet press, particularly in the journals *Problems of Philosophy* and *The World Economy and International Relations,* and in the works of Marxist scholars of various countries (E. Arab-Ogly, J. Gvishiani, V. Zagladin, N. Inozemtsev, P. Kapitsa, R. Richta, R. Steigerwald, E. Fedorov, P. Fedoseyev, V. Engelgardt, and others). The Marxist-Leninist concept of global problems rests on a scientific and social approach. This concept has been enriched and creatively developed in recent years, notably in the 1970s, and exerts a definite influence on world "globalistics", in many cases serving as the theoretical foundation for an international strategy of practical short-term and long-term solutions.

A heuristic part is played here also by scientific philosophy which: 1) devises the methodology and elaborates the philosophical aspects of global problems, facilitating, above all, a creative *approach* to their solution; 2) studies the scientific and social *ways* of their solution through a *comprehensive systems* approach, integration of research in different fields, and stimulation of *discussion* and dialogue; 3) focuses attention on the *humanistic* aspects of global problems, establishes their conceptual link with the overall trends of progressive development, both in the material and, more especially, spiritual spheres, including science, culture, ideology and ethics.

THE ESSENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS: SYSTEMS APPROACH

The Marxist approach, based, as it is, on a dialectical and materialist vision of the world and its cognition, enables the researcher to disclose the essence and significance of global problems, with all their intrinsic contradictions, their link and interaction with the basic realities of modern society. Unlike the bourgeois-reformist conception, which as a rule is premised on the belief that global problems are of a "supra-class", "supra-social", and "supra-national" character, the Marxist-Leninist conception is based on an analysis of the dialectical interconnection of the general and the particular, the international (and in this sense, global) and the national, the universal and class aspects of world development. The Marxist approach to the essence and significance of global problems takes into account the characteristic features of world development today in the economic sphere, social and political relations, spiritual development, etc., all of which are determined by the objective processes of *internationalising* production and all social life, which have assumed unprecedented dimensions as a result of the scientific and technological

revolution. It is these processes, experts believe, that have given old and new problems global scope.

In working out practical solutions of global problems, Marxists treat these problems in their dialectical interdependence, take into account their *systems* character and their *development* in the historical perspective which sets the pattern of mankind's future. Marxist methodology proceeds from the thesis that global problems, which in their totality form a dialectically developing system, have reached a certain stage of subordination to, and dependence on, the type of cause-and-effect relations that exist between them in reality. The latter circumstance determines also the degree of their acuteness and the priorities of their solution.

From this standpoint we can, I think, single out the following groups of global problems, the character and solution of which are linked with:

— relations between the main social communities of our time (socio-economic systems and the states belonging to them), which could be designated as "inter-social" (this includes the problems of peace and disarmament, social development and economic growth);

— the "man-nature" relationship (resources, energy, food, environment problems). This group, however, is not isolated from social factors, which have to be taken into account in order to understand and solve these problems correctly;

— the "man-society" relationship (problems of scientific and technological progress, education and culture, population growth, health, man's development and adaptation, his future). These relations are of a markedly social character, but in many respects are individualised or personified. At the same time, many purely social global problems, notably of the first group, largely depend on a variety of natural factors, and this brings them together in an *organically integrated system* of dialectically interconnected problems.

The general requisite for mankind's existence and solution of the whole system of global problems of the present and future consists in *peace and disarmament.* That is the main concern of mankind, especially today when its very existence is in jeopardy. A world war at the present stage of missile and nuclear technology must be prevented, for it could destroy everything living on earth and turn our planet into a lifeless cosmic body contaminated by radioactive fallout.

Mankind is at the crossroads. Its only choice can be the idea of "eternal peace", the dream of thinkers throughout the history of our civilisation. There is no alternative, and there is only one way, detente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

United Nations figures put world military expenditure at 150 per cent more than what is spent on public health and 50 per cent more than on education. Yet if most of this money were invested in peaceful endeavours, this would, expert estimates show, raise annual economic growth rates by as much as 2 per cent. Also these figures: it would require only from 8 to 10 per cent of world military expenditure to wipe out hunger, disease and illiteracy. A peaceful secure future for the whole of mankind would relieve it of the terrible burden of arms-building and would help solve many pressing problems. Disarmament, therefore, is not only an imperative of our age, but also a towering global problem the solution of which would, in the final analysis, help solve all other global problems.

What socialism needs most of all is peaceful and constructive activity for the benefit of people, their free and allround development, the key to which lies in social progress. Hence, the *social development* of countries and peoples in conditions of peace and disarmament, including the transition from capitalism to socialism, overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past, bridging the gap between developed and developing countries—these make up still another global problem that will continue to confront mankind for a long time to come. And closely associated with this problem in a cause-effect relationship of dependence, is also the problem of *economic growth.*

The gap between developing and industrial countries is widening: in 1950 per capita GNP in developing countries averaged $140, one-eleventh of the figure for the West ($1,570), in 1977 developing countries advanced to $280, but this was less than a twelfth of the West's figure ($3,500). Expert estimates predict that 78 per cent of the world's population will, by the end of the century, be concentrated in the poorer regions, as against 68 per cent in 1950. The latest estimate of the International Labour Organisation shows that up to 40 per cent of the total able-bodied population of developing countries are fully or partially unemployed. And this despite the fact that these countries account for about 60 per cent of known natural resources, 70 per cent of farmland and 66 per cent of the employable population. Yet these countries produce only 7 per cent of world industrial output and 30 per cent of agricultural output. Furthermore, the capitalist world economy has a built-in instability trend and is subject to recessions and crises, despite all the anti-crisis measures of recent years. It can therefore be predicted that the problems of jobs, unemployment and unequal development will become more acute as time goes on and will further exacerbate contradictions between the imperialist powers and between developed and developing countries.[1]

All this raises new problems. They are not confined to national and regional economic systems but affect the world economy as a whole. For regardless of the specific functions of its basic components, stemming from the different social systems, there are constantly increasing contradictory interconnections and interdependencies. The emergence of a world economy follows naturally from the international division of labour, internationalisation of production, the appearance of a world market. And the world economy is being formed through closer interdependence of national economies of the same type of social system, and their wider interaction with countries belonging to the opposite system. In this context there is much discussion of the problem of international economic intercourse based on equality, mutual advantage and democratisation of the world economic order.

Marxists welcome all proposals and actions that contribute to the progressive development of the world economy on democratic and equitable principles. For, in the long term the objective historical development process of internationalisation leads to communism. In analysing the tendency towards economic internationalisation, the conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the fulfilment of its historic mission, Marx and Engels wrote that the existence of "the mass of propertyless workers...no longer merely temporarily deprived of work itself as a secure source of life presupposes the *world market* through competition. The proletariat can thus only exist *world-historically,* just as communism, its activity, can only have a 'world-historical' existence".[2]

Developing that thought, Lenin noted "that there is 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]

Marxists hold that the national is not dissolved in the international, but is dialectically complemented by it. An economic community of the whole of mankind is being formed as a complementary element to national economic communities. At the same time economic internationalisation can serve mankind only if there is equal cooperation between all countries and peoples. That will make possible gradual solution of global problems, above all the problems of peace and disarmament, social development and economic growth.

It would not be difficult to see that all these problems are interconnected. However, as pointed out above, they form only a sub-system of a much more complex hierarchy of problems that determine the functioning of all other sub-systems, in particular

those based on the "man-nature" relationship. The problems in this group have a different effect on countries and regions and on mankind as a whole. However, depending on the acuteness of some problems and the priorities in resolving them on a national and global scale, the situation in this group may change considerably by the year 2000.

This should be evident in examining, say, the *problem of natural resources,* upon the solution of which economic growth, social development and, indeed, the very future of mankind, largely depend. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that our traditional natural sources of energy are now reaching exhaustion point. The need, therefore, is to find new natural mineral and energy sources and use them to maximum effect. This, in turn, depends on the level of science and technology, which is determined by social factors, on relations between the states producing and consuming natural resources. In short, the problem goes beyond natural science and technology, for a number of social, economic and political factors are involved.

This should be evident in examining the *energy problem.* Economic growth, sustained largely by availability of energy, has led to a situation in which output of all types of energy has reached truly colossal dimensions—from 2.7 billion tons of conventional fuel in 1950, to 9.0 billion in 1975, an increase of 230 per cent, and the estimate for the year 2000 is in the neighbourhood of 20 billion tons. This has put energy at the top of pressing global problems.

This problem has grown in acuteness in the socialist world, too, and in some countries prices on certain types of fuel have increased. But here the problem is being solved on an entirely different basis than in capitalist countries. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in particular, is handling this problem on the basis of mutual and advantageous cooperation between all its members in a uniform energy programme. Accelerated development of nuclear energy is a key direction in solving this problem under socialism.[4]

Much the same applies to the problem of energy resources for the human organism, i.e., the problem of the world's *food supply* (16 per cent of the world's population are underfed—3 per cent in the developed, and 25 per cent in the developing countries). To feed the projected population in the year 2000, grain output will have to be at least doubled. And if we consider the need to abolish malnutrition, food output in the next 20-25 years will have to be trebled. Some Western specialists attribute the food problem to natural causes (population increasing faster than food supply, shortage of suitable farmland, diminishing returns, etc.) and also to the technological backwardness of the developing countries.

This does not take into account income differentials, or food consumption by the different social strata in the developed and developing countries. Actually, the food shortage is not absolute, but relative, and its causes are not "natural" or technological, but mainly, I think, should be sought in the social and economic factors that inhibit the use of modern farming methods. Suffice it to say that the world is now producing only from 3 to 4 per cent of the farm output it could produce given more effective use of modern science and technology in all countries

The *ecological* problem, now sharply posed, is likewise of a social nature. It is closely linked by a cause-and-effect relationship with the problems of economic growth, scientific and technological progress, natural resources, energy, and food. In fact, the environment problem in many cases dominates all others, at any rate in the public mind. And that is understandable, for the disturbing facts are obvious and understood by everyone But not everyone understands their social implications, and that the problem can be solved only by a combination of fundamental social and cultural, economic and production, scientific and technical, and axiological changes to remove the dangerous imbalance in the "man-nature" relationship.

This applies in equal measure to global problems in the "man-society" relationship. As a rule, they are concentrated around the social and humanistic aspects of scientific and technological progress, which in many ways determines both the general development of our civilisation and, in particular, the main trends in *education* on which such progress depends. We associate great hopes with advance in science and education. But these hopes will not come true if science and education are denied a favourable social milieu. Only the prospect of communism, in my view, gives a humanistic direction to scientific and technological progress and culture, which today follows different directions due to the operation of many class-antagonistic factors, but which in the future could form a single stream.

Many other problems beset mankind on the road to the future. Among them is *population growth,* accelerated demographic processes. And these are measurable in figures: in April 1979, the world's population stood at 4,336 million, up from 4,255 million in 1978; and though world population growth has somewhat declined in recent years, by the year 2000 it will have increased by 2,260 million, or by 50 per cent, to reach a total of 6,350 million. In other words, the last 25 years of this century will see the world's population increase by a figure equal to the increase over the first 1950 years of our era. Nearly 90 per cent of the world's inhabitants are in the developing countries, where the population is expected to grow four times faster than in the developed

countries. This has prompted many experts to advocate a more active and effective demographic policy, which is likewise determined by general socio-economic processes, the specifics of the social system of a given country, its dominant ideology, traditions.

In dealing with this global problem, we are particularly conscious of the fact that the destiny of mankind is inseparable from the destiny of each individual. What future awaits man, and what are his prospects within the complex processes in the socio-economic natural, biological and cultural spheres? How does all this interact with the totality of global problems and the directions in which solutions are sought?

The problem of man and his future is, I believe, the focal point of the whole system of global problems, for all of them in one way or another are linked with this one. But, at the same time, in a certain sense we are dealing with an independent global problem that can be examined at least in two aspects:

1) man's biological future as a species of *Homo sapiens;*

2) the future of man as a unique and creatively active individuality, whose development is determined not only by material and spiritual conditions, but also by a definite set of social ideals.[5]

Of course, the biological future of man and mankind can only relatively be treated as an independent problem, in isolation from social factors. More, its links with biological and social factors constitute an old and complex problem, the solution of which depends to a great extent on our understanding of the essence of man and, consequently, on the direction of his development in the historical perspective. We cannot, therefore, regard as positive any tendency to isolate one or another sphere of human activity from its general social context. For, essentially, such tendencies are the continuation of the biological, evolutionary-genetic approaches, and share a common naturalistic foundation. Extrapolation into a qualitatively other sphere of human activity—for all its scientific origins—becomes anti-scientific. This becomes especially clear when dealing with man's biological adaptation to present-day conditions, when we encounter projects for "evolving", through genetic engineering, an ideal type of person fully adapted to modern conditions. Proposals of this kind come, in particular, from neo-eugenics.

It would be wrong, however, to maintain that biological factors do not play an independent role in man's present and future. On the contrary, they are often of major importance and can modify, even transform the social atmosphere of the individual; one has to be blind not to see this. That is why the *problem of public health* is today one of the most acute of all. Figures issued by the World Health Organisation show that over one billion, or about

one-fourth of the world's population, live in unsatisfactory conditions. More than 18 million children die every year before reaching the age of 5, more than 95 per cent of them in the developing countries. The number of children who become full or partial invalids due to brain lesions, deafness, stunted growth, etc., is twice as large as in developed countries. This lends a global character to the struggle to eliminate dangerous epidemic, contagious and parasitic diseases, prevention and treatment of cancer and cardiovascular diseases, genetic defects and disorders of genetic origin.

Forecasts of man's biological future must take into account the pressing problems of public health. Several complex problems have to be reckoned with, and they can be effectively dealt with only in the context of the social factors affecting man's development. For it is in the social phase of his evolution that man, in the words of Soviet Academician Astaurov, will acquire his new appelation: intelligent and humane being *(Homo sapiens et humanus).*

Such is the picture of the system of global problems, their essence and significance in the world we live in. The need obviously is to work out the strategy and methods of their solution, and determine the reverse influence they exert on all aspects of modern life.

STRATEGY AND METHODS OF SOLVING GLOBAL PROBLEMS: UNITY OF SCIENTIFIC, SOCIAL AND HUMANISTIC APPROACHES; ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Analysis has shown that the development trends of the aggregate of global problems and the prospect of their conclusive solution coincide with the general tendencies and perspectives of the development of mankind. More, the two are *interdetermined* and coincide with the comprehensive, all-embracing progress of civilisation, from its material requisites to culture and ethics. We regard this progress in the context of building communist society, with its genuinely humane relations and its release of all the inherent abilities of man, embodied in the communist ideal of an allround and harmoniously developed personality.

The future awaiting man is magnificent, but only if his inherent intelligence and humanity triumph and guide him. On the other hand, there is no end to the calamities that await man and mankind if the forces of evil and destruction triumph. That is why an analysis of alternative global development inspires in one not only historical optimism, but also, unfortunately, justified concern, doubt and alarm. This should not discourage us, but rather spur us to *action,* for only purposeful action in solving the

social, scientific, technical and humanistic aspects of global problems will bring us to our desired goals.

Nowadays there is no dearth of "projections into the future", all of which are in one or another way tied to the solution of global problems. Those that are not oriented on the communist future, but on the continuation (albeit in modified form) of capitalist relations are, I believe, doomed to failure. For they are premised not on an objective scientific analysis but on a priori acceptance of the ideological apologetics of capitalism. And though these conceptions can change with the change of the political situation, they are based on the egoism and selfish interests of world capital, with its propensity for global expansionism and hegemonism.

The humanistic theme in all these disquisitions about the future of the world, seen in the light of its global problems, enjoys a good deal of popularity in the West. Pope John Paul II, in his very first Encyclical, *Redemtor hominis* (Saviour of Man), urged the Church to respond sympathetically to the humane ideals present in every man and woman and centre its influence on "concrete and historic man" and on the vicissitudes of mankind. As we approach the close of this second millennium it is necessary, the Pope believes, to establish what makes man a prey to fear, why he is subjected to the many dangers stemming from the results of his own labours, in the material and spiritual fields. One should not expect Pope John Paul II to name the socio-political causes: he only records that the financial, monetary, production and commercial structures and mechanisms of the world economy cannot moderate, let alone eliminate the social injustice inherited from the past, nor provide answers to the pressing problems and ethical demands of the present. Referring to the danger of contaminating our environment, or the continuation and outbreak of armed conflicts, the danger of universal annihilation by use of atomic, hydrogen, neutron bombs and other mass-destruction weapons, the Pope calls for efforts to end this tragedy which has produced inflation, unemployment and the decline of morality. But how to achieve this in the future? The Pope's answer is a hazy one: he suggests that the principles of solidarity should be a source of inspiration in devising the most suitable institutions and mechanisms, achieving rational and just planning, transforming the very foundations of economic life, which will lead to the transformation of the mind and the soul.

More articulate answers have come from bourgeois-reformist "globalists". Many are social utopias premised on technocratic optimism. All have one and the same purpose: ward off the socialist alternative, prove that capitalism can get its "second wind" and prolong its existence.

Much more sophisticated answers have come from the Club of Rome. One of its latest studies is devoted entirely to the problem of man. It does not directly take up the question of whether capitalism has a future, but in one way or another, and in different degrees, in line with the objective logic of prognostication, the answer is often negative, both for the whole of the system and for some of its essential traits. But even in these global forecasts—whose many merits we do not overlook—the analysis often deviates from the concrete social and economic sources and causes of crisis developments and does not therefore indicate the social and political conditions and measures needed to remove them. These are different and, often diametrically opposite, under capitalism and socialism. They rely mainly on changing consciousness, ethics and the emergence of a "globalised" world view, of a new "world consciousness", "global ethos", etc. In the latest reports of the Club of Rome this is carried to extremes and, in effect, the very solution of global problems and, consequently, the future of mankind, are made directly dependent on a changed "human quality", that is, of man's humanistic aims, consciousness and morality.

This approach stands out most clearly in the seventh report of the Club of Rome and in the book of its President, A. Peccei, *The Human Quality*. Having shifted his solution to the anthropological field—the changed human quality—he believes that it can be changed only by the "new humanism",[6] with its three central aspects: global character, which, he points out, is the "very essence of our world", love of justice, and abhorrence of violence. But how will all this be achieved? Peccei has no answer, and that is the essential flaw of his discussion of the new humanism. But the very suggestion that a *new* humanism is necessary is expressive of a certain dissatisfaction with the existing, *bourgeois* species, and this, doubtlessly, is a step forward. But it will need further steps to realise that the new humanism, one that accords with the new, contemporary conditions of life, can only be scientific humanism which, already in the middle of the last century, was proclaimed by Marx and has since then developed in close association with existing socialism, in accordance with the general regularities of world development, including those that operate in the solution of global problems. The new humanism, therefore, is not only scientific, but *real,* for it relies on the practical action that brings to reality the great humanistic ideas, the "universal compassion" (Dostoyevsky) as the antithesis of egoism and fanaticism in all its forms.

The new humanism of Marxism, which originated as a class humanism, has from the very outset embraced the idea of the world community of mankind which will be brought to full

realisation in the future communist society. That humanism rests on what we today call the global approach and translates it into concrete policies that take account of the existence of socialism and capitalism, the need for deep-going socio-economic, scientific, technical and cultural changes in building the new civilisation. Guided by the communist ideal of society and man as the ultimate aims of history, the new humanism presupposes scientifically guided activity by society and its members in attaining its immediate and long-term goals. This, in turn, presupposes a constant striving for change, including radical, revolutionary change which should always be consonant with society's aims. The new humanism proceeds from the premise that achievement of these aims is possible only in conditions of democracy and freedom—of inestimable value in themselves—and that human progress is inconceivable without them. The new humanism is characterised also by its striving for social justice and altruism, compassion and a sense of responsibility, a striving for the new and respect for man's past and present, appreciation of the beautiful and veneration of life, as Albert Schweitzer so poetically put it.

The development of the new humanism is closely associated with solution of the entire complex of social problems; that solution is, in a way, an essential prerequisite for mankind's march into the future, and one should wish and hope that it will be guided by the principles of the new humanism.

But it is not enough to wish and hope. There has to be effective and coordinated action on the individual and societal level to translate our wishes and hopes into worldwide reality. No time should be lost, for procrastination is fraught with inescapable dangers to mankind's future. The scientist has an important part to play, and not only in devising theoretical solutions of global problems, but also in devising global models of the world's future, thereby facilitating the assertion of the new humanism.

Global modelling, in addition, will help to concert the efforts of many sciences, natural and social, thereby providing new "starting points" for the growth of our knowledge and for rethinking some fundamental philosophical problems of human development.

Proposals and activities directly connected with concrete scientific and social programmes for solution of global problems, improvement of existing methods of applying strategic schemes and conceptions, can today produce much more tangible and practical results. This work, too, has its own philosophy and it would be wrong to contrast it to the more general philosophical problems, for in this narrower sphere there are highly complex processes of interaction of differing types of consciousness and

value judgements, all of which are important for philosophical analysis.

As scientific and social thought gain a better understanding of the essence and significance of global problems, it becomes ever more clear that their solution in conditions of peaceful coexistence requires international cooperation. This, of course, depends to a considerable degree on the efforts of states, governments and peoples. But all efforts have to be coordinated to produce an effective unity of economic and scientific potentials, and that is feasible only given international cooperation. The development of such cooperation is envisaged in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference at which the Soviet Union proposed, in particular, a series of European conferences on cooperation in environmental protection, transport and energy. In pursuance of that proposal, the first such conference on international cooperation in environmental protection met in Geneva in November 1979 under the aegis of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. Representatives of European countries, the United States and Canada discussed and approved three important documents: a convention and resolution on transfrontier air pollution, a declaration on wasteless technology and the use of byproducts.

The effect of this approach to the practical solution of global problems makes perfectly clear the value of scientific and technical cooperation. Today practically no country can independently tackle all necessary scientific research. Most countries cannot afford major scientific projects (for example, space exploration, experimental research into nuclear physics with the use of costly technology). The only way out is international contacts and cooperation. In other words, as the problems facing mankind assume an international character, their solution must likewise be of an international character. Not so long ago scientific and technical cooperation did not figure in world politics; today it holds an important place, and, here too, the socialist countries are in the vanguard. They are constantly extending their contacts in science and technology, concluding agreements on joint research, exchange of scientific information, particularly on solution of global problems.

Regardless of how the concrete political situation in the world changes in one or another period, it should be clear that international cooperation in solving global problems must always be manifold and extensive.

International cooperation is organically woven into the fabric of the worldwide class struggle between capitalism and socialism and the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the two systems. This socio-historical fact determines not only the prospects and strategy, but also the concrete methods of solving global

problems and the priority and character of their solution in the context of the social conditions of our time. And though international cooperation can, at this time, only help towards a *partial* solution of global problems, and to a differing degree in relation to each of them, it is exerting a deep positive influence on the entire course of world development, stimulating the process of internationalisation, which in the future will become the very basis of the new civilisation. Global problems are today the most powerful *stimulating factor* in the development of the world's material and spiritual life towards communism.

Such (in general outline and basic features) is the scientific philosophy of global problems which, in world outlook and methodology, orients them towards their dialectical investigation from positions of the systems-historical approach and brings out their essence and the truly epochal significance which their solution in the social, scientific, technical and humanistic spheres will have in the long term.

NOTES

1 N. Inozemtsev, "Capitalism Over the Next Two Decades", *World Marxist Review*, No. 10, 1979.

2 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 48.

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

4 A. Alexandrov, "Scientific and Technological Progress and Nuclear Power Engineering", *World Marxist Review*, No. 6, 1979.

5 The author essayed a more detailed examination of these aspects of man and his future in the book *Man's Perspectives (Comprehensive Presentation of the Problem, Discussion, Generalisation)*, Moscow, 1979 (in Russian).

6 A. Peccei, *The Human Quality*, Oxford, 1977, p. 130.

New Trends in the Development of State-Monopoly Capitalism

ABRAM MILEIKOVSKY

The 25th Congress of the CPSU noted that bourgeois society, though in the throes of the general crisis of capitalism and with no future, still had substantial reserves.[1] One of these is the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation of economic and social relations in industrialised countries. In the 1950s and 1960s, this contributed to the high growth rates in Western Europe, Japan and the United States. But in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it became clear that state intervention in the economy and the existing system of regulation had only drastically aggravated the contradictions of capitalist reproduction.

* * *

New developments in state-monopoly capitalism in the 1970s can be correctly understood and assessed only if examined in the light of the fundamental laws of capitalist development, disclosed by Marxist-Leninist theory and fully corroborated by the course of history.

Reference is, above all, to the basic law of correspondence between production relations and productive forces. The haphazard development of capitalism's productive forces has everywhere had a devastating effect on its production relations. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the conflict between the growing productive forces and the inhibited production relations has found expression in the unfolding of the world revolutionary process and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The 1970s demonstrated the dual nature of capitalism, which Marx, Engels and Lenin described as the last exploitative formation. Capitalism's ability to create a gigantic production potential is matched by its ability to create an equally gigantic devastating force that is depriving the peoples not only of much of their accumulated wealth, but is placing in question the very survival of the human race. Objectively progressive development of the productive forces, which makes capitalism the forerunner of a much higher social formation, is now more than ever accompanied by ultra-reactionary tendencies that are undermining the very foundations of society. One expression of that is the abuse, to the detriment of mankind, of the great achievements of science and technology.

By its uncontrolled boosting of production, subject only to the law of surplus value, world capitalism has upset the balance between society and nature, precipitating an ecological crisis that is destroying man's natural environment. Capitalism is responsible also for the direct threat to mankind of the mounting stockpiles of thermo-nuclear and other weapons capable of wiping out all life on earth several times over. Throughout the postwar years, the imperialist powers have been engaging in an unprecedented arms drive, in an attempt—through this race and the cold war—to regain their lost positions.

But capitalism has not been able to turn back the clock of history.

In the course of the competition and confrontation between capitalism and socialism going on in the only possible conditions, those of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Soviet Union, applying all the advantages of a planned economy, was able, in the early 1970s, to achieve military parity with the USA despite its more limited economic resources.

This change in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism and social progress was facilitated by the 1974-1975 cyclical economic crisis, which was intertwined with structural crises in the capitalist world economy (energy, monetary, ecological, food, etc.) and by continued victories of the working-class and national liberation movements (collapse of fascist regimes in Western Europe, national-democratic revolutions in a number of developing countries).

The battle of the newly independent countries for economic independence and social reform created serious obstacles to imperialist expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America. With imperialism ruling supreme in the world, Lenin noted, all countries dependent on it were links in the world capitalist economy. At the present stage of the world capitalist crisis, with the newly liberated countries unable to resolve their fundamental

social and economic problems within the world capitalist economy, and the industrial capitalist countries unable to resolve the problem of markets and employment without expanding their economic ties with the socialist lands, we can more clearly see the new regularities of the world economy. Nearly all countries are being drawn into world-wide economic ties. This process is facilitated, in addition to the factors mentioned above, by the scientific and technological revolution which has given rise to hitherto unknown forms of international division of labour, stemming from mastery of outer space and the World Ocean, and from joint efforts to preserve the Earth's ecological and geophysical balance.

And so, the trend towards a global economy, characteristic of the transition period from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, is dictated by the objective economic law of the production relations corresponding to the nature of productive forces, which have qualitatively altered by the global scientific and technological revolution that is still in its initial stage.

No capitalist state, no matter how big, can now hope to secure world hegemony. In its confrontation with the new social system, state-monopoly capitalism is therefore employing new forms and methods to consolidate its forces in the struggle against the forces of social progress. Hence its repeated attempts to create an international system of state-monopoly economic regulation.

World imperialist expansion is no longer powered by individual countries and their coalitions alone, but increasingly by internationally intertwined monopoly capital, united as it is through the medium of supranational inter-state and private monopoly agreements. Alongside groupings of states with their "common markets", international monopolies are becoming subjects of imperialist world policy, pursue their own strategy and have support bases in dozens of countries.

Postwar centralisation processes in the world capitalist economy have found expression also in the founding of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the European Economic Community. The 1970s saw a noticeable enhancement of their role.

Other new international institutions include regular summit conferences of leading capitalist countries, and informal organisations of representatives of monopoly capital and leading statesmen. One of these, the Tripartite Commission, founded in 1973 by David Rockefeller, is made up of top businessmen and political leaders from the US, Western Europe and Japan. It is one of the institutions that set the basic directions of imperialist strategy.

In present-day conditions internationally intertwined state-monopoly capitalism is formulating, and trying to implement, its own concept of world development. And that concept is meant as a counterweight to Marxism-Leninism, which holds that state-monopoly capitalism is the complete material and social premise of socialism. There is the proof of history that state-monopoly regulation, both in its national and supranational forms, ultimately leads not to the rescue of capitalism, but to aggravation of its general crisis. That stems from its immanent regularities. Seen in their longer-term implications, in conditions in which the communist formation rises, individual achievements based on state-monopoly regulation are largely Pyrrhic victories.

* * *

Marx established that capitalism's growth is, in the final analysis, limited by capital itself, for its underlying law is production for profit and not for satisfaction of society's requirements. This leads to periodical overproduction crises and devaluation of capital, inasmuch as it can find no profitable application. But these crises, caused by the contradiction between production and consumption, are overcome by the intrinsic forces of capitalism itself and are no obstacle to its expansion.

Periodical economic crises establish a temporary equilibrium between production and consumption, with resultant devaluation of the capital of bankrupt enterprises and the cheapening of variable capital (due to depressed wages). The crisis phase of the cycle creates the preconditions for its upward phase. The devaluation of capital due to its excessive accumulation was treated by Marx largely as a cyclical phenomenon.

But Marx also analysed long-term transformations in capitalist production, caused by overaccumulation of capital. In the long run these create the conditions for overcoming some of the resulting contradictions.

They could be overcome, Marx pointed out, first, by export of capital. "If capital is sent abroad, this is not done because it absolutely could not be applied at home, but because it can be employed at a higher rate of profit in a foreign country."[2]

Second, Marx drew attention to the emergence of joint stock companies in countries with a high organic structure of capital. "Very large undertakings, such as railways... which have an unusually high proportion of constant capital, do not yield the average rate of profit, but only a portion of it, only an interest. Otherwise the general rate of profit would have fallen still lower. But this offers direct employment to large concentrations of capital in the form of stocks."[3]

Third, Marx established that centralisation and concentration of production are accelerated by the decline in the rate of profit, with resultant bankruptcy of the smaller proprietors. This, in turn, increases the minimum needed to start a new business. For big enterprises the decline in profitability is not always disastrous, for their stimulus is not so much rate as the mass of profit. "Compensation of a fall in the rate of profit by a rise in the mass of profit applies only to the total social capital and to the big, firmly placed capitalists."[4] In big enterprises the rate of profit declines but is not always an insurmountable obstacle to the continued accumulation of capital.

Marx's analysis of overaccumulation of capital as a structural phenomenon was continued by Lenin. His five principal features of imperialism that signify the entry of capitalism into its new, monopoly stage, are closely interconnected with the processes of overaccumulation and devaluation of capital. The export of capital, Lenin showed, was characteristic of the qualitative changes in the capitalist world economy in its imperialist stage. The economic and territorial division of the world, he explained, was part of the drive for profitable investment areas. "The interest pursued in exporting capital," he wrote, "also give an impetus to the conquest of colonies."[5] And like Marx, Lenin regarded the anomalies of capitalist overproduction as a clear indication of the historically transient character of the capitalist mode of production. "The need to export capital," he wrote, "arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become 'over-ripe'."[6] Lastly, Lenin disclosed the vast role capital exports played in sharpening the contradictions that led to the first imperialist world war, in which the general crisis of capitalism unfolded and the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed, ushering in a new era in the history of mankind.

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism, Lenin established, was largely due to the monopolies being able to shift onto the state part of the consequences of overaccumulation and devaluation of capital.

In the 1970s, state-monopoly capitalism found it much harder to solve its overaccumulation problems. For, first, because of mounting resistance by the organised working class, the 1974-1975 crisis did not appreciably reduce the cost of variable capital. Despite inflation, the working-class movement prevented the depression of real wages. Furthermore, the victories of the national liberation movement narrowed the area open to the monopolies for guaranteed investments. Last, but not least, the scientific and technological revolution, and the new political situation in the world, shifted the centre of foreign investments and capital exports to developed capitalist countries. This aggra-

vated the trade war between the three main imperialist centres, the USA, Western Europe and Japan.

The new trends in capital exports by the corporative giants show that the aim is not the maximum rate of profit but rather the mass, volume of profit guaranteed by a "congenial climate" for long-term investments. But such investments have to be backed by state support, and given this support, the monopolies are prepared to accept a lower rate of profit, at least in some years, knowing that this will be compensated by a bigger mass of profit.

The movement of long-term private investments is, in a way, an indicator of the uneven economic and political development of modern capitalism. Investments are attracted to countries which, the monopolies believe, provide a better guarantee against revolutionary upheavals and serve as a reliable bulwark of capitalism. In this category are the USA, Canada, Australia and some West European countries. In the former colonial periphery of imperialism, the countries with reactionary regimes or with open-door policies, and special guarantees for big investments are considered "safe".

* * *

Inflation, which in the 1970s had become a chronic malady, is one of the main features of the crisis of state-monopoly regulation.

In fact, inflation has become a built-in element of the monopoly price-formation mechanism. And inflation is fed not only by the arms drive, which leads to chronic budget deficits, covered by the issue of more money and government bonds. Of no little importance is the mechanism of monopoly economic regulation which, in the post-war years, has been closely linked with deficit financing. Designed to stimulate economic growth, it is actually stimulating inflation which, due to a number of factors, has progressed from "creeping" to "galloping", adding to the hardships caused by the 1974-1975 crisis and accelerating mass bankruptcy of small and medium enterprises.

The inability of capitalist governments to cope with inflation by Keynesian regulation of the total demand and neo-classical regulation of the money supply has undermined public confidence in their economic policies. Again there is the proof of history that inflation cannot be wiped out by reforms in the circulation sphere, for its causes lie in the very system of state-monopoly regulation. And that system stimulates only higher prices and more state subsidies to the monopolies. With inflation, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to use deficit budgets to boost economic

growth without carrying the contradictions of reproduction to crisis dimensions.

Regulating the economy through the monetary and credit system now stands less chance of success also because of the international intertwining of monopoly capital. The policy of credit freezes by raising rates of discount gives rise to a speculative influx of "hot money" from abroad accompanied by growth of the money supply.

Chronic inflation has become a serious impediment to long-term state-monopoly programming and to structural changes. The government policy of issuing more securities and taxing their income at a lower rate only inflates the national debt which, ultimately, has to be paid back by the lower-income strata. The relation between real and fictitious capital thus changes in favour of the latter—another clear indication of the increasingly parasitic character of certain features of state-monopoly capitalism.

Chronic inflation and mass unemployment bring home to the people the need for a political solution that would redistribute incomes in favour of the working class. This cannot be achieved through state-monopoly economic regulation, and requires a decisive struggle for genuine democracy.

* * *

State-monopoly capitalism, as the name suggests, is a coalescence of monopoly and state and stands opposed to the majority of the population. Hence the confrontation between the financial oligarchy and the majority of the people, a confrontation that acquires the character of a class antagonism. But non-antagonistic contradictions between the state and the monopolies, too, influence changes in the state-monopoly system and its functioning. The dialectic of these contradictions consists of the fact that the more powerful (especially through government support) the monopolies become, the less become their subjection to state control. In fact, some of the bigger corporations can carry out major changes in production, circulation and trade which in the past required state support.

The past 20 years have seen a record number of state-assisted monopoly mergers. This centralisation, in turn, made for more diversification and the emergence of conglomerate-type amalgamations. Along with the long established corporations, these newcomers have become the nuclei of powerful international monopolies whose expansion is largely powered by technological innovations in the new industries. Typical of this form of monopoly are the transnational corporations with a vast sphere of

influence exercised through their far-flung system of industrial subsidiaries. There is also another important factor in their successful rivalry, namely, new management techniques, in particular converting some subsidiaries into self-supporting complexes interacting with each other through financial dealings based on close-to-market prices. The main function of the central management is working out investment strategy and personnel policy. But this introduction of a measure of planning within the supranational economic empires (which leads to monopoly capital going beyond national regulation and programming) is attended by new forms of anarchy in the capitalist economy both on an international and national scale.

The much greater role of the stock exchange is another factor in reducing the possibility of state influence on monopoly policy. For the state cannot regulate the spontaneous demand for securities, and it is upon this that the big corporations which set the pace for individual industries and the proportions for the entire national economy, largely depend for their investment capital. Characteristically, the share of outside financing in the annual business of US corporations rose from about 36 per cent in the 1960s to about 50 per cent in 1972-1974.[7] The stock exchange is again in the fore of economic life, and this is largely responsible for the instability of the capitalist economy and the sharpness of crisis processes.

New forms of interaction of state and monopoly as a counterweight to spontaneous forces on the capital market are being devised as a strategy of macroeconomic regulation of investments.

This strategy, in which programming is widely used, is based on the contract system, that is, the state concludes contracts with private companies to perform a definite set of functions. In the USA this was originally applied in armaments manufacture and military research and development. It is now being widely used in power engineering, public utilities and the social services. Government contracts are supposed to be an improvement on government control and a more efficient way of utilising the production capacities, personnel and expertise of the private sector to cope with the strategic problems of state-monopoly capitalism and the country's economic and social development.

As is only to be expected, the bulk of the contracts go to the leading monopolies which, through a system of sub-contracts, exercise control over their weaker rivals and small businesses. The system has also led to the spread of mixed state and private enterprises and their expansion into new spheres, for instance, the blueprinting of nuclear reactors, the design, construction and

commercial exploitation of nuclear power plants, the use of communication satellites, etc.

* * *

Though the 1974-1975 cyclical crisis gave way to a measure of economic revival, overcoming its consequences remained a key problem of state-monopoly capitalism. This was due to its special character, i.e., its intertwining with structural crises, and also to the complicating effects of chronic inflation.

The depth of the 1974-1975 crisis and the number of countries it affected compelled leading capitalist governments, for the first time since the crisis of the 1930s, to apply all known anti-cyclical measures. The accent was on budgetary stimulation of investment. Other methods included more government purchases of goods and services, gearing tax policy to help stabilise the economy, special work programmes to cut back unemployment, and to encourage investments. In combination, these measures precipitated a crisis of the national finances.

The class struggle did not abate during the crisis and governments were anxious to avoid sharp social upheavals. To that end they used social insurance, particularly unemployment insurance, to boost personal consumption. As a result, purchasing power was kept at a reasonable level, with no drastic declines in personal consumption. In fact, consumer demand was a substantial factor in home-market stability, a factor that contributed to a way out of the crisis.

The 1974-1975 anti-crisis programmes bolstered economic activity and partly prevented the growth of unemployment. But they failed to solve any of the capitalist economy's major problems. Furthermore, these programmes were mostly confined to national economies and were not part of a coordinated system designed to influence the world market.

In the post-crisis period leading capitalist countries, apprehensive lest inflation continue to grow, abandoned maximum stimulation of economic growth in favour of a more modest policy of restricted growth.

* * *

Today long-term economic programmes of the major capitalist countries envisage lower growth rates. Thus, the optimal figure for Japan is an annual 6-7 per cent growth of GNP; the figure for the FRG is 3.5-4 per cent, and 5-5.5 per cent for France (compared with 11.5 and 6.3 respectively in the 1960s).

Foremost in state-monopoly regulation plans is solution of such basic problems as reconstruction of power development, transport and communications and fundamental changes in the technology and geography of the productive forces as part of overall ecological policy. All this calls for huge investments, and much of the money will have to come from the state.

But the financial crisis, the limited area for more direct state involvement in the economy, plus the stronger economic positions of the top monopoly group and its policy of limiting state intervention, have engendered serious contradictions within the ruling class on long-term economic goals. This has found expression in the search for new forms of state-monopoly regulation.

On the one hand, there is continued and growing support for the idea of planning the capitalist economy as a means of coordinating and centralising the various forms and programmes of state regulation to attain long-term aims. On the other hand, influential monopoly groups are trying to prevent direct state intervention (though they would settle for indirect methods) laying more emphasis on market stimulators to raise the efficiency and competitiveness of state-controlled and nationalised industries by bringing in private capital and promoting mixed enterprise.

But long-term programmes embracing many sectors of the economy require close coordination and centralised state regulation. Hence the objective necessity for continued development of state macroeconomic programming corresponding to the new level of capitalist socialisation of production. It is no accident that even in the USA some prominent economists believe that indicative centralised planning is now unavoidable.

Investment policy has always been the main element in state economic strategy. A prominent feature of investment policy in all capitalist countries in the 1970s was enlistment of private monopoly capital, bringing it into the orbit of state programming through target-imposed regulation of investments. In this way the state hopes to reduce budget subsidies and exert more effective administrative influence on the functioning of the private sector. Governments constantly emphasise that implementation of major national programmes depends basically on the economic potential of the private sector.

The development of mixed companies and the involvement of private capital in the state sector give the government more control over investments. With a relatively stable share of direct state investment, it can increase its supervisory functions over a much larger volume without burdening the budget or restricting private enterprise.

The emergence of mixed enterprises is apparently expressive of the main direction along which the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation is being re-patterned. It can be reasonably assumed that the state's share in investments will be determined not only by its own contribution, but also by its much greater regulating role through more administrative and legislative influence on long-term programming.

More active state influence on research and development is another characteristic feature of long-term state-monopoly regulation. Expenditure on research and development has increased markedly in the past few years, especially on long-range projects that do not always directly stimulate higher labour productivity. This applies to theoretical research in environmental protection, research in power engineering, solid-state physics, biology, biochemistry, biophysics, molecular biology and microelectronics.

At the same time in the main capitalist countries there is a clear trend towards deceleration of innovation in the private sector. There is a widening gap between private enterprises' criterion of research profitability and the national-economy criterion. To moderate the negative consequences of this contradiction governments have sought to work out uniform national research policies designed to increase the economy's competitiveness.

The financial crisis has obliged governments to economise on research and development and, on the other hand, to stimulate private-sector expenditure in this sphere. This has led to various forms of cooperation between the two, including the establishment of mixed research corporations. Contractual relations in the research field extend not only to production programmes, but also to socially-oriented ones.

The dissemination of technical know-how by a growing number of state and semi-state institutions and the rapid rise of direct subsidies for research in strategic areas of technology, are other relatively new developments.

Substantial changes are also taking place in state-monopoly regulation of the educational system. In the 1950s and 1960s, its expansion was based on the official doctrine that training is an investment that will pay off.

Growing youth unemployment in the 1960s engendered a new direction in state-monopoly regulation, the labour policy. That term covered all forms of direct state influence on the labour market, viz., training and retraining programmes, public works, job creation in the municipal services, employment agencies, etc. This purely economic conception of education did not, however, preclude the use of education as an important instrument of social policy.

Still another new feature in long-range state-monopoly regulation is the development of ecological policy. This is a qualitatively new sphere of economic regulation, necessitated in several countries not only by the social aspect of the problem of environment, but also by the need to raise the technical and economic effectiveness of capitalist reproduction. And this has made for a re-ordering of priorities and generous allocations for nature protection measures.

In fact, ecological expenditure is now a weighty factor in the GNP of developed capitalist countries. Figures for 1971-1975 show that the USA was spending 0.7-1 per cent, Japan 3.0-5.5 per cent, the FRG 1.8, Britain more than 1 per cent, and Italy 0.6 per cent of GNP on nature protection. Most of the expenditure comes from the state, but much of it also comes from private enterprise under the "polluter must pay" policy. Private enterprise has to comply with environmental protection standards, and this has meant bigger investments in purifying equipment, which are added to production costs. However, here, too, the state gives the investor a good deal of "relief" through lower taxation, accelerated depreciation, subsidies, loans, etc. And since this is supposed to be a "new burden on the budget", governments are cutting back on social services for the working people.

* * *

The socio-political crises of the 1960s in several developed capitalist countries exerted a tremendous influence on state-monopoly processes. A distinguishing feature of these crises was that they broke out at the boom phase of the cycle when, despite a certain increase in real wages and better living conditions, the relative worsening of the workers' position resulting from the gradual widening of social contrasts, became increasingly obvious. Despite all the demagogy about the national aims of the "welfare state", the masses found it ever more difficult to reconcile themselves with the enormous gap between promises and reality, with the wasteful use of the result of their labour to enrich the privileged elite, which had usurped all the benefits of the "affluent society" to satisfy its parasitic requirements.

The maturing socio-political crisis came to a head in the "hot summer" of 1968 in France and the "hot autumn" of 1969 in Italy. In both countries there were hard-fought class battles, with the workers supported by the majority of the population. And the workers won not only higher wages, but, for the first time, compelled governments partially to redistribute the national income in favour of the labouring population.

The monopolies found themselves obliged to put more into wages and, contrary to all the Western economic pundits, far from lowering economic growth, this actually produced a certain economic revival. The role of personal consumption by the working people could now be fully appreciated as a factor in extended reproduction of GNP in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution.

The socio-political crises of the 1960s and 1970s compelled the ruling faction in developed capitalist countries to rely more on politicians prepared to operate state-monopoly regulation through bourgeois-liberal reforms. The sharpening class struggle and the tangible shift to the Left, towards democracy, in many capitalist countries posed the question: to what extent can state intervention in the economy be utilised by the democratic forces?

For in present-day conditions state intervention in economic life in the interests of the monopolies inevitably leads to heightened political activity by the masses. That is evidenced by the increasing number of general strikes and demonstrations in support of political demands. The state therefore often finds it necessary to compel the big corporations to raise wages in order to give monopoly capitalism as a whole a certain social base within the working-class movement.

Besides, concerned for the interests of monopoly capital, the state cannot afford to disregard the interests of fairly large strata of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. And in order to retain it as a social base of state-monopoly capital, governments are subsidising small businesses, particularly in the agro-industrial area to retard the process of its ruin through exploitation by big capital.

In this context, the monopolies are concentrating on new forms of state influence on the economy that would, on the one hand, keep alive the illusion of the supraclass, neutral role of the state, and on the other, enable it to retain its levers of real economic and political control.

To keep alive the fetishism of the supraclass role of state in countries with a strong labour movement, monopoly capital is obliged to accept governments led by Social-Democrats in the hope that they will not go beyond bourgeois reformism. But, to make doubly sure, the ruling class tries to keep under its direct control such key elements of the state machine as the police, army, security services. Besides, the monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to increase its influence on the government through unofficial institutions, such as business associations, clubs and committees of political parties, privately-sponsored conferences and similar "invisible power" institutions. Their decisions, secret of course,

usually shape government policy. The number of such institutions has increased markedly over the past ten years.

But bourgeois governments and political parties cannot offer anything resembling constructive solutions to the problems posed by sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. For their social manoeuvring, the mass movement against high living costs, unemployment, corruption and crime is steadily and rapidly growing. Growing, too, is unity of the Left forces in the fight for guaranteed employment, fundamental economic and social change, democracy and socialism.

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. 35.

[2] K. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1971, p. 256.

[3] Ibid., p. 263.

[4] Ibid., p. 256.

[5] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 22, p. 262.

[6] Ibid., p. 242.

[7] *Economic Report of the President,* Washington, 1977, p. 285.

The Ancient Middle East and Indo-European Migrations

TAMAZ GAMKRELIDZE,
VYACHESLAV IVANOV

Reconstruction of the proto-Indo-European language as a real linguistic system with spatio-temporal coordinates presupposes the existence of certain tribes that were the bearers of this language. The need therefore arises for establishing, in the light of linguistic data, the approximate boundaries of their habitat.[1] Discoveries of recent decades, setting the time when this language existed much farther back than was previously supposed, call for a new approach to the problem. The lower chronological boundary for the existence of the primitive language is determined by the earliest written records of the various historically attested languages that sprang from it.

This lower chronological boundary, with regard to proto-Indo-European, is set at about the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium B. C.—the time of the earliest records concerning Hittite and Luwian. The cuneiform tablets from the ancient Assyrian trading colonies in Asia Minor dating from this period[2] include a large number of proper names whose etymology is reconstructed on the basis of these languages[3]. These materials warrant the conclusion that two Anatolian languages, Hittite and Luwian, having become isolated from each other, went through an extremely long period of formation and development. The separation of the Anatolian community from the proto-Indo-European language, and the beginning, consequently, of its disintegration, must therefore be considered to date to a period not later than the fourth millennium B. C. (and probably much earlier). The development of separate historical Anatolian dialects continued for a long time in Asia Minor, where they were also

current in the later, written period of their history. This conclusion may be drawn from the fact that names of rivers of Indo-European origin were discovered in Anatolia in the earliest Hittite texts—those of the 18th-17th centuries B. C. (*Hulana* in King Anittas' inscription, the cognate Indo-European word being Hul-no "wave"; Harašḫapaš, literally "eagleriver", the cognate Central European word, Arlape; Parmasḫapaš, Šuranḫapaš, the cognate Illirian word, Serapilli, etc.).

The dating of the disintegration of the proto-Indo-European language on the basis of the Anatolian languages accords with the data on the separation of other liguistic communities from the primitive language. In particular, that is approximately the time when the Graeco-Armenian-Indo-Iranian community broke away, subsequently becoming divided into the Indo-Iranian and Greek branches. The existence of a separate Mitannian Indo-Iranian language[4] in the period not later than the middle of the second millennium B. C., distinct from old Indic and old Iranian, should indicate an early beginning of the process of separation of the Indo-Iranian dialect community—probably not later than the third millennium. This is confirmed by the time of the dialectal division of the common Greek language determined on the basis of essential differences in the language of the Cretan-Mycenaean texts (beginning from the 15th century B. C.) from other Greek dialects.

It is noteworthy that all the ancient Indo-European languages mentioned here and known from the earliest texts, were spoken in geographically contiguous areas (from Southern Greece to the Mitanni province at the south-eastern limits of Asia Minor[5]). That is sufficient reason for considering these areas to be the original habitat of the proto-Indo-European language, as it explains the fact that is hardly explicable if the earlier localisations are accepted (the north of Central Europe or the steppes of the northern Black Sea Coast).

The original habitat of the bearers of the Indo-European language may be considered an area whose ecological, geographical, and cultural-historical characteristics in the fourth millennium B. C. and earlier correspond to the picture obtained by linguistic reconstruction of the vocabulary of the primitive language. As far as earlier periods in the history of this language are concerned, one may assume that there was migration to this habitat from other areas (e.g., if the Nostratic community hypothesis is accepted). The "original habitat" concept has meaning only with reference to a definite period in time.

Today, it can be definitely stated that the Indo-European original homeland was a mountainous area. This is borne out by a large number of Indo-European words denoting high mountains,

rocks, and elevations as well as the existence of mythologically significant names of mountain oak and other trees and plants growing high up in the mountains. This picture of mountainous landscape accords with the Indo-European vocabulary and mythology with its references to lakes in mountains and rapid rivers the sources of which are in the mountains (according to a myth reconstructed for the common Indo-European period). This type of proto-Indo-European landscape rules out the plains of Europe where major mountain-masses are absent, that is, the northern part of Central Eurasia and the whole of Eastern Europe (including the northern Black Sea Coast).

The results of analysing common Indo-European names of trees and other plants (including mountain oak, birch, beech, hornbeam, ash-tree, asp, willow, yew, pine or silver fir, nuttree, heather, moss), correlating with the mountainous landscape characteristics of the Indo-European homeland, point to its location farther south in the Mediterranian area in the broad sense of the term, including the Balkans and the northern part of the Middle East (Asia Minor, the mountainous areas of Mesopotamia, and contiguous areas). This location also accords with the so-called "beech argument", which eliminates part of Eastern Europe as a possible homeland—the areas to the north-east from the Black Sea Coast stretching to the lower reaches of the Volga, where beech is absent, but is compatible with its location in the area from the Balkans to the Middle East. According to paleobotanic data, oak woods were not characteristic of Europe's northern areas, where oak began to spread only in the fourth and third millennia B. C.

This relatively southern nature of the ecological features of the Indo-European homeland, deduced from the data about the geographical landscape and flora, is confirmed by an analysis of the common Indo-European names of animals. Some of the animals that were known to the bearers of the primitive language and its dialects (ounce or leopard, lion, ape, elephant, crab), are specific precisely for the southern geographic area, which rules out Central Europe as the original habitat of the Indo-European tribes.

The conclusion regarding the impossibility of locating the original habitat in Central or Eastern (not South-Eastern) Europe, obtained from landscape and natural environment data, also accords with cultural-historical data on domestic animals and plants supposed to be known to ancient Indo-Europeans. In the fourth millennium B. C., cattlebreeding (just as farming) in Central Europe was rudimentary[6]. However, highly developed cattlebreeding may be inferred from the common Indo-European vocabulary, which is reflected in the names of domestic animals

(horse, ass, bull, cow, sheep, ram, lamb, goat, dog, swine, sucking-pig), cattlebreeding products and grazing terms. This kind of highly developed cattlebreeding was known in Eastern Europe, including the northern Black Sea Coast and the Volga steppes, in the third millennium B. C.[7] Ramified terminology relating to sheepbreeding testifies to a high level of development of this branch, which was almost entirely absent in Central Europe, as was wool in the European New Stone Age.[8] Goat breeding came to Europe, including Eastern Europe,[9] still later. Highly developed apiculture—known in the Middle East since antiquity—may also be inferred, from linguistic data, for the common Indo-European period.

Other arguments in favour of the Middle East as the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans are the reconstructed names of cultured plants (barley, wheat and flax) and particularly of fruit trees and shrubs (apple-trees, cornel, cherry-trees, mulberry, grapevine), as well as names of implements and actions involved in processing agricultural products (millstone, to pound corn, grind, roast barleycorn). These implements came to Europe from Hither Asia only at the beginning of the Iron Age (first millennium B. C.). Agricultural terminology definitely confirms the localisation of the Indo-European community in areas where agriculture was most highly developed in the fourth millennium B. C. and earlier, that is, in the southern region between the Balkans and the Iranian plateau. The existence of an extensive vocabulary of agriculture and vine-growing eliminates the more northern areas of Europe. Such cereals as barley became prevalent in these areas of Europe (where they came from Asia Minor and the Balkans) only late in the second and early in the first millennium B. C.

Of special value for establishing the primordial environment of the ancient Indo-Europeans and localising the Indo-European homeland is the Indo-European terminology on wheeled vehicles—names of wheeled carts and their component parts (wheel, axle, harness, yoke, pole), of metal (bronze) needed for manufacturing wheeled carts from the hard wood of mountain trees, and of the draught beast—the domestic horse, that was already in use among the speakers of the primitive language. The entire complex of these data limits the original habitat of the Indo-European language to the area between the Balkans and Transcaucasia, the Iranian plateau, and Southern Turkmenistan. The manufacture of wheeled carts dates from the fourth millennium B. C. and originated in the area between Transcaucasia and Upper Mesopotamia, between lakes Van and Urmia.[10] From the Middle Eastern area of the early Bronze Age wheeled carts spread to the Volga-Ural area[11], the northern Black Sea Coast, the Balkans, and Central Europe. The same area is a probable site of domestication

of the horse or the area where the already domesticated horse was used as a draught animal. Particularly noteworthy are the recent finds of the domesticated horse (of the fourth and third millennia B. C.) in the Eastern part of Asia Minor (Norsun-Tepe).[12]

The presence in the vocabulary of the proto-Indo-European language of words denoting vessel and rowing vessels points to the existence of water transport, which was highly developed in the fourth and third millennia B. C. in the Middle East, particularly in Mesopotamia.[13]

These arguments in favour of locating the Indo-European original homeland in the Middle East agree with arguments of another kind, namely that the proto-Indo-European habitat should be located in an area where the proto-Indo-European language could come into contact and interact with Semitic and Kartvelian. Of particular interest is the lexical layer in Indo-European that may be regarded as borrowed from Semitic.[14] These are mostly lexemes denoting domestic animals, cultured plants, implements and weapons (battle-axes), and numerals, that is, words that are particularly susceptible to borrowing due to their semantic properties. In some cases (including apparently the Semitic name of Venus, the deified morning star[15]) the borrowing went on in the opposite direction—from Indo-European into Semitic. In the proto-Kartvelian language a group of words is found, borrowed from Indo-European, which includes not only culture terms but also a number of other essential words, which testifies to intense language contacts. Both Kartvelian and Indo-European prove to possess identical systems of sonants with syllabic and non-syllabic variants (depending on their position in the word) and identical patterns of building root and affix morphemes as well as rules for combining them in polymorphemic sequences with uniform vowel alternation. This similarity brought to the point of isomorphism could result from their interaction during a long period of time. Common Indo-European, Kartvelian, and Semitic have coinciding systems of *consonantism* with three modes of articulating stops—*glottalised* (or pharyngalised), voiced, and voiceless (aspirates). Similar general phonological characteristics are observed in other groups of languages forming a language community. The glottalised stops in Indo-European, Kartvelian, and Semitic are typologically similar to the presence of glottalised stops in the Amerindian languages spoken between Southern Alaska and Central California and belonging to no less than four different families.

Lexical and structural-typological affinities between the Indo-European, Kartvelian, and Semitic primitive systems are incompatible with the assumption that the Indo-European homeland was in the Balkans (or to the north or north-east of the Balkans). These

affinities present clear evidence of contacts between the three primitive language systems and their bearers in the ancient Middle East. This is also borne out by the presence in the proto-Indo-European language of cultural borrowings from other ancient languages of the Middle East—Sumerian and Egyptian, as well as by the available evidence of contacts between Indo-European and other ancient languages of Hither Asia, such as *Hattian, Elamite, Hurrian (and Urartean).* In some cases links are found simultaneously connecting several of the languages listed here. Particularly characteristic in this respect are the names for wine (I-E u̯e/oi-no of the *u̯ei-root, Sem. wajnu, Eg. wns, Kartv. wino, Hatt. u̯in-) and apple (I-E *ŝawl-, Kartv. *wasl-, Hatt. sau̯al/t).

Then again, the whole nature of the proto-Indo-European culture and of social relations (in particular, the existence of distinct social ranks and the special role of priests) points to the proximity of its bearers to the Middle Eastern area. The type itself of the common Indo-European mythology is close to the ancient Eastern mythological traditions; moreover, concrete mythological themes and images (the motif of original unity of man and earth, reflected in their names, the designation of god as the shepherd of the souls of the dead, the mythological images of the bull, the lion, the ounce or panther, the stealing of the apple theme, etc.) have parallels in the Middle Eastern traditions, which must have influenced the formation of the common Indo-European tradition.

The entire pattern of culture and socio-economic structure reconstructed for the proto-Indo-European community from the vocabulary, is typologically characteristic of the early civilisations of the ancient Middle East in the fifth and fourth millennia B. C. Typologically, the proto-Indo-European culture belongs to the sphere of ancient Eastern civilisations.

In considering the problem of identifying the hypothetical original habitat of the common Indo-European tribes in Hither Asia with the territorial limits of concrete archaeological cultures, it should be noted that no culture of the fifth or fourth millennia has been discovered that could be clearly correlated with the proto-Indo-European one. One can speak only of possible links, direct and indirect, of the known Hither Asian archaeological cultures with the reconstructed Indo-European culture. At present, one can only tentatively raise the question of the possible correlation of the known archaeological cultures of this historical region in the fifth and fourth millennia B. C. with the hypothetical common Indo-European culture. Some of the discovered ancient archaeological cultures of Hither Asia (like the *Halaf* and the still earlier *Catal-Hüyük* cultures, or their direct or mediated continuations, or the cultures that replaced them, in particular those of *Ubeid* and of the *Kura-Araks* group) have a number of

traits comparable with the common Indo-European culture reconstructed from linguistic data.

The Indo-European tribes as well—the bearers of separate Indo-European dialects—along with other tribes of Hither Asia (in particular, Hurrian-Urartean and Southern Caucasian) could have been involved in the formation of the later archaeological cultures of the Kura-Araks type, third millennium B. C.

The identification of the ancient Balkan culture with the common Indo-European one, feasible with regard to some of the features of material culture listed above, faces difficulties due to the lexical and structural-typological links of the common Indo-European with the primitive Southern Caucasian and Semitic linguistic systems as well as other linguistic systems of the ancient Middle East.

Accepting Hither Asia* as the Indo-Europeans' original habitat will change the whole picture of the routes of initial migrations of the tribes that spoke separate dialects and formed dialect communities, both those located in the historical period relatively closely to the primordial territory (Hittite-Luwian, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Armenian) and those that had gone the long route of migrations via Central Asia-Tocharian (known from the indirect evidence of Chinese sources of the first millennium B. C.) and the "ancient European" dialects (Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavonic). It may be assumed that the bearers of Hittite-Luwian and common Greek slightly veered to the west, which brought them to the central and western parts of Asia Minor (cf. the data on *Ahhiyawa* in the sources from the middle of the second millennium B. C.), whence Greek dialects later spread to continental Greece and the islands of the Aegean[16]; the same western route is probable with respect to Phrygian and proto-Albanian. It seems likely that the most ancient layer of the Argonaut myth reflects the earliest migrations of some Greek-speaking (probably Doric-speaking) tribes to the area near the border of Asia Minor and Transcaucasia (the linguistic evidence of the migrations is furnished by the recently discovered stratum of early Kartvelian borrowings in ancient Greek). The ancient Greek name itself for fleece, which plays an essential role in the myth of the golden fleece and the Argonauts, reveals traces of links with ancient Asia Minor; at the same time similar religious notions about fleece, that was hung on sacred trees, are known in Kartvelian rituals.[17]

Evidence of migrations of tribes that were bearers of ancient Indo-European dialects, in another direction—through Central Asia—is furnished by the numerous borrowings of Indo-European words in Central Asian languages (Turkic, Mongolian, Yenisei, and Finno-Ugric) and of words of these latter languages into separate ancient Indo-European dialects. Particularly indica-

tive in this respect is a whole lexical stratum of borrowings from the Indo-European languages into Finno-Ugric, presented, in particular, in the recent overview by A. Joki.[18] A detailed analysis of these lexemes leaves no doubt concerning their Iranian character or the fact that they came from early Iranian (but not Indo-Aryan) or later Iranian dialects. These early Iranian borrowings in the Finno-Ugric reflect the same route of migrations of the early Iranian tribes that the bearers of "ancient European" dialects are assumed to have taken. These joint migrations could also result in the so-called Scythian-European isoglosses[19] (in some cases including the Tocharian, cf. the name for salmon). Later the same route is followed by the bearers of separate eastern Iranian dialects (Scythians, Sarmats).

The bearers of "ancient European" dialects apparently moved across Central Asia in repeated waves of migration. These "ancient European" dialects at the time of the migration of their carriers and of their movement from Central Asia to the West must have been a linguistic community with rudimentary dialectal distinctions. It was characterised by a number of lexical new formations as compared to the other Indo-European dialects that had undergone differentiation by that time. These innovations of the "ancient European" dialects mostly belong in the sphere of lexical semantics. They are manifested in the use of ancient words in a new meaning specific for this dialect community, as well as in the appearance of new words that are not represented in the other Indo-European dialects.

These semantic innovations, opposing this group to the other Indo-European groups, include the new terms for the social community (the commune—the people), sea, fish, and grain. Particularly characteristic are such words as ancient European **bhar* (Lat. *far*, gen., *farris* "spelt", ancient Irish *bairgen* "bread", Gothic *barizeins* "of barley", Serbo-Croatian *bar* "a kind of millet"). The word was borrowed from Semitic (cf. Arab *barrum*—wheat and Hebrew *bar*—thrashed corn). It must have been absorbed by these dialects already in the Middle Eastern area, at the time of contacts with Semitic.

The tribes newly arrived in Central Asia and the area between the Volga and the Ural en route to the northern Black Sea Coast, joined those that had already settled in those territories. Thus an extensive intermediate area was formed where Indo-European tribes migrated from the south (in particular across the Caucasus, as some Indo-Iranians could) and from the east. This common intermediate area thereby became a sphere of contact and secondary convergence of the Indo-European dialects that had partially diverged. That was the territory where lexical and semantic innovations originated. This interaction of dialects may

be regarded as an example of a secondary language union of primordially kindred dialects. The spreading of dialects from this common secondary habitat (in a certain sense, a secondary intermediate homeland of the tribes that spoke the respective dialects) over a new territory (later, Europe) signifies the beginning of the gradual emergence of separate languages (Italic, Celtic, Illyrian, Germanic, Balto-Slavonic) called ancient European, by the territory they occupy in the historical epoch.

It follows that the northern Black Sea Coast and the Volga steppes may be regarded as the original common habitat of these languages, albeit a secondary one. The theory which locates the Indo-Europeans' homeland in this area assumes in this light a new meaning as a hypothesis that it was the homeland of the Western group of Indo-European languages.

This hypothetical habitat of the bearers of "ancient European" dialects, that must have appeared here by the third millennium B. C., was at that time the area of the so-called "mound" culture. Already by the end of the second millenium B. C., the bearers of the "ancient European" dialects migrated from here in successive waves to the European continent driving before them the indigenous pre-Indo-European population. With these migrations are also linked, apparently, the movement that is known from Egyptian sources as the invasion of the ancient Orient by the "sea peoples", which led to the destruction of the Hittite kingdom.

NOTES

[1] The problem of the "original Indo-European habitat" is almost as old as comparative-historical Indo-European linguistics itself; for details, see J. P. Mallory, "A Short History of the Indo-European Problem", *The Journal of Indo-European Studies,* 1973, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 21-65.

[2] J. Mellaart suggests the period between 2040 and 1875 B. C., indicated by collation of radiocarbon and other datings; J. Mellaart, "Egyptian and Near Eastern Chronology: a Dilemma?", *Antiquity,* 1979, Vol. 53, No. 207, pp. 12-14, 18.

[3] E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites,* Paris, 1966; A. Goetze, "The Theophorous Elements of the Anatolian Proper Names from Cappadocia", *Language,* 1953, Vol. 29, No. 3.

[4] M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien,* Wiesbaden, 1966; idem., "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient—ein Mythus?", *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte,* Wien, 1974, Vol. 294, Part 1.

[5] A. Dobel, F. Asaro, H. V. Michel, "Neutron Activation Analysis and the Location of Waššukanni", *Orientalia,* 1977, Vol. 46, pp. 375-382.

[6] J.G.D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe. The Economic Basis,* London, 1952, pp. 117-118 and 234-235.

[7] W. H. Goodenough, "The Evolution of Pastoralism and Indo-European Origins", *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans,* Philadelphia, 1970, p. 255;

N. Ya. Merpert, *The Earliest Cattlebreeders in the Volga-Ural Area,* Moscow, 1974 in Russia).

8 E. C. Curwen, *Prehistoric Farming of Europe and the Near East,* New York, 1953

9 V. I. Tsalkin, *Ancient Cattlebreeding Among the Tribes of Eastern Europe and Central Asia,* Moscow, 1968 (in Russian).

10 S. Piggot, "The Earliest Wheeled Vehicles and the Caucasian Evidence", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1968,* Vol. 34, London, 1969; idem., "Chariots in the Caucasus and in China", *Antiquity,* 1974, Vol. 48, No. 189, pp. 16-24.

11 G. V. Gening, "The Sintashta Sepulchre and the Problem of Early Indo-Iranian Tribes", *Sovetskaya arkheologiya,* No. 41, 1977, pp. 53-73.

12 S. Bökönyi, "The Earliest Waves of Domestic Horses in East Europe", *Journal of Indo-European Studies,* 1978, Vol. 6, No. 1-2, pp. 17-76; A. Bössneck, A. von der Driesch, "Pferde im 4/3 Jahrtausend v. Chr. in Ostanatolien", *Saügetierkundliche Mitteilungen,* 1976, Vol. 24, Issue 2, pp. 81-87.

13 G. Komorotsi, "A Hymn on Tilmun's Trade", *Drevniy Vostok,* 2, Yerevan, 1976, p. 17; E.C.L. During Caspers, "Sumer, Coastal Arabia and the Indus Valley in Protoliterate and Early Dynastic Eras", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 1979, Vol. XXII, Part II, pp. 121-135 (with relevant bibliography).

14 V. M. Illich-Svitych, "The Earliest Indo-European-Semitic Linguistic Contacts", *Problems of Indo-European Linguistics,* Moscow, 1964, pp. 3-12 (in Russian).

15 Cf., J. Henninger, "Zum Problem der Venussterngottheit bei den Semiten", *Anthropos,* 1976, Vol. 71, Issue 1/2, pp. 129-168.

16 J. Mellaart, "The End of Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean", *American Journal of Archaeology,* 1958, Vol. 62, No. 1, p. 9-35; H. L. Thomas, "New Evidence for Dating the Indo-European Dispersal in Europe", *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans,* Philadelphia, 1970, p. 201.

17 M. Popko, "Kult swiętego runa w hetyckei Anatolii", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny,* Warsaw, 1974, No. 3.

18 A. Joki, *Uralier und Indogermanen,* Helsinki, 1973.

19 V. I. Abayev, *Scythian-European Isoglosses,* Moscow, 1965 (in Russian).

Intellectual Production as a Type of Social Production

VADIM MEZHUYEV

The specificity of consciousness as represented in social theory lies in that it reflects being, not *in abstracto* but in a definite social form—in the form of religious, philosophical, artistic, scientific, or some other type of consciousness. But where does this form come from? It would be futile, we believe, to search an answer to that question in the individual human psychology and the structures and mechanisms that characterise it. On the contrary, exactly the fact that men's consciousness, while remaining a natural function of the individual's brain, assumes an independent social form of existence, indicates the social roots of conscious activity and of the products of thinking. The very presence of this form proves that consciousness is a social product, the result of men's joint activity, becoming the condition for their social life only in its capacity of such a product. Men produce their consciousness collectively (in the same way as they produce the conditions of their material life), and the question of how they do it is the very core of the problem of intellectual production. What has to be explained in social theory is thus not the existence of consciousness (that is a natural fact) but its existence in a social form, that is, in the form of a certain general, aggregate result of human activity.

As a rule, the term "intellectual production" denotes all those kinds of intellectual activity—religious, moral, philosophical, scientific, artistic, etc., which, being separated from material activity (through social division of labour), assume the specific function of producing consciousness within social production or, to be more precise, the function of producing a definite social

form of consciousness. This term does not exhaust all that could be said about intellectual production: the latter can be considered in terms of other disciplines as well, such as ethics, aesthetics, epistemology, psychology, etc. The researcher may be interested in different aspects of the product of intellectual labour—its novelty, links with the existing tradition, its moral, artistic, or scientific value, its practical application or technology necessary for its production. However, these diverse aspects and modes of consideration and evaluation of the product of intellectual labour do not yet require the introduction of the intellectual production concept. However, to repeat: as soon as we pose the question of the social form of the product of intellectual labour within historically concrete social production, that is, the question of the social content and purpose of intellectual labour, a specific subject-matter of research is immediately singled out—intellectual production.

* * *

Setting the task of interpreting intellectual production as a special kind or sector of social production, one should first of all take into account the links connecting it with material production and uniting both in an integral system. Another way of looking at intellectual production is to view it as an independent structure which exists irrespective of material production being linked with it in a purely external way. That was the approach taken by H. Storch, a French economist of the last century, who was the first to introduce into the economic science the distinction between material and intellectual production (the latter he defined as the production of 'internal wealth'), which was later criticised by Marx in his *Theories of Surplus-Value.* In divorcing intellectual production from material one, Storch barred the way to explaining the historically concrete forms of intellectual production, its characteristic features and specificity at definite stages of social development. The meaning of Marx' polemics against Storch is obvious: for Storch, material and intellectual production were merely two different types of production linked by purely external dependences. For Marx, material and intellectual production are subdivisions within one and the same (social) production, a fact proved by direct dependence of the latter on the former. This dependence cannot be grasped only from the point of view of the need for producing material (national) wealth. This dependence has a deeper, hidden character and operates even in those cases when separate branches of intellectual production take no direct part in creating national wealth or even at times confront material

production. The problem is to bring out the dependence of intellectual production on material one without rejecting the specific and independent role of the former, without reducing it to the function of material production. It is therefore not a question of opposing the two types of production or identifying them with each other but one of links and interactions between them, which serve as a framework for these types as distinct and at the same time unified elements of the integral process of social production.

The definition of intellectual production as production of spiritual values, ideal wealth, consciousness and so on, however indisputable it might appear, extends its limits unjustifiably. Intellectual production should apparently comprise not the whole sphere of production of consciousness but only that part of it which, first, is carried out by special groups of men professionally engaged in intellectual production. The activities of these groups of men are as a rule given an institutional form of expression, being organised in a system of special social institutions. Second, consciousness as the product of the activity of these groups of men will have its special social form distinct from the one in which it appears in the individuals' everyday life as an inalienable element of their immediate practical life. There is a difference between the spontaneous, mass, everyday consciousness of members of society, which is formed in the very process of material production, and the kind of consciousness that is specially produced by the intellectual agents of society—albeit on the basis of everyday consciousness. The first type of consciousness is the consciousness of the strata and classes of society functioning practically, while the second is a kind of "secondary" processing of the structures of consciousness of these strata. This processing may be implemented by rational thinking (particularly in modern society) or by mythological, religious, and other systems. Thus, intellectual production is not production of consciousness in general but rather of its specific forms in which the everyday consciousness of practically functioning individuals finds an expression realised and systematised in a definite manner suitable for the given epoch. Intellectual production forms a kind of superstructure on the production of consciousness in its everyday variety. It may be defined in this sense as production of consciousness in a social form realised by specific and internally structured groups of intellectuals. But what does this specific social form, which consciousness assumes in intellectual production, consist in?

Consciousness as an ideal (cognised, conceived, or imagined) form of relation or link between men is a specific product of intellectual production. Like language it "only arises from the need, the necessity, of intercourse with other men".[1] Production of

consciousness, just as intellectual production, is conditioned by the same need. Assimilating products of intellectual labour, men are thereby integrated in social systems. That is what intellectual production primarily does: it transforms, changes, and spreads consciousness with the aim of using it as a condition and instrument of social communication between men. Religion, philosophy, morality, art and so on are "specific forms of production" precisely because they produce, in various forms and by various means, social links and relations between individuals, just as material production does. Production of historically concrete social links is that "universal law" which governs both material and intellectual production.

This brings out the common feature which welds material and intellectual production into an integral whole: both of them constitute production of social relations by men, though realised in different forms. In material production, men produce their relations in the form of relations between things (commodity production is a classical example), in material form, whereas intellectual production results in ideas, in ideal forms. "An idea" is a definite mental equivalent of a real relation. "For the *philosophers relationship = idea...* and hence for them all real relations become ideas."[2]

Of course, the mechanism of "translation" of a real relation into an ideal one is complicated enough. An ideal relation is by no means a mirror image of the real relation—the real relation is revealed in "transfigured form", conditioned by the place and role of the agent of intellectual production in the system of social connections. It is a task of concrete historical analysis of intellectual production—to explain why in one case a relation assumes the form of a religious symbol, in another, of a philosophical idea, in a third, of an artistic image, etc. Here I would like to emphasise the fundamental significance of intellectual activity in the system of social production—the need for production and reproduction of social relations in an ideal form.

Consciousness thus assumes a specifically social form, that is, the form of religious, philosophical, artistic and other consciousness, to the extent in which men's social connections, which they elaborate in the sphere of material practice, assume the form of ideas, notions, images or symbols. The social bond thus has a "dual nature": it exists both as a material and as an ideal link. Accordingly, the production of this bond, that is, social production, is divided into two spheres, material and intellectual. What causes the need for this "doubling" of the social link? In other words, what is the cause of the emergence and existence of intellectual production as a special subdivision within social production?

This question leads us directly to the problem of the essence and meaning of the social division of labour (as material and intellectual activity, first of all). Intellectual production is merely a mode of existence and development of intellectual activity, as the latter is separated from material activity, acquiring a form of social being distinct from the latter. And that does not happen at the beginning of history at all. Originally, production of material life and production of consciousness formed a close unity and actually coincided with each other. Undoubtedly, men developed certain concepts and views of the world and themselves under these conditions as well. But they did that collectively and directly in the process of their real production and communication. The production of consciousness, in the words of Marx, was here "directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men—the language of real life".[3] Why, then, and in what way did that which is essentially an integral whole break down in the course of history into relatively independent spheres of human life activity separated from each other? Why is unity turned into opposition and an integral whole, into isolated parts? It follows that we have to explain not only that which links up material and intellectual production within a general system (namely, the need for the production of the social bond) but also that which divides them within the framework of that system (the need for the production of this bond in different forms, material and ideal).

* * *

The social division of labour, or division of labour within society, is that separation of kinds and types of human activity which simultaneously links them up in a unified system of production. Through social division of labour men produce more and more not for themselves but for others, which results in the extension of the system of exchange and of market relations. The social division of labour is thus accompanied by growing complexity of social connections. Labour becomes not only productive but socially productive, being the production of relations themselves over and above the production of useful objects, or use-values. The product of labour, along with its natural form, acquires a social form, of which the most developed expression is the commodity form, or exchange-value form. As the social division of labour becomes more profound and extensive, this ability of labour to create the social product, the social form of the product or, which is the same, the social link reified in the natural product, becomes more and more developed, essentially coinciding with the process of formation of social production.

However, the social division of labour, being a necessary premise for creating a wider and more universal bond between the producers, simultaneously results in divorcing this bond from the producers themselves, its opposition to the producers as a purely material and external link. A most important consequence of the social division of labour is therefore the separation of a system of social relations from the producing individuals and the transformation of these relations into an independent force dominating them. These relations are formed, as it were, behind the individuals' backs and quite apart from them, in the process of commodity circulation, being manifested on the surface of the socio-economic life as relations of things and not of men. In a direct sense, the activity of each producing individual (or group of individuals) involves the manufacturing of a concrete useful product, while the fact that the given individual has produced, apart from the commodity, a certain social bond in the form of the product, is revealed *post factum,* in uncontrolled market circulation, that is, independently from the individual's will and consciousness. This is equally true of not only economic, but also social, organisational, and institutional relations that form a superstructure above the economic ones. A situation is created where the individual is not only completely divorced from the whole but also has no opportunity at all for controlling this whole. In a situation like this the need arises for purely mental reconstruction and appropriation of these relations, participation in them at the level of consciousness rather than at the level of practical life. That is what causes the emergence of a special group of men for whom production and elaboration of consciousness becomes a special function and a privilege.

The identification of such groups as a relatively independent social stratum, that is, the emergence of the intelligentsia, is the main condition of separating intellectual production from material one. This stratum is not to be found either in the primitive clan or the village commune based on natural economy. Certainly, these forms of community were also characterised by definite forms of consciousness—"gregarious" or "tribal", as Marx used to say, thereby emphasising the fact that it was collective in nature (rather than that it was primitive). Mere existence of these forms does not in itself signify, however, that intellectual production exists as an independent type.

From the very outset, consciousness appears as a collective product, as the result of men's collective life. It becomes the property of a separate individual only through his membership in a collective, his primary links with it. At the early stages of social life, the individual does not distinguish between his own consciousness and somebody else's. The products of thinking—legends,

myths, and beliefs, being fixed in a traditionally communicated system of symbols and rituals, are preserved and reproduced through every individual's natural abilities—memory, speech, hearing, and plastic movement, rather than through the efforts of a special group of men. But that means precisely the absense of a social division of material and intellectual labour, in which production and spreading of consciousness in its "universal" form is the task of separate individuals.

This direct participation of each individual in the production of consciousness is, naturally, an expression of the still existing limitations on men's social life at the given stage—their relation to nature and to each other. Here, an individual's entire life cycle runs its course, as a rule, within the framework of naturally formed localised microcosms (tribe, family, commune) in the absense of constant and stable links between them. The internal cohesion of such structures stemming from the individuals' participation in collective life and their interdependence, is in sharp contrast to the weakness of external contacts and narrow limits of the spatial and intellectual horizon. The ability for self-preservation and survival of such local communities is ensured at the expense of limitations on the individual principle and its subordination to collective forms of acting and thinking.

The situation is essentially changed with the transition to a society based on the division of labour and social links created by this division. Under these conditions, men's social relations are separated from the individuals themselves, assuming a reified form of existence independent from and external with regard to the individuals themselves. This is also facilitated by the separation of the individuals from each other in the system of social relations. The individuals themselves could, and up to a certain moment did, conceive of this state as one of complete "personal freedom" (which was reflected, for instance, in the individualistic ideology of the early Enlightenment). The subsequent actual economic and social development showed, however, that the epoch which gave rise to the point of view of the isolated individual, proved to be one of universal and fully developed dependence of men on one another, a dependence that was no longer direct and personal, assuming the nature of an impersonal force dominating man. It is under these conditions that the need arises for producing a specific form of consciousness that would express the individuals' relation to the social whole at a level higher than their personal attachment. This kind of consciousness cannot be worked out by each individual but only by a special group of individuals. Consciousness, just as relations, is becoming more and more of an abstraction, something that is very far from reality and divorced from the living experience of concrete individuals. (The concept

of abstraction in this sense has not so much a logico-epistemological as social meaning, expressing the alienation of thought from the real, empirically existing and functioning individuals.)

The transition to abstract thinking and in general to abstract consciousness is thus linked with the assertion and domination of abstract social relations, of which commodity-money relations are a classical example. As distinct from the "personal" relations, material ones may be represented or expressed in consciousness first of all in the form of abstract ideas. The domination of ideas over the individuals' consciousness in their intellectual life, therefore, has a counterpart in their domination by abstract, reified relations in their practical life. The labour which creates values and that which creates ideas thereby form a certain unity. Both of them constitute abstract labour resulting in an abstract relation: in the first case, in the form of a commodity (in material object form), in the second, in the form of an idea (in ideal form). The social relation acquires an abstract mental form, as it is actually separated from the individuals, existing independently from them. In any case, before becoming an abstract idea, this relation has to assume the nature of a practical abstraction existing in the reality itself.

Production of abstract consciousness, that is, a consciousness which is universal and social in form but has in essence lost direct links with the ideas, feelings, and concepts of concrete individuals, can no longer be, under these conditions, the task of each and every man. This production, as we have said, has to be set aside as a specialised sphere of activity existing side by side with material production.

* * *

Under conditions of division of labour and isolation of individuals opposing each other in the competitive struggle and the clash of conflicting interests, consciousness takes on the function of uniting men (if only spiritually), of integrating them within a social system on the basis of generally valid principles, ideas, rules, and norms of conduct. In this situation, the effect of ideological factors on social development and their special role in the social structure grow. Men's alienation from one another in social being is opposed by an abstract monism of principles, ideological attitudes, and rationally expressed regulations and prescriptions at the level of social consciousness. Through the medium of consciousness society endeavours to compensate, as it were, the lack of the individual's real commitment to the whole. For this purpose, production of consciousness is separated from

production of material life, being constituted as the special sphere of intellectual production.

Along with the loss of direct links with the social whole in their practical life, men also lose the ability for its mental realisation, for the comprehension of those goals and mechanisms which determine the very mode of existence of this whole. This realisation requires special mental efforts in the given situation and may only be attained by men who are outside the framework of material production, set apart, as it were, from the system of real interdependencies. The consciousness of the ideologically dominant strata of society becomes here a kind of standard for consciousness in general, for universal consciousness. Social consciousness becomes a monopoly, a privilege, and the result of the activity of a special group of men for whom the elaboration of consciousness becomes their social function. That is precisely the sense in which it becomes abstractly universal rather than collective, assuming the nature of a purely mental or ideal link between men separate from their real existence. However, a reservation has to be made here.

The ideological labour within the framework of intellectual production does in a certain respect have a bearing on the "universal". The intelligentsia, the stratum of ideological workers, being a part of the dominant class, appropriate the universal ability of all classes and groups of society to think, to implement the production of consciousness. They take on the function of thinking for all the others, letting the others to be content with the fruits of their thinking. It is important to take into account the social significance of this appropriation. The ideological worker appropriates the function of thinking only to the extent in which thinking is a condition of the existence of social links between men. He is not at all interested in consciousness as a condition, say, for the production of some useful things—use-values. The only thing that he monopolises is consciousness as a factor of men's spiritual unification. In other words, he appropriates, as it were, the social function of consciousness and therefore man's very ability to form social links due to consciousness. The underlying social reality of such a situation is also obvious: in a class society, the ruling class as represented by its ideological agents controls the society's intellectual life in the interests of the existing social system.

One cannot understand the real cause of the origin of intellectual production and the nature of its organisation at a certain stage in historical development unless one takes into account its primary social function (that is, the class function)—that of implementing the domination of a certain class in the sphere of thinking, of social consciousness. The concrete content

of this function may change with the transition from one society to another, but it remains basic under all conditions in the process of formation of a definite type of intellectual production.

Class domination in the sphere of intellectual production is, of course, somewhat different than the domination of this same class in the sphere of material production. The basis of the economic domination of a class is appropriation of other men's labour (e.g., in the form of surplus-value) with the aim of obtaining profit, whereas the basis of spiritual domination of a class is also appropriation and use of other people's labour (of creative intelligentsia in the first place) but with a different goal—that of turning the thinking and consciousness of this class into the dominant "universal" consciousness.

It would be completely wrong, however, to reduce the social content of intellectual activity within intellectual production merely to its role of serving a class, ignoring its really "universal" element common to all humanity. The same semblance of universality which consciousness acquires under the division of labour, is an expression, let it be in illusory form, of the overall connection and interdependence of individuals in the structure of the social whole. Social consciousness as a product of intellectual labour is in the last analysis a mental equivalent of the entirely real and universal need individuals have for each other. The existence of such an ideal bond is preferable to the absence of any links, so that intellectual labour performs a very important social function in a situation where men are separated and alienated from each other.

The agent of intellectual production—the thinker, the artist, the man of science—is in this sense a very complicated and contradictory figure in a class society. On the one hand, he serves the ruling class. That is one aspect of his existence, so to speak, involving all sorts of moral and material encouragement by the ruling class. On the other hand, however, the product of his activity truly has a certain universal interest, a certain generally recognised value. This reveals the internally contradictory nature of intellectual production in a class society, as it is simultaneously an organisation of class domination in the sphere of intellectual activity and a definite means of producing spiritual articles aimed at satisfying man's spiritual (and ultimately social) wants. The agent of intellectual production functions in this sense as a kind of mediator between the individuals and the social relations that became alienated from them. Through his activity, he gives back to the individuals that which they lost in their actual life. That is why his activity becomes the object of universal interest and attention not only on the part of the ruling class but also on the part of all the other classes and strata of society. The intellectual worker is capable of lending a universal character to the private

interest precisely due to his intermediate position between the various classes of society.

This contradiction is only sublated through elimination of those socio-class antagonisms which make the development of society independent from the individuals that form it, subject to neither their will nor consciousness. Under these conditions, spiritual activity also acquires an entirely new significance and content. One cannot, therefore, identify the existence of intellectual production merely with that historically limited form of it in which it stands in opposition to material production and is an analogue to the abstract universal consciousness (just as material production cannot be identified with commodity production alone).

* * *

It is a well-known fact that socialism does not eliminate the social division of labour entirely, including the division of labour into material and intellectual activity. However, it transforms essentially the relations between these two basic spheres of social production, so that an entirely new type of intellectual production is created. Intellectual production in socialist society implements a fundamental need of the new social formation—the need for an allround, harmoniously developed man. It follows that intellectual production under socialism, along with material production, will have to become the most important sphere of "the production of man", of the formation of a new type of personality. Herein lies the difference of socialist intellectual production from its previous types: it is not merely production of consciousness in its abstract forms (that is, forms that are distinct from the everyday consciousness of empirically existing individuals), but production of "conscious individuals" themselves, that is, individuals possessing well-developed consciousness and having at their disposal the intellectual wealth of society.

The main thing that characterises intellectual activity in socialist society is the fact that it ceases to be the monopoly and privilege of individual classes, strata, or groups, becoming a form of manifestation of the creative activity of broad masses of the people, that is, mass activity with a wide social basis and perspectives of development.

Socialism asserts men's social (economic, political, national) equality in society and at the same time lays the necessary foundations for their intellectual equality, that is, equality in education and intellectual and cultural development, in the appropriation and creation of intellectual and cultural values.

Attainment of this equality will make men actually capable of participating fully in social life, in allround communication (equal in all respects) and unification. Agreement and cooperation in society are attained not only through elimination of inequality in property status, of differences in men's position in the sphere of material production and state administration, but also through disappearance of everything that disunites men culturally and intellectually. Moreover, men's genuine social equality, that is, equality in the sphere of economic and political life is ultimately guaranteed by their equality in intellectual, aesthetic, and moral development.

Of course, there are differences in the degree of involvement of various classes, strata, and groups of socialist society in active intellectual activity. The existing social heterogeneity of society conditions certain differences between men in the field of intellectual life, different degrees of development of their intellectual and cultural needs, interests and modes of satisfying them within the framework of society as a whole.

The tendency towards involving the broad working masses in intellectual production does not by itself eliminate, under socialist conditions, an important and, to a considerable extent, determining role of the intelligentsia in creating and spreading the values of spiritual culture, in the development of science and art, and in the sphere of education and upbringing of the people. There still exist essential differences in the conditions of labour and level of development of the intelligentsia and the principal classes of socialist society, which determine also the existence of intellectual production as a specific and independent sector.

However, socialism brings about radical changes in the composition and content of intellectual activity. Thus, socialism eliminates from intellectual production various kinds of reactionary ideology, certain branches of intellectual labour involving the keeping up of the prestige of the ruling class, and narrows down the sphere of influence of religion. At the same time it introduces essential transformations into the content of those kinds of intellectual activity which are necessary from the standpoint of the realisation of the historic mission of the working class. Under socialism, science, art, morality, and philosophy acquire new social and cultural functions and, more than that, new ideological content. It may be said that socialism asserts an entirely new type of intellectual activity that is directly linked with the practical interests of the working masses, with the real needs and tasks of social development.

This direct bond between intellectual activity and practical life lends new organisational forms to the process of intellectual production itself. Being a functionally significant element of the

social system as a whole, internally coordinated and interconnected with other elements and links of this system, intellectual production is now, in certain of its components, subject to the general laws of socialist social production: it becomes a planned and controlled process. Certain spheres of intellectual production are determined by the dymanics of social production as a whole, being affected by the same factors (technology, organisation, management) which determine, in a decisive manner, all the other production activities.

The operation of these and other factors in intellectual production is evidence of its increasingly closer links with material production. These close links are most clearly seen in those branches of intellectual production whose direct practical significance is clear already at the present time (e.g., in applied sciences). It is in these branches that intellectual production is organised along the same lines as material production proper, forming immense scientific and industrial complexes and associations. The effect of these factors may be traced, to some extent, in the whole of the intellectual production, if one makes allowances for the specificity of other kinds of intellectual labour. In the final analysis, it is a matter of increased social integration of the material and the intellectual in socialist society, which contributes to the rapprochement and unity of those engaged in physical and intellectual labour and to the establishment of allround humane contacts and links between them.

However, the crucial cause of this integration is social rather than technological. It is socialism, involving as it does enormous masses of people in social creative work, that brings out clearly the role and significance of intellectual labour as a part of social production. The fact is that such creative work may only be of a conscious and inspired nature, which, in its turn, presupposes the following developed forms of consciousness in its subjects: philosophical, scientific, political, moral, aesthetic, etc. Production and education of men possessing such consciousness and capable of applying it in the construction of their social life and actual formation of the entire ensemble of their relations with one another is a most important goal of socialism. The realisation of this goal calls for consistent and harmonious ties between material and intellectual production, for direct merging of production of consciousness with production of the entire social life, with social production as a whole.

NOTES

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 5, p. 44.

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

[3] Ibid., p. 36.

Developing Countries: New Research

Planning and Socio-Economic Progress

GLEB SMIRNOV

More than half a century has passed since the first five-year plan of economic development was adopted in the Soviet Union. It was the first comprehensive state plan in the history of mankind based on scientifically substantiated rates and proportions of economic development. In those faraway years few abroad believed in the possibility of centralised state management of the economy. The bourgeois press in Europe and America harped on the "utopianism" of the Soviet five-year plan and the impracticability of the very idea of balanced economic development. Life, however, proved these assertions wrong. Ever since not only has the geography of economic planning considerably expanded; also its role in the life of society has fundamentally changed. Economic planning is successfully used in tackling the tasks of economic and social advance in all the socialist community countries which today account for more than a quarter of the world national income and one-third of world industrial output.

And what is more, national planning, formerly considered exclusively an attribute of the socialist economy, is now recognised by many scientific schools and trends far removed from Marxism. The industrial capitalist countries have begun to chalk out medium- and long-term economic development plans and programmes; the use of planning in tackling economic tasks has become one of the determining features of public life in most of the former colonies and dependent countries.

However, a common terminology and a similarity in some methods and technical ways of drawing up economic plans reflect only the surface aspect of the phenomenon. More important is the actual content of planning, and its effect on the economies of various countries. Decisive factors in this respect are the socio-

economic conditions in which planning is applied and also the character of political power. Planning, like economic policy, always has a class content, it influences not only the reproduction of the material conditions of social life, but also the reproduction of the relations of property, exchange and distribution.

Most Western economists and planning theorists ignore or simply reject this circumstance. Typical in this respect is the definition of economic planning proposed by the authors of *Dictionary of Economics*, H. S. Sloan and A. J. Zurcher: "Economic planning. Any attempt to exercise forethought with reference to an economic operation and to anticipate the scope, character, and results of such an operation. Currently the phrase signifies governmental direction of economic activity. It may imply determination by some supreme governmental authority of both the kind and quantity of economic goods to be produced in a nation. It may also be used to indicate some measure of foresight and action exercised by the government in a capitalistic society particularly to offset disastrous depressions. The construction of public works to provide employment, the reduction of taxation to increase private purchasing power, or the use of the public debt to influence credit are examples of such limited planning." [1]

As we see, Sloan and Zurcher's rather broad interpretation of economic planning covers, in effect, all forms of governmental direction of economic activity. But they do not disclose the interconnection between planning and the objective laws underlying the development of a given socio-economic system.

Now, in order to plan economic development, to determine "the kind and quantity of economic goods to be produced in a nation" the state must have the actual possibility of influencing the process of economic development and the scope and structure of the production of the national product in the first place. In other words, an objective basis must be created which enables the state to plan and direct economic development, to determine, for instance, the correlation between the utilisation of the national product for consumption and accumulation, the rates of economic growth, the proportions between the production of the means of production and articles of consumption, etc. The formation of these proportions, the distribution of available resources of labour and capital and of other factors of production between individual spheres and branches of the economy, between this or that kind of production and economic regions can take place spontaneously, irrespective of the will and consciousness of people, or according to plan, as a result of conscious activity in directing the economy. The form in which economic proportions are established is determined by socio-economic conditions, by the character of production relations.

Under capitalism, reproduction develops spontaneously under the operation of the so-called market mechanism; the possibilities of production management are restricted by the scope of capitalist private property. The gradual monopolisation of production and markets, without removing the effect of spontaneous "market" regulators, creates certain possibilities of managing the economy at the level of large monopolistic amalgamations. Still greater possibilities of managing the economy at national and subsequently international levels appear under state-monopoly capitalism. Along with state regulation of economic life, medium- and long-term economic development plans and programmes gain wide currency.

However, even under highly developed state-monopoly capitalism the possibilities for influencing the economy through planning are limited. The operation of spontaneous regulators continues and the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production systematically engender crisis phenomena in the economy. Because of imperfectly balanced development of reproduction the capitalist state makes wide use of various measures of indirect regulation of economic life, designed to weaken the effect of spontaneous factors of development. Only with the abolition of private property in the means of production and their further socialisation does the market mechanism as a regulator of production, exchange, distribution and consumption cease to operate. Genuine balanced development of social production is achieved only under socialism.

In the conditions of a socialist economy planning encompasses both the material and the social spheres of public life; all phases of the reproduction—production process, realisation (distribution and exchange) and consumption; both forms of the reproduction process—in money and in kind; all levels in terms of branch and territorial divisions of reproduction, namely, the macroeconomic level, the branch level and the regional division on the national scale, the industrial or commercial enterprise level or that of another economic unit.

At the same time, planning under socialism is not the only element of managing the economy. While preserving commodity-money relations and two forms of socialist property (state and collective-farm-cum-cooperative property) as well as the money form of payment for labour, planning is combined with elements of indirect economic regulation by the state of certain aspects of the reproduction process. Planning cannot replace the day-by-day work performed at all levels of production management, distribution and utilisation of the social product even though this work is subordinate to the general tasks determined by plans.

The Soviet Union has accumulated vast experience in the planned management of economic development. In Soviet times

the economy of the USSR has changed fundamentally as a result of planned socio-economic development. By 1979, the national income had increased more than 70 times as compared with the pre-revolutionary period. Soviet industry produces for two-odd days as much as tsarist Russia produced in the year of 1913. Prior to the October Revolution, Russia accounted for a mere 4 per cent of world industrial production. Today the USSR produces a fifth part of it.

The successes in the planned development of the economy reflect not only the growth of material production. Socialism has given the working people wide access to knowledge, to spiritual culture, has reshaped the entire structure of life of the Soviet society.

Other countries of the socialist community are drawing on the methods of planned economic development. Witness the high growth rates of their economies. Thus, the average annual growth rates of the national income in the CMEA member countries for 1951-1977 was 7.6 per cent and that of industrial production, 9.4 per cent. The national income of the industrial capitalist countries for the same period grew by 4.2 per cent on the average and the volume of industrial production by 4.9 per cent.

* * *

The experience of planned economic development in the USSR and other socialist countries can serve as an example of how the introduction of planning principles is an effective way for determining the goals and tasks of development, the concrete ways and methods of attaining them, as well as raising the resources necessary for this. Practically all developing countries, irrespective of their socio-political orientation, are drawing up plans aimed at accelerating economic growth rates, overcoming backwardness and economic dependence, modernising production, resolving the problem of employment, and developing the most backward regions.

In their drive to overcome economic, social, scientific and technical backwardness the developing countries have to contend with numerous difficulties of an economic, social and political character, the difficulties resulting from the low development level of the productive forces, the scantiness, in most cases, of internal sources of accumulation, the narrowness of markets and weak economic ties between individual regions and industries of the national economy, the predominance of technically backward and low-productive economies, a shortage of skilled personnel, heavy economic dependence on the world capitalist market and on the

monopolies which still have a strong foothold in the economies of the former colonies and dependent countries. These difficulties are largely due to the multiplicity of economic forms prevailing in those countries. Modern, highly organised enterprises coexist with manufactures with obsolete tools and archaic organisation of production; highly marketable production—with semi-natural economy; highly monopolised industries—with a mass of economically scattered small commodity producers of the precapitalist type.

As a consequence, the influence of the market mechanism, of the spontaneous forces regulating the reproduction process is weakened and insufficient for securing rapid economic growth for the labour, financial and material resources. The absence of economically strong and organised classes in the developing countries gives rise to the need and to certain possibilities for active intervention of the state in the social reproduction process, for state regulation of economic and social development and the use of economic planning for this purpose. This is the case practically in all developing countries of either orientation—socialist or capitalist. The economic functions of the state are expanding not only in Algeria, Burma, People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Angola and other countries of the socialist orientation, but also in the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria and India whose economic development is dominated by private capitalist enterprise. And the measures aimed at restricting the spontaneous forms of achieving economic proportions and the transition to planned development are carried out all the more consistently, the more fundamental the restructuring of the established economic and social structures. Such a radical approach to tackling the tasks of socio-economic development is particularly characteristic of the countries of the socialist orientation.

The spread of planning principles and elements in the developing countries reflects the objective necessity of overcoming economic and social backwardness rather than some passing fashion.

However, if planning is to become an effective means of influencing the reproduction process, certain economic and social preconditions are required, for it is not enough to realise the necessity for this. The creation of a social and economic planning basis under the conditions of a multisectoral economy is bound up with changes in the relations of ownership of the means of production, their socialisation and changes in the distribution of the social product and the national income.

As experience shows, the social and economic preconditions for using planning principles are created in a developing economy, above all, through:

first, socialisation of big capitalist enterprises or the establishment of effective state control of their activity;

second, nationalisation of the main units of the economic infrastructure which ensure the functioning of material production;

third, the transfer of the commanding heights to the state or establishment of a state monopoly in the bank credit system, in currency accounts and in foreign trade, that is, subordination to the state of those elements of the circulation sphere which directly influence the entire course of reproduction.

In the conditions of a multisectoral economy, characterised by a low level of development of the productive forces, and major role played by small commodity producers and semi-natural economies, not extensively drawn into commodity-money relations, the possibilities of the socialisation of production and circulation are greatly limited and planning cannot serve as the sole means of establishing national economic proportions. The possibilities and degree of influence of planning on economic development depend not only on the existence of a social and economic foundation but on a number of other factors, such as the state of the planning work, the quality of planning, the attitude of the administration of this or that country to planning.

As the experience of the countries of the socialist orientation shows, the efficiency of planning increases if the plans are in accord with the interests of the bulk of the population, of those social strata on whom the state authority rests. Taking this into account the leaders of some countries, for example, Algeria (where planning has been proclaimed an instrument of the direction and democratisation of the economy, a means of the just distribution of incomes and burdens of development[2]) are gradually beginning to involve broad strata of the population in the elaboration and implementation of plans. This is being done through discussion of individual sections of plans by the local authorities, trade unions, work collectives at big enterprises, as well as through exercising control by mass organisations over the implementation of plans and the consumption of means and material resources allocated for development and social needs. Both the general trend of planning and particular measures of state economic policy become the subject of wide debate.

Specialists from the USSR and other socialist countries have at different times rendered concrete assistance to a number of developing nations (Algeria, People's Republic of the Congo, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Angola, etc.) in mastering the methods of planning and in tackling related tasks.

In regard to the developing countries with their multisectoral socio-economic basis and its heavy dependence on external factors,

one can only speak of a partially balanced development of their national economies, combined with the operation of spontaneous, market regulators of reproduction. Their development plans and programmes are largely of a forecasting type. They cannot be fully regarded as economic directives even with respect to the public sector, and in case of the private sector these plans and programmes are at most—irrespective of their legal status—mere recommendations. The specific character of economic planning in the emergent states manifests itself also in the approach to the assessment of plan fulfilment, in a certain elasticity of the drafts and in many specific features in the methodology and methods of the elaboration of national plans. The prevalence of plans and programmes of a partial character which, as experience shows, are often more effective, is explained by the difficulties encountered in long-term and national planning.

The following important conclusions regarding the possibilities of planning and degree of its influence on the development of individual sectors of the economy may be drawn from the character of the reproduction process on a national scale and from the heavy dependence of most developing countries on external factors (foreign markets, services exchange, rechanneling of capital, manpower migration):

1) In multisectoral economy the public sector cannot develop entirely according to plan, for, being linked with other sectors of the economy, it is affected, to one extent or another, by spontaneous factors of development; the degree of their influence on the development of the public sector, however, decreases as the latter expands and consolidates its positions in the economy.

2) The development of private capitalist production is intrinsically of a spontaneous character. But where a sufficiently developed public sector exists, especially in branches having ramified economic and financial ties with other sectors of the economy, the development of private enterprise is increasingly less affected by spontaneous factors, and private, particularly national, capital becomes receptive, within certain limits, to planning. The same holds true, to a lesser extent, of small-scale commodity production, but production cooperation substantially increases the possibilities for its planned development.

3) Planning, which covers only the public sector or certain of its elements and spheres of activity, is usually less effective than planning of the public sector which is combined with the introduction of planning principles in other sectors of the economy.

This is borne out by the results achieved in this respect by the developing countries which have accumulated considerable experience in national planning—Egypt in Nasser's time, People's

Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, India and other countries.

However, the establishment of a public sector does not always necessarily lead to actual expansion of the possibilities for the introduction of planning principles in economic development and restriction of the operation of its spontaneous forms. What is important is that the state should have the actual possibilities of controlling the state-owned means of production. Such possibilities depend not only on the size of the public sector, on the place it occupies in the key branches of the economy, both in material production and in circulation, but on the legal forms of the organisation of the enterprises in the public sector, which determine the degree of actual control by the state. In most of the socialist-oriented countries it is very high, whereas in many of those following the capitalist path the enterprises in the public sector are, on the contrary, joint-stock companies and corporations independent of the state and operating on the basis of private commercial law.

Since financial resources are one of the main levers of reorganising the economic structures of most developing countries, the efficiency of planning (especially as regards the planning of capital investments) is determined in a large measure by how much capital of the available accumulations is concentrated in the hands of the state or the credit-banking institutions under its control, and to what extent the state influences the redistribution of financial means for national development or for advancing bank loans for the economy.

It is also important in this respect that the state should control the utilisation of foreign resources, received by the developing country, both in the form of state aid for development and in the form of private investments. The task is to use the said resources for the projects stipulated by national plans. The same applies to the possibilities of state control in the currency sphere the purpose of which is to create currency resources in order to utilise them in the interests of plan estimates. The full and partial state monopoly of the export and import of goods and services, as well as of currency, is used as a means of ensuring such control in developing countries, especially in those of the socialist orientation.

Economic planning always includes three interconnected elements: the establishment of planned targets and indices (planning proper); economic forecasting of social phenomena that develop spontaneously; elaboration and realisation of economic policy measures aimed at attaining the planned indices and targets. But their combination, the predominance of one element or another, depends on the social and economic basis of planning.

Economic forecasting can be of both a passive character, confined to scientific prevision of the future on the basis of knowledge of the past and present (research forecasting), and of an active character (normative or target-oriented forecasting, closer in its logic to planning). The essence of such forecasting as part of the plan consists in that a complex of measures for indirect economic and administrative regulation of economic life is elaborated simultaneously in order to influence the spontaneously developing processes and thus increase the chances of achieving the targets forecast.

In the newly independent countries economic forecasting is of particular importance, since it embraces those spheres and phenomena of economic life which develop under the impact of spontaneous factors. Naturally, the more normative the forecasting the greater the impact of planning is on the reproduction process and its various elements. Forecasting plays a particularly big role in planning the development of the private capitalist and small-scale commodity sectors as well as foreign economic ties.

If we consider the public sector as a single system, it is only logical to determine all its economic and financial ties with the other sectors of the economy (the "inputs" and "outputs" of the "public sector" system) for the planned period by forecasting methods.

The relations of state enterprises with each other and particularly with the state budget are usually planned. However, even in these cases there is no strict demarcation between planning and forecasting. Thus, the relations of state enterprises with the budget (for example, the amount of taxes on the profits of state enterprises) depend on the results of the economic performance of these enterprises, including the economic and financial ties with the private capitalist sector and the external market. Consequently, the state budget's revenue from the said enterprises is based to some extent on target figures. Corresponding tax policy and price policy measures, the organisation by the state of supplies to enterprises of the public sector and the marketing of their output can facilitate plan fulfilment with respect to the public sector's financial contribution to the state budget.

Planning in the developing countries is not imperative as having the character of forecasting. By their very nature target figures, which are based on forecasting, cannot be regarded as directives. The formulation of the question about the imperative character of planning in the conventional sense of this term is hardly tenable in the conditions of developing countries. The efficiency of planning and plan fulfilment are higher in those cases when the state apparatus, government services, companies and societies whose function is to implement the state economic

policy, regard plans as a guide to action, with due account of the objective conditions in the country and in external markets, and of the prognosticated and actual spontaneously developing processes.

The specific character of planning in developing countries is also seen in the special approach to the estimation of plan fulfilment. It is the general trend of the reproduction process according to the national plan that attests to the success of planning, rather than a hundred per cent attainment of the plan indices (for a major part of them is based on the forecast data). Naturally, improvement of the methods of planning at all stages (from the drawing up of national plans to supervision of their realisation) always increases the planning effect on economic development.

That is why most developing nations are concerned with improving the work of planning bodies, and finding new methods of planning. These questions are discussed at various forums of economists and practical workers from the said countries, and within the framework of such international organisations as the Economic Commission for Africa, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

Another of the specific elements and methods of planning in developing countries is that in the course of the fulfilment of long-term plans certain amendments are made on the basis of more exact data, thus allowing for better coordination of planned targets and actual possibilities. It would be incorrect to qualify such actions by the planning bodies or the government as a "write-up" and on this strength to speak of a crisis in planning in developing countries as some Western theorists did at the close of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. To define plans more precisely in the course of their realisation is to make them more valid and effective, what is particularly essential in the conditions prevailing in the developing countries. Naturally, this does not imply changing the general trend, goals and tasks of the plans.

The elaboration of a qualitative, thoroughly substantiated plan is an important, but not the only stage in planning. In the emergent states measures ensuring realisation of the plan are of particular importance. If the economy is to develop according to plan, certain favourable conditions are necessary under which economic activity would proceed in accordance with the objectives and targets of the plan, especially those which are of a normative forecasting character. A major role in creating such a climate belongs to the economic policy of the state, to those concrete economic measures and administrative actions which it carries out in practice. Economic policy is a combination of the state's goals, methods and means of influencing the process of reproduction.

There is a close connection between economic policy and planning. This is why, for instance, Algeria's first five-year plan for 1970-1974 contained sections which outlined, though in general, economic measures designed to facilitate the realisation of the plan.

Planning has taken firm root in the life of developing countries. In 1960, one or another form of planning was used in 23 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By the mid-1960s, the number of such countries exceeded 60 and at present about a hundred former colonies and dependent countries are using planning in tackling complex tasks of social and economic development.

NOTES

[1] H. S. Sloan, A. J. Zurcher, *Dictionary of Economics,* New York-London, 1958, p. 105.

[2] *Charte Nationale,* Algiers, 1976, p. 32.

PROBLEMS
OF WAR AND PEACE

Military Production: the Problem of Conversion

RACHIK FARAMAZYAN

The entire course of contemporary world development proves that the overriding problem for humanity is to eliminate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, to curb the arms race and cut armament and troop levels. World peace and security, and the vital interests and the future of the nations depend on whether this problem is resolved.

The main obstacle along this road stems from the aggressive policies of NATO's imperialist quarters who are using the stale bogy of a "Soviet threat" to build up military arsenals, huge as they are. To vindicate its activities, the military-industrial complex also resorts to the constantly rehashed postulate that military spendings spur the economy and scientific and technological progress, and take the edge off unemployment and recession, whereas disarmament would inevitably lead to production slumps, higher unemployment rates and other calamities.

In this context, of crucial significance is a comprehensive and well-grounded study into the socio-economic problems of military production conversion, i.e., the possibility of a switchover to civilian production.

* * *

From an economic viewpoint, disarmament involves the solution of many tasks, the most difficult and complicated of which is the conversion of military production.

Today, when the manufacture of nuclear and missile hardware—and even of conventional armaments—is becoming an ever

more specialised sphere of activity, there are new dimensions to the issue of conversion. It is common knowledge that up-to-date military materiel is produced at enterprises which are considerably different from those in the civilian sector. Hence the conversion of the military industry involves greater difficulties than in the past. However, research findings show that the task, despite certain difficulties, is feasible and without detrimental consequences.

A report published by the UN Secretary General back in 1962 on the economic and social consequences of disarmament stressed that all the problems and difficulties of the transitional period connected with disarmament could be solved through appropriate national and international measures; the report further stressed that re-allocation of resources from the military sphere to the civilian sector would be of benefit to all nations and would improve the world's economic and social situation.[1]

That the conversion of the military industry is possible economically and technically is testified by numerous studies conducted by UN experts and by scientists in various countries. Among the best known are a collection released in the United States in 1963—*Disarmament and the Economy,* Ed. by E. Benoit and K. Boulding; publications by American economists W. Leontief, M. Hoffenberg, S. Melman and M. Weidenbaum; the 1963 edition of a book published by a panel of researchers of the British *Economist—The Economic Effects of Disarmament;* a report of the Labour Party Defence Study Group, published in London in 1977 and titled *Sense About Defence,* etc.

In the spring of 1979, a symposium was held in Vienna on the problems of regearing military production for peaceful purposes sponsored by the International Institute for Peace and the World Federation of Scientific Workers. The symposium was attended by representatives from 18 nations and four international organisations: the UN, UNESCO, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In their final document, the participants in the symposium came to the conclusion that the scientifically planned transition from military to civilian production would, at worst, lead to temporary problems in the field of manpower redistribution.

The aforementioned studies and other findings leave no room for doubt that the well-organised and gradual implementation of disarmament would have a positive effect economy-wise. This also shows up the irrelevancy of the claims by arms drive advocates that the negative socio-economic effects of disarmament would be of lasting nature.

One of the aspects of conversion lies in the appraisal of possibilities and basic trends in switching over material resources from defence to civilian programmes. It should be noted in this connection that military-economic preparations are carried out in diverse forms and that they differ not only in purpose, content and methods of realisation, but also from the viewpoint of prospects for the civilian sector.

At present, roughly half of the direct military expenditures of NATO's leading countries goes for the maintenance of the servicemen (salaries, pensions, etc.) and of civilian personnel.

With disarmament, it will become necessary to provide redundant military personnel with jobs. The same consumer patterns would prevail as before, although their sources of incomes would have altered.

It is a different matter, however, with the expenses for the maintenance of military hardware and property. This includes: the exploitation and repair of military materiel, military projects and structures, as well as transportation and communication means; the purchasing of fuels and lubricants; expenditures for military schools and medical institutions; the maintenance of state-run reserve arsenals, wharves, war enterprises, etc. As a result of the closure of military projects and structures, for example, various buildings, repair and storage facilities and land plots could be easily converted to civilian use.

As to fuels and lubricants, a drop in demand by the military is bound to improve the overall energy situation and will favourably affect economic development. Thus, the US Armed Forces alone consume 30 million tons of petroleum, more than all the nations of Central America and of the Caribbean combined. A cut in government allocations for the designing and manufacturing of arms and hardware poses a problem which, however, can be tackled. All these expenditures are the bedrock foundation of the military industry. It is quite natural that a drop in government military orders would result in a cutback in the munitions industry and in the release of production capacities geared to military production.

A number of specific studies conducted in the West contains scientifically-grounded suggestions as to the possible trends in converting to civilian production not only individual branches and enterprises of the munitions industry, but also large military and technological projects. Thus, in Britain, the Labour Party Defence Study Group points out in its report that if the military and technological programme for the "Tornado" multi-purpose combat aircraft is scrapped, the production capacities and labour force thus released could be re-employed for manufacturing machine-tools, equipment for recycling all kinds of wastes, new kinds of

power units (tidal electric power stations), gas turbines for sea vessels and civilian aircraft, construction parts, railway rolling stock, medical equipment, etc. The programme for anti-submarine cruisers, according to experts, could be re-adapted for the construction of vessels for the merchant marine, of equipment for drilling for oil in the North Sea, for offshore mining and for the construction of new power installation, etc.[2]

Nearly all branches of the economy are geared, directly or indirectly, to military production, but the distribution patterns are uneven. The core of the munitions industry are aircraft and missile manufacturing, radio-electronics and atomic industries, ship-building, the production of tanks and armoured vehicles, ammunition, artillery and fire-arms. These branches account for the bulk of military orders. It is clear the conversion will apply, first and foremost, to these very industries. Not only are the absolute and relative production scales important, so is the technological profile of production. Such kinds of armaments as modern combat aircraft, nuclear submarines and missiles have a specific application and consequently cannot be converted to civilian purposes, whereas the production capacities of corresponding enterprises can only be partially regeared to civilian objectives. Thus, the conversion of such narrowly specialised companies entails certain difficulties. However, given the appropriate organisation, rational alternative production orientation towards the civilian sector can be found.

Also of major significance is the level of monopoly specialisation in the munitions industry. Although a great number of companies are involved (20,000 big contractors and 100,000 sub-contractors and suppliers) in the United States, for instance, the lion's share of federal military orders is allotted to a comparatively small range of corporations. The high degree of the monopolisation of military production narrows the range of companies largely dependent on munitions contracts and there are only a few companies predominantly oriented to arms manufacture. This fact, as well as the considerable experience amassed by military-industrial corporations in the civilian sector and the latest trend towards production diversification, will make it possible for these companies, with government assistance, to overcome transient difficulties concomitant with the conversion and to reshift to civilian industries.

The conversion of the munitions industry which is based on the most advanced science and technology, is feasible. Required for this, however, are thoroughly elaborated programmes for a consecutive switchover of military production towards various items in the civilian sphere, with due account for capacities, technological processes and personnel.

* * *

Practical experience disproves the postulate put forward by arms race advocates claiming that an arms build-up lowers unemployment. As is known, in the last years the unemployment rate in the capitalist countries has reached an exceptionally high level, and this is due to the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production, the impact of scientific and technological progress on labour power demand, the development of structural crises, etc. At the same time, as special surveys conducted in the United States and other countries indicate, the arms drive generates, directly or indirectly, mass unemployment. Thus, in the estimation of the Public Interest Research Group in Michigan, which analysed the effect of military spending on the basic spheres of economic activity between 1970 and 1974, the United States was losing 907,000 jobs a year, the average annual level of military spending being 78 thousand million dollars.

It has been established that in terms of overall annual production and services, military expenditures create fewer jobs than other budgetary outlays. Thus, between 1970 and 1974, every billion dollars earmarked for military purposes could have provided 45,000 jobs in industry or 58,000 jobs in government offices, whereas in the civilian sector, the corresponding figures were 59,000 and 88,000. Therefore, a billion dollars of military spending forfeits 14,000 jobs in industry or 30,000 jobs in government offices. The reason is that military production, compared with the civilian sphere, absorbs more funds but requires a smaller workforce. Thus, a growth in military allocations ultimately results in lower employment.

Conversely, there is foolproof evidence that organised and planned disarmament and the reshifting of resources towards civilian programmes would increase employment levels. For example, according to American estimates, a 30 thousand million dollars cut in the US defence budget and the use of these funds for civilian purposes would have generated 718,000 jobs. There are other impressive forecasts on this score. Thus, in 1975, American proponents of cutbacks in military spendings worked out a programme to reduce the strength of the armed forces by 1 million men and to slice military budgets (by 58 thousand million dollars) and other related expenditures to the tune of 85 thousand million dollars, this coupled with a simultaneous increase in budgetary allocations for various civilian objectives and programmes. They believed that would have created 4.8 million jobs in the United States (7.2 million new jobs minus 2.4 million jobs lost through lay-offs in the munitions industry).[3]

It is clear, however, there may be temporary difficulties in employment during the conversion process. The reshifting of resources from military to civilian purposes is not a simple mechanical process. Its implementation will call not only for carefully elaborated steps, it will also require time and definite outlays. Consequently, a special national conversion programme should be worked out which would focus on new job openings, grants for the laid-off workers and assistance in job placement and in vocational retraining; the programme should likewise take into account the geographical and economic inter-industry redistribution of the labour force thus made redundant.

However, skilled personnel employed in military production can be easily relocated into civilian production. A special survey conducted in California, USA, by an aircraft and missile manufacturing works indicates that given proper retraining, 121 trades out of the total of 127 can be employed for civilian purposes.[4]

Armed forces personnel, too, can be re-adjusted into the civilian sector, and there are objective possibilities for this. The point is that the share of technical specialists is on the rise, whereas the reverse is true of the purely military specialities. As a result, from 60 to 75 per cent of the military occupations in the US Armed Forces have related trades in the civilian sector.

The application of scientific breakthroughs will, in case of disarmament, call for a greater number of scientific-technical personnel. As a consequence, scientists will have a much broader field in tackling such crucial problems as the environment, the tapping of the World Ocean, energy, transportation, raw material, food and urban development problems; they would be able to focus on devising effective methods of combating disease.

* * *

While examining the socio-economic aspects of disarmament, specific features of a country, region and branch of industry should be taken into account. As is known, there exists a discrepancy in the absolute and relative sizes of military production in individual countries; the gross bulk of the munitions industry is the domain of a few large industrially advanced nations. It is these nations that will have to grapple with the problem of conversion.

In the newly free nations, however, the munitions industry is either non-existent entirely or is otherwise at an incipient stage. Most of these states purchase costly armaments and hardware

abroad. Disarmament would relieve these countries of highly burdensome expenditures and make it possible to channel limited, as a rule, hard currency reserves, into consumer goods imports which those countries need so badly.

As to the socialist countries, the system of public ownership of the means of production and the planned centralised system of economic management provide conditions for the effective transfer of the military industry to the civilian sector.

This is attested to, among other things, by the experience of the economic reconversion in the Soviet Union after the Second World War. Thus, by 1948 the Soviet Armed Forces had demobilised 8.5 million servicemen[5] who were sent to attend job-training or job-upgrading courses. The reconversion process entailed certain difficulties, but we were able to surmount them. By 1948, the Soviet Union had surpassed the prewar economic level.

In the United States, too, the economy was reshifting to peacetime conditions without great pains. The total number of servicemen dropped from 11.6 million in 1945 to 1.5 million in 1948. During this span, military appropriations were brought down from 81.2 to 11.8 thousand million dollars. The unemployment rate was considerably lower than in the prewar years, not reaching four per cent of the labour force. The same pattern applies to Britain, whose armed forces shrunk during the first 16 postwar months from 9 to 2 million men. The unemployment level, however, was no higher than before the war and did not exceed 4 per cent. The postwar period saw the partial conversion of the military industry into the peacetime sector in a number of countries after a series of local military conflicts. That process caused no appreciable adverse effect on the economies.

Nowadays, the capitalist countries have considerable opportunities for the solution of the conversion problems. They can resort both to direct administrative and legislative measures, and to indirect levers—financial, for example.

Needless to say, there exist considerable differences in the level of the militarisation of the economy not only in individual countries, but also in different districts in a given country. Consequently, bearing in mind the high degree of concentration of military production and bases in some districts and centres, combined efforts will be needed on the part of government bodies, local authorities and certain companies and enterprises. In this case, circumstantial conversion programmes have to be elaborated with an eye to specific local conditions of military production.

* * *

Under present conditions, disarmament problems and socio-economic advance are especially closely linked. The vital interests of all nations make it imperative to halt the arms race and to reshift the vast potential being used for military purposes towards civilian needs and solving global problems. Disarmament would promote—directly or indirectly—the speedier socio-economic development of all countries.

The economic effects of disarmament are gauged, first and foremost, by their absolute and relative dimensions, as well as the structural pattern of the resources thus released. How to utilise those resources in creative economic turnover—the doubtless result of general and complete disarmament—naturally depends on the degree and form of disarmament. But even its partial implementation would free a considerable potential.

It is obvious that disarmament would require certain outlays, specifically for vocational retraining of munitions-industry personnel, job placement, and for providing subsidies to individual districts which would be mostly affected by the conversion. But certainly these and other expenditures would be fully recouped through "disarmament dividends" which would cater to an ever larger degree for society's urgent needs.

Every country has a multitude of economic, social and other problems whose solution is deferred because of the lack of funds. But disarmament would provide such funds. A cut in military expenditures would tangibly ease the tax burden and make it possible to raise the living standard for the broadest segments of the population and improve the balance of payments, and this is essential in terms of employment and economic growth rates.

Higher social security pensions and grants would also be a boon to production.

The curbing of the arms race would stem the growth of the national debt in many capitalist countries and set the stage for its gradual reduction. As is known, a rapid growth in the national debt, largely due to military spending, has a baneful effect on the financial and monetary state of those countries. But its decline would remove a major cause of inflation which strikes hardest at the popular masses. Furthermore, disarmament would lower inflation through the complete or partial elimination of non-productive expenditures and the scaling down of military production where prices climb 1.5 or 2 times faster than in the civilian sector.

As a result of either complete or partial disarmament, many countries would be able to invest more heavily into the civilian

economy and this, by UN estimates, would spur economic growth rates at least by one or two per cent.[6]

Socio-economic development would be thereby given a big boost. According to experts, every 100 thousand million dollars spent on defence can furnish:

— 300 thermal power stations with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts each;

— 300 oil refineries, each being able to process 3,250,000 tons of crude oil annually;

— 1,000 fertiliser plants;

— 200 synthetic rubber plants each with a capacity of 25,000 tons;

— 1,600 sugar refineries, sufficient to meet most of mankind's requirements for that product.

300 thousand million dollars is enough to build 600,000 schools for 400 million children, or 60 million well-appointed apartments for 300 million people, or 30,000 hospitals for 18 million patients, or 20,000 industrial enterprises with more than 20 million jobs. 300 thousand million dollars is sufficient to irrigate 150 million hectares of land which, given an adequately high level of farming, would provide food for a thousand million people.

A great economic effect can be also obtained through the transfer of scientific and technical expertise to civilian production. This would speed up technological progress in that sphere and make possible the rapid application of scientific and technological breakthroughs.

Disarmament would doubtlessly be conducive to the removal of discriminatory barriers in the way of the broader international division of labour, and it would promote mutually advantageous cooperation in the realm of economics, science and technology. It would tap new sources for financing social amenities programmes which, for the time being, are the target of "stringent economy" in most capitalist countries and are given a back seat to arms buildup programmes.

Disarmament would facilitate the solution of global problems, such as the environmental protection, energy, transportation and food. According to UN experts, in order to stamp out hunger, disease and illiteracy, it is sufficient to allocate from 8 to 10 per cent of global military expenditures. For instance, the financial squeeze hampers the implementation of a global programme adopted by World Health Organisation, to eliminate malaria, a widespread disease. To accomplish that, approximately 450 million dollars is needed, or less than half of the sum spent daily in the world on the arms race.

Genuine progress in disarmament would set the stage both for reshifting material, financial and other resources of the young nations from the military into the creative sphere, and for greater economic, scientific and technological assistance on the part of industrial nations.

Of crucial significance here would be cutbacks in military budgets—a relatively simple task, one which has been urged by the Soviet Union for a long time.

The socio-economic problems of disarmament show that the conversion of military production is feasible on the whole from a technical standpoint. None of the transient problems it entails, none of its momentary side effects can stand comparison with the immeasurable damage inflicted by the ongoing arms drive and the lethal danger it poses to humanity.

The vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the human race require an immediate halt to the manufacture of deadly weapons. Disarmament is the most reliable way of removing the threat of a nuclear war and ensuring genuine international security. It will yield tremendous boons for all countries and peoples.

NOTES

[1] UN Document E/3593, Feb. 28, 1962, p. 3.

[2] *Sense About Defence. The Report of the Labour Party Defence Study Group,* London, 1977, pp. 111-154.

[3] *Economic Notes,* May 1975, p. 6.

[4] S. Melman, *The Permanent War Economy,* New York, 1974, p. 257.

[5] *Fifty Years of the Soviet Armed Forces,* Moscow, 1968, p. 479 (in Russian).

[6] UN Document A/32/88, Aug. 12, 1977, p. 56.

DISCUSSIONS

Basic Trends in Modern English and American Literature

From the Editors. We are publishing here a review of the "round table" discussion on modern English and American literature organised by the *Inostrannaya literatura* (Foreign Literature) magazine (No. 10, 1979). The review was prepared by Alla Nikolayevskaya of the magazine editorial staff.

What was the significance of the 1970s for the development of social and aesthetic thought in England and the USA? Are there any grounds for the assertions by a number of foreign critics that the culture and particularly the literature of those countries are going through a period of crisis? The critics justify their assertions by the fact that it is virtually impossible to name any single dominant trend governing the development of literature in those countries. For example, in England the end of the 1950s was loudly heralded by the books of the "angry young men" and the social novel became a remarkable phenomenon of the 1960s. The wave of revolts amongst the youth (mainly students) of the 1960s was accompanied by a search for new forms of artistic self-expression. There were turbulent discussions about "post-culture" and "counterculture". In the USA, the "leftist explosion" was supplemented by the mass movement against the Vietnam war and the threatening, smouldering racial conflicts. In literature that was a period of politicisation—the key problems of reality were clearly projected into works of art. But the last decade? What were its principal losses and gains?

Those who took part in the discussion at the editorial offices of *Inostrannaya literatura* were Soviet critics and scholars in English and American literature—N. Anastasyev, G. Andjaparidze, E. Geniyeva, A. Zverev, G. Zlobin, I. Levidova, A. Mulyarchik, A. Sarukhanyan and D. Urnov. Basic trends in the English and American literature of the 1970s were discussed.

* * *

D. URNOV. In my opinion, the reason we now gather more rarely at the "round table" to discuss English literature is that there have ceased to be distinct reference points in English literary life. I say this as one who participated in this kind of discussion some ten or fifteen years ago, when the reference points were much more clear-cut. For example, the "angry young men" appeared on the scene and we discussed their books and the whole current process associated with them. The reference point might not have been accurate, the problem, on the whole, might have been overrated in its significance, but nevertheless there *was* a reference point and each person, referring to it, judged, to the extent of his own information, the overall literary process in England.

Why then did those points of reference disappear? I don't believe they have completely disappeared, but have simply become more difficult for those of us "on the outside" to discern. English literature has become more "domestic", concentrating on problems that are exclusively internal, national. In general it seems to me that the country is preoccupied with the problem of self-preservation.

It's an Old Country—this was the evocative title of a novel by J. B. Priestley, published in the mid-1960s. He was an old "living classic", nevertheless preserving professional technique in the ability to sense contemporary problems. Thus, as early as the end of the 1940s, Priestley was saying that, in his opinion, American expansionism posed a much more serious threat to England than the "onslaught of communism".The first of the "angry young men", Jimmy Porter, hero of John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger,* which marked the beginning of the whole youth rebellion and gave it its name agreed with Priestley, who said that children, without exception, would become Americans. In its own way, *It's an Old Country* has become forward-looking. As it turned out, it marked the path along which the new generation of writers would tread, such as Melvyn Bragg, author of two novels we know very well here, *Without a City Wall* and *A Place in England.* In these two books, he developed the theme of England's search for inner resources, which would permit the English to remain English, and England to go on being England.

England once more became an island—and nothing but an island. The realisation of that fact constitutes a sorrowfully anxious inspiration for contemporary English literature. Thus in Doris Lessing's novel *The Summer Before the Dark,* a typical young English woman works overseas as a simultaneous interpreter, and nothing more. The new "daughter of Albion" is simply "service

personnel". These are details, but we understand that this is also literature, a conscious choice of those details which reflect much larger-scale processes.

The present is not only determined by the past, it in itself defines the past, or our attitude to it—this was the opinion of the poet and critic T. S. Eliot, who died in the mid-1960s. And of course, by their attitude to the past, and to their heritage, by the choice which English writers and readers are making today in reverting to their classics, one can to a great extent judge their mood. Into the forefront are not exactly second-rate characters but particularly men in the street—Jane Austen, Anthony Trollope... Jane Austen—a contemporary of Walter Scott and Byron while Trollope—of Dickens and Thackeray. These great writers are not only known, they have found here, as in the rest of the world, the highest recognition.

This interest in the every-day life is also characteristic of much of the work of contemporary English writers. With great pains they write of their way of life, scrutinising it closely as if trying to convince themselves of its future viability or otherwise.

In 1978, at the National Theatre in London, I had occasion to see Richard Hayer's play, *Plenty.* And what was it all about? Self-disparagement. And the audience split its sides with gloating guffaws.

This all reflects the crisis situation in the country. But what about literature? Literature clearly is not directly dependent on the circumstances. It can even thrive on misfortunes. In fact, so far as literature is concerned, the worse the misfortunes the better, since there is no more fertile soil for art than suffering. The point is, however, that there are different kinds of suffering and there is a certain kind of spiritual disorder which apparently cannot provide fruitful material for art. And it seems to me that in modern English literature, as indeed, in all contemporary Western literature, time and again a homeopathic situation emerges in which like is treated with like—boredom with boredom and degeneration by raising trivial problems.

G. ANDJAPARIDZE. We frequently and justifiably assert that there is a crisis situation in English literature, which is characteristic, if we take a wider view, of all the developed capitalist countries, without taking into account the fact that these crisis phenomena are by no means capable of exhausting the literary situation in a given country.

Lenin's teaching on the two cultures treats this question with exhaustive fulness: side by side with the dominant, bourgeois culture, in the depths of a capitalist society, shoots of progressive, democratic culture are continuously maturing.

There is an opinion, current at the moment, which Dmitri Urnov seems to share, that English literature, with its rich, centuries-old realistic traditions, is experiencing a crisis. But the whole of English literature? Surely not. That is simply not possible. Behind the crisis features can clearly be seen the traits of a full-blooded, healthy realistic literary body, seriously preoccupied with the problems of British society. A political and social crisis does not at all presuppose an inevitable analogous situation in literature and art—and the history of the world's culture contains many examples in which this is the case.

Soviet achievements in the field of contemporary English literary criticism are widely known and universally acknowledged. However I am afraid that we often let pass by much which is both interesting and important. My own experience convinces me of the truth of this. Several years ago, purely by chance, I stumbled across the first novel by a young writer called Gordon Parker. The title of the novel was *Dark Morning* and it recounted the life and struggles of English coal miners in the 19th century. The book was remarkable for its social nature, the range and depth of its characters and the freshness and luxuriance of its language. It was first published by Progress Publishers in the original. Parker has recently brought out a new novel, this time treating corruption in municipal administration at the present time. He is a young, gifted and, in my view, highly promising prosaist. The Soviet reader will no doubt get to know his future works. But did chance play a significant role in the Soviet readership's first acquaintance with Parker's works? Unfortunately the answer to that question is "Yes". I will recount another such felicitous chance occurrence. Almost ten years ago now, I reviewed a novel by the then little-known young writer, Melvyn Bragg, who was searching for the roots of the contemporary city dweller. Today Bragg is one of England's most popular and widely read prosaists, and three of his novels are known to the Soviet public. His latest work *Autumn Manoeuvres* is testimony to his growing stature as a writer. In it, the contemporary political situation in England is closely interwoven with the destinies of most of its characters, reflecting a tendency which I believe is becoming more and more pronounced in the Western novel—its politicisation.

Unfortunately there are also examples of the opposite type. Several years ago, Soviet critics were guilty of paying insufficient attention to John Fowles' novel, *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. As a result of this, Soviet readers got to know this outstanding English "psychological" writer and brilliant stylist in 1979, when *Inostrannaya literatura* published his *The Ebony Tower*.

During the past decade, avant-garde literature, which incidentally was never very firmly established in England, in essence

fizzled out completely. More and more contemporary novelists, of various generations and ideological orientations, are turning their attention to the important social problems of the times.

Apart from the novels already mentioned and David Storey's novel *Saville*—which recently appeared translated into Russian—one could cite many other examples of this phenomenon. Malcolm Bradbury, for instance, gives a sober re-evaluation of the so-called "youth revolution" in his novel *The History Man*. The activities of the multinational corporations, who pursue their goals and interests to the detriment of the needs of simple people, are expounded in Raymond Williams's *The Fight for Monod*. Evidence that the fruitful satirical tradition has not run dry is Muriel Spark's recent novel *The Abbess of Crewe*—a malicious jibe at the "Watergate Affair". Beryl Bainbridge, and Keith Waterhouse, whose latest novel *Office Life* castigates the English bureaucracy, have both found original ways of ridiculing and negating the inhumanity of modern capitalist civilisation. Tom Sharpe's satirical works are also of great interest and significance today. His books are indeed great literature. To put it briefly, I am convinced that in speaking of the crisis phenomena in the West, we should also see in the literature of any particular country those features which are truly withstanding the crisis.

E. GENIYEVA. It seems to me that an important process is occurring in English literature today. On the one hand, there can be detected a conscious reversion to national sources and, on the other, there is a striving to activate the nation's cultural potential to the maximum extent. A great many books have appeared to convince me that this observation is correct.

As I see it, a qualitative change took place somewhere in the early 1970s. The very conferment of the Booker Prize on David Storey's novel *Saville* (1976) was symptomatic of that change. Even in its outward appearance (it is a book of more than 500 pages) it sharply contrasted with the compact "pocket" books to which post-war England had become so accustomed. No less surprising was the fact that *Saville,* a book which describes, with an epic leisureliness reminiscent of the Victorian novel, the life's course of Colin Saville, a character resembling the author himself in many ways, became a best-seller. In other words, the book was not only declared "literary winner of the year" but was also acclaimed by the readers, whose tastes often diverge from those of the critics. *Saville,* then, in 1976 represented the beginning of a vague, only faintly discernible trend, which declared itself fully in 1977 with the publication of John Fowles' "thick" novel, *Daniel Martin,* with its 707 pages. *Saville* and *Daniel Martin* undoubtedly differ to a considerable degree, but in the theoretical sense and in the

problems treated, there is a profound, internal resemblance. It cannot be pure coincidence that both novels are named after their principal characters—after all, this is in a tradition dating from Dickens and Thackeray, who often introduced the names of their heroes into the titles of their books. Both *Saville* and *Daniel Martin* pose important social, ethical and philosophical questions relating to man's existence. With Fowles, interest in this aspect is so great that at times the novel turns into an openly socio-political discussion of contemporary problems. The trend of these two books alone may allow one to doubt somewhat how far justified is this notion of the crisis in the modern English novel.

This re-gathering of forces is also evidenced by the undoubtedly increased stature of certain writers like Margaret Drabble, who was, until recently, known mainly for her interest in women's problems. Her latest novel, *The Ice Age* is in a qualitatively different key. Although at many points in the book one is compelled to argue with the author about the scale of reality reflected in it and the depth of the interpretation of contemporary Britain which it contains, nevertheless it serves as a confirmation of the fact that the English novel has, in recent years, considerably extended its social range.

The satirical novel also testifies to this fact. One need only quote as an example the books of Tom Sharpe, who has already been mentioned in this discussion. One of his most recent novels, *The Great Pursuit,* which sharply criticises the "permissive society", displays indisputable links with Thackeray's prose. Yet another name greatly deserving of attention is Beryl Bainbridge. Bainbridge made her debut on the literary scene in the 1950s, as a writer of "novels of manner", in which she intently, and with a coldly caustic irony, portrayed the English middle-class way of life, based mainly upon autobiographical material. But in her latest novel, *Young Adolf,* which has received much acclaim in the English and American press, she sharply and resolutely oversteps the bounds of the novel of manner. The book deals with the young life of Adolf Hitler, a theme which, in itself, demands of the author a clearly defined social and political position. Her works, in general, strike me as both bright and original.

As compared to the 1950s, English literature in the late 1970s does not perhaps contain for us "outsiders" any clearly defined reference points. Nor are there, in England today, those distinct literary groupings and trends into which the nation's literature could once be divided. Some writers who were just beginning in the 1950s, such as Graham Greene, William Golding, Angus Wilson and Iris Murdoch, have become living classics. Others have given up writing. However, to take the place of the previous, distinct tendencies have come others, in my view, no less

pronounced. The literature of the "New Lefts" has been for the last decade a no less significant trend than the literature of the "angry young men" was in its day.

A nation's literature undergoes a constant process of renewal and therefore demands new opinions from us. In connection with this, I should like to bring up again the name of Malcolm Bradbury. Bradbury is not only a novelist—he also writes short stories, studies of manner, parodies and satirical sketches. What is more, he is a prominent critic and literary scholar, the author of books on the works of Evelyn Waugh and Muriel Spark, and his articles interpreting the fate of 20th-century English prose are of undoubted interest.

In short, stagnation and ingrained views should find no place in the analysis and evaluation of the literary process.

A. SARUKHANYAN. I feel that there are no grounds for a discussion of any "impasse" in contemporary English literature. The very names of the prose writers already cited is ample testimony to the fact that England has not run short of talent. Moreover, those names, which are greatly in evidence today, permit one to talk not only of striking individual talents, but also, I believe, of a distinctive trend. David Storey's *Saville,* John Fowles' *Daniel Martin* and Margaret Drabble's *The Ice Age* are novels which, appearing over a period of only two years, have become significant events both in literature as a whole and in the creative work of the writers themselves.

In the works of Fowles and Drabble, England is portrayed as a country re-experiencing the process of national self-awareness which accompanies the understanding that the British Empire, on which the sun never set, has vanished into the mythical past and that England is nothing but a rather small country.

One of the principal distinguishing qualities of these books, which permits one to speak of them as literary landmarks, is the way they correlate the destinies of the individual, the generation and the nation as a whole. Universal and personal problems are examined both on a national scale and within the framework of individual family histories. The talent of the writer, who discusses the history of his country and sees its imprint on the life of his characters, is manifested in the ability to knit these two together.

This correlation, expressing the deepest thoughts of the authors, is embodied differently in the various books—in the course of the action itself, in the most wide-ranging discussions, in the most partial comparisons and, at times, in the personifications. In *Daniel Martin* for example, Fowles shows how Martin's generation interprets the overall situation in English society, the transition from a nation of empty-headed patriots to a conglomer-

ate of individuals trying to get to know themselves. He defines the crisis situation as a painful breach between epochs, when the old is dying and the new has not yet been born. A breach between epochs divided by the abyss of the Second World War, the years of which in the significance of their experience the author equates to centuries.

England, it is generally considered, contributed no outstanding novel on the subject of the Second World War, which one could compare, for example, with those in America. But all the writers named above, in the works they produced in the second half of the 1970s, refer to it continually and it constitutes the background to their work. The motif of the "war children" passes from one novel to another. Both the writers themselves and their characters were born a little before the war and the war itself coincided with their childhood. Those years mark a turning point in the history of Britain. After the war, the disintegration of the British Empire proceeded at full speed. But the artistic realisation of that turning point in the nation's history came only in the 1970s—which is yet more convincing proof that these are novels which interpret the destiny both of a generation and of a nation. There had been no such works for a long time in English literature previous to this. And is this not the reason why the consolidation of the realistic novel represents an outstanding phenomenon in the literary life of England today?

Changes linked with this have also affected the poetic style of the novel. Despite all the stability of the realist tradition the avant-garde fashion of the 1960s also took hold of the literary life in England. Realism became a synonym for conservatism, experiment was linked exclusively with neo-avant-garde tendencies. But in the 1970s, the situation changed. As Bradbury said, realism and narration have regained their place in the analysis of literature.

The changes in the poetic style of the novel were particularly noticeable in the works of the writers we have already mentioned. Normally, however much a writer evolves—and a great deal may change, whether it be theme, the problems tackled, the position on particular issues—the rhythm of the narration, the tone of the novel remain unchanged. A writer's style can generally be easily recognised. But the new novels by Fowles, Storey and Drabble are written in a rhythm different to their previous works. The need for a coherent picture of the world, an interpretation of reality is realised in the calm narrative which corresponds to the normal current of life, when there is time to examine all the details of which life is made up. But this tranquil narrative style conveys a sensation of inner tension. Storey achieves such a concentrated description of the everyday details of life that this turns into a mode of life, forming the basis, the foundation on which the

characters are constructed and their inner life revealed. The writer describes the hero's external life in such detail and with such authority that his inner life seems to reveal itself independently—all this in total disregard for the normal techniques of psychological prose. Thus the reader gets to know a person he sees every day. Fowles and Drabble use a different, but no less solidly founded, technique for describing their characters' life stories. It is no coincidence that these novels are long, but they are by no means drawn out.

This interest in the national tradition of realism, which continues to grow, is logical. Naturally the literary legacy of the past is not perceived by contemporary writers as something monolithic. Each finds his own "idol". Nevertheless, their evaluation criteria are more or less identical. Whether it is Jane Austen or Arnold Bennett, what attracts the modern prose writers is their naturalness, the fact that style of writing is not demanding of the reader, the characterisations, the minute depiction of the surroundings—that is, above all, that which is plain and ordinary but which, until quite recently only provoked scorn. In a nutshell, it is their lifelike style which attracts today's writer.

I. LEVIDOVA. I share the conviction that the suggestion that there is a crisis in English prose is not supported by facts, the books which have already been named here testify eloquently to that fact. I also have reservations about this division which is allegedly taking place in the English novel into "domestic"—in the tradition of Jane Austen, and the "large-scale"—in the tradition of Walter Scott. This historico-literary parallel calls forth doubts—the thematic differences in no way signified any difference in scale in these classics and a contrast in their fields of interest. Austen, for her part, investigated the important socio-psychological aspects of her society, and Scott, in his historical novels, lovingly and painstakingly portrayed the way of life, the customs and the moral code of England and Scotland in days gone by. As far as the literary situation today is concerned, such a division appears, in my view, highly artificial. An obsession with "home", everyday life, the peripeteia of family and personal relations has always been characteristic of the English prose writer. But now, as never before, there is clear evidence of interest, amongst the most brilliant and serious writers, towards the immense and pressing problems by which present-day England lives and suffers. Some, like Drabble or Fowles in his most recent novel, are trying to approach these problems, as it were, on the wider scale. Others lock themselves into a narrower thematic framework, but the essence of the matter does not change.

I should like, for a moment, to return to the methodology of English prose, to its structure and poetic style. It has long been known that the realistic—or, to use the terminology of foreign literary scholars—the naturalistic foundation of the English novel is very firm. This does not mean, however, that the novel remains unchanged. The traditional basis here enters into an interaction with the "elements of ferment" in the continental novel, including that of the USA and Latin America, absorbing new ideas. This process should be investigated and its positive and negative aspects carefully and objectively examined.

N. ANASTASYEV. When talking about literature, it is probably better to avoid unnecessarily definitive words—upsurge, crisis and so on. This is dictated not by timidity but by the sober realisation that the real literary situation is always richer and more complex than such rigid definitions would imply.

As an example of this, consider the great enthusiasm which the English "working man's novel" provoked in its time, only to be followed shortly afterwards by its disappearance from the literary scene. Now it is clear that the enthusiasm was excessive and the short-lived nature of the outburst a much more natural phenomenon. Literature turned back to the solid, if apparently forgotten, strata of reality, to the life-like style—which is a very good thing. But the essentially epic scheme was never truly realised—the depiction of the way of life in the workers quarters, even in the best novels, rarely became a broad, full-blooded picture of the time. And after all, therein, all the ups and downs notwithstanding, remains the meaning and significance of the novel.

On the other hand, it is normally considered that the post-war years were a period of decline for American literature. On the whole, that is a more or less correct assessment. But only three years after the end of the war, however, Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* appeared, and six years after the war, James Jones' *From Here to Eternity* was published. These books not only remain the best works by their respective authors, they have also entered into the realm of the world's realistic prose.

A. ZVEREV. Nevertheless, leaf through at random any issue of a literary journal—English or American—and you will almost certainly come across the word "crisis". The word is used so often that it is as if the existence of the crisis goes without saying. Naturally there are grounds for the critics' bile. The literary pickings of the decade preceding the 1970s were much more plentiful. Today's disappointment is also partly due to the fact that only a very few of the gifted beginners of that time justified the hopes placed in them.

For example, who these days remembers Harper Lee? But after all, she wrote one of the best works to emerge from the 1960s *To Kill a Mockingbird.* Then she fell silent, as if literature had been but a chance episode in her life. Who, in enumerating the most notable American prose writers of our day, would list Robert Stone amongst them, an author who began his career in 1967 with the original and significant novel *The Hall of Mirrors?* Eight years passed before his next book appeared, *Dog Soldiers,* which troubled the critics with its coarse naturalism and the sketchy picture it gave of everyday life, in which Stone noted nothing except violence and perversion. And now he has once more disappeared from the literary scene, giving rise to concern about the future of his talent.

There are also, I believe, good reasons for the anxiety over the future of Joyce Carol Oates, who is known here for her *A Garden of Earthly Delights* which brought her fame 14 years ago. Since that time she has written a number of other books—including *Them* and *Do With Me What You Will,* which were both successes. But just recently, Oates has been characterised by, it seems to me, a certain artificiality and a kind of sick interest in the "night side of consciousness", which is, in fact, what she has called her recently issued collection of short stories.

Thus it has turned out that the young shoots of the 1960s did not blossom as expected. Exeptions to this generalisation are all too rare—Joseph Heller and John Gardner. Even if one were to add a few more names, the essence of the matter would not be changed. Succession, the change-over from one generation to another is always a complex process in literature. These processes have proceeded painfully and slowly over the last decade in the West, and in English and American literature they have been particularly difficult, creating an impression of crisis and stagnation.

No new qualities have made themselves felt, although reality has changed significantly. Looking back at the literary chronicles of the 1970s, one can clearly see that the most significant aesthetic achievements were the works of the greatest modern masters who had changed neither their creative interests nor their normal conflict situations or characters. Despite all the differences between these books, despite their controversial nature, the literary peaks of the decade were *Meet Me in the Green Glen* by Robert Penn Warren, *Falconer* by John Cheever, *Rabbit Redux* by John Updike, *Whistle* by James Jones who died prematurely, *If Beale Street Could Talk* by James Baldwin and *A Fire on the Moon* by Norman Mailer, plus the novels of Heller and Gardner.

Why was it that the 1960s generation of writers were unable to sustain the heights they had attained? Many factors come into play

here, including many linked not with literature but with commerce which has intensified its hold on literature and crippled more than one talent. But this is not the main thing, in my view. The "scenery" of social life has changed abruptly. The time came for a deeper interpretation of reality instead of attempts to radically change the present-day aspects of that reality, but literature was not ready for this. On both sides of the Atlantic, the 1960s saw the seething rebellious mood of youth, but in America, the "Left explosion" was supplemented by the popular anti-Vietnam war movement and the smouldering racial conflicts. In literature this was a period of politicisation and intrusion into the sphere of pure ideology or unalloyed culturology, sociology and philosophy. The key problems of reality seemed easily identifiable and thus soluble in the course of those student, Black and such like "revolutions", which remain the most vivid symbol of that epoch.

When the "revolutions" had burned themselves out and their contradictions appeared insurmountable, for writers who had been formed in an atmosphere of incipient or actual "Left explosion", there began a period of reconsideration and self-criticism, a time of difficult searches for a new spiritual and creative orientation. Practically everyone was, in one way or another, affected by a desire to make an unbiased evaluation of the ideological legacy of the 1960s. It is significant that the book which essentially marked the opening of the new decade was John Gardner's *The Sunlight Dialogues,* a book in which this task was resolved in a most logical, serious and profound fashion.

But following on from the debunking of recently-held ideals should have come zeal for objective research into the changed reality and an attempt to detect in it genuine, non-transient values. But for many, perhaps even the majority of writers of the 1960s, that period never came to an end. Chronological distance made clear to them the naivety of certain strivings which predominated during their early days as writers but they lacked, perhaps, the civil and creative maturity to recognise the outdated for what it really is. The failure of the social and spiritual movements of the time, which were mixed up with leftist extremism, seemed to them almost a testimony to the doomed nature of any attempt to introduce reason and humanity into the brutal chaos of reality and overcome the inhumanity and estrangement which dominate in the bourgeois world.

On this soil, the far from new notions of the futility of life and nihilistic tendencies flowered magnificently—Philip Roth's most recent novels, representing a whimsical mixture of misanthropy, despair and cynicism are highly indicative in this respect. That is also why discussions of the crisis are so urgent and evaluations of contemporary literature in America so harsh.

But such evaluations are too hasty and not fully justified. A simple list of the significant works which appeared during the "crisis" years of the 1970s is enough to shed doubt on the very idea of the crisis. However, the important thing is not quantitative indicators but the seriousness and responsibility with which literature tries to bring out the real course of events in everyday life at the present time.

The very fact that literature has turned its attention to everyday life, to social reality, to the normal life of normal people is both noteworthy and important. The novel is deviating still further from the principles of lifelike portrayal, striving to combine documentary accuracy with philosophical generalisation and making very wide use of two-dimensional narration techniques. Customary features now include myth alongside everyday occurrences, the grotesque cutting through dense, interwoven, pointedly authentic sketches of the present, the parallelism of non-contiguous lines of action, the miraculous next to the worldly, the incredible next to the commonplace.

In trying to convey real life, in all the richness of its colours and shades, the novel, through the efforts of the best writers, raises everyday phenomena to the level of the most complex contemporary problems. To that end is subordinated its whole construction—still experimental in many cases but, at times, already bringing significant creative results.

Moreover, this does not occur only in the works of those who are acknowledged to be masters of their trade. Recent years have not produced such a rich harvest of interesting new writers as previous ones, but still, several writers who began their writing careers in the 1970s have deservedly attracted attention by their works. I would particularly single out two American writers—Robert Purcig and Joan Didion.

Purcig's novel *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* is a book of great philosophical capacity. It contains debates about the various types of consciousness: "practical" and "supra-utilitarian", "classical" and "romantic" and also about the most important spiritual course of the whole 20th century. The book also contains a great many echoes from the American way of life in the most recent times, touching directly on the most burning social issues. For Didion, these issues are the primary material for the novel, and her *A Book of Common Prayer* contains what is perhaps one of the effective "snapshots" of the contemporary American way of life, bringing into its purview conflicts of a political nature which in many ways are characteristic of the whole world today.

One is forced to enter into polemics with the two writers over some of their ideas and, as an artistic whole, their works are still somewhat vulnerable, but one cannot deny the significance of

their creative originality. Then there are several other writers who made their first appearance in the 1970s—Anne Tyler, John Irving, Mary Gordon, Ann Beattie—not a bad crop for one decade!

And how many talented Black writers also came out of those years—Alice Walker, Mildred Taylor, Ernest Gaines and, of course, Tony Morrison, whose *The Song of Solomon,* as she herself admits, written under the influence of Gabriel Garcia Marquez and other Latin American "magical" realists, signifies a new trend in the novel which goes into the permanently agonising racial problems in the USA.

A. MULYARCHIK. Someone has just expressed the view here that the post-war period is generally considered to be one of a decline in American literature. Certainly this view has been held for a long time in our own literary studies but it should have been relegated to the archives some years ago. And the question here is not the number of exceptions to this mournful evaluation but the fact that the post-war era, already thirty-five years old, is indisputably an original historico-literary reality, having seen the introduction of new genres and prose forms, and, most important, new attitudes.

The socio-critical traditions, in their "primitive" form, did not fade after 1945. One can sense them in those novels by Mailer and Jones which have already been referred to and later in individual works by Oates, Lionel, Gardner, Philip Roth and Tom Wicker. But overall, the "literary substance" of the American novel does look somewhat different—one can detect more irony, a deeper psychological analysis, the use of code and metaphor and, sometimes, the reverse—the exposure of artistic devices. As for great achievements—there have been and continue to be some although it is better to judge some authors by the aggregate of their work rather than by single books.

But we agreed to talk about the 1970s.

Literature in the USA over the past six or seven years has certainly proceeded along several different lines, but in general I don't believe there are grounds for speaking either of a crisis or of a sharp upsurge linked with the discovery of a new, higher quality. But there are many reassuring phenomena, testifying to the viability of American—and first and foremost, realistic—prose.

Take the "threat" to literature from the "new journalism" which was being talked about in the USA at the beginning of the decade. The daring attack by Tom Wolfe and his colleagues in *Esquire* misfired long ago but that does not mean that the clash of the two aesthetic strata did not produce any beneficial sparks. The documentary influence has penetrated deeply into the novel

genre—I am thinking of *Burr* by Gore Vidal and *Ragtime* by E. L. Doctorow. These very same "new journalists", it appears, no longer insist on dogmatic faith in former canons. Nothing has been heard for a long time of Gay Talese, who, armed with the facts, was on the point of describing the "physiology of the private life" of New York. Jimmy Breslin, with every new book, evolves closer and closer to the novel form, and Joan Didion has turned out to be a good writer—her *A Book of Common Prayer* impresses me not only by the acuteness of the social problems it deals with, which reveal distinctive facets of American reality, but also by its lively elastic style, its wit and its concision.

A number of writers are now finding themselves at a parting of the ways (Mailer) or in a situation where, with every new book, they can find little to add to what has already been said (Oates and Roth). However, every year brings forth new names and gladdens us with at least one or two works which seem fated to stand firm for a long while to come in the nation's cultural memory. As such indisputable landmarks, I would list *Something Happened* by Joseph Heller, *Gravity's Rainbow* by Thomas Pynchon and John Cheever's *Falconer.* The neo-feminist movement generated some interesting literature, a distinctive "novel-review" genre grew up (Paul Theroux and others) and new talents were discovered amongst Black Americans and other national minorities. However, each of these themes merits a special examination.

If there was any decline in recent years, then it was amongst the former "classics" of "mass fiction"—Harold Robbins, Leon Uris, Levin, McLean, etc. I would not want to fully rank Arthur Hailey in this category, but in the 1970s, the value of his books—both in the cognitive and socio-critical sense—has become impoverished. Even in *The Moneychangers,* Hailey was concerned not so much with the plot or with interesting information as with reinforcing the prestige of his characters from the number of industrial leaders. In the recent *Overload,* he goes even further proclaiming that the big monopolies are the only ones who can save America and the Western world from the "energy crisis".

"Mass literature" in the USA really warrants a separate treatment—it is a boundless sphere in which much that is curious takes place. Added to this is the fact that it is particularly actively used in pursuing the goals of ideological expansionism. For example, the "political novel" has been sharply transformed. From Allen Drury we have *Come Nineveh, Come Tyre* and *The Promise of Joy,* in which the most burning international issues are raised but which do not treat these issues in the spirit of detente and mutually advantageous cooperation. Apart from professional fiction writers, more and more retired government functionaries and intriguing politicians, awaiting the end of the unfavourable

state of affairs, are also putting their hand to this genre of fiction. There is a colossal interest in this kind of writing in the USA after the defeat in Vietnam and the "Watergate Affair", which, by the way, contradicts to some extent the notion that a mood of apoliticisation and escapism is increasing amongst Americans.

But in the sphere of "great prose", I would single out two thematic, ideological and artistic "nodes"—one at the beginning of the decade, one in the middle. Many writers took in the "youth movement" and the "counterculture" associated with it—the radical changes in fashion, mode of behaviour, artistic quests and life philosophy. Novels of this type published in the Soviet Union include *Evening in Byzantium* by Irwin Shaw and *The Assassins* by Elia Kazan but the deepest investigation of that theme is to be found in John Gardner's *The Sunlight Dialogues.*

Another group of works is linked by an interest in American history, although the ideological aims pursued here are various. Some writers (such as that very same John Gardner in *October Light*) searched in America's past for the roots of its democratic tradition. In the interpretation of James Michener, author of *Centennial* and *Chesapeake,* the experience of centuries only sheds light on the unshakeability of the norms of bourgeois society. Thus the discussion on the nature of US history, provoked by the approach and then the celebrations of the nation's Bicentennial, reveals two basically opposing views of America's spiritual culture.

The literary situation at the end of the decade is marked by that same confrontation of two systems of values. The spirit of American radicalism is alive in the books of memoirs by Lillian Hellman and Katherine Ann Porter and in Robert Coover's *The Public Burning of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.* John Hersey (*Walnut Door*) and Tony Morrison (*The Song of Solomon*) both point to the possibility of using the youth and Black movements to contribute to the democratic renewal of American society. On the other hand, Herman Wouk's latest war novel *War and Remembrance* and also the recent best-seller by Morris West, *Proteus,* are pierced through with notions of conformism.

N. ANASTASYEV. John Gardner, indisputably one of the most outstanding figures amongst the new generation of American writers, shatteringly evaluated the past two decades in literature as a "moral defeat". This, naturally, is rather an extreme view. I believe that fruitful creative changes are going on, or perhaps, to be more accurate, being outlined, in American literature today. Popularity is far from always being an indisputable indicator of artistic peaks, but it must be admitted that the readers' interest in the novels of Updike and Cheever, not to mention Vonnegut's prose was ensured by their true creative significance.

At the same time, there is an element of truth in Gardner's pronouncement. The writers of the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated with great force the disaster of the "consumer society", the loss of spiritual values. But their books, some of which were good or even outstanding, did not express with sufficient determination the moral alternative to the generally accepted mode of life. How did this come about? The reason probably lies in a certain narrowness of their views on life. The familiar types were brilliantly depicted—the "white collar worker", the apathetic philistine, and later, the rebellious youth. But literature did not distinguish the America of the working class which still preserves its own foundations, its own code of morals, and its traditions in the most unfavourable social conditions. It is as if the writers silently agreed with the theory of the one-dimensional nature of American society, which has been so loudly sounded abroad. This moral delusion had deplorable results in practice—details were clearly defined but life's perspectives were imperceptibly diffused. What is more, the epic scope was much too narrow.

However, it seems to me that the new American prose is now taking on that breadth. In that context, *October Light* by John Gardner is an outstanding phenomenon, reviving as it does the best traditions of the American 20th-century classics, which range from Anderson to Steinbeck, author of *The Grapes of Wrath.* A realist writer in search of an ideal—and that was the aim of the book—does not lapse into starry-eyed idealism. Love for life—so far as it can be expressed in a novel—is not the same as admiration for it. In the figure of his hero, the old farmer, Gardner divines not only the moral virtue, the solidity of the national character, but also sees that this very solidity can at times become smugness, that moral loftiness can become puritanical sanctimoniousness and that strength can become contempt for weakness and so on.

But it is not difficult to note that the increased inclination for epic works beget a vogue for them in the vast stratum of mass fiction. Large numbers of books are appearing, sometimes by unknown writers, in which, under the guise of an extensive social analysis, the praises of the American way of life are rather inconvincingly sung.

The most important thing, however, is that the genuine writers, in working out a new and wider view of the world, have come up against a considerable number of artistic difficulties. In progressing towards *October Light,* John Gardner passed through the experience of a "pastoral novel" (*Nickel Mountain*), in which the epic task was resolved as if over and above the present-day reality of American life, with all its divisive contradictions. I agree

with Zverev that *The Song of Solomon* (by Tony Morrison) is a good book, but it does not always succeed in achieving artistic harmony in the depiction of day-to-day life and of mode of life, to which it so frankly aspired. I believe there is no need to look for set formulas for the artistic process—it is more useful to scrutinise the actual literary process and try to understand it in all its fulness.

G. ZLOBIN. It is very difficult to give an answer to the question: "What is going on in American literature?" One must perhaps begin with another question: "What is going on in America?"

The opinion has been expressed here that there are no grounds for singling out any one decade in this particular period. Naturally, the periodisation of events which continue to occur is in general not a very productive exercise. What seems important and interesting today, tomorrow or the next day can lose its topicality. There is also some degree of continuity, the transition of some phenomena into others. But still, the 1960s in America did have their own character, marked by the outburst of civil consciousness. It's true that the 1960s did not end according to the calendar. A new situation set in after the Vietnam war and the Watergate affair, somewhere in 1973 or 1974.

During that decade the American people lived through more, perhaps, than they had ever had to endure, more, perhaps, even than during the Second World War. On the whole, that war did not affect the American people a great deal—except of course, those who took part in it—apart from the everyday inconveniences. Therefore the "peaceful", relatively safe America seems a different, alien country to James Jones' heroes, as they return from the war. I am referring here to the writer's latest novel.

Somewhere, far from home, across the seas, people were fighting and dying. That feeling of personal non-involvement has told on the American war novel. Even the best writers rarely question the meaning and purpose of war. Their novels do not contain that distinct spirit of anti-fascism which permeates European literature, not to mention Soviet works.

Of course there are exceptions, and outstanding ones. I am particularly thinking here of the recently published *Sophie's Choice* by William Styron—an honest book directed against fascism and racial intolerance.

Thus, while 1963-1974 was the explosion, later a period of unstable equilibrium set in. I stress the word "unstable".

Many American observers consider that the 1970s were a no less heated period. There are many reasons for this—the energy

crisis, the crisis in the cities, unemployment, inflation, taxes and high prices. Prices have more than doubled over the last decade and this affects everybody. Life became comfortless. On the other hand, people grew tired of the excesses of the 1960s and were more drawn to tranquillity and peace.

All this led up to the crisis of confidence in American social institutions. In the sphere of political relations, a re-grouping of democratic forces is taking place, a search for new tactics. Parallel with this, there has been sharply increased activity among the Right-wing "hawks"—those uninvited minders of other people's business.

The mood of uncertainty, of social stagnation, of temporising has also pierced through to literature. *Something Happened* Heller alleges. The very style of the novel reflects the endless repetitiveness of everyday life and the inability to reach the very root of things: so what, then, happened? Many novels are dominated by depiction of the external surface of reality, the melancholy style and, despite a high degree of craftsmanship, naturalism. It seems to me that we are overestimating current American prose—seeing there that which does not exist or, at least, which is not the most important.

Anastasyev spoke of the growing tendency towards the epic in the novel—the striving for a wide and many-faceted time scale. In this he is correct—just look at the stream of family narratives and sagas: *Beyond the Bedroom Wall* by Larry Woiwode, *The Surface of Earth* by Reynolds Price, Shirley Ann Grau's *Evidence of Love* and so on—but he is correct, in my view, with a few reservations. This trend towards the epic, however strange it may seem, goes hand in hand with a weakening of the social nature and historic aspects of literature, although there are exceptions to this. John Gardner's name has already been mentioned. He is a wonderful writer and if he continues along the lines of *October Light*, he will undoubtedly develop into a great one. I personally have read nothing to equal it in flexibility, moral aspiration and historical level for a long time.

Tony Morrison's *The Song of Solomon* reflects the great variety of colour characteristic of Negro literature at the present time. She literally subjugates one with her magical language and the colour of the text—as Zverev has already mentioned. This effect is so powerful that one sometimes doesn't notice the basic lack of historism in her books. 1931-1963 are the thirty or so years which her book takes in and what years they were! But her pages contain only myth and legend, a pressing close to the soil and roots. Behind some terrorist activities one certainly will not see the objectively positive content of the Black civil rights movement.

* * *

Naturally this discussion between scholars in English and American literature did not exhaust the whole range of questions linked with the aesthetic practices of "word artists" in these two countries during the past decade. Despite a number of symptoms, such as the strengthening of conformism amongst certain American writers; solitariness, an interest in strictly local phenomena amongst English writers, one can, quite obviously, say that the 1970s represented a serious stage in enriching the literature of those countries with realistic tendencies, in widening the thematic range, and in strengthening the interest in the fruitful search for new forms. The books which came out of the 1970s are a confirmation of the total lack of responsibility shown by certain critics apropos the downfall of the novel and the swallowing up of the printed word by the output of the "mass media".

CRITICAL STUDIES AND COMMENT

Sex, Marriage and the Family: Western Concepts

ISKRA ANDREYEVA

The general crisis of capitalism embraces all aspects of the life of society and, in the final analysis, is reflected in the life of each individual. The family is no exception to this generalisation. The disorganisation and disintegration of the family and marriage and the disappearance of the traditional moral norms which regulate family and marital relationships and sexual behaviour have come under the close scrutiny, in recent years, of philosophers, sociologists, educationalists and medical men. The number of publications devoted to this subject increases from year to year. Despite this, there is a remarkable number of different (often mutually exclusive) criteria used in the approach to the study of these problems. This can, of course, be partly explained by the complexity of the subject under investigation. But in this particular case, the explanation lies primarily in the acute social contradictions present in bourgeois society, in methodological and ethical differences, and in the extreme contradictory nature of the most basic theoretical positions characterising bourgeois social thought.

Between the covers of a single collection of works, such as, for example *Sociology and Social Problems. A Conceptual Approach* (New York, 1976), one can find not only different but also mutually exclusive points of view on the same question. However, despite all the variation in initial positions, approaches, reasoning and styles and methods of exposition, it is still possible to pick out certain general features which characterise nearly all the works.

1) The standards of the consumer society are accepted as models. As applied to the woman's labour activity, this is expressed in the

orientation towards her career and her power (within the family). The further development of parental roles is linked with parents' ability to create opportunities for their children's successful advancement during the course of their socialisation. Conjugal relations are considered harmonious only if they allow for mutual orientation towards success outside of the family and a high level of sexual activity which creates a peculiar type of prestige, especially for the man. Consumer attitudes are seen most clearly, perhaps, in the approach to sexual behaviour and the corresponding moral norms. Even in works by researchers striving for objectivity one finds occasional overestimations of the role of sexual activity. Most of the works are characterised by an eagerness to negate the norms of sexual morality traditional for West European culture.

2) The contradictions and tensions in family and marital relations are considered within the limits of a world outlook typical of the bourgeois consciousness. In methodological terms, this is expressed in the fact that individual family or marital problems or problems of sexual behaviour are extrapolated to all social relationships and even to the fundamental questions of thought and being. Thus the authors of the collection of articles entitled *Philosophy and Sex* (New York, 1975) bring out concealed sex problems in the philosophical ideas of Jean Paul Sartre, especially in his analysis of the subject-object relation, in phenomenological philosophy, and so on. The very interest in sex problems they link with the dissemination of types of philosophising foreign to the analytical tradition.

The lack of clear-cut scientific criteria for analysing social phenomena compels many participants in the struggle for women's rights to consider social conflicts as confrontations between the sexes. Indicative in this respect are works which call for eliminating male "power" and prophesy the beginning of an era of "feminisation" of society which is, supposedly, the only way of solving such contemporary social problems as the arms race, social injustice, the various forms of discrimination, etc.[1]

As is known, the present stage in the women's liberation movement was pioneered by Betty Friedan. She tried to reconsider the true substance of the "myth of femininity" of women, which in her opinion, is intended to cover up and justify woman's submissive and oppressed position.[2] Betty Friedan's call to women to gain and consolidate their independence and self-awareness, her idea that women's liberation lies in their own hands have been transformed today into extreme forms of the neo-feminist movement.

Works of this type, however, demonstrate not only the methodological shortcomings of their authors, who have a

distorted impression of the true socio-economic reasons for female inequality. These works also testify to the change which has taken place in recent years in the understanding of the woman's place in Western society. The authors of these books are attempting to outline the path and the boundaries of woman's advancement in the professional sphere and formulate the problems which women come up against in their fight for equal rights. Such works are imbued by an emancipatory zeal which is characteristic of the times. Whereas, in his day, K. Kirkpatrick, an American sociologist, compared women with Negroes in order to demonstrate their natural inferiority compared to the white male,[3] today E. Dessai sees Negroes as women's black brothers, equally exposed to discrimination.[4]

It is meaningless, in our opinion, to argue about the primacy of one sex or the other: it is much more important to make a sober assessment, on the basis of scientific data, of the potentialities of each sex, taking into account the specific peculiarities of human nature and being cautious of extremity in making biological or exclusively cultural determination. In this context, I. Pyatnitsky's assumption about a possible "gynocentric" picture of the world may have some scientific interest. His assumption is based on the following ideas:

1) woman's greater versatility, which permits her to successfully adopt any role and correspondingly master the art of study, which is much in demand now in connection with the scientific and technological revolution.

2) woman's natural atavism, thanks to which she is more flexible and resistant to the pressure of alienating factors. However, Pyatnitsky concedes that a highly developed society is capable of fulfilling those very same functions by different means, which will demand "androgynocentrism", that is, not hierarchical but "complementary" relations between the two sexes.[5]

Many authors adopt a tone which testifies to a definite change in the psychological climate in relation to woman's position and social role. Whereas in the mid-sixties there was a predominant feeling among members of both sexes (and especially men) that the woman should fulfil the family role, today it is a question exclusively of equality of the sexes—whether one is speaking of labour activity, relationships between spouses or those between parents and children or the sphere of intimate relations. This is the stand taken by practically all the authors. The point is, however, that the capitalist world, by its very nature, is as far from achieving the true equality and liberty of women as it is from achieving the freedom of men and human beings in general. As previously, women are barred from taking up a whole range of professions, and the labour market continues to be divided into

"male" and "female" jobs. Women's advancement into the sphere of free professions is fraught with great difficulties, and their professional training narrows the field of possible careers to choose from.

Works on the family by foreign researchers devote their attention primarily to the crisis affecting those family functions which ensure the socialisation of the rising generation. The notion of the instrumental role of the father and the expressive role of the mother, which as a result of T. Parson's work in the fifties became something of a platitude in sociological researches, does not reflect the true situation today. The working mother can also fulfil an instrumental role in the family and the sufficiency of the instrumental role of the father alone is beginning to be questioned. The responsibility of both parents at all levels is essential for the normal socialisation of children.

The importance of the father in the upbringing of children, especially at the early stages is asserted, in particular, by Ingrid Fredriksson, who points to the demand, recently advanced in Sweden, for a shorter working day for fathers of small children.[6] The father's role is particularly important in the process of self-identification in small boys, as that part of their personality which is linked with the development of their sexual role. The non-involvement of the father or other male upbringer in this process leads to the formation of manifestations replacing masculinity, that is, pseudomasculinity, which demands constant confirmation in acts of aggression and other forms of deviant behaviour.[7]

Jessy Bernard adds to this picture of crisis in the socialisation of the rising generation in the USA, noting cases in which the mother, particularly involved in her work, cannot cope with the responsibility of sole upbringer of her children. The author's conclusion is that there is a crisis in motherhood.[8] Many researchers lean towards the idea that there is no need to rehabilitate the former role of the father. On the contrary, it is necessary to reduce the intensity of the relationship between the mother and the child, which, in their opinion, will facilitate the development of more acceptable forms of mutual relations.[9] Infringements in the differentiation of sexual parental roles, many authors assert, lead to a distinctive family pathology and often generate psychological disorders, neuroses, criminality and deviant behaviour in the children.[10]

This crisis affects not only relationships between parents and their children but also those between spouses. Many researchers note an increased dissatisfaction with marriage, especially on the part of the woman. Woman's striving for emancipation leads to the breakdown of marriage based on the economic dependence of

the woman and the supremacy of the man. Karl Marx pointed out that "in its highest development, the principle of private property contradicts the principle of the family" and the spouses' life becomes an "illusion of family life".[11] This situation, taken in the broadest sense, also means that the cult of consumerism, which results from the unrestricted domination of private property and which permeates the whole life of contemporary Western society, compels the marriage partners to relate to each other in a consumer-like fashion, brings their marriage to an impasse and leads to the disintegration of the family and divorce. Today up to 80 per cent of married people claim to be dissatisfied with their state.[12] In the USA, more than half of all marriages turn out to be non-viable. There is no shortage of bitter invective directed against the modern institution of marriage, nor of attacks on monogamy. Jessy Bernard, for example, in considering the future of marriage, shows how beneficial is woman's liberation from the burden of the family. The man, on the other hand, displays less durability outside of the family and marriage (additional testimony to this are the facts brought forward by J. Lieberman in his discussion of the problem of unstable marriages.[13]) Many foreign studies lack any indication of the interdependence between the economic independence of the woman and marital relationships. As a rule, a more important factor is considered to be the evolution of the moral norms of family life, i.e., the indirect—via morality—dependence of those elements of the family on the economic status of the woman. Although estrangement and divorce are more characteristic of families in which the woman works, the degree of conjugal happiness and satisfaction is greater amongst working women compared to those who stay at home.

All the same, the instability of modern marriage does not necessarily signify its downfall. It is more a crisis in institutionalised monogamy. All sociological researches stress the great importance of the orientation on love, trust and mutual understanding, which is betrayed not only by young people but by all those experiencing problems in their marriage.

What, then, has Western society developed as an alternative to traditional monogamy? Taking into account the fact that divorce, as a rule, is followed by remarriage on a new basis, certain researchers consider that "successive polygamy" has taken over from traditional monogamy, in which one person enters into conjugal relations with several partners during his or her lifetime. Then there is the practice of "symmetrical marriage", widespread in England amongst skilled workers, evidence of which can be found in G. Gorer's study.[14] Based on trust and mutual understanding, "symmetrical marriage" presupposes equal responsibility and participation in bringing up the children and doing the

household chores. (A form of matrimony based on comradely relations and equality of the marriage partners was discussed in their time by E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke and to some extent serves as a prototype for "symmetrical marriage".)[15] In essence, "symmetrical marriage" is a repetition of certain traits of that equality, support and mutual help which distinguishes the family in a socialist society.

The breakdown of traditional monogamy in conditions of the cult of consumerism, and hedonistic and commercial attitudes towards sexual behaviour, have led to the downfall of monogamous association within marriage. The extensive literature devoted to this problem generally buries marital faithfulness alive and extols the virtues of so-called open marriage, group sex in a commune, extramarital relations and so on.[16]

Indeed, in the USA and some West European countries, the breakdown of traditional marriage norms has gone a long way. The move towards economic independence, the nuclear form of the family and the fall in the birth-rate have created a new background for the woman's sexual activity. The weakening of forms of social control due to urbanisation and the anonymity of city life have cast doubts upon traditional forms of sexual morality. Both the role of the woman in sexual life and the role of sexual life for the woman have changed. It is precisely these phenomena which have given rise to a new epoch in sexual conduct which has been termed the sexual revolution.

Engels called the establishment of monogamous relations, which existed for the man, as essentially, nothing other than a conquest of the woman: the man turned the woman into a servant, a slave to his lust, "into a mere instrument for breeding children".[17] Now the woman is trying to take her revenge, the hidden spring in the breakdown of traditional sexual relationships is the woman's striving for equal sexual partnership. It is not a question of equality of roles (whose differences are of a biological character) but of equality of the right to pleasure, of the lifting of prohibitions placed on the woman by pagan and Christian patriarchates. Allegations of woman's biological inferiority in the sphere of sexual behaviour have vanished into the past.

Many interpretations of the sexual revolution exist, from which one can pick out the following:

1) liberalism in the sphere of sexual morals leads to a renewal of sexual behaviour;

2) the sexual revolution is a symptom of societal malaise;

3) the sexual revolution is a communist plot aimed at destroying Western culture;[18]

4) the change in sexual morality is an inescapable consequence of scientific and technological progress—there is nothing re-

volutionary about it. The latter assertion is rather accurately expressed, for example, in J. Shreter's article.[19]

By the beginning of the sixties, the notion of a sexual revolution was already widely recognised. In one of his early works devoted to that theme, Benjamin Morse emphasised that its influence had begun to tell upon even the conformist modes of thought and behaviour which cultivated sex. Advertisements saturated with sex, in Morse's opinion, not only exploited sexual appetites, they stimulated them—both directly and symbolically, while simultaneously increasing them and making them vain. Thus, advertisements are, to a certain extent, also responsible for the increased significance of sex in contemporary Western society. To this is added the fact that two important deterrents to sex—the fear of pregnancy and venereal disease—have decreased in significance as a result of medical achievements, the creation of preventive medical services and contraceptive measures. As a result of this, there was an increase in the variety and irregularity of sexual relations. Hand in hand with this went an increase in the number of illegitimate births and incidence of venereal disease, especially amongst the very young who could have taken the necessary precautions but did not due to the impulsiveness of their behaviour.

The sexual revolution embraced not only the sphere of premarital and extra-marital intercourse but also the family. Whereas in the nineteenth century, woman's role was limited to that of the object of the man's affection and the mother of his children, in the twentieth century, both partners began to take equal responsibility for the harmony of their sexual relations. The striving, particularly in marriage, to achieve maximum satisfaction was, in a way, one of the achievements of the sexual revolution. Along with this, the concept of sexual incompatibility changed.

As a result, a kind of preoccupation with sex grew up, a concern about incompatibility, etc. To this was added the pursuit, by both sexes, of different sensations, the "spice" of life, which lost more of its inner value the greater became the obsession with the pursuit of pleasure with the most varied partners. Sexual contacts turned into a kind of sport, devoid of personal involvement.[20]

But the lifting of prohibitions and the intrusion of publicity inevitably entailed a decrease in the acuity of the experience. Not surprisingly, the breakdown of traditional attitudes in the sexual sphere under the influence of the consumer society led to deeroticisation. A consequence of that was the flourishing of pornography, which, accompanying a liberalisation of morals, at first sight appeared paradoxical. Then there was the growth of sexual naturalism even in serious literature. The influence on the

reader was such that real life appeared poor and unattractive. As a result, there took place a purely superficial sexualisation of modern man, accompanied by a loss of fantasy and instinctive impulses. H. Schelski, a West German sociologist, turned his attention to this situation.[21]

The idea that sex was a panacea for all life's problems led to it being overrated. Consequently, sex began to be considered as a means of stabilising marriage or of making life fuller and not as an end in itself. Any marital conflict came to be evaluated entirely from the point of view of the adequacy of sexual relations between the partners, which scarcely seems justified in so far as marriage has a much wider significance than the sexual aspect alone. The eroticisation of marriage thus facilitated its depreciation and intimate relations became instrumental in nature. The male in a consumer society, depressed by the growing cost of living and unable to support the family on his own, shattered by nervous strain and confused by the onslaught of sexual irritants, gives up in the face of the woman's new aspirations. He chooses instead the easy variant of sexual behaviour, either trying to compensate for the flaws in married life by multiplying his sexual partners, or simply remaining passive. Becoming at times the virtual head of the family, the woman receives, in addition to the reproductive function, a whole series of new obligations. Her striving for equal sexual partnership, coming up against the man's passivity, remains unsatisfied. By advancing excessive demands, the sexual revolution is a great test both of the man's masculinity and the woman's feminity. A peculiar feminisation of the male and masculinisation of the female takes place—a direct consequence of which is an inclination towards perversion. Thus, the woman's revenge turns sour, she is again defeated, this time along with the man as well.

As for the so-called "new forms" of sexual behaviour—open marriage, joint extra-marital sex or group sex within the commune—in our opinion—they have no future. Although man practised group forms of marriage in the distant past, it is nevertheless clear that such practices today do not merit the optimistic evaluations of them that we find in some works. A consequence of the breakdown in traditional monogamy, these forms of marriage are retrogressive rather than evidence of truly liberated human relations. In no way do they correspond to the real needs of modern man—the short-term nature of communes and group relations and the breakdown of marriages amongst those who participate in such relationships serves as an indication of the fact that the solution to the problem lies neither in abandoning temperance or tolerating all kinds of relationships. Although the proportion of institutionalised marriages has decreased somewhat, if one takes into account the large number of

divorces, the high percentage of second marriages has been preserved. Researches show that the overwhelming majority of married people and those just entering into marriage are oriented towards love and selectively close intimate relations. Destroying this intimacy degrades the family as a place of relaxation and a refuge from the pressures of the outside world. Not surprisingly, there is an exceptionally high suicide rate amongst people who experience sexual conflicts.

The sexual revolution has yet another side which cannot be ignored. It is concerned with those branches of learning which study the problems of marriage, i.e., the incursion of science into the sphere of sex education. The complex study of sexual behaviour is developing rapidly, involving sociologists, educationalists, legal experts and the medical profession. A new science—sexology—has grown up, which from its beginning incorporated not only a medical but also a socio-cultural approach.

The development of sexology is associated primarily with the name of Alfred Kinsey, who in the second half of the forties directed the group study of human sexual behaviour, the results of which were published in two volumes which gained fame as the "Kinsey Report".[22] The subject-matter and methodology, and also the lively discussion which Kinsey's studies provoked, imparted a scientific status to this sphere of knowledge which it had not had previously. Based on the analysis of 11,240 interviews, covering 521 different items, the Report was striking for its scope.

Thanks to the Kinsey Report, attitudes towards infant sexuality and a variety of other forms of sexual behaviour changed radically and previously widespread prejudices and rigid stereotypes began to gradually disappear. The concept of normality widened.

The study of sexual behaviour was subsequently stimulated by the works of the Bloomington Institute for Sex Research, founded by A. Kinsey and directed today by P. H. Gebhard. Gebhard accepted Kinsey's basic positions, which had, in my opinion, certain negative consequences. Kinsey's work is often accepted uncritically; the people under study were perceived statically, without making allowances for memory failures and things being held back. Some researchers interpreted the continuum put forward by Kinsey as a negation of polar categories and so on. Nonetheless, in the broadness of the issues raised, the development of research methodology and the attention he paid to the relationship between sexual behaviour and social factors, Kinsey truly set modern sexology and the sociology of sexual behaviour into motion. Many works followed, either analogous to those of Kinsey himself or developing and going deeper into problems which he had raised.

At the end of the sixties, Morton Hunt, author of four books and approximately 100 articles on the subject of sex, love and marriage, carried out research into sexual behaviour amongst Americans. According to his data, the number of married women having extra-marital affairs had trippled since the time of Kinsey's researches. Half of all college students had had sexual intercourse before the age of 17 and 80 per cent of young women had been involved in pre-marital relationships. At the same time, Hunt notes that the lowering of the age of first sexual intercourse and the widening of the boundaries of permissivity coexist with an almost universal orientation towards love and marriage based on love.[23]

Kinsey's pupils, J. H. Gagnon and W. Simon, who conducted research into sexual behaviour involving a large number of subjects, point, in one of their works based on a great many inquiries and observations, to the predominance of socio-cultural factors rather than biological ones in determining human sexual behaviour. Man's conduct in this sphere is prescribed by cultural models and "organising metaphora".[24] In this connection, research by D. and A. Jonas, in which the struggle for the status of a stronger individual in the animal world is extrapolated both indirectly and analogously to culture models of human behaviour is an example of the overestimation of biological factors in man's activity which has found widespread dissemination within the framework of ethology.[25]

Researchers into sexual behaviour devote a great deal of attention to the development of sexual functions and sexual behaviour amongst young people, a phenomenon which presents contemporary society with a whole range of social problems. Works by J. Gagnon, W. Simon, M. Hunt, P. Hartfort and J. Israel and many others point to:

1) the peculiarities of age-related self-regulation of sexual function having the character of a norm (masturbation, isolated homosexual contacts);

2) a trend towards a certain decrease in the age at which the first sexual experience occurs;

3) a discrepancy between the recognition of the permissibility of pre-marital sex (for both young men and young women) and real behaviour (in which the degree of pre-marital sex is much lower for men, for women compared to men and for those with a higher level of education compared to those whose education terminated after secondary school);

4) the relatively high incidence of problems associated with the beginning of sexual activity;

5) the exaggeration of the generation gap with regard to evaluating norms of sexual behaviour;

6) the prevailing orientation towards love and happy marriage.

Non-typical forms of sexual contact have also been subjected to study. A distinct attempt to rehabilitate deviant sexual behaviour is noticeable in the West. This is linked with the revelation that such a significant number of people are homosexual that it is no longer possible to rank homosexuality as a perversion in Western literature. Parallel with the somatic pathology, the link is clearly exposed between the number of deviants and the disorganisation of the family as the cell of socialisation, on the one hand, and the critical state of social values in Western society and the drawbacks of the consumerist approach to the equality of the partners in a heterosexual relationship, on the other.

Those studying sexual behaviour come up against many problems, and not simply as research themes. What is more advisable—a normative code of control over the birth-rate and sexual conduct or increased liberalisation? Much is unclear about the future of research into sexual behaviour. Where is such research leading? It is essential to develop new directions and methods of research. One important task lies in relating theoretical and empirical research with the theory and study of small groups, the social structure, institutions and value orientations and conflicts. The literature on sexual behaviour is often full of intuitive guesses and trite information.

Worthy of attention in this respect is the work on sexual behaviour carried out by William Masters, a physician, and Virginia Johnson, a psychiatrist, who were both greatly influenced by the Kinsey Report. Their joint work has a definite social significance, important both for the development of the overall personality and, in the final analysis, for the establishment of healthy intimate relations within the family. Initially, Masters and Johnson set themselves a purely medical and biological task—to study human sexual reactions. Over a period of 11 years, with the help of the most modern equipment, they described the fundamental physiological indicators of more than 100,000 full sexual cycles of both men and women. Their work,[26] supplementing Kinsey's with direct physiological information, became a best-seller, although it did not escape the reproach that it gave an extremely biological interpretation to man's sexual function. Despite the fact that it essentially did not go beyond the bounds of its biological task, the main virtue of the work lies in the ethical field. Masters and Johnson pointed out the wide range of practices which can be defined by the concept of normal; the publication of their work contributed to removing further restrictions from the study of sexual behaviour. The book, which appeared at the height of the sexual revolution, seemed to challenge the last restrictions which

youth at the time was trying to eliminate, overthrowing in the process parental and normative moral authority.

Masters and Johnson's next book signified a wider approach to the problem, taking in psychological and socio-cultural aspects.[27] It contained a description of a method of treating sexual disorders, which were considered as a breach in communication between marital partners. Accepting for allround treatment only couples with the aim of correcting the stereotypes defining their relationship, these American scholars achieved a high level of therapeutic effectiveness. The consequent reproaches that this time they had overestimated the psychological and underestimated the somatic aspects of human sexual behaviour did not detract from the positive significance of their work. (Their initial theoretical premise, by the way, considering primarily interpersonal interactions and rejecting medicamentomania, was in keeping with the basic line of development of Soviet sexology.) The significance of this work consisted in the fact that its authors demonstrated the pathogenic role of social factors in sexual disorders (mainly religious prejudices and rigid moral stereotypes). It thus once again directed attention to the enormous importance of the moral foundation of the personality in the sphere of sexual behaviour.

The next step in Masters and Johnson's joint work was connected with preventing breaches of interpersonal interaction in marriage and the corresponding sexual disharmony. Their initial positions, methods and certain conclusions from their prophylactic work are set out in the book which describes several meetings with married couples which took place in 1971-1972.[28] Discussing the important aspects of conjugal relations (the importance of interpersonal interaction between spouses and in connection with this the development of the culture of sexual relations in marriage, extra-marital intercourse, including the one involving both partners, divorce and second marriage, etc.), the authors stressed the need for a humanistic approach to such relations. The spouses' everyday life should incorporate trust, frankness, mutual responsibility and adaptation, all of which not only serve to resolve the difficulties which arise in marriage but also to develop the relationship between man and wife. They also emphasised the inevitability of changes in the relationship between marriage partners with the passage of time, while it depended on the partners themselves whether their union grew and flourished or they simply grew old.

The authors refute the current notion of "free sex" which is supposed to enrich the personalities of those who indulge in it. On the contrary, they consider that participation in free sex—evidence of a crisis in a given marriage—deeply traumatises both husband and wife. Taking cognisance of the age, they allow only

the temporary nature of extra-marital affairs. In connection with this, they attach special significance to the role of the woman, who, whilst becoming an equal partner, must also realise the significance of her special role as a source of stimulation and stability in the marriage. Essentially it is a question of the new responsibilities the woman must take on in the new conditions which nevertheless do not contradict the biological nature of her sexual role—the expressive function within the family, responding not only to the demands of the children but those of the husband, too. Such an approach to marriage requires not only self-knowledge but also mutual understanding, which can be accomplished only as the result of joint efforts.

Thus Masters and Johnson's activities are not restricted to study and treatment but also include an attempt to develop interpersonal communication in marriage, which presupposes a joint position on the preservation of the family, absolute trust as a precondition of stability, the ability to discuss problems openly and the willingness to meet each other half-way. Of course, these therapeutic and educational efforts in the field of marriage undertaken by Masters and Johnson have a local significance in a society which cultivates sexual anarchy. However, their works also exerted a great influence on the scientific community as a whole. Having concentrated their efforts on improving interpersonal interaction between husbands and wives, Masters and Johnson paved the way, to a large extent, towards the development of psychological, behaviouristic, sexological and other methods of research into sexual behaviour and means of making the latter more sound.

In that key, too, one can consider the efforts made by workers in the fields of education, public hygiene and culture in providing sex education for children, which ought to contribute to the development of healthy sexual conduct. In the course of organising such work, rather broad tasks were put forward. It is proposed that during a child's upbringing, he or she should receive the factual data on the biological and physiological aspects of sexual behaviour. The way should be pointed towards the realisation both of personal sexual requirements and those of others and assistance rendered in coming to the understanding that, in the sphere of sex, the feelings of one's partner are no less important than one's own. People should also be helped to acquire the ability to talk about their feelings and needs, etc. A considerable number of books, aids and manuals are now being published which contain basic information about sexual behaviour, the techniques of sexual intercourse for adults, etc.

Works devoted to the state of sex education in Sweden, France, Great Britain and West Germany show the independence of

efforts in that field. With the exception of Sweden, the other countries lack a unified programme or principles in the approach to this important matter. There are great shortcomings in teacher training, work with parents, and, most important of all, in the basic orientation of sex education in which emphasis is largely laid on the factual side.

Such an approach in itself is not wrong. Factual knowledge, doing away with ignorance in this field, naturally assists in making a conscious choice of modes of behaviour. Free conversation in the process of sex education helps develop the habit of discussing these questions; co-education of girls and boys facilitates their subsequent communication. To this one might add the change in the social climate, accompanied by a more favourable attitude towards sexual enlightenment. This has promoted the development of greater tolerance when discussing these problems within the family, which despite the escalation of sex brought about by the mass media, still remains taboo. Thus, the favourable pre-conditions for subsequent work in this field are being created, work which presupposes a comprehensive approach to developing the culture of sexual behaviour, taking in the wide spectrum of humanitarian and moral relations. But the attraction towards dealing with the informational, educational side of this subject which is characteristic of school courses and TV programmes in the West is manifestly inadequate and ineffective in a situation where there is a general depreciation in the ethical level of interpersonal relationships.

Despite the importance of sex education, it is wrong, in our view, to see in it a panacea for all the ills linked with the disintegration of the family and marriage and the pathology of psychological and sexual behaviour. The obvious truth that ignorance in this field truly aggravates these Western societal ills turns into a dogma which holds back the search for a more adequate educational programme and the development of a comprehensive approach. It is not surprising that many young Swedes consider that they received no sex education in schools in so far as the accepted programme in Swedish schools consists of information in the fields of medicine and hygiene.

Moreover, sex education in the eyes of its adepts is also called upon to ensure the maximum liberation of the individual insofar as it is precisely here that hopes for the individual's self-expression in the sexual sphere lie. This latter is regarded as a pledge of the freedom not only of man in general but even of society. Thus, the new union of Faust with the Prince of Darkness takes on a new name—sex, and sex becomes the point of reference both of life and its goals.

Lenin, in a conversation with Clara Zetkin, forecast a fundamental breakdown in sexual relations in bourgeois society: "At this time, when powerful states are collapsing, when the old relations of domination are being turned upside down, when the whole social world is beginning to crumble, in this epoch the sensitivities of the individual are changing rapidly. An ever increasing thirst for variety and pleasure easily acquires unrestrained force. Present forms of marriage and association between the sexes in a bourgeois sense are already not satisfying enough. In the field of marriage and sexual relations a revolution is approaching which is in keeping with the proletarian revolution."[29] The tragedy of the present breakdown in bourgeois sexual morality is that it takes place under the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie and is proceeding in alienated forms. Hence all the distortions, contradictions and instabilities discussed above. On a broad scale, these will disappear along with the disappearance of social disharmony.

From a Marxist point of view, woman's involvement in active working life is an important indicator of her advance towards social equality; even under capitalism this is a progressive and natural process. As a result of this, the patriarchal type of family is collapsing along with patriarchal monogamous marriage, both of which were adapted to consolidate private ownership relations in society. In their place, new forms of relationship between the sexes are growing up. The contradictory nature and drawbacks of that development, which is taking place in an alienated society and sometimes in distorted forms, nevertheless points to the possibility of creating new, more just and humane relations between people—between men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children—in a more just society.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, E. Dessai, *Hat der Mann versagt?* Hamburg 1972; M. Korda, *Male Chauvinism, How It Works*, London, 1972; *Sisterhood is Powerful. An Anthology of Writing from the Women's Liberation Movement*, New York, 1970; *This Great Argument: the Right of Women*, Reading, Mass., 1972.

[2] B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, New York, 1963.

[3] K. Kirkpatrick, *The Family as a Process and Institution*, New York, 1955, pp. 158-160.

[4] E. Dessai, op. cit., pp. 11-34.

[5] I. Pyatnitsky, "Sex and Human Nature. The Dialectics of the Biological and Social Aspects of Human Nature", *Revue roumain sciences sociales. Philosophie et Logique*, Bucharest, 1973, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 171-176.

[6] I. Fredriksson, "Die Stellung der Frau in Schweden", *Modellfall Skandinavien? Sexualität und Sexualpolitik in Dänemark und Schweden*, Hamburg, 1970, pp. 191-198.

7 A. Aron, "Relationships with Opposite-Sexed Parents and Mate Choice", *Human Relations,* London, 1974, Vol. 27. No. 1, pp. 17-24.

8 J. Bernard, *The Future of Motherhood,* New York-Baltimore, 1975.

9 Ph. Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness. American Culture at the Breaking Point,* Boston, 1970.

10 H. Stierlin, "Family Theory: An Introduction", *Operational Theories of Personality,* New York, 1974, pp. 278-307.

11 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works,* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1975, p. 99.

12 *Sociology and Social Problems,* p. 231.

13 *Contemporary Marriage: Structure, Dynamics and Therapy,* Ed. by H. Grunebaum, A. J. Christ, Boston, 1976, p. 256.

14 G. Gorer, *Sex and Marriage in England Today,* London, 1971.

15 E. W. Burgess, H. J. Locke, *The Family from Institution to Companionship,* New York, 1945.

16 *Beyond Monogamy. Recent Studies of Sexual Alternatives in Marriage,* Baltimore-London, 1974; J. B. Miller, *Toward a New Psychology of Women,* Boston, 1976; J. Bernard, *The Future of Marriage,* New York, 1972 and others.

17 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 233.

18 B. Morse, *The Sexual Revolution,* Derby (Conn.), 1962, pp. 5-6.

19 J. Shreter, "Technological Progress and Sexual Revolution", *Impact,* New York, 1970, pp. 37-49.

20 B. Morse, op. cit., p. 89.

21 H. Schelski, *Soziologie der Sexualität,* Hamburg, 1955, p. 156.

22 A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeray, C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male,* Phil., 1948; A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeray, C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female,* Phil., 1953.

23 M. Hunt, *Sexual Behaviour in the 1970's,* Chicago, 1974.

24 J. H. Gagnon, W. Simon, *Sexual Conduct. The Social Sources of Human Sexuality,* London, 1973.

25 D. Jonas, A. Jonas, *Sex and Status,* New York, 1975.

26 W. H. Masters, V. E. Johnson, *Human Sexual Response,* Boston, 1966.

27 W. H. Masters, V. E. Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy,* Boston, 1970.

28 W. H. Masters, V. E. Johnson. *The Pleasure Bond. A New Look at Sexuality and Commitment,* Toronto, 1976.

29 C. Zetkin, *Erinnerungen an Lenin,* Berlin, 1957, p. 71.

MAN AND NATURE

Polar Ice: Effect or Cause of the Climatic Change?

VICTOR ZAKHAROV

From the time when it became known that the climate of our planet had been undergoing systematic changes, many scholars, including oceanologists, have displayed increasing interest in these changes. The temperature rise which occurred in the first half of the 20th century caused a marked change in the environment, particularly in the areas of natural glaciers. As a result, permafrost has disappeared in a number of regions and glaciers have receded in North America, Europe, Greenland and numerous Arctic islands. The area of ice cover and its thickness have decreased in the Arctic Ocean. The dates of break-up and freeze-up in littoral regions have changed. Navigation along the Northern Sea Route has improved. The temperature was expected to continue rising.

However, in the mid-1940s, the air temperature began to drop, first in north-western Greenland, then in the Central Arctic, the region of Canadian Arctic archipelago and in marginal Arctic seas. Within the territory of Soviet Arctic the sharpest drop was registered in the Kara Sea, the annual mean temperature between 1961 and 1965 was almost 3°C lower than between 1941 and 1945. The area of ice cover and its thickness have increased. Ice has become commonplace in formerly iceless areas or where it appeared from time to time. The border of heavy pack ice has moved southward. Pack ice was found along the seaborne traffic lanes thereby hindering navigation. Sea ice approached the shores of Iceland and blocked its northern coast, impairing navigation and fishing in coastal waters. Scientists began to talk about a new Glacier Period which is supposedly to set in soon. But in the late

Average Areas of Ice in the Ocean, Data Collected over Many Years, millions of square kilometers

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Average
Arctic Ocean	12.16	12.31	12.28	12.26	12.06	11.52	10.43	8.58	7.92	9.92	11.67	11.93	11.08
Northern Hemisphere	14.87	15.91	16.11	15.49	13.90	12.45	10.94	8.78	7.95	9.99	12.11	13.30	12.65
Southern Hemisphere	6.77	4.28	2.62	6.44	9.18	11.01	13.93	15.66	18.82	17.75	15.24	11.44	11.09
Ocean as a whole	21.64	20.19	18.73	21.93	23.08	23.46	24.87	24.44	26.77	27.74	27.35	24.74	23.74

1960s the cooling period stopped and the air temperature began to rise, the ice area decreasing.

The above examples testify to the rather close relationship between thermal conditions in the atmosphere and the changes in sea ice. The nature of this relationship also seems obvious, namely, the area of ice varies inasmuch as the air temperature changes. At the same time, recent data suggest that sea ice itself may be the cause of climate change.

On the average, sea ice occupies 23.74 million square kilometers (6.6 per cent of the Ocean area) per year, out of which 12.65 million square kilometers are in the Northern Hemisphere and 11.09 million square kilometers, in the Southern Hemisphere. The data given in the Table above show the peculiarities of the yearly variation of ice-covered areas in each of the hemispheres and the Ocean as a whole. Among other things, these data testify to the fact that the ice of the Northern Hemisphere is much more stable to seasonal variations of solar radiation than that in the Southern Hemisphere.

Mention should be made of an essential difference in the distribution of ice in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.

In the Southern Hemisphere, sea ice is concentrated near the Antarctic, completely encircling the latter. In any season its outer border is mostly latitude-oriented. In the Northern Hemisphere, the ice cover has a substantial meridianwise length. In a number of regions during the cold period of the year it extends beyond the Arctic Ocean. In the Atlantic Ocean, sea ice is found right up to 46° North Latitude (the area of the Newfoundland and the Saint Lawrence Bay) and in the Pacific Ocean—farther south, to 43° North Latitude. Along the Asian coastline the gulfs and bays are frozen up to 37° North Latitude. At the same time, there is no sea ice in the greater part of the North-European basin. At the height of winter one may reach the 80th parallel by ship along 5° East Longitude without coming across a single ice floe.

This striking phenomenon has usually been attributed to oceanic circulation. Both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, sea ice extends farthest southward along the eastern shores of the Asian and North-American continents, the coasts of which are influenced by cold sea currents. The latter carry ice from the north and create a sharp asymmetry in its distribution between the western and eastern parts of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

At first glance this explanation seems convincing. In reality, the position of the southern edge of sea ice in winter in the Northwestern Atlantic is explained most often by the arrival of ice from the Arctic along the Labrador and East-Greenland currents.

What is strange is that the sea ice of the Nothwestern Atlantic is largely of local formation rather than brought from afar. No doubt, the ice of the Sea of Okhotsk, the Bering Sea and the Sea of Japan is also of local origin. In this case one is justified in asking why in winter time ice is formed in certain regions (for example, in the Newfoundland area in the Atlantic), while in other regions with a more rigorous climate (for example, in the waters of Western Spitsbergen) it is not formed. The Spitsbergen islands are located 33° closer to the North Pole than Newfoundland. In winter, the Sea of Azov and the northwestern part of the Black Sea are covered with ice, whereas the southern part of the Barents Sea is not.

Special mention should be made of one more peculiarity of the annual changes in the Arctic Sea ice cover. As is shown in the Table the seasonal minimum of its area falls on September. In late September and early October the front of the ice formation shifts from the zone of residual ice towards the open sea. The ice-covered area continuously grows from that time on. Yet, in the Arctic Ocean the ice cover increases mostly during the first three months—October, November and December. In the subsequent four months the ice area remains almost unchanged.

This can partially be attributed to the fact that in most regions

the ice cover reaches its natural borders—the shores. However, it should not be forgotten that even at this time of the year large expanses of pure water with a total area of about 2.3 million square kilometers are preserved in the Arctic Ocean. These are the Norwegian, partially Greenland and Barents Seas. The expansion of the ice cover in the direction of these seas is not hindered by any visible obstacles; nonetheless, ice is not formed there.

In order to better study the phenomenon of inhibition in the development of the ice cover it is not necessary to consider it in the entire ocean; the analysis can be confined to a region where it is manifest most clearly, namely, the North-European basin, on the one side bordering on the Arctic basin, and on the other—on the Atlantic Ocean. Sea ice is located in the northern part of this region and in the cold season may freely expand southward towards the wide strait between Greenland and the Scandinavian Peninsula.

However, in this area, too, the ice cover expands intensively in the first half of winter and, then, despite the continuing drop of air temperature, remains constant. But if this is the case, are we justified in saying that the temperature rise in the Arctic at the beginning of this century and its subsequent drop in the 1940s were the cause of the change in the polar ice area? Or, were not these temperature fluctuations caused by the changes in the area of the Arctic sea ice cover? In other words, could not the polar ice be the cause rather than the effect of the change in climate?

The polar ice is an element of the underlying surface as a major climate-forming factor. Since water phase transitions are accompanied by a sharp variation in the reflective power of the surface, i.e., *albedo* (from 0.1 to 0.8), the change in this ice area should tangibly affect the thermal conditions of the atmosphere. Thus, if there is a mechanism in nature regulating the development of the Arctic ice cover, it is possible to attribute the major climatic fluctuations in the 20th century to the change of the polar ice area. Indeed, such a mechanism exists. Investigations have shown that the formation of sea ice and its stability and distribution are regulated by the fresh water layer on the surface of the ocean.

THE ROLE OF THE FRESH WATER LAYER IN THE ICE COVER FORMATION

The existence of an upper fresh water layer (so-called surface Arctic waters) is a major feature of the structure of the water body of the Arctic Ocean. In their physico-chemical properties (reduced salinity and a temperature close to freezing point) these

waters differ noticeably from the underlying waters of Atlantic origin, possessing a positive temperature and salinity exceeding 34 per mil.

Interacting with each other, the surface Arctic and deep-lying Atlantic waters make up a transition layer, i.e., the *pycnocline*, whose density rapidly grows with depth. Since the vertical exchange in the sea decreases as the density gradient grows, the pycnocline serves as a sort of barrier to the heat flow from the Atlantic waters towards the ocean surface. According to available data, only a negligible part of this heat is transferred through the pycnocline to reach the surface.

In polar regions the vertical distribution of density is largely conditioned by changes in water salinity. Therefore, it is advisable to speak of the screening properties of the *halocline*, i.e., the salinity jump layer, rather than of those of the pycnocline.

As is known, ice formation is possible only if the outflow of heat into the atmosphere from the surface of a water body exceeds its flow to the surface from deep-lying layers. The heat deficit formed in this case is compensated by the heat of crystallisation as water transforms from a liquid to a solid state. Hence the extremely important role played by the conditions regulating heat transfer to the water surface from below.

A major mechanism responsible for heat transfer to the water surface in the autumn-winter period consists in vertical water mixing (convection). Convection arises as a result of hydrostatic instability when water density in the surface layer increases in the process of its cooling or salination. Unlike fresh or salty waters sea waters possess one major property: the temperature of their highest density lies below freezing point. It means that in conditions close to homohalinity, i.e., when vertical salinity changes are insignificant, ice formation becomes possible only after the entire water body—from surface to bottom—is cooled down to freezing point. In deep seas, where heat content in the water body is always sufficiently high owing to a continuous horizontal exchange (even in the North Pole area it exceeds 500 Kcal/sq. cm) ice should not form. A slight cooling of the surface layer is sufficient to bring the entire water body into convection and to ensure the transfer of such an amount of heat to the surface, which will fully compensate for the outflow of heat into the atmosphere.

Thus, should homohalinity be observable in the Ocean, sea ice could not form at its low depths, including the Arctic basin occupying the deep water part of the Arctic Ocean. Only in shallow coastal areas with an insignificant total content of heat in the water body would the conditions be favourable for ice formation.

However, sea water density is the function not only of temperature, but also of salinity. Since the latter, as a rule, increases with depth, in actual conditions convection usually does not spread throughout the entire water depth, but is confined to the upper layer only. It is noteworthy that in polar regions the thickness of this layer is closely related to the specifics of the vertical distribution of salinity. In places where vertical salinity gradients are considerable, convection encompasses only the upper several dozens of meters. In this case, the amount of heat transferred into the atmosphere during the autumn-winter cooling will be limited by the heat content in the mixed layer and may turn out to be insufficient to prevent ice formation.

According to data available, only a small amount of heat coming from the Atlantic waters to the ocean surface (in most regions of the Arctic basin it does not exceed 1 to 2 Kcal/sq. cm per year) is transmitted through the halocline and reaches the surface. Of course, this amount of heat is insufficient to make up for its outflow from the surface into the atmosphere and thus to prevent ice formation. Consequently, the halocline is a necessary condition for sea ice to be formed in a deep sea.

Actually no matter in what area of the Arctic Ocean—near the Pole, along the coast of Asia or North America, east of Greenland or Labrador—we study the specifics of the vertical distribution of salinity, everywhere we observe one and the same picture: in places where the surface layer is fresh and lies on the halocline there is sea ice. In those areas where there is no fresh layer, ice is not formed in the ocean. This means that the ice cover is organically linked with the surface Arctic waters and that it is, figuratively speaking, a "visible trace" of these waters on the surface of the Arctic Ocean. The edge of sea ice geographically corresponds to the waterfront formed at the junction of the fresh Arctic and highly salty Atlantic waters, while further down it corresponds to the outer border of the halocline. As the Soviet oceanologist N. Bulgakov has shown, beyond the bounds of the halocline there is a steep increase in heat flow from the depths of the ocean to its surface, accompanied by the stabilisation of the floating ice edge.

Thus, the nature of inhibition in the development of the Arctic ice cover becomes clear. By mid-winter this cover spreads over the entire region of the halocline which prevents heat transfer to the surface, thereby ensuring the necessary conditions for ice formation. Beyond the limits of this region the outflow of heat from deep-lying layers to the surface fully compensates for the outflow of heat into the atmosphere. It is for this reason that when the ice edge reaches the outer bounds of the halocline it stops moving farther towards the open water at the height of winter.

The development of the halocline in space also determines the most essential features characterising the expansion of sea ice in the Northern Hemisphere, of which we spoke above. What is meant, in particular, is ice formation in the regions of the Northwestern Atlantic adjacent to the North-American continent, as well as in the Far-Eastern seas: the Bering Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk and partially the Sea of Japan. In the Baltic, the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea and in a number of other seas, the ice cover is formed in the water areas where the surface layer is firmly stratified as a result of reduced salinity and is not very thick.

IS POLAR ICE STABLE?

Not only the formation and expansion of the ice cover but also its stability are connected with the peculiarities of the structure of the upper layer of the ocean. The scientific community has long been pondering on the question as to what will happen to this cover if the air temperature rises, say, due to the blanketing effect of CO_2, or drops several degrees due to an increase of aerosol concentration in the atmosphere. What is meant here is not simply the fate of polar ice (although this is important in itself), but the stability of the present climatic regime. No doubt, the disappearance of ice or, on the contrary, its growth to the dimensions characteristic of the Pleistocene glacial epochs would entail great changes in this regime not only in the North Polar Region, but throughout the rest of the globe. Thus, admitting the concept of polar ice instability would, generally speaking, mean admitting the constant threat of irreversible and rapid changes in the condition of the natural environment. And conversely, admitting the concept of polar ice stability against external effects would mean admitting the stability (of course, within certain space and time limits) of climatic and natural conditions in general.

It should be noted that the question of Arctic ice stability cannot be satisfactorily solved without considering the specifics of the vertical structure of a water body, in particular, without taking into account the screening role of the upper fresh layer of the ocean. The Soviet polar oceanologist, Yu. Doronin, was the first to point out the importance of this consideration. In his opinion, if the Arctic ice cover once melts, but the existing vertical structure of the ocean's waters is intact, the ice cover will eventually be restored.

Only the Arctic Ocean's upper layer, with an average thickness of about 50 m, can be involved in the ocean's seasonal heat

exchange with the atmosphere. This layer accounts for only 1.7 per cent of the entire water body of the Arctic basin. Taking into account the fact that this layer is almost impermeable for heat flows from below, we have a right to say that in this case we are dealing with a very shallow sea.

The heat balance equation was used to assess the seasonal warming-up and cooling of such a sea. For its solution use was made of the mean values of meteorological elements for many years in the area of Medvezhy Island located in the western fringe of the Barents Sea's continental shallow close to the core of the warm Spitsbergen current. It should be noted that equating the conditions characteristic of Medvezhy Island today with those of the ice-free part of the Arctic Ocean is equal to an increase in annual mean temperature from minus 19.7°C to minus 2.0°C. These data served as the basis for calculating the heat content in the active layer. Moreover, since the thickness of this layer varies from place to place, calculations were made for layers 10 to 100 m thick every 10 metres.

These calculations have shown that the time needed for ice to appear in the ocean greatly depends on the thickness of the layer involved in the ocean's energy exchange with the atmosphere. They have also shown that if after the destruction of the ice cover the active layer thickness doubles as against the present one and reaches 100 m, even then ice formation will be inevitable. But if this present thickness is preserved, ice will be restored by the middle of January. Generally speaking, the ice cover will be restored in the ocean in accordance with the distribution of the active layer's thickness. The ice cover will first be restored in the marginal zone and will encompass the entire Arctic basin by the end of winter.

Thus, if the present-day structure of the waters of the Arctic Ocean's surface layer is preserved, the once destroyed polar ice will be restored to nearly its former size by the end of the very first winter. It is only by changing this structure, i.e., by removing the fresh water layer, and thus ensuring the flow of heat from the depths of the ocean to the surface, is it possible to provide conditions preventing the restoration of the ice cover.

Since the climatic conditions on our planet are greatly dependent on sea ice covers, while the latter seem to be extremely conservative to external effects, there is every reason to speak about the stability of the present climatic conditions and their incapability of radically changing within short periods of time. This means that certain changes in air temperature owing to the blanketing effect of CO_2 or the growth of the aerosol concentration in the atmosphere should not lead to a cardinal restructuring

of natural conditions, provided the fresh water balance in the Arctic Ocean is not upset.

POLAR ICE AS A FACTOR OF CURRENT CLIMATIC CHANGE

Thermal conditions in the atmosphere today are not an obstacle to the spread of the ice cover to regions of the North-European basin. This is confirmed by the fact that an isotherm of minus 2°C, which corresponds to sea water freezing point, is located in winter everywhere to the south of the sea ice border. For example, in the layer of the atmosphere near the water surface, the February isotherm of minus 2°C runs along the prime meridian to the south of the ice cover edge by almost 10 degrees latitude. And although this distance is approximately half of that in the other parts of the North European basin there is no doubt that the major obstacle to ice formation there is the ocean itself rather than the temperature in the atmosphere.

Of great interest in this respect is the conclusion made by the British climatologist Ch. Brooks about the possibility of self-development of the Arctic sea ice cover. According to his estimates, after this cover reaches a certain critical size, any further increment in its area should be accompanied by such a drop in air temperature which would ensure its further development. This development, which finds expression in the sea ice edge shifting towards the equator, should continue until the temperature fall due to the cooling effect of the ice cover is balanced by its rise as the ice cover nears the equator.

However, it should be borne in mind that Brooks' conclusion is based on the premise that the development of the sea ice cover depends exclusively on climatic conditions. This conclusion holds for a shallow sea where heat content is insignificant and, therefore, cannot be a serious obstacle to ice formation in winter time. As we have already pointed out, in a deep sea an air temperature fall in itself cannot yet cause ice formation. An indispensable condition for this is the presence of the halocline, which would limit convection to a comparatively thin surface layer thereby providing conditions characteristic of a shallow sea. Therefore, without changing the essence of Brooks' conclusion, in general, it is expedient to word it somewhat differently, namely, once the ice cover reaches a definite size it creates such thermal conditions around itself in the atmosphere which can no longer hinder its further development.

Since the flow of heat from the water is the only obstacle to ice formation in those regions of the North-European basin where water temperature in winter time drops below freezing point, then

by "cutting" this flow or sharply weakening it it is possible to provide conditions for ice formation.

Thus, a change in the ice area should not necessarily be preceded by corresponding climatic changes. This change may be the result of an alteration in the thermohaline structure of the ocean's upper layer, in other words, the result of a salinity decrease in the surface layer. For ice to develop and fill the entire Barents and Greenland Seas it is not at all necessary to lower the already low winter temperatures of the air over these regions. It is enough to spread fresh surface Arctic waters to these seas for ice formation to become inevitable there. This means that thermal fluctuations in the Earth's atmosphere can be the effect of a change in the polar ice area, rather than its cause.

Value Orientations of Young People in Socialist Society

IVAN LEVYKIN,
LARISA SHESTAKOVA

A large amount of theoretical and empirical material on value orientations, which is available in Soviet and foreign scientific literature,[1] makes it clear that so far there is no simple and generally accepted definition of these orientations, many questions of their genesis, functions and structure being still debatable and their sociological aspect not yet clearly ascertained. The complex character of the problem of value orientations consists in that they deal simultaneously with sociology, psychology and pedagogics, and are connected with many other, so far insufficiently studied, psychological mechanisms of the regulation of human behaviour.

In each group of young people value orientations acquire their own specific features and do not exist as value orientations "in general", *outside* the object content of activity in which they manifest themselves, and *outside* the concrete situations determining the character of that activity. When the subject of activity is the aggregate subject, i.e., this or that social entity, value orientations manifest themselves as a *selective* attitude of this subject to the material and intellectual values of life, as a conscious selection from the available set of social values. Serving as the mechanism of selectivity, preferability and activity of the individual, value orientations always include the *evaluation* of an object and its correlation with the requirements, interests, ideals and convictions, as well as emotions and moods of the given subject. Apart from the evaluation component, the structure of value orientations also includes the emotional, cognitive and behavioural components which are responsible for value orientations operating as motives and stimuli of social activity.

In this context we examine the value orientations of the Soviet young people, regarding them as a concentrated expression of their requirements, interests, ideals, convictions, as their selective attitude to social values, and also to both other social groups and society as a whole.

From this definition it follows that value orientations disclose the *main* content of social processes as expressed in the psychology of Soviet young people.

At present, *the growing similarity* of the value orientations of the urban and rural youth is under way. It is based on the objective processes of Soviet society's movement towards social homogeneity and the emergence of general traits in the character of labour and the mode of life of classes, social groups and the urban and rural population. The value orientation and career of the young people basically depend not only on class characteristics, but also on demographic and intra-class professional and educational ones. This is corroborated, on the level of social psychology, by sociologists' observations showing that Soviet society is now characterised, on the one hand, by its *simpler "macrostructure"* (class structure) and the intensified withering away of the deeper social distinctions, and on the other, by its *complicated "microstructure"*, by the relative growth in everyday life of those non-class distinctions that used to be relatively insignificant.[2]

We regard this process as an expression of the main development trend of social psychology under developed socialism—the overcoming of the essential socio-psychological distinctions between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, between the urban and rural populations.

To make a more thorough, theoretically well-substantiated analysis of value orientations it is necessary to represent them as a system of concrete closely interconnected elements. With a view to disclosing this relationship the following system of value orientations can be suggested, depending on the sphere of activity, its direction and the activity of a person and a group:

— orientation towards *labour* activity as the essential social value defining man's position in socialist society;

— orientation towards *socio-political* activity as a concrete expression of the rights and freedoms granted the Soviet people by socialism;

— orientation towards *educational, cognitive* activity and the raising of the educational and cultural level;

— orientation towards *artistic creative* activity;

— orientation towards *family and everyday life* activity;

— orientation towards *social contacts.*

This approach, based on different types of activity, to studying the value orientations of the young people includes the unity of

two components: an analysis of a group as the subject of activity and the producer of social benefits, and secondly, as the subject of consumption, as a consumer of social benefits. These two most important factors of social activity (production and consumption), their interrelationship and dynamics determine the content and direction of each element and of the entire system of value orientations of youth as a whole. An *optimum* combination of activity and consumption, as well as personal and social aims and interests can be defined, first and foremost, in the context of the *social significance* of the essence of the value orientations of an individual or a community. One cannot agree with the statements of some authors that the presence of a firm value orientation by itself characterises the maturity and stable character of an individual. The point is that the system of value orientations can be stable enough, but have an anti-social trend. In this case it is, evidently, unable to characterise the individual (group) as mature.

The maturity of a person or community can be determined only from the angle of the social significance of the content and direction of his or its psychology and, in particular, the system of his or its value orientations.

The Soviet younger generation as a whole can be characterised by such socio-psychological traits as a thirst for knowledge, for creative labour and social activity. At the same time, there are age sub-groups which have socio-psychological distinctions of their own. According to the direction of interests, orientations and trends, the following age groups of the working youth can clearly be singled out: from 16 to 20 years of age (younger group); from 21 to 25 (middle group), and from 26 to 30 (older group).

The first group is distinguished by mobility, a search for opportunities for the most expedient spheres of the application of their forces, and, in the majority of cases, by social orientations and trends that have not yet taken final shape. As far as their vital plans and orientations are concerned, members of this group can be divided into two sub-groups: the first one includes boys and girls with complete secondary education who are working temporarily and intend to continue studies at higher educational establishments or specialised secondary technical schools. Members of the second sub-group want to learn a trade, master the chosen occupation and raise their skill. They prefer to work at an enterprise where they will have the opportunity to study in the evenings or by correspondence.

The middle age group of young people has, as a rule, more stable value orientations. Investigations show that among them the number of persons wishing to switch jobs or continue education at university or institute is diminishing, but the number of those wishing to master a trade and raise their skills is growing

considerably. At the same time, there are still people who want to change jobs, their number depending on the type of enterprise.

The urban and rural youth of the older age group are predominantly socially mature people with stable value orientations. At the same time the structure of their value orientations undergoes changes: some of these orientations become predominant, come to the fore; others take a place in a corresponding hierarchy. Sociological research conducted in the USSR[3] shows that the Soviet young people as a whole are oriented to socially useful labour and give preference to the creative types of work which provide opportunities for the development of personality, material welfare and high social prestige. Within this general definition there are substructures: orientations towards various labour situations and various motives of attitude to work. Two poles can be singled out: 1) orientation towards the social significance of labour, the desire to be socially useful ("heroic" or "altruistic" model); 2) orientation towards work only in one's own narrow personal interests ("egoistic" model), and as an extreme case—unwillingness to work, laziness, sponging. Between these models lies the entire multiformity of youth's attitudes towards labour activity.

The overwhelming majority have orientations of the first type prevailing. The youth orient themselves to genuine social values, that is, those material and cultural benefits and ideals which correspond to the interests of socialist society and contribute to social progress.

This section of the youth strives to work conscientiously at jobs they like, enjoy a good family life, good friends, material well-being, and conditions for study and recreation.

Education is one of the essential social values of the youth. It is regarded as a need, duty, requirement. The improvement in the educational system being effected in the USSR is oriented to creating an intellectual potential called upon to ensure solution of the current and long-term tasks of scientific and technological, economic and social progress of society. At the same time there are distinctions in the orientations of the various groups of the young people towards a specialised secondary and higher education, which, on the one hand, characterise the manifestation of individual inclinations, and on the other, their discrepancy with the all-Union and regional requirements in specialists of highest qualifications and mass trades. A number of serious problems crop up in connection with the continuous education and retraining required by the scientific and technological revolution.

Special attention is being paid to instilling in school senior-formers the desire to join the ranks of the working class and the peasantry. What we have in mind is the formation of professional,

ideological and political, moral and psychological readiness to display one's abilities in the sphere of material production and services. Experience has shown that a uniform trend in the educational activity of the family, school, work collective and the public in urban and rural communities largely contributes to solving the problems of labour resources and the communist education of the rising generation and youth as a whole.

Soviet sociologists have lately revealed certain changes in the consciousness of the young people. A sharp increase in the number of school graduates due to the switchover to universal secondary education in this country, and a decrease in this connection of the percentage of graduates who continue on colleges and universities right after school, have conditioned certain changes in value orientations. On the one hand, the 17-year-olds, without changing their orientation to continuing their education, concentrate their attention on specialised secondary technical and vocational schools and intend to continue education there right after school. Specialised secondary technical and vocational schools give both professional training and general education which meet the entrance requirements of any college or university. All those who have studied eight or all ten years at the secondary school can be enlisted. On the other hand, the experience of the past, of the young people of 17 to 25 years of age, shows that failure to enter college or university, although it causes some emotional discomfort during that period, does not entail moral damage as far as further prospects are concerned. Several years later those who failed to enter an institute or university do not feel any worse, socially, than those who have succeeded.[4]

Sociological data show that the various kinds of schoolchildren's professional orientation have been gradually drawing closer together and levelling out in the school pupils' consciousness. Thus, 46 per cent of school pupils now wish to continue education at a college or university, but not 80-90 per cent, as it was in the 1960s. The rest are oriented to entering vocational schools and specialised secondary schools. But practically all graduates of general secondary schools want to receive vocational training before they begin their labour activity; only 0.5 per cent of the eight-form pupils and six per cent of the ten-formers expressed the wish to go to work immediately upon leaving school.[5]

The perception of the need to raise educational level depends, as we see it, above all on a creative attitude of a person to labour, on the understanding of the basic laws and trends of scientific and technological progress, and naturally, on many individual traits of a person. Attitude to education largely depends on a wide range of orientations of the individual, on his immediate and long-term

basic plans. Innovators and rationalisers oriented to creative activity are striving, as a rule, to extend their general and professional knowledge and outlook. Among rural young people the proportion of those oriented to continuation of education or self-education (especially in the 28-30 year-age bracket) is not as yet very great.

The study of the mechanism of the interaction of value orientations and the self-assertion of personality is of definite interest both to science and social practice.

The self-realisation of personality is a process of activity and behaviour, in which man emerges as the conscious subject of activity aimed at satisfying personal requirements. In socio-political activity in our country the individual realises:

— his social role in the system of social relations determined by the rights and duties following from the Constitution of the USSR, the Programme and Rules of the Party and social organisations (CPSU, YCL, trade-union organisations, etc.) and the types of social activity connected with them;

— the outlook and political knowledge acquired through education and self-education, one's own experience of socio-political activity;

— individual human qualities reflecting the individual's originality and uniqueness, that is, everything which lends social life emotional and volitional colouring;

— interest in political life and the need to acquire social information necessary in order to express personal opinions and take a conscious part in socio-political activity.

In this context, Soviet scholars seek to show dialectical connections between value orientations, requirements in self-assertion and the means of their realisation. These interconnections can clearly be traced in orientations towards labour, leisure-time and social contacts.

Sociological studies convincingly show that social relations under socialism and the system of communist education contribute to the formation of stable orientations towards the ideals of socialism and communism. Such socialist values as the socialist political and economic system, Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideals of humanism and internationalism have become the ideological foundation of the social activity of the overwhelming part of Soviet young people. Orientation towards active participation in implementing the aims and tasks of the Soviet society is a characteristic feature of the Soviet young people's ideological consciousness. "Millions of young men and women are models of courage, tenacity, and fidelity to the ideals of the October Revolution," stressed Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the 18th Congress of the Young Communist League. "They are working with great

enthusiasm in all sectors of the front of communist construction, and are actively furthering the fulfilment of the country's strenuous development plans. They inject their special, romantic élan and, I should say, youthful fervour, into every undertaking." [6]

The youth's orientation towards active participation in transformation activity which is underlied by social and age causes and expectations of a personal and social character, is one of the reasons of such an important social trait of people as a positive-critical way of thinking. Soviet young people are irreconcilable to shortcomings in work, red tape, money-grubbing, etc. Cases of social indifference on the part of young people are not typical of Soviet society. The Party orients the Young Communist League to fostering an active social attitudes among all groups of the young people. Every year millions of boys and girls start independent life in our country. They face new life situations and unexpected problems. An attentive and tactful mentor should help them start their working life and orient themselves in new situations.

Empirical research into the social orientations of the various youth groups conducted in the USSR makes it possible to reveal the laws of their changes, depending on age, education and professional and class affiliation. Repeated sociological studies, which are gaining ever growing popularity in this country, allow our scholars to disclose the dynamics of the value orientations of the various groups of the youth in the conditions of developed socialism and in new social situations.

NOTES

[1] *Sociology in the USSR*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1965; V. V. Vodzinskaya, "Concepts of Direction, Relations and Value Orientations in Sociological Study", *Filosofskiye nauki*, No. 2, 1968; I. T. Levykin, *Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Social Psychology*, Moscow, 1975; I.S. Kon, *Sociology of Personality*, Moscow, 1967; "Personality and Its Value Orientations", *Information Bulletin of Soviet Sociological Association*, No. 4 (19) and No. 25 (40), Moscow, 1969; Collection *The Activity of Personality in Socialist Society*, Moscow-Warsaw, 1974; *A Working Book of a Sociologist*, Moscow, 1976 (all in Russian); Vasil Tasev, *Social Value and Moulding of the Personality*, Sofia, 1974 (in Bulgarian); *Man and His Work. A Sociological Study*, Moscow, 1967; *A Team of Collective-Farm Workers. A Socio-Psychological Study*, Moscow, 1970; *Rural Youth. A Sociological Study*, Moscow, 1970; *Young People and Their Interests, Aspirations, Ideals*, Moscow, 1969; A. I. Efimova, "On Some Value Orientations of Rural Youth", in the book: *Problems of the History and Theory of Scientific Communism*, Moscow, 1969; V. G. Alexeyeva, *On the Threshold of Independent Life*, Moscow, 1979; R. G. Gurova, *Secondary School Graduate*, Moscow, 1977 (all in Russian).

[2] R. I. Kosolapov, *Socialism. Theoretical Problems*, Moscow, 1972, p. 389 (in Russian).

[3] See, for example: *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Soviet Worker*, Moscow, 1972; S. N. Ikonnikov, *The Youth. A Sociological and Socio-Psychological Analysis*, Moscow, 1974; *Scientific Foundations of Political Work Among the Masses*, Leningrad, 1972; *Proceedings of the All-Union Scientific Conference "Lenin and the Youth"*, Moscow, 1974; *Social Problems of Labour and Production*, Moscow, 1969; V. I. Zhuravlev, *On Self-Assertion of Secondary School Graduates*, Rostov-on-Don, 1972; *A Team of Collective-Farm Workers. A Socio-Psychological Study*, Moscow, 1970; *Rural Youth. A Sociological Study*, Moscow, 1970; I. M. Slenkov, B. V. Knyazev, *Rural Youth Today*, Moscow, 1973; *The Social Make-Up of Collective-Farm Youth. Based on Sociological Studies Conducted in 1938 and 1969*, Moscow, 1976; N. M. Blinov, *Labour Activity as the Basis of the Socialist Way of Life*, Moscow, 1979 (all in Russian).

[4] V. Shubkin, *The Beginning of a Road*, Moscow, 1979, p. 56 (in Russian).

[5] *Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya*, No. 3, 1979, p. 70.

[6] L. I. Brezhnev, *Current Problems of the CPSU's Ideological Work*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1978, pp. 561-562 (in Russian).

VIEWS AND OPINIONS

Cosmonauts on Outer Space

VLADIMIR GUBAREV

Two decades have passed since that clear April morning which completely changed the outlook of people, helping each one of us to feel to be a citizen of the Universe. And it was Communist Yuri Gagarin, who gave us that sensation. On April 12, 1961, he brought into outer space that already legendary Vostok spaceship, thus marking the beginning of the road into the Universe, a road which will have no end.

I had the good fortune to be a witness to the birth of mankind's space era. I was among those who met space crews on their return home. They generously shared their impressions. Many days, weeks and months I spent in the Mission Control Centres, at the cosmodromes and also in the laboratories where space technology was designed. And every time our talks with cosmonauts involuntarily turned to the past and to the future, to how they perceive their work outside the Earth. My notebooks contain fragments of those talks, which I today submit to the reader. These, naturally, are only minute details of space exploration which is intensively being conducted in our country and, as I see it, give an idea of what has been accomplished and of the characters of the cosmonauts themselves.

First, naturally, is Yuri Gagarin.

YURI GAGARIN:

In a few minutes the powerful spaceship will take me to the distant expanses of the Universe. What can I tell you during these last minutes before the take-off? All my life appears to me now like one wonderful moment. Everything I have experienced, everything I have done so far has been for the sake of this minute. You realise how difficult it is to analyse one's feelings when we are so close to the hour of trial for which we have prepared ourselves

for such a long period and with such passion. It is hardly necessary to speak of the feelings I had when I was offered to make this flight, first in history. Joy? No, that was not only joy. Pride? No, that was not only pride. I experienced great happiness. To be the first in outer space, to venture this unprecedented duel with nature—can one dream of anything greater than that?

I said these words before the take-off. And probably, I could find no better words after the flight. I must admit that immediately after landing I look upon myself in a different way. Well, I was born and grew up, indeed, in a glorious age—the age of great accomplishments. Everything which only recently was considered a mad fantasy is today becoming a reality, a component of our everyday life. It seems that only quite recently, when pondering over Konstantin Tsiolkovsky's wise and sagacious books, I believed and did not believe that his daring projects were destined to be realised in the 20th century... Through the port-holes I saw the sky, the horizon. Strange as it may seem, it was completely black, and against this background of the black sky, the stars and the constellations were very bright, beautiful and much more contrasting. I can confirm the opinion of scientists that our Earth is like a globe. I saw this with my own eyes.

HERMAN TITOV:

My second dawn started with a bright orange strip appearing on horizon on which all the colours of the rainbow began to appear. It seemed that I was looking at the sky through a crystal prism. And then the rays of the sun appeared in the cabin through the port-holes. A bright sunny day once again started after a pitch-dark night. I followed the Earth with interest, saw large rivers and mountains, was able to distinguish by colour the ploughed and unreaped fields. Clouds could be seen well. They could be distinguished from snow by their blue shadows reflected on the Earth.

Observations from space showed that all the Earth's continents differed not only in configuration, but also in colour. Africa's main colour was yellow, interspersed with dark-green jungle patches. Its surface was similar to the spotted skin of a leopard. When flying over the African continent, I immediately recognised the Sahara—an ocean of golden-brown sand from end to end.

The yellow Sahara suddenly ended and I saw the light-covered expanses of the Mediterranean, the most beautiful of all seas which I could observe during the first two orbits. Dark-blue, as if painted by ultramarine, it floated past the port-hole and disappeared in a haze.

I was to have dinner during my third orbit. Stretching out my hand for the food container, I took the first tube. It contained a

thick soup, which I squeezed out into my mouth. The second course which I had in the same manner was a meat and liver paste and I topped it with black currant juice, also from a tube. One can eat and drink in outer space just as easily as on the Earth. In a word, the problem of feeding for a person during a lengthy space flight can be considered solved—the only thing is to have a sufficient supply of food on board the ship...

All the time the portable cinecamera which I had taken with me floated near me in the cabin. This was an ordinary Convas camera with colour films. I took several shots of the horizon when coming into the Earth's shadow and when coming out of it towards the Sun. I also took pictures of the starry sky.

Everything was unusual, colourful and impressive. Space is waiting for its painters, poets, and, naturally, scientists who could observe all this with their own eyes, think it over and explain.

ANDRIAN NIKOLAYEV:

The complexity and the significance of space experiments grew step by step. Four years after Yuri Gagarin's flight, man for the first time left the ship and stepped into open space. Dressed in a special full-pressure suit, Alexei Leonov on the second orbit of the Voskhod-2 spaceship, opened the ship's hatch and, pushing himself off, stepped into open space and, swam in black and silent emptiness. He saw the Earth, the Moon, stars and planets not through the ship's port-hole, but directly through the transparent helmet of his pressure suit. He was in a position to see his ship from the outside, to "feel" with his hands airless space, to feel directly the remarkable world of outer space. The view that was current before that flight was that infinite space would evoke fear in man, that his psychics under such circumstances would subdue to fear and this would be a substantial obstacle in man's exploration of space. The flight made by Pavel Belyaev and Alexei Leonov fully proved the possibility of working in open space.

Together with Vitali Sevastyanov we carried out the first lengthy flight on the Soyuz-9 spacecraft. During the flight we conducted observations of the planet from outer space using optical instruments; with the aid of still-and cinecameras we recorded diverse phenomena and processes taking place on the Earth's surface. Scientists, using the photographs taken on board the Soyuz-9, were in a position to specify geological maps of the Earth's separate districts, to determine the most promising areas for mineral prospecting. In addition, photographs of the World Ocean make it possible to specify the direction of ocean currents and some of their characteristics, this simplifying the search for zooplankton and the concentration areas of commercial shoals.

The photographing of atmospheric formations, snow and ice covers of the Earth provided additional materials for the elaboration of methods for long-term weather forecasting.

The planet's farm crops, vegetation and forests have a most characteristic radiation in the red and infra-red parts of the spectrum. A detailed analysis of this information permits making practical steps in using space researches for the solution of vital problems in agriculture, forestry and other branches of the economy.

The main result of our flight was that we proved the possibility for man to effectively work in space over a long period.

VALENTINA TERESHKOVA:

A space flight, naturally, is hard work, requiring the exertion of all one's strength, self-possession and tenacity. This in no way means that only men can accomplish such flights and that women are destined to remain on Earth forever. Time passes and we are exploring near space ever more intensively; for several months crews are working in orbit. I am confident that in this difficult and long study of outer space women will take their place next to men, and will be able to cope with the job as successfully as men.

I remember up to the slightest detail every minute of my flight—such things are never forgotten. However, when speaking of the main impression, this is the picture of the Earth from a spacecraft. Our planet is beautiful and it is the task of all of us to preserve, to protect its uniqueness and remarkable beauty.

VITALI SEVASTYANOV:

Cosmonautics has affirmed itself as a science. Its role in the development of fundamental theoretical researches and applied sciences is irrefutable. Cosmonautics has sharply increased the influx of new scientific information as compared with the traditional earthly methods of cognition. Thus, for instance, 200 years have been spent in elucidating problems connected with the Earth's geometry and, nevertheless, these problems had not been fully solved. By using artificial satellites, this task was completed within two years. Or take our planet's magnetic field. Ten days' work of one geophysical sputnik produced more data than all preceding researches for the last 100 years. And prospecting for natural resources? The volume of such work conducted from a plane in the course of ten years can be carried out within ten days by using space technology.

All this is only one aspect of the matter. Cosmonautics' needs have stimulated the development of many applied sciences—electronics, telemechanics, chemistry and polymer physics. The results of these scientific trends were first mastered by space

technology. These achievements gradually, already approbated, began to "return" to the Earth to find application in many industries. The process of "cosmisation" of science and technology is an intricate process. But the more active the space exploration, the more tangible will be its results here on Earth.

The first sensation in orbit... I see the Earth. I see all of it. Completely. This is a feeling that grips the heart: our world is small and lonely in the Universe... At the same time, however, you see and feel the grandeur of man in his activities on the small planet Earth. And around you is the infinite cosmos, very interesting, but alien, as yet, not yours...

Indeed, our planet is a very small one, when in the course of 5-7 minutes you fly over South America or Africa, and when after a ten-day flight you come to know all of our planet's land. Another criterion is a macroview—what you see at a time. When in my first flight I conducted the following experiment. While flying over Warsaw I looked through the port-hole to find out what I could see in Europe simultaneously. Our ship was moving from West to East. On the left side, I could see the whole of Scandinavia, the Baltic Sea, Leningrad, the Riga Bay and Riga; behind me was England, Ireland; I saw London and Paris, and then the Pyrenees. On the right, I could see the Adriatic Sea, the Black Sea, the north of Italy, the Crimea, while in front of us along the spaceship's course lay Moscow.

The whole of Europe was seen at a time!

You feel the limited nature of the earth's resources because you see our civilisation's onslaught on nature, and because you also see that not everywhere on Earth it is comfortable to live. There are many deserts and mountainous districts which are difficult to access.

And suddenly you realise that the Earth itself is a spaceship, flying in the cosmos. It has limited resources and its crew are mankind who should take care of their planet and its resources, should take care of themselves.

The observation of the Earth from outer space prompts these thoughts.

VLADIMIR KOVALYONOK:

The naked eye is frequently an irreplaceable instrument. Specialists claim that it is capable of distinguishing some 200 shades of colour. One can see from orbit ridges deep under the ocean and submerged islands which even highly sensitive camera film is unable to show. The building of sputniks for the study of the Earth's natural resources became feasible only after space flights: scientists were thus able to establish what could best be observed from orbit using automatic instruments.

Great attention is being devoted to the study of natural resources. This is one of the comprehensive experiments included in the flight programme of each expedition on board the Salyut-6 station. The crews conduct technological and technical researches, employing astronomical apparatus and various instruments. Several hundred experiments are conducted during an expedition! I can honestly say that the working day in orbit is very busy; there are no days-off in flight.

This, however, is our profession; it is unique for us and we like it very much. We spend several years in training for such a flight and when we find ourselves aboard the orbital station, we spare no effort to carry out the entire programme—after all, we are aware that specialists in the most diverse fields of the economy and science have painstakingly elaborated every experiment, and thought over the methods of research.

KONSTANTIN FEOKTISTOV AND ALEXEI YELISEYEV:

Professor Konstantin Feoktistov and flight director Alexei Yeliseyev are with cosmonauts from the first to the last day of their being in orbit.

No sooner had the Soyuz spaceship separated from the carrier rocket than Yeliseyev's voice was on the air: "This is Number Nineteen, congratulations on your lying in orbit. And now let's get down to work..." This was how all expeditions to the Salyut-6 station, including international expeditions, started. The flight director's voice was always to be heard during the trying and most responsible minutes of a flight. Such was his job.

Konstantin Feoktistov was not to be seen at the Mission Control Centre every day. One of the designers of the station, he did not need to do that. But over the past two years, and some years before, the main thing in his life has been precisely the Salyut-6.

"The Salyut-6 station fundamentally differs in that a supply system has been created for it," Yeliseyev pointed out. "This made it possible to substantially prolong the duration of its flight. The Salyut-6 has been devised in such a way that its equipment can be replaced; practically we are only limited by the service life of those systems which cannot be replaced in flight. Thus, complicated test flight of the new system has been carried out. We conducted dozens of dockings and refuelling; as for dynamic operations, a much greater volume of work has been carried out compared to that carried out aboard the preceding stations. In all, some 200 corrections were performed. There were three walks out into open space. Cosmonauts spent almost two years in the station. When elaborating the Salyut-6 programme, we were aware that it would

be carried out only if everything was faultless. That was, so to say, the optimistic version, and it has been effected."

"Already at the first stage of developing the station," Konstantin Feoktistov adds, "a clear task was set: once we are in orbit, we should remain there as long as possible. And we have achieved this aim. The two docking units and a new power installation have made it possible to steeply prolong the period of the station's effective functioning. At the development stage we realised the complexity of the problems to be resolved. At times it was simply hard to believe that this was possible. Nevertheless, the designing stage, the blueprinting and, finally, the ground adjustments of the station were successful; thus making it possible to operate the station for more than three years. Of course, we have many remarks to make on its operation, but we have received a new quality—we have prolonged the station's service life. This has permitted us to broaden the programme for the orbital complex."

"Enormous research has been carried out on board the orbital complex," Yeliseyev remarked. "When it is a matter of studying and becoming accustomed to living in outer space, there are no secondary or main elements in the scientific programme. This point of view is shared by those who ensure the flight from the Earth and by cosmonauts. And yet I would like to single out such jobs as the photographing of different areas of our country and of the territories of the states of the socialist community. The result: tens of thousands of photos for specialists in the various fields of the economy. Visual observations, according to special programmes, are likewise important. There were many of them. Scientists and specialists were regularly in contact with the cosmonauts in orbit and this enabled them to receive from space the data they needed. Hundreds of samples of new materials have been obtained in conditions of weightlessness; they are being studied in laboratories in the USSR, in other socialist countries and in France. Enormous is the volume of biological and medical research. Astronomers, geophysicists and other scientists have done a great deal of work. Thus, science has been enriched by especially valuable information on outer space and on conditions for protracted work in orbit; a good foundation has been laid for future work."

"Special mention should be made of one specific feature of the station," Konstantin Feoktistov remarked. "The station had already been completed when some ideas arose in our minds. For instance, why not install a radio-telescope aboard the station? 'We are in favour of this,'—was the designers' reply to the scientists because the opportunity arose for placing new scientific instruments in orbit. Operations with Progress cargo ships were well mastered. They also delivered apparatus for visiting expeditions.

The result, in particular, was that the international crews were in a position to carry out extensive scientific programmes."

"There were also difficulties for cosmonauts when in flights," Alexei Yeliseyev added. "There were very many new things—refuelling, redocking, two ships and two crews operating simultaneously... In addition, the last two expeditions were of a special nature: they coped with a large volume of maintenance and restoration work on board the station." "Without this the station would have long ago ceased to exist," Konstantin Feoktistov pointed out. "To be more exact, it would have been impossible to use it in its pilotable version..."

"There were also failures," Alexei Yeliseyev continued. "We are glad that they did not concern the main systems. There were troubles with the video tape recorder, some of the control panels, and personal communication facilities. The cosmonauts carried out assembly work, tested new units and even did soldering jobs. This required flexibility in flight control. The 'Earth-Spaceship' communication channel was of great help. From the Centre we prompted the cosmonauts by TV what they should do and how they should do one or another thing. The performance of individual jobs was filmed and the film sent to the station. Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeri Ryumin and Leonid Popov looked through the things not envisaged in the programme and for which the cosmonauts could not have been prepared during their training sessions... Well, as for unexpected troubles, there was perhaps only one, namely the failure of the Soyuz-33 spaceship to dock and its crew—Nikolai Rukavishnikov and Georgi Ivanov—had a difficult landing. The flight made by the Soyuz-34 spacecraft with an improved engine was rather unusual—this was the first case in which a pilotable craft was launched into space without a crew."

"I would also add several more cases, although they were not so serious," Konstantin Feoktistov interjected in this connection. "They can likewise be considered as something out of the common run. We brought back a number of instruments from the station, althougn this had earlier not been envisaged. The harmful admixture filter, for example. Traces of corrosion had appeared on its surface. What was the matter? After all, during the ground tests we did not encounter such a phenomenon. Specialists would perhaps have racked their brains, had they not received the filter from the station. I remember another such episode. The "Crystal" furnace became inoperative. Either the furnace itself failed or, the ampule "swelled"? Telemetry does not always help out. So it was decided to send the furnace home, to the laboratory where it had been made. We thus gain the necessary and valuable experience for further work in outer space. The need for and importance of

the study of the cosmos and of the Earth from outer space are obvious. All the crews—from launching to landing—were most attentive and preserved a high capacity for work. Moreover, and this is confirmed by cosmonauts themselves, two weeks to one month are required for one to get fully accustomed to the station, and to weightlessness. Finally, the main point is that—a reliable ground work has been prepared for future work. Indeed it is important to establish how long a person can stay in space. It is an open secret that before the launching of the Salyut-6 station there were many sceptics who asserted that cosmonauts would be unable to hold out in space 140 or 175 days. They believed that such a lengthy flight would be a sheer adventure. It is now obvious that we can forge ahead."

"We succeded in preserving lively contact between the crew and those on Earth during the entire flight," Alexei Yeliseyev remarked, "and this was not only with their families but also with writers, journalists, actors. Psychological support was also to be found in the flexibility with which such contacts were arranged. The cosmonauts were interested in the results of their experiments and specialists regularly informed them on this matter. The course of the experiments conducted on aboard the station was corrected when necessary.

"A specific feature of lengthy flights consists in that Space-Earth communications change qualitatively. In the past, scientists could only receive information from orbit, and for that purpose they developed special apparatus. Today, they can conduct observations purposefully and broaden and deepen them as the flight continues. Moreover, they can even create new apparatus as observations go on. Indeed, scientists and cosmonauts jointly conduct experiments.

"And another, rather paradoxical conclusion: it was easier to work with the second crew rather than with the first, and with the third crew, rather than with the second. This was the result of the fact that the psychological barrier was overcome both by the cosmonauts and by the mission control group. Ninety-six days were a steep leap in the duration of flights. Naturally, there was an apprehension: would this not be dangerous for the crew's health? The doctors' forecast proved to be precise: Yuri Romanenko and Georgi Grechko returned to Earth in good form. I would say: confidence in doctors has undergone a change. I spoke to Vladimir Lyakhov and Valeri Ryumin before their take-off. I asked them: 'What is your opinion about a 175-day flight?' 'In the past we were sceptical,' the Protons replied. 'But today we are sure everything will be all right.' The crew was confident that the postflight period would proceed normally, that they would return in the best of their health. Without such confidence one cannot venture a lengthy expedition."

"All the crews of the Salyut-6 station worked in exemplary manner," Konstantin Feoktistov noted. "I would like to point out their courage and the high professional level of their work. Now about the duration of flights..." the professor was silent for a minute, and then continued: "It is not so simple to say 'yes' or 'no'. When we started work on the Vostok spacecraft, I was confident that people would fly for a long time. I even dreamt of Mars, although it was clear that what was needed was to create artificial gravitation on board the spaceship, so there were many heated debates about the duration of expeditions. To be frank, medical workers also had their doubts. A great deal of courage was needed to decide on Herman Titov's 24-hour flight. There were people who insisted that the maximum for cosmonaut-2 should be not more than three orbits... Then the figure 5 appeared. This, they said, was the limit: it was impossible to fly for a longer time. American astronauts, including Neil Armstrong, and our cosmonauts, too, complained that they felt bad, that they had a feeling of discomfort and nausea. Hence the doubts: five days in weightlessness was the limit. The flight made by Andrian Nikolayev and Vitali Sevastyanov lasted 18 days. These cosmonauts had a hard time when in orbit. Then a month in oribit. It was also hard to bear it. Would further steps be equally difficult? And suddenly these words came from orbit: 'How about continuing our flight for another month?' This was certainly encouraging! And today we can say with confidence: lengthy flights are not only possible, they are necessary! Of course, the working rhythm aboard the station is hard, but the cosmonauts work selflessly..."

"I am greatly impressed by the fact that the crews show faultless performance," Alexei Yeliseyev points out. "They are in a good mood before the take-off and show lively interest in the programmes. The crews demonstrate enormous self-control. They have to find themselves in a closed space for so long time, in a businesslike atmosphere. This is an exploit, indeed."

* * *

Over the past 20 years our psychology has changed. While outside the Earth we feel we are citizens of the Universe, we have realised that there are no obstacles to human knowledge and its aim is clear to us—to ensure a better life for the people on Earth. Remember Yuri Gagarin's words: "We consider the victories in conquering outer space the property of not only our people, but of the whole of mankind. We are glad to place them at the service of all nations for the sake of progress and the happiness and welfare of all the people on Earth."

Literature and Nature

SERGEI ZALYGIN

There is an interesting trend in modern Russian literature. The traditional Russian "hunter's" story—the stories of Aksakov, Turgenev, and Grigorovich, which are intimate and personal, which are stories of repose, if I may put it so—is now becoming acutely social, being filled with a feeling of anxiety about nature.

What emotions are aroused in the hero of the classical hunter's story (in most cases the author himself) as he communes with nature? He would think with a touch of sadness: "Soon I'll die, but these fields, this forest, this river, these skies will remain here for all eternity without me, and will not even notice that I am no longer here..."

And today?

People think differently today: "What will become of this field in ten years? Or of this forest and this river? What buildings will be erected here, what roads and pipelines constructed, what power transmission lines erected? The very skies, will they be as they are now, or will they be streaked with smoke or hidden by it?" Or in another vein: "How desolate it will all become!"

That is the change that has occurred: man's short life may turn out to be longer than the life of nature that has existed, immutable, for thousands of years.

Certainly one has to keep repeating tirelessly: "Protect nature!" But that is not enough, one has to find a sanctuary for nature in our consciousness—the only sanctuary where it can save itself from our achievements, from our habits of consumption that are ever growing quantitatively and qualitatively.

But who is to accomplish this task?

This is a task for the whole of our culture, for everything that is included in this concept. So far, culture has also been a consumer of nature, and the part of culture called science has for centuries been seeking ways and means of fighting nature and subordinating it to man. Now the time has come when culture should prove its worth in an opposite direction, that of protecting nature, of subordinating man's needs to the rational use of natural resources.

Nature is our only habitat; there is no other. No one wants to die, but few know how to care for life. That is why literature, with its intrinsic search for the meaning of life, should now seek it in protecting life itself, that is, nature. The more extensive and profound this search, the sooner a world outlook will be formed that will be opposed to the destruction of nature.

The issue here is clear enough. The difficulty lies in the enormous gap between awareness of the task and its practical realisation.

Until now, we have a wide choice of means for ensuring our continued existence and protecting our health. Probably that is why our choice has not always been wise. Now there is no alternative to nature conservation. Now is the time when man must direct all his resourcefulness and energy (inherited from nature!) towards accomplishing a single goal.

Will that resourcefulness and energy suffice in the case of, say, chemistry, which is a sure nature pollutant? Even if the pollution is relatively insignificant compared to the benefits of certain chemical products, it is nevertheless pernicious, as it accumulates from day to day. It is more difficult for chemistry than for literature to consider its relationship to nature. But we must pose the question with regard to all the sciences: "physics and nature", "genetics and nature", "biology and nature", and so on.

I do not believe that literature has any practical, organisational role to play here. It will never replace science in many areas of our life, but it has no right to forget or renounce what it can do, even if the results may not be immediately apparent. And it is the business of literature, first of all, to express its attitude to nature. Earlier we called attention to the evolution of the Russian hunter's story, noting that it has come to resemble "highly topical" works. We shall consider this change to be only the first indication of the attitude of modern literature to nature. And that means that this attitude exists in real life, too.

In our everyday life things of that sort are little noticed. It is only when, say, we try to find out what is good in a certain person and what is bad that we want to know his attitude to nature.

Let us recall Chinghiz Aitmatov's novel *The White Steamship*. There the entire action and its underlying thought develop in a natural setting, but the most important thing of all is what the action leads to in the end.

The end, it turns out, is inseparable from the relations that man establishes between himself and nature.

In the story Orozkul kills Mother Deer and he is just as cruel towards people. Old man Momun, on the other hand, is both kind towards nature and wise. It will never enter our heads that he could ever kill Mother Deer, and he is just as wise and kind to people; the two traits cannot be separated from each other.

And what about the little hero of this novel? He is a child of nature and its artless manifestation. He has no more than brushed against men's habits and ways. Evil, violence, and deceit are unnatural to him. He cannot stand up for himself and does not even suspect that it may be necessary. That is why his death is so tragic.

One can draw a parallel here: nature, like a child, good and innocent but lacking in pragmatic sense, stands defenceless before "almighty" man.

Parallels of this kind can also be observed with regard to all the other heroes, but that does not at all mean that the logic and action of *The White Steamship* are entirely cerebral products. Nothing of the kind! The artist's keen eye and ear grasped the close correlation and interaction of man and nature, and then his talent and soul went to work in a free and easy way. In the symphony that this work is, our ear distinguishes the man-nature theme in all its shadings. We sense the need for protecting nature, for however titanic nature might appear to us, its edifice also proves to be very fragile. Then there are meditations about literature: so far it has been anthropomorphic, but now the need is growing for literature to be more nature-oriented.

The fact that Aitmatov's heroes are philosophically uneducated proves to be of little significance. The important thing is that Aitmatov himself is a profoundly educated man. A writer "needs" education not so much for himself as for his heroes: it represents his ability to understand the spiritual life of the people, which is infinitely rich even if the people are unable to express it themselves.

Incidentally, all writers who work on this theme have experiences of communion with nature in the course of their lives.

Let us consider the work of Valentin Rasputin from this point of view.

The island of Matyora on the Angara will become the bottom of a man-made sea when a hydroelectric power plant is constructed... This event is not condemned or even discussed by

the author, for he is profoundly concerned with other matters—the psychological consequences of this event, the people who are involved in it, and the different world-views reflected in their actions.

For one of the heroes of the novel, young Andrei, the move from Matyora to a stone house with modern amenities in a workers' settlement is no more than moving from one flat to another, whereas for his grandmother Darya this is a move from one existence into another, from a familiar world into an unfamiliar one. Rasputin follows Darya closely—her losses and her feelings about these losses. He does not often use the word "history", but everything that happens in the story is part of spiritual history. We come to realise that all of us daily let something similar happen to us—we all lose our Matyoras. And do we always realise these losses?

Some losses can be measured—in hectares of flooded or eroded land, in tons, cubic metres and cubic kilometres of polluted waters or exhaust gases released into the atmosphere, into lakes and rivers. But what about spiritual losses? No science will ever measure them, and only literature is capable of saying something about them. That is the feeling with which Rasputin goes about his task.

Victor Astafyev speaks about this in a language of his own.

His works—including *Stealing, The Last Farewells, Ode to the Russian Vegetable Garden* and *The King Fish*—reflect in some way the development of the man-nature theme in recent years.

Nature in *The King Fish* appears, if not exactly virginal, as little tampered with as in Jack London's stories.

This is no Alaska, of course, but Siberia, and Astafyev speaks of it in the accents of Siberia, rich and unlike any others. This fusion of the word and the thing of which the word speaks produces a unique sensation of artistic expressiveness which is so characteristic of Astafyev's work in general and of *The King Fish* in particular. It is an important feature, which, apart from everything else, permits the author to draw a landscape that is authentic and convincing from beginning to end, from the smallest detail to the point where the picture emerges as a whole. And it takes us into the very depths of the taiga, the hills, and the tundra, into the cold splendour of the north.

Astafyev's heroes approach nature without any feeling of surprise, but at the same time they are not indifferent to its austere beauty and splendour. They are in fact an integral part of this world. To remain in it they do not need to overcome any feeling of fear or sense of injury; they are not gnawed by any feeling of hidden envy because most people nowadays enjoy all

modern conveniences while they are beyond the Arctic Circle, without a roof above the head.

And they are not driven by a thirst for exciting adventure, as Jack London's heroes often are. But then they have something that makes them greater and wiser: they remain themselves in all circumstances and through all trials, and they do not need any psychological doping for that.

Incidentally, this is a very difficult task for the writer. He is to describe a man's behaviour in wild and rigorous surroundings when there is nothing of this in the man himself, nothing extraordinary. And how does one write about the ordinary?

In former times, and not so remote either, things were different. The hero is usually someone native to the region, like Dersu Uzala, a hero of Arsenyev's novel, who is completely at home in the taiga. That is why he does not feel as a stranger to the taiga would; he is wise and serene. Let us not forget, however, that side by side with Uzala there is Arsenyev, a traveller and an educated man, who is amazed by Uzala's wisdom and ability to merge with nature.

Such juxtaposition of contrasting personalities has long been known in literature, and it has served as a basis for many fine works. But it is now obsolete, I believe. For there are no longer any aborigines who know nothing but their immediate surroundings. Today men dwelling in the most out-of-the-way corners of the earth listen to the radio, watch TV, fly in helicopters and planes besides travelling in dog or reindeer sleighs, and read newspapers. The newcomer to distant lands has also changed: he does not lose touch with the mainland, being equipped with transistor radio, tent, outboard motor, and probably electricity.

That means that the worlds of these two men, the newcomer and the native, have grown alike, and their encounter calls forth no wonder or surprise in either. Psychologically, Astafyev's heroes are remarkable in that in their dealings with nature they are guided by conscience.

That is a difficult thing to do. One would need to understand that man is a thinking being called upon to grasp the laws of nature and recognise their justice, for justice is strict observance of one's own laws and customs, not somebody else's. Nature is never false to itself, so men treat it as their conscience guides them.

To act as one's conscience dictates is easy when it requires no sacrifices and offers no temptations. But it is not everyone who can be just in one's relations with the world when the world is cruel towards one, and who can always remember that nature is one's mother and there is no other.

Akim, the hero of *The King Fish,* is such a person.

Those who are forgetful of all this, who use nature on the egoistic "you-treat-me-bad-so-I'll-treat-you-worse" basis, amply deserve Astafyev's name for them—poachers.

Poaching in his view is not an act—it is a psychological state, a mode of life, an attitude of hostility towards man and nature, which are characteristic not only of the man who killed the King Fish in the Yenisei but also of those who work in offices and make plans that would destroy the very sources of man's existence in order to satisfy narrowly conceived needs of the moment.

All the authors whom we have spoken of, through their heroes, both "positive" and "negative" (to use the conventional terms), and even above their heads, as it were, create an image of life as it should be—a life without undue conceit, unburdened with too much philosophising and therefore philosophical in the true sense of the word, natural and free, but free to the extent that it is based on "cognised necessity".

Critics, of course, take note of this man vs. nature problem, but mostly in a conventional way. This approach is convenient, for it simplifies the critic's task by enabling him to avoid seeking new conceptions of nature and parallels and points of contact between man and nature. It is much simpler to stick to well-established divisions of literature into "war literature", "literature about life in the countryside", and "literature about the working class". Once you have neatly divided it into types, your job is done.

But all our major prose writers touch on this problem of man and nature in their works, whatever their subject and to whatever "subdivision" they are assigned.

Consider Yuri Bondarev's *Shore.*

There is apparently no logic in the scene where Nikitin, the hero of the book, remembers a night he once spent in the taiga near a campfire. However, there is something much more natural and soul-touching here than mere logic: man's need in any situation, in peace or war, to escape into the world of nature and protect it at least in thought if one cannot protect it in deed.

Vasili Belov recently published a book which he called *Harmony. Essays in Folk Aesthetics.* It is about village handicrafts that have died out and will never revive.

Why does such a well-known writer suddenly turn to this quiet and diligent work? I believe the answer is in the title itself—*Harmony.* Harmony is man's existence in accord with nature and existence deriving directly from nature; harmony is something that unites man and nature into a whole, something that makes it possible for man to preserve his human essence; harmony is the core of folk aesthetics, if the latter wishes to remain such. Harmony may mean many other things, too, which are yet to be discovered, and this is precisely the point from which Belov takes off in his essays.

And the essays are exciting, for this is a challenging field where even an experienced writer needs to take pain in order to achieve clarity and precision of thought and expression.

The Latvian writer Imant Zijedonis calls harmony "rhythm", the natural rhythm without which man's very existence is threatened. He writes about this with great feeling and tries to build a sanctuary for nature in man's consciousness.

Particularly interesting in this respect is Zijedonis' book *Kurzemīte* (Kurzeme is the western part of Latvia). The author seems to be interested in everything: history, art, modernity, modern industry, prose, journalism, poetry, essays. All of this taken together, the whole of this mosaic, is our life with its direct ties with the past, with its problems arising from the interaction of man and nature and of literature and nature.

Now let us return to the question of how critics handle this subject. One has to recognise, whether one likes it or not, that in many works in which this theme appears, it is often unnoticed by critics even when the works themselves are praised. This is largely due to the habit of pigeonholing literature into "subdivisions" mentioned earlier, which tends to reduce the range of problems dealt with. In this case the subdivision is designated "village prose", which, of course, has something to do with nature.

That is really rather strange. In the past, there were many Russian literary works in which much was written about countryseats, but critics never talked about a "countryseat" literature.

True, the so-called "village prose" suffers no great loss because of all this; it is the critics who are the losers, if any.

However, reproaches aside, the main point is that all of us—writers, critics, and readers alike—must not ignore those essentially global problems that are touched upon in one way or another in many contemporary works.

The way they are read and understood today will determine to some extent what will be written tomorrow.

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

JAPAN YEARBOOK

The decision of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the early 1970s to start issuing the *Japan* yearbook has helped the publication of materials on comprehensive studies of Japan in this country and, to some extent, served to unite specialists on Japan. The yearbook is an organ of the Scientific Council for Coordination of Oriental Studies; its Editor-in-Chief is I. Kovalenko, D. Sc.(Hist.).

The yearbook is produced by a group of proficient and knowledgeable authors, including leading experts on Japan from Institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, ministries, research and practice-oriented organisations, and political analysts.

The *Japan* yearbook, which first appeared in 1973, occupies a prominent place in Soviet literature. Within the eight years of its publication it has won a large readership comprising not only scholars on Japan, specialists, professors, instructors and students but also wide circles of the Soviet public interested in the present-day problems and in the way of life of our Far Eastern neighbour. The Soviet reading public highly values the desire of the team of authors and the Editors of the yearbook to keep track of current events in Japan and give a comprehensive coverage of the urgent and topical problems arising in the economic, political, social, scientific and cultural domains of the country's life. Along with the task of satisfying the growing interest of the Soviet public in what is going on in Japan, the writers and editors of the yearbook consider the promotion of good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Japan and the furthering of mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries to be their main goal.

Surveys, which are far-ranging overviews of current events in the country's economic and political life and of its international relations, are the main thrust of the yearbook. It is noteworthy that inquiries into economic and political problems made in the surveys are not confined to the year under consideration. As a rule, they also summarise past events and forecast future trends. This not only enables the reader to gain a better understanding of complicated and contradictory developments in present-day Japan but also creates an integral and inclusive picture of the economic and political processes which have been going on for years now. This is especially graphical in the surveys analysing long-term trends in the development of the Japanese economy.

The principal facets in the study of the Japanese economy of the 1970s were the causes and nature of the 1973-1975 crisis, the difficulties of the protracted post-crisis economic recovery, the structural peculiarities of the country's economy, the development of external economic relations, questions of state-monopoly regulation, the state's monetary and fiscal policies, problems of raw material supply, etc.

An example of the comprehensive approach to the investigation of economic processes in Japan is furnished by the survey published in the seventh issue of the yearbook (E. Leontyeva, Ya. Pevzner, 1978). It sums up the economic results achieved by Japan between 1973 and 1975, and gives an in-depth analysis of the peculiarities of the 1973-75 crisis and its negative impact on virtually every aspect of the country's socio-economic and political development.

Problems of domestic economic policy, of external economic relations, position of different sectors of Japan's industry are treated exhaustively in the section under the heading "Economy, Science, Technology", and the articles thereof considerably supplement and enhance the general characterisation of the country's life presented in the surveys. Much space is given to materials investigating Japan's foreign economic relations which illumine the expansionist essence of the state-monopoly capital of the country and the Japanese monopolies' striving to secure raw material sources vital to Japan in developing countries. The character and the causes of trade and economic contradictions between Japan and other developed capitalist states, the sharpening of rivalry between them, etc., are all elucidated and analysed (A. Sharkov, 1973, 1979; S. Ignatushchenko, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1979; S. Diykov, 1976; E. Kovrigin, 1979).

An analysis of the character and causes of the economic crisis and its implications is also made in the studies by Soviet economists which examine questions of state-monopoly regulation and raw-material, energy, monetary, fiscal, production, and socio-economic problems. Among these materials special importance attaches to the articles on the causes of inflation growth in Japan (Yu. Stolyarov, 1975); the contradictions of state policy of programming and forecasting (V. Zaitsev, 1977); the provision of Japan with industrial primary materials and fuel today and tomorrow (Yu. Sorokin, V. Kruchinin, 1973); the position of certain sectors of Japanese industry, e.g., electrical engineering (L. Lavrinovich, 1978); the automobile industry (S. Diykov, 1976).

A direct consequence of the unstable business conditions in the 1970s was the exacerbation of the internal political situation in the country. The growth of contradictions and the class struggle between labour and capital, the offensive by the ruling circles and Japanese monopolies on the basic rights of the working people, the decline in the popularity and political influence of the Liberal Democratic Party, confrontation between the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, on the one hand, and reaction, on the other, the striving of the democratic camp to implement socio-economic reforms—all these aspects of the country's political life have been analysed and investigated not only

in the surveys but also in articles dealing with specific problems of domestic policy.

One of the main themes tackled in these articles is the causes behind the sharp weakening of the political positions of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the intensification of inner-party conflicts (V. Nestiev, 1975; A. Makarov, 1978). In close connection with this theme, an inquiry is made into the alignment of political forces in the country and struggles being waged by the opposition parties on the domestic political scene. Soviet historians give much attention to the struggle of the left opposition parties—the Communist Party of Japan and the Socialist Party of Japan—for the creation of a democratic coalition government, for solidarity between all the detachments of Japanese democrats in a situation marked by the defection of the reformist "third-way" parties—the Party of Democratic Socialism and Komeito—to the side of the conservatives (Yu. Dmitriev, 1973; A. Ivanov, 1977; I. Latyshev, 1978; I. Tsvetova, 1979). Much space in the pages of the yearbook is given to the labour and trade-union movements in Japan (Yu. Georgiyev, 1977; T. Rozanova, 1979); the class structure of contemporary Japanese society (Yu. Berezina, 1979; V. Tikhonov, 1979); the socio-economic status of the Japanese working people (V. Khlynov, 1977; V. Ramzes, 1974, 1979); militarisation and the buildup of Japan's military capability (V. Sapozhnikov, 1972; A. Panov, L. Pinayev, 1976, 1978).

In the elucidation of Japan's foreign policy problems the emphasis is laid upon the character and development of close ties between Japan and the USA on the strength of the Japanese-US Security Treaty (D. Petrov, 1974, 1976, 1978; S. Verbitsky, 1977; V. Leshke, 1976) the invigoration of relations with China, brought on by a whole series of economic, political and military-strategic problems (M. Nosov, 1974; N. Nikolayev, 1978, 1979), and upon the efforts of Japanese diplomacy to overcome the sharp political and economic contradictions with countries of Western Europe (D. Petrov, 1973; A. Avilova, M. Nosov, 1978). Much prominence in the issues of the yearbook, both in the foreign policy surveys and in special articles, is given to the development of Soviet-Japanese relations based on Soviet peace policy aimed at the allround promotion of good-neighbourly ties with Japan and at overcoming the obstacles artificially raised by reactionary circles intent on fomenting anti-Sovietism among the Japanese population.

Also of great interest are the materials on the policy of expansion being pursued by Japan's ruling circles and monopolies in the countries of Southeast Asia, and the Near and Middle East which attract them by the abundance of natural resources, availability of cheap labour and inexhaustible markets for Japanese goods.

Another important trend in the Soviet scholars' studies on Japan is presented by diverse conceptions and theories enunciated by modern Japanese ideologues and philosophers. Criticisms of bourgeois-nationalistic conceptions and the ideology of the "left" and right radicalism, and the idealistic and reactionary character of Japanese bourgeois philosophy in the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the unmasking of their anti-popular, anti-communist essence are contained in the articles of B. Pospelov (1973, 1975, 1976), N. Golovnina (1979) and V. Gaidar (1977).

Problems associated with the development of contemporary Japanese culture have always found wide coverage in the pages of the yearbook. In this regard, one is drawn to articles on Japanese literature. They include study of the interconnection between postwar literature and politics, critique of works by outstanding Japanese writers such as Kobo Abe and Kenzaburo Oe (V. Grivnin, 1973, 1978), an analysis of the principal trends in the evolution of the modern Japanese novel, a characterisation of creative currents in Japanese literature (K. Rekho, 1975), a critical review of entertainment-oriented "mass literature" (N. Chegodar).

The theme of fine arts in contemporary Japan is also reflected in the yearbook. It has featured some interesting materials on modern engraving in Japan (A. Kolomiyets, 1973) and on the principal trends in Japanese national pictorial art (G. Evgenyev, 1974).

The section dealing with scientific links and ties being maintained by Soviet specialists on Japan contains materials describing the diverse forms of scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding Japanese organisations, information on joint symposia and conferences on various problems of economics, politics, history and culture.

Surveys of Japanese periodicals, reviews of Soviet and foreign books on Japan, a detailed list of literature on Japan annually put out in the Soviet Union and abroad help specialists and the layman interested in the affairs of this country to find their bearings in the spate of information they receive.

The section titled "Appendices" contains basic economic indices and statistics on the status of the working people, dynamics of industrial production, agriculture and foreign trade of Japan, and also a chronology of the more important events in the country's life.

Thus, an analysis of the problems dealt with in the pages of *Japan* yearbook shows that it effectively acquaints the reader with the multifarious life of contemporary Japanese society, promotes a better understanding of the intricate gamut of the political, economic and social problems facing Japan and its immediate prospects, and is conducive to the further rapprochement between the Soviet and Japanese peoples for the benefit of peace and good-neighbourliness.

N. Dmitriyevskaya

ACADEMICIAN N. DRUZHININ—LENIN PRIZE WINNER

One of the research works in the social sciences which have been awarded the Lenin Prize for 1980 is a comprehensive monograph by Academician N. Druzhinin entitled *The Russian Village: Years of Change (1861-1880).* The work elucidates complicated socio-economic processes of the post-reform period, adding fresh facts and theoretical generalisations to the store of historical science. The monograph, published in 1978, offers an example of the application of the Marxist-Leninist principles to social science. (See a review of this book by I. Kovalchenko in *Social Sciences,* No. 3, 1980.)

Congresses • Conferences • Symposiums

THE EPOCH OF TRIUMPHANT LENINISM

A scientific conference "Marxism-Leninism and Our Time", sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, and the USSR Academy of Sciences, was held in Moscow in April, 1980. The conference was attended by Soviet scholars, delegates of 38 Communist and workers' parties, scholars from other countries, and representatives of Party and mass organisations and of the mass media.

The opening address was made by M. Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The scientific conference "Marxism-Leninism and Our Time" is dedicated to the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, said the speaker. Our people celebrate Lenin's birth anniversary in an atmosphere marked by the indissoluble ideological, political and social cohesion and fraternal unity of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The speaker quoted Leonid Brezhnev's pre-election statement: "...we, Communists, believe—and not only believe—we are confident, we know, that the 1980s will be years of fresh successes in building communism. They will be the years of the consolidation and development of world socialism, of fresh progress in the struggle for ensuring a lasting peace."

Our optimism, noted the speaker, is based upon our firm theoretical and methodological foundation — Marxism-Leninism, the time-tested teachings about the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Lenin's birth anniversary is being celebrated by all world progressives, millions of fighters for peace and socialism. And this is only natural. The course of modern social development bears out the validity of Lenin's teachings and their everlasting significance for the international working class, the Communist and workers' movements and for the national liberation movements of the peoples throughout the world.

After comprehensively characterising Lenin's multifarious activities, Zimyanin stressed that he had created the CPSU, further developed the Marxist theory of the socialist revolution and led our Party and people to the victory of the Great October Revolution

which ushered in a new era in mankind's history. He elaborated the theory of socialist and communist construction, an action programme for the architects of the new society. The leader of the Great October Revolution was also the founder and leader of the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants.

Lenin stood at the sources of the modern international Communist, workers' and national liberation movements. Proletarian internationalism, elevated by Lenin to a new height, is one of the most important sources of the viability of Marxism-Leninism.

The foundations and principles of Soviet foreign policy laid down by Lenin, his ideas on the struggle for peace, for the prevention of war and for disarmament, for a peaceful, mutually-advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems, for the right of all nations to self-determination and a free choice of the path of social development have struck deep root in the minds of millions.

The speaker noted that the late 1970s and the onset of the 1980s have witnessed a drastic invigoration in the activities of the reactionary imperialist circles, above all those in the USA, which have started to exacerbate the international situation, seeking a return to the "cold war" and escalating the frenzied arms race with the object of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The USA and its accomplices have launched aggression, a veritable undeclared war, against Afghanistan, whose people have embarked upon the path of building a new life. Beijing's leaders, obsessed by great-power chauvinistic and hegemonistic aspirations, act as direct accomplices of US imperialists, as enemies of peace and socialism.

Taking the requisite measures in order to assure the security of the Soviet Union and coordinating their actions with those of the fraternal socialist countries, the CPSU and the Soviet Government have firmly and consistently been conducting a policy of preserving and strengthening peace, of deepening and advancing detente.

The report "Ours Is the Epoch of Triumphant Leninism" was delivered by Academician A. Yegorov, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee. It is impossible to comprehend Leninism separately from the modern era. At the same time this era cannot be understood separately from Leninism, he stressed. Marxism is inconceivable without the new introduced into its development by Lenin. The greatest service he rendered to the international working class and all of progressive mankind is first of all that from the positions of creative Marxism he laid bare the utter untenability of all forms of opportunism, vindicated the great principles enunciated by Marx and Engels, and on their strength, scientifically elucidated the new historical situation and further advanced the science of Marxism.

The speaker dwelled upon the multifarious theoretical and practical activities of the leader of the October Revolution concerning the elaboration of actual ways of advancing towards socialism and the restructuring of all social relations upon new foundations. Lenin projected in general outline the prospect of the transition from socialism to communism. His ideas on

the building of socialism have been borne out by the experience of the Soviet Union, by the combined experience of the countries of the socialist community.

In modern conditions, stressed Academician Yegorov, we are witnessing the trend towards unity and the deepening of the revolutionary process and also the extraordinary wealth of diverse tasks, means and forms of the revolutionary transformation of reality. In this connection, Lenin's thesis that the art of political leadership consists in the ability to translate general laws of development into the language of political action with due account of the specific features of every country acquires increasing importance.

Today it is precisely socialism, the international working class, defending its class positions, that is the proponent of genuine human morality, of supreme human cultural values, the most active and consistent fighter for peace and worldwide social progress.

The tremendous efforts made by the USSR and the other socialist countries, by all upright people on earth, brought about a situation in which, in the span of several years, especially in the 1970s, world development proceeded along the path of detente, the building of trust between states and their equitable cooperation. However, towards the close of the 1970s the world situation sharply deteriorated. And imperialism, first of all US imperialism, is to blame for this. The facts show that the intensification of imperialism's aggressive aims has always been accompanied by attacks upon democratic, progressive forces.

Today it is clearer than ever before that the cohesion of all revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the resolute struggle against imperialist reaction, expansionism and hegemonism, support for the just cause of the working class, of all working people, of all democratic forces, effective solidarity with existing socialism and the strengthening of the socialist community are an imperative demand of the time, the speaker noted.

The conference was also addressed by almost 40 foreign participants, as well as by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V. Medvedev, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu. Pankov, Rector of the Institute of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee.

Expressing the interests of working people and the needs of world social progress, Lenin's great teachings make it possible to furnish real-life answers to the burning issues of the day and equip one with a scientific understanding of the prospects of social development. Loyalty to Leninism is an inexhaustible source of strength and further victories for the Communist and workers' parties. Such are the principal theses contained in the speeches made by the participants in the conference.

In his concluding speech, Academician Yegorov pointed out that the conference was a collective form of discussion of the burning issues of the day. He expressed his confidence that the conference would substantially contribute to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

A FORUM OF RESEARCHERS INTO THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

An international forum of scholars of the labour movement and the working class was held in Paris, in UNESCO Headquarters, in April 1980. It was attended by over 150 researchers and public figures from many countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR, and Yugoslavia. The Soviet delegation comprised Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. Timofeyev, Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement; and representatives of a number of other scientific institutions and mass organisations. The forum proceedings were conducted during plenary sessions and sections titled "Problems of the Documentation of the History of the Labour Movement", "Social History and the Working Class as Represented in University and School Textbooks", "The Role of the Education of Workers (Its Impact upon the Development of Society)", "The Study of the History of the Labour Movement in the Past Thirty Years".

The first plenary meeting began with an opening address made by R. Stavenhagen, Deputy Director General of UNESCO for the social sciences and their application, who said in part that within the past few decades the study of the history of the labour movement and the working class had gained greatly in scope both in industrially advanced countries and in some of developing countries. He stressed that "imbued from the very beginning with revolutionary ideology, workers' history has gradually become the main part of contemporary history". R. Stavenhagen laid special emphasis upon problems of workers' education and culture which are, in his view, the determining factors of general human culture. In conclusion he said: "In order to honour the memory of Lenin whose 110th birth anniversary we now celebrate, nothing is more fitting than an examination of the worldwide aspects of the history of the workers' movement and problems peculiar to every national case with a view to improving thereby the conditions of working people in the world and promoting their complete flourishing in modern society." The next speaker, Professor E. Labrousse, a French historian, drew the attention of the forum participants to the need for studying the biographies of leaders of the working class with the aim of educating new detachments of fighters. The participants in the forum were unanimous in their belief that it was necessary to study the theoretical and practical activities of Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution and the founder of the world's first socialist state. In his speech Academician P. Fedoseyev stressed that the ideas of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Lenin had furnished the theoretical foundation for the development of the labour movement and the creation by the working class of the new social system—socialism. The best confirmation of the viability of these ideas is the fact of their successful implementation in many countries of the world. Academician Fedoseyev noted in part: "Scholars of the working-class movement have a duty to general-

ise not only past experience but also to bring their historical analysis to our day." Soviet scholars hold that the main factor to be considered in discussing problems of the working class and the labour movement is that not only the scientific and technological revolution exerts an influence upon the working class but that the working class, in turn, affects the scientific and technological revolution. This impact is decisive. He went on to say that the working class "not only transforms society but also safeguards it and enriches it with basic material and cultural values. The working class performs the leading role in the development of international cooperation."

The discussion which commenced at the second plenary session revolved mainly around questions associated with general problems and new directions in the study of the labour movement. The basis for debate was furnished by a report prepared by Doctor J. Golębiowski, Director of the Institute of the Labour Movement of the Higher School of Social Sciences under the CC of Polish United Workers' Party (Poland). The speakers expressed their views on different aspects of the history of the working class and the labour movement and characterised the state of studies in their countries. In particular, the participants gave much attention to the paper read by T. Timofeyev, entitled "On Some Trends and Methods in Labour Research", in which he introduced the listeners to the research being carried out in this field by Soviet scholars, and placed the emphasis on the need for a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach to the study of these problems. This thesis was supported by many foreign scholars, including J. Schleifstein (FRG), H. Steiner (Austria), T. Halay (Hungary), C. Strbac (Yugoslavia) and others.

In the section "Problems of the Documentation of the History of the Labour Movement" the participants concentrated on questions connected with the storage and safe-keeping of documents on the labour movement. These questions are particularly relevant for scholars in capitalist countries in which archives connected with these problems are fairly scattered and those which are concentrated in scientific institutions are often kept in utterly unsuitable rooms. In this connection the report "On the Documentation of Labour History (Based on Materials of Archives and Publications)" by M. Zaborov (USSR) aroused much interest. The speakers were unanimous in noting the great advances made by Soviet archivistics in this field. The scholars who took part in this section proposed for providing more information to researchers from different countries, that an international publication on problems of documentation pertaining to the labour movement be undertaken. It was decided that the publications of the House of the Anthropological Science (France) and of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement which had already accumulated a certain amount of experience be taken as a model.

The section "Social History and the Working Class as Represented in University and School Textbooks", prepared and conducted by Soviet scholars attracted perhaps the largest number of participants. The discussion revolved around the main report on the topic prepared by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, the USSR Academy of Sciences. Representatives of scientific institutions from capitalist countries unanimously noted that textbooks for public and private educational establishments in their countries gave clearly insufficient space to problems connected with the study of the working class in modern and contemporary history. The only places where these problems are given an exhaustive treatment are centres for the training of trade union activists. In France, for instance, this is the Institute of the Social Problems of Labour whose Director, Professor M. David, made a report "The Place of Problems of the Working Class in General Education". Consideration was separately given to the problem of studying the biographies of outstanding leaders of the labour movement and the problem of the wider utilisation of memoirs in teaching practice. In this connection stress was laid on the fruitfulness of international comparative studies in this field. More specifically a positive appraisal was given to the report "Socio-Historical Approach in the Labour Research and Its Importance for the Teaching of History in Universities", prepared on the strength of the results of international comparative studies carried out by scholars from socialist countries.

Another section, thematically close to the previous one, was entitled "The Role of the Education of Workers (Its Impact upon the Development of Society)", an undertaking also coordinated by Soviet scholars. Here too, general attention centred on the results of an international comparative study entitled "The Place of General Education in Trade Union Education" and conducted under the supervision of Professor David. The distinctive feature of this section was that virtually all scholars from capitalist countries linked problems of working people's education with trade-union activities. Such were the reports "Education and the Working Class in England" by G. Wagner (Britain), "Trade Union Education: Contemporary Problems in France" by M. Piolet (France), "Trade Union Education in Italy" by A. Lanza (Italy), "Teachers' Trade Unions in Canada and Their Role in the Working-Class Education" by S. Saint-Pierre (Canada), and many others. At the same time reports and communications by scholars from socialist countries, and more particularly those by the Soviet researchers G. Diligensky, "The Role of Education in the Development of the Working-Class Consciousness"; E. Klopov, "Education and Cultural Growth of the Working Class as a Factor of Social Development" and others, were basic and methodological in character.

Finally, the participants in the section "The Study of the History of the Labour Movement over the Past Thirty Years" familiarised each other with the ways the history of the labour movement is studied in their respective countries.

At the concluding plenary meeting it was decided to hold another such forum several years hence. The newly elected International Secretariat was charged to conduct the requisite preparatory work and also to implement the necessary measures to publish the forum materials in English, French and Russian.

V. Balmashnov

CHINA AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In March 1980, the Institute of the Far East, jointly with the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Africa and the Institute of Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences, held a conference "China's Policy Towards the Developing Countries". It was attended by scholars from other academic institutions and research centres of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Vladivostok, as well as by representatives from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Vietnam.

The conference was addressed by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and O. Rakhmanin, First Deputy Head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee. The introductory speech was made by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Sladkovsky, Director of the Institute of the Far East.

Forty-eight papers and communications were heard and discussed at the plenary session and in both—"Political and Ideological" and "Socio-Economic"—panels of the conference. The speakers gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the activity of the Chinese leadership with regard to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Academician P. Fedoseyev emphasised the necessity of creatively utilising Lenin's ideological legacy in scientific analysis, his ideas and works being an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action for the international communist, workers' and national liberation movements.

Academician A. Rumyantsev dwelt on China's place and role in the world of today. He stressed that Beijing's activities should be discussed, first of all, in the context of the weakening of imperialism and the attempts of the imperialist powers to use China to undermine the unity of the world revolutionary movement and harm the community of the socialist states.

The conference analysed China's strategy and tactics with regard to the developing countries and individual regions, criticised the anti-Marxist conceptions and views of the Maoists on the development of Asian, African and Latin American countries, examined their relations with both socialism and capitalism, and showed the damage done by Beijing's policies to the liberated countries, their anti-imperialist struggles and socio-economic advancement.

Beijing's long-term political strategy is based on a distorted view of the existing international relations, as was noted by V. Krivtsov, D.Sc. (Hist.). At present, he stressed, this strategy is in complete disagreement with the real economic, scientific-technical, military and other possibilities of China. The Chinese leadership realises this and draws the conclusion about the need for the quickest possible implementation of the "four modernisations" in the army, industry, agriculture, and science and technology with a view to turning China, by the year 2000, into a modern, developed and mighty power.

The main goal of Beijing's policy towards the developing countries is to win these states to its side, use them in its interests and include them in the global struggle against

the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community.

Together with Western ideamongers the Maoists are attempting to foist their unscientific, reactionary theories, aimed against Marxism-Leninism, on the developing countries. They gamble on the inflated reactionary aspects of nationalism which leads to national isolation and break-up with world socialism and the international working class. Beijing is seeking to weaken the impact of the world socialist system on the developing countries, shift the national liberation movements to petty-bourgeois, nationalist positions and prevent the liberated nations from marching forward along the road of social progress.

Participants in the conference arrived at the conclusion that although the slogans of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism continue to be featured in Chinese propaganda, Beijing's practical activity convincingly demonstrates that the policies of the Chinese leaders and their approach to the crucial problems facing the developing countries contradict the vital interests of the peoples' struggle for national independence and social progress.

The conference devoted particular attention to analysing China's policy of siding with imperialism and reaction in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It was emphasised that China's rapprochement with imperialist powers greatly damages the interests of the developing countries. Beijing's pro-imperialism is a form and method of realising the hegemonistic aspirations of the Chinese social-chauvinists. The Chinese leadership has prepared a basis for continuing its "cooperation" with the imperialists and also the reactionaries in the developing countries; the principles, basic trends and methods of activities have been elaborated. They have been tested in Afghanistan, Angola, Kampuchea, Chile, Somalia, Egypt, India, Pakistan, and elsewhere. The developing states have become an important sphere of Beijing's policy, where it demonstrates its counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist nature and helps Western imperialism recover its lost positions.

The conference paid special attention to the intesified expansionist tendencies in China's policy of hegemonism directed, primarily, to the neighbouring states. Beijing's border provocations and territorial disputes with neighbouring states play an important role in asserting its influence in Southeast Asian countries. Scholars from Vietnam and other states denounced the alliance of the Beijing hegemonists with the world's most rabid reactionaries, their aggression against Vietnam and subversive actions against Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

The conference also analysed China's policy towards the non-aligned countries as well as the efforts to establish just international economic relations. Beijing is now especially active with regard to the non-alignment movement. It seeks to deprive it of its anti-imperialist content, force anti-Sovietism on it and undermine the positions of Cuba, Vietnam and other progressive countries in it.

It was also noted that China was virtually in solidarity with the West in its desire to "settle" the problem of a new international economic order within the framework of capitalist relations by creating new and more subtle forms of the

imperialist exploitation of the developing countries. Beijing encourages the drawing of these states into the international capitalist system of the division of labour and makes them expand their "cooperation" with the West.

In its hegemonistic policy Beijing is using the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie to bolster up its positions in the countries of their residence and secure rapprochement with the leading capitalist countries and the ruling circles of a number of developing states. Soviet scholars, as well as those from Vietnam, Poland and other countries, pointed to the danger presented by such a policy. Despite Beijing's numerous declarations about freedom and independence for Southeast Asian countries, the Maoists, by their attitude to the Chinese residents in those countries, have proved that they regard the huaqiao as an instrument of their expansionist policy, and the countries of that region as a "traditional" sphere of China's influence.

The conference also analysed China's hegemonistic policies towards countries in South and Southeast Asia, the Arab East, Africa and Latin America. It was stressed that the great-power policy of the Chinese leadership was also aimed at undermining the national liberation movement and its ties with the socialist community, at weakening the positions of the countries of socialist orientation, and even at overthrowing some governments, which is borne out by Beijing's counter-revolutionary stand in respect to Kampuchea, Angola, Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

Examining China's trade and economic policies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the conference characterised it as aggressive and expansionist both in form and essence. For China, the developing countries are an important source of hard currency and various raw materials. The Chinese "aid programme" to the developing countries is marked by a big gap between promises and reality. In rendering aid China lags behind other donor-countries, which reduces its significance for the liberated states.

The conference has reached the unanimous conclusion that while pursuing its hegemonistic aims China is becoming a shock force of imperialism, and is coordinating with the imperialists its policies vis-à-vis the developing countries. These policies are directed against all progressive forces and the national interests of many developing countries. Scholars from many countries noted in their papers and communications that it was therefore necessary to exert maximum efforts to rally all progressive forces in order to oppose the hegemonistic plans of Beijing and its attempts to aggravate the international situation, thus playing into the hands of imperialist aggressive circles.

A. Krasilnikov

ECONOMIC EVALUATION OF MINERAL DEPOSITS

Economic evaluation of natural resources plays a major role in the economy of rational nature utilisation and is indispensable for the economic substantiation of investments in the reproduction, protection and amelioration of the use of natural wealth and the selection of the methods of their utilisation which are most profitable from the standpoint of the national economy. To date, the best results seem to have been achieved in the evaluation of mineral deposits. A Tentative Standard Technique was elaborated by the Subcommission on Economic Evaluation of Mineral Deposits within the framework of the Joint Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology on the Economic Evaluation of Natural Resources and Environment Protection Measures. This technique, which was approved in November of 1979, is a solid methodological foundation for working out branch techniques. The major provisions of this Standard Technique were discussed at a seminar held in February 1980 in Lohusalu, Estonia, and sponsored by the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the Problems of the Biosphere (the Section of the Economy) in collaboration with the Joint Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Economics of the Estonian Academy of Sciences and the Department of Geology of the Estonian Republic.

About 80 specialists, representatives of research and designing institutions of various branches of the mining industry took part in the seminar proceedings. Thirty-five participants presented reports and communications.

The plenary reports made by M. Agoshkov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professors A. Astakhov, Yu. Chernegov, N. Khrushchov, E. Solovyeva and others elucidated major theoretical principles of the Technique. They stressed that the latter is one of the world's first documents whereby the mineral deposits may be incorporated into the national wealth in monetary terms. In accordance with the Tentative Standard Technique the economic assessment of the deposits of natural resources means the determination of a maximum economic effect (in monetary terms) from the utilisation of stocks thereof and the adequate selection of the parameters of deposits' exploitation which would ensure the above effect. This indicator is defined as the difference between the value of the end-product and the expenses for the manufacture of the latter.

The most heated discussion concentrated on the calculation of the end-product value by using wholesale prices or inclusive costs.

In their papers and communications N. Khrushchov, V. Kropachev, T. Gatov, B. Raikhel, I. Fainshtein, N. Lukyanchikov and others underlined the advantage of making evaluations (estimates) according to inclusive costs which, as is stated in the Tentative Standard Technique, are the discountable costs for the increment of manufacture of the given products during the period under review which are marginally permissible from an economic standpoint. Underlying the category of inclusive costs is the principle of quantitative estimate of the differential mining rental revenue which takes into account the difference in mining and geological conditions, extraction, location, quality and accordingly the difference in socially indispensable expenses for

extraction, transportation and processing.

Those who favoured the calculation of the value of final products according to wholesale prices expressed the apprehension that a calculation taking into account the inclusive costs would entail the change of prices in other branches. Yet, it should be noted that by their economic content, structure and designation these costs do not coincide with wholesale prices. The inclusive costs and corresponding economic assessments of mineral deposits are intended to be used not as a system of prices, but to substantiate the designing and planning decisions in the sphere of nature use, i.e., at the planning and designing stage, which precludes their possible influence on the established system of wholesale prices. The level of inclusive costs is determined by the costs according to the most economical of the worst deposits included into a long-term plan, whereas wholesale prices are formed on the basis of the average level of costs for the manufacture of branch products.

The calculation of the resources value indicator according to wholesale prices may lead, in a number of cases, to a conclusion about the inexpediency of deposits' exploitation owing to the fact that individual costs of the final products exceed the average sectoral ones.

This may result in the exclusion of those deposits from the list of operating ones without exploitation of which it is impossible to meet the needs of the national economy for the given raw material. The use of wholesale prices largely obstructs the efficient control of resources at the branch level.

The majority of the participants in the seminar came to the conclusion that at the present time inclusive costs are the most advanced instrument for economic evaluation of mineral deposits, which make it possible, by way of a concrete estimation, to determine normative levels of exploitation of various deposits in a particular period of time.

A. Astakhov delivered a report about the problem of the time factor and its consideration for economic evaluation of natural deposits. The speaker noted the need for a comprehensive approach to the given problem reflecting its economic, technological and social aspects. The economic aspect of the problem is connected with the dynamics of costs in time and the national economic circulation of all direct effects obtained. The indicator of a discounted total rental revenue provides an indispensable although simplified method of the consideration of this objectively existing aspect of the problem. In this case we only give credit to the generally accepted methodology of evaluation of all kinds of resources which is common for all sectors of the economy. Without such a procedure we would fail, in particular, to solve the problem of selecting a proper sequence of resources exploitation. However, a specific feature of mineral resources is their basis non-renewability. Under such conditions the loss of resources today will affect the well-being of future generations and this purely social aspect of the problem requires further examination. The speaker outlined the approach to the consideration of a time factor reflecting both the economic and social significance of the mineral resources assessed, which is differentiated according to the stages of consecutive accumulation of geological information about a deposit.

Papers and communications devoted to the economic evaluation of gas deposits underscored the importance of the technique as a means for solving such major economic problems as the selection of an optimal variant of working specific gas deposits, priority of commissioning individual deposits and a number of others. The use of world prices for gas as a criterion of economic evaluation was considered quite promising.

In economic evaluation of oil deposits the developers proceeded from the principle of non-renewability and scantiness of this resource as well as the necessity of involving in the mining the deposits with the lowest technical economic indicators. The inclusive costs were determined as mean discountable costs for producing one ton of oil in the worst deposits. The determination of economic effectiveness of capital investments by way of relating the profit increment indicator to capital investments which caused this increment poses appreciable difficulties, since the oil extraction is the result of previous investments (irregular in time). Moreover, as the resources are worked out, the volume of extraction drops and operational costs increase. In the speakers' opinion, the use of inclusive costs for oil will make it possible to properly solve the problem of the economic efficiency of capital investments into oil extracting industry.

As the participants of the seminar have pointed out, branch techniques currently in the blueprint stage, proved the feasibility of the basic provisions of the Tentative Standard Technique.

E. Shlikhter

CHRONICLE

110th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Birth

The scientific community of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries widely observed the *110th birth anniversary of Lenin.* Scientific conferences were held at the institutes of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, its scientific councils and also in research institutions of the socialist countries.

* *The scientific conference "Leninism—the Revolutionary Banner of Our Epoch"* held in Kiev was opened by A. Kapto, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The main reports were made by Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician P. Fedoseyev, "Leninism and the Pressing Theoretical Problems of Developed Socialism", and the Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU, Professor V. Medvedev, "Leninist Principles of Economic Management and Their Creative Development by the Party". V. Shcherbitsky, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and First Secret-

This review covers the events of February-April 1980.

ary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, took part in the conference proceedings.

✻ *The All-Union scientific conference "Lenin's Ideas of Communist Education and Our Time"*, held in Kazan, was sponsored by the Tatar Regional Committee of the CPSU, the USSR Philosophical Society and the All-Union "Znanie" Society. The plenary session was addressed by M. Valeyev, Secretary of the Tatar Regional Committee of the CPSU, and also by Academician F. Konstantinov, President of the USSR Philosophical Society. At the plenary session R. Yanovsky, D.Sc.(Philos.), delivered the report "V. I. Lenin on the Communist Education of the Working People". Another report made at the plenary session was one by Zh. Toshchenko, D.Sc.(Philos.), "Communist Education as an Object of Social Planning". Then the conference work proceeded in the following panels: "Methodological Problems of Communist Education", "Unity and Interconnection of the Basic Trends in Communist Education", "Philosophical Aspects of Managing the Process of Communist Education" and "Problems of the Communist Education of the Youth". About 100 papers and communications were read. More than 600 people attended the conference.

✻ *An All-Union scientific conference "Lenin's Theory on Socialist Culture and Ideological Struggle"* was held in Tbilisi. It was sponsored by the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the problems of ideological trends, the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR AS and the Social Sciences Section of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia. The opening session was addressed by G. Yenukidze, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Ye. Kharadze, President of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. The following reports were made at the plenary session: "Lenin's Theory on Socialist Culture and Our Epoch" by Academician M. Mitin; "Implementation in the CPSU Policies of Lenin's Ideas of Overcoming Socio-Cultural Distinctions" by Corresponding Member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences D. Chkhikvishvili and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Rutkevich; "Lenin's Theory of Socialist Cultural Progress" by A. Arnoldov; "Lenin's Dialectics of the Development of Socialist Culture in Action" by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. Iovchuk; "Unity of the National and the International in Soviet Art" by N. Djanberidze; "The Internationalist Nature of Interconnections Between Soviet Literatures" by G. Tsitsishvili. There were also sessions of the panels: "General Problems of the Development of Socialist Culture", "National Distinctions and the Internationalism of Socialist Culture", "The Culture of Developed Socialism as a Means of Communist Education", and "The Crisis of Bourgeois Culture and Its Reflection in Ideological Struggle".

✻ *The scientific conference "The Ideas and Image of V. I. Lenin in Asian and African Literatures"* held at the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences, heard and discussed 13 papers devoted to the great role of Lenin's theory for the awakening the peoples of the East, the development of literary process and progressive literary criticism in Asian and African countries. The following papers were read: "Leninist Principles of Studying Literatures of Eastern Peoples" by Ye. Chelyshev; "Reflection of Lenin's Ideas in Works by Egyptian Literary Critics" by V. Kirpichenko; "Lenin's Theory of Reflection in Hindi Literary Studies, 1960-1970" by N. Gavryushina; "Lenin's Theory on the International and the Problem of National Specificities of Oriental Literatures" by S. Prozhogina; "Lenin's Image in Chinese Poetry" by L. Cherkassky.

✻ *The scientific conference "The Ideas of V. I. Lenin—the Foundation of the Friendship, Cooperation and Alliance Between Poland and the USSR"* held in Warsaw was sponsored by the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of the Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Higher School of Social Sciences under the PUWP CC. The conference was opened by Vice-President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Academician J. Szczepański. From the Soviet side papers were read by the Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU V. Medvedev, "The Concept of Developed Socialism—the Creative Development of Lenin's Ideas"; Academician T. Khachaturov, "V. I. Lenin About the Economic Mechanism Under Socialism"; Corresponding Member of the USSR AS O. Bogomolov, "Lenin's Ideas About International Relations of a New Type (Cooperation Between the USSR and Poland)"; Corresponding Member of the USSR AS Yu. Polyakov, "The Construction of Developed Socialism in the USSR—the Triumph of Leninist Strategy of Building Communism"; G. Deborin, "Cooperation Between the CPSU and the PUWP—an Embodiment and Development of Lenin's Ideas About the Revolutionary Essence of the Working Class' Revolutionary Parties"; S. Falkovich, D.Sc.(Hist.), "The Internationalist Revolutionary Ties of the Working Class of Russia and Poland"; I. Kostyushko, "The Soviet-Polish Treaty of April 8, 1965, and Its Significance for the Development of Soviet-Polish Relations". The Polish side presented the following papers: "Lenin's Ideas—the Foundation for the Cooperation Between the PUWP and the CPSU. History and Our Time" by Professor J. Maciszewski; "The Cooperation Between the Polish and the USSR Academies of Sciences" by Academician J. Kaczmarek; "The Significance of Lenin's Theory of a Party for Socialist Construction" by Professor W. Zastawny; "Changes in the Class Structure and the Unity of the People in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Socialism" by Professor W. Wesołowski; "Lenin's Theory of Socialism and Its Significance for Socialist Construction in Poland" by S. Opara; "Polish-Soviet Economic Cooperation and Its Development Trends" by Professor P. Bożyk; "Certain Problems of Polish-Soviet Cooperation in the International Arena" by L. Piatkowski. All in all, 21 papers were heard and discussed.

✻ *A celebration meeting devoted to the Soviet Science Day* was held on

April 18, where Academician A. Alexandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was the main speaker. At the presidium table were V. Dolgikh, Secretary of the CC CPSU; Academician G. Marchuk, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology; leading figures of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences, ministers, representatives of the Moscow public.

* *The Fourth Bremen symposium on the history and theory of science on the subject "History as a Law-Patterned Process"*, sponsored by the Bremen University, was attended by about 40 scholars from Denmark, the GDR, Hungary, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands and the USSR. Nine papers were discussed, including one by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. Oizerman—"The Historical as Subject-Object Reality".

* *A round-table discussion "The Problems of the History of Philosophy in the Context of the History of World Culture"*, devoted to the 80th birth anniversary of the noted Soviet historian of philosophy B. Bykhovsky, was organised by the Scientific Council of the USSR AS on the integrated problem "The History of World Culture". Taking part in the discussion were prominent specialists in the history of philosophy and culture, among them Corresponding Member of the USSR AS T. Oizerman, A. Bogomolov, V. Boguslavsky, V. Karpushin, I. Narsky, Z. Smirnova.

* *The Presidium of the USSR AS awarded the G. V. Plekhanov Prize for 1979 to Corresponding Member of the USSR AS T. Oizerman* for his monograph *The Principal Philosophical Trends* (Moscow, 1971). This book is another theoretical contribution to the study of the development of philosophy.

* *The international scientific conference "The Liberation of the Countries of Central Europe by the Soviet Army—an Important Stage in Their Free Revolutionary Development"* held in Smolenice (Czechoslovakia) was attended by about 80 scholars from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. They heard and discussed more than 20 papers, including the introductory one by M. Kropilàk (Czechoslovakia), "The Historic Importance of the Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak Revolution", and the papers by the Soviet historians A. Nedorezov, "The Principles of Proletarian Internationalism in the USSR's Policy at the End of the Second World War", and L. Nezhinsky, "Soviet Historiography on Revolutions in Countries of Central Europe".

* *The Commission on Byzantium Studies of the Historical Society of the GDR held a session on the subject "Byzantine Historiography as a Component of Mediaeval Historiography"*. It took place in Mühlhausen (GDR) and was devoted to the 400th anniversary of the death of Hieronymus Wolf, the founder of Byzantine historiography. More than 70 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland and the USSR attended the session. Three main themes were discussed: the character and forms of Byzantine historiography; Byzantine historiography and its connections with the preceding and contemporary historiography; basic features of the mediaeval historiography of other regions. All in all, about 30 papers were discussed. Papers on the life and scientific activity of Hieronymus Wolf were presented by scholars from the GDR: Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR J. Irmscher and Dr. G. Günther. Soviet scholars also spoke: Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Z. Udaltsova, delivered the paper "The Character and Forms of Byzantine Historiography"; M. Bibikov, "Ancient Historiography and Byzantine Historiography"; and E. Khintibidze, "Ancient Georgian Historiography and Byzantine Historiography".

* *The 12th Science Week on the theme "Economic and Social Hierarchies (12th-18th Centuries)"* sponsored by the "Francesco Datini" International Institute of Economic History in Prato (Italy), was attended by scholars from Britain, Bulgaria, France, the FRG, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the USA, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The Soviet delegation was headed by A. Chistozvonov, D.Sc.(Hist.). Participants in the "Week" heard and discussed more than 20 reports. The Soviet historians delivered three reports: Ye. Gutnova, "The Influence of Economic Evolution on Changes in Rural England: 14th-15th Centuries"; E. Tarvel, "Economic Evolution and Social Hierarchy in the Baltic Region in the 13th-17th Centuries", and A. Chistozvonov "The Burghers and the Bourgeoisie in the Netherlands in the 15th-17th Centuries".

* *A Soviet-French symposium devoted to the problems of history of the international Communist and working-class movement* was held in Paris. It was sponsored by the Centre for the Study of Trade Union and Social Movements of Paris-I University (Panthéon-Sorbonne). The Soviet scholars read the following papers: T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS and Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR AS, "V. I. Lenin and the World Revolutionary Movement"; V. Balmashnov, "The Leninist Traditions of the Soviet Historiography of the French Communist Movement"; L. Moskvin, "The Soviet Historiography of the International Workers' Movement".

On the French side papers were read by Prof. J. Droz, "The French Historiography of the Communist Movement in France Between the Two World Wars", and Prof. J. Girault, "The Growth of the Role of the French Communist Party Between the Two World Wars". Professors E. Labrousse and J. Bruhat spoke about the impact of Lenin's ideas on the working-class movement in France and other countries.

* *A meeting of Soviet and Swedish historians* held in Lund was devoted to the discussion of four major themes: the formation of the states in Sweden and Russia, Swedish-Russian relations, the economies of the two countries, and the position of women there. The Soviet scholars read the following papers: A. Svanidze, "The Town and the Emergence of the Swedish State"; Corresponding Member of the USSR AS V. Yanin,

"On the Origin of Novgorod Statehood"; Corresponding Member of the USSR AS V. Pashuto, and E. Melnikova, "The Formation of the State in Old Rus and the Scandinavian World"; V. Roginsky, "Swedish-Russian Relations During the Last Thirty Years of the 18th Century"; G. Nekrasov, "Russo-Swedish Trade Relations Via Revel (Tallinn) Between 1721 and 1756"; O. Chernyshova, "The State-Monopoly Tendencies in Sweden During the First World War"; V. Bovykin, "Industrial Monopolies, Banks, and Financial Capital in Russia: Major Trends and Stages of Development"; V. Laverychev, "State-Monopoly Capitalism in Pre-Revolutionary Russia" and R. Aminova, "Women's Rights and the Soviet Central Asian Republics". The Swedish scholars presented the papers: B. Almgren, "The Origin of the Swedish State"; S. Carlsson, "Sweden's Policy Towards Russia Between 1720 and 1800"; C. Peterson, "Sweden's Influence on the Russian Administration in the 18th Century"; A. Johansson, "Sweden's Investments in Russia Prior to 1917"; E. Sävborg, "An Analysis of Modern Soviet Woman's Time Spending"; S. Carlsson, "A Study of the Family and the Position of Women"; C.-A. Gemzell, "Scandinavia's History in World Historiography (England, France, FRG and GDR)". H. Stang of Norway read the paper "The Origin of Old Rus".

* *The Third All-Union Conference of Historiographers devoted to the study and criticism of bourgeois historiography* was held in Riga. It was sponsored by the Scientific Council on the problem "The History of Historical Science" under the History Division of the USSR AS and the Institute of History of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. The conference was opened by Academician M. Nechkina, Chairman of the Scientific Council. The plenary meeting heard the following papers: I. Grigulevich, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, "The Crisis of Bourgeois Historical Science as Viewed by Bourgeois Scholars"; A. Iskenderov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, "The Basic Specific Features of the Crisis of Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography"; V. Ivanov, "Theoretical Foundations of the Crisis of Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography"; B. Mogilnitsky, "The Concept of Crisis in Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography"; V. Salov, "The Crisis of the Contemporary Bourgeois Methodology of History"; I. Kovalchenko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, and A. Shiklo, "The Crisis of Bourgeois Historical Science in Russia in the Late 19th-early 20th Centuries". The papers delivered at the plenary meeting were discussed in three panels: "The Historiography of the USSR of the Soviet Period", "The History of the USSR of the Pre-Revolutionary Period", "The Historiography of World History", and in the subsection dealing with the historiography of the FRG.

* *An All-Union Conference on Numismatics* was held in Tallinn. It was sponsored by the Commission on Numismatics organised by the National Committee of Soviet Historians. The conference decided to compile a universal catalogue of buried treasures found on the USSR territory.

* *A Soviet-French symposium "The Influence of the Economic Basis on the Formation of Urbanised Regions"* was held at the Institute of Geography of the USSR AS. The Soviet scholars read about 15 papers, including: F. Listengurt and G. Yusin, "The Formation of a Regional System of Settlement in the USSR"; G. Lappo, "The Development of Large Cities and Urban Agglomerations in the USSR as Manifestation of Interconnection Between Production and Settlement"; V. Vladimirov, "The Lay-Out of Developing Industrial Regions: Urbo-Ecological Problems", and V. Belousov, "The Regulation of Interconnected Production and Settlement in Forming New Towns and Cities". On the French side papers were read by H. Nonn, "The Formation of Regional Systems of Settlement; P. Bruyelle, "Territorial Organisation of Production and Settlement in France"; G. Burgel and J.-F. Deneux "Urban Milieu", and J. Beaujeu-Garnier, "Regulation of Production and Settlement in Urbanised Regions". The French scholars familiarised themselves with Soviet urban development and distribution of production facilities and settlement so as to ensure full employment of the able-bodied population, comfortable living conditions as well as to solve the housing problem in the USSR in general. They visited the cities of Kiev and Naberezhniye Chelny where they got acquainted with problems of the development of Kiev's agglomeration and a system of communities on the basis of a new developing city.

* *A meeting of Soviet economists and their West German counterparts* was held in Moscow to discuss two topics: the economic situation in the leading capitalist countries and East-West economic relations, primarily those between the USSR and the FRG. Present on the Soviet side were researchers of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR AS, and on the German side, research fellows of the Institute of the German Economy in Cologne. The main speakers on the first topic were V. Martynov, Deputy Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, and O. Vogel, Head of the Department of Economic and Social Sciences and Member of the Directorate of the Institute of the German Economy (FRG). The speakers on the second topic were I. Ivanov, Deputy Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations (USSR), and O. Vogel (FRG). Fifteen people took part in a discussion, including members of the West German delegation W. Schlaffke, B. Hof and R. Zedler.

* *An International Scientific Conference devoted to the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance* held in Berlin and sponsored by the GDR Institute of International Relations was attended by about 100 prominent scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. A plenary meeting heard a report "25 Years of the Warsaw Treaty—Continuous Efforts to Strengthen the Socialist Community and Consolidate Peace" by Prof. St. Doernberg, Director of the GDR Institute of International Relations. The meeting heard communications by the heads of the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Polish

and Romanian delegations. The Soviet scholars read the following papers: K. Savinov, "The Coordination of the Warsaw Treaty Countries' Foreign Policies in the Struggle for European Security"; M. Kiryan, "The Warsaw Treaty Countries' Armed Forces on Guard of Peace and Socialist Gains" and I. Ilyinsky, "The Unity of National and International Interests of the Socialist States in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation". The Soviet researchers A. Akhtamzyan, A. Bakhov, A. Nikonov, V. Syomin and A. Shebalin took part in the panel discussions.

* *A scientific conference devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance* was held at the USSR AS. An introductory speech was made by Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the Academy. The main report "25 Years of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation" was delivered by Academician N. Inozemtsev. The other papers read were: "The Diplomacy of Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries in the Struggle for Peace and Security" by Corresponding Member of the USSR AS S. Tikhvinsky; "Military Aspects of Cooperation Between the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty" by M. Kiryan; "The Growth of Warsaw Treaty Countries' Economic Might—Major Factor of Safeguarding and Strengthening World Peace" by I. Orlik; "The Warsaw Treaty—an Embodiment of Lenin's Ideas of the Socialist Countries' Collective Security" by V. Anfilov; "The Build-up of NATO's Military Might and the Growing Imperialist Threat to World Peace" by B. Khaloshi, and "The Active and Constructive Role of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States in Posing and Solving the Problem of Decreasing Military Confrontation in Europe" by A. Nikonov.

* *A meeting of representatives of research centres in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Vietnam dealing with the problems of war and disarmament* was held at the Scientific Council of the USSR AS, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Soviet Peace Committee. The participants shared the experience of research work, discussed major trends in the elaboration of topical problems of the struggle against aggressive policy of imperialist forces and their henchmen, for deepening detente, curbing the arms race and for disarmament. They also mapped out practical steps to gather broader support of the world public coming out for peace and disarmament.

* *A scientific conference "The National Liberation Struggle and the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam—the Revolutionary Practice of Marxist-Leninist Theory"* was held in Berlin to mark the 90th birth anniversary of Ho Chi Minh, the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the 35th anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It was attended by more than 100 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Kampuchea, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Vietnam. The Soviet delegation was headed by V. Solntsev, Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR AS. Three main themes were under discussion, namely, the Vietnamese people's struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) for national liberation and socialist construction in the entire country, a new stage of socialist revolution in Vietnam, the international significance of the progress made by the Vietnamese people under the guidance of the CPV in socialist construction and in the struggle against the aggressors. The main papers were read by Hoang Xuân Tuy, "The Vietnamese People's Struggle for National Independence and Socialism Over the Past 50 Years Under the Banner of the CPV. 1930-1980"; the Soviet researcher A. Budanov, "The Communist Party of Vietnam—Inspirer and Organiser of the Victory of the National Liberation and Socialist Revolution in Vietnam", and by Prof. D. Weidemann (GDR), "The International Significance of the Progress Made by the Vietnamese People Under the Guidance of the CPV in Socialist Construction and in the Struggle Against the Aggressors". The participants also heard over 20 communications, including "The Foreign Policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam—Guarantee of Peace and Stability in Southeast Asia" by the Soviet historian G. Murashova. All the speakers emphasised the perfidious role of the Beijing leadership in assisting US neocolonialism in Indochina and noted the friendship and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community in rendering an internationalist aid and support to Vietnam, the importance of the 1978 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV, and the unity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in fighting their common enemies.

* *The meetings of the Pugwash Workshop on the Current Crisis of Nuclear Forces in Europe* held in Geneva were attended by prominent scientists, political and public figures and army officers from 17 countries, including the GDR, Poland and the Soviet Union. The discussion centred on disarmament in Europe. The report released thereafter underscored great importance of the 1978 UN Special Session on Disarmament and said that a workable agreement to limit nuclear weapons' deployment was possible and would be advantageous to all parties. Participating on the Soviet side were Academician M. Markov, Chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee; V. Falin, the prominent public figure; Prof. M. Milstein and V. Pavlichenko, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Pugwash Committee.

* *An International Seminar "Religious Circles of Europe for the Deepening of Detente"* took place in Vienna. Attending the seminar held at the Vienna International Institute for Peace were scholars and representatives of the Catholic, Evangelical and Orthodox Churches from Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the USSR and West Berlin. N. Kovalsky, D.Sc. (Hist.) of the USSR delivered a paper "Cooperation of All Peace-Loving Forces—Vital Requirement of Our Time". Archbishop Vladimir, Rector of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, took part in the discussion. In their speeches the participants expressed serious concern over the aggravation of the international situation caused by the NATO decisions to manufacture

and deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. They underscored the necessity to continue the process of political detente and supplement it with detente in a military field. The delegates also stressed that the Church should make its contribution to the cause of detente and primarily to enhance trust among nations.

* *An international scientific symposium devoted to the 25th anniversary of Austria's neutrality and titled "The Role of Neutral and Non-Aligned Countries in the Process of Detente"* was held in Vienna. It was sponsored by the International Institute for Peace (Vienna) and the Peace Research Centre, Vienna University. Taking part were scholars from Austria, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the USSR and West Berlin. The participants discussed two main papers contributed by Soviet scholars O. Bykov and V. Knyazhinski and jointly by H. Köck (Austria) and O. Kimminich (the FRG).

* *The 3rd Congress of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the GDR titled "The Socialist Way of Life of the Developed Socialist Society in the GDR"* was held in Berlin. It was sponsored by the Scientific Council on Sociological Studies in the GDR and the National Committee for Sociological Studies under the GDR Academy of Sciences. Taking part were scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR, and Vietnam, as well as Belgium, Britain, Finland, France, the FRG, Italy and Spain. The Congress was opened by K. Hager, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee. The main paper devoted to the dialectics of the development of the social structure and socialist way of life in the GDR was delivered by Professor Dr. R. Weidig, Chairman of the National Committee for Sociological Studies. Soviet sociologists presented the following papers: I. Levykin, "Relationships Between the Economic and the Educational Spheres of Society's Activities in Moulding the Socialist Way of Life"; V. Ivanov, "The Socio-Political Involvement of the Masses—an Integral Feature of the Socialist Way of Life"; G. Osipov, "Indices and Indicators of Socialist Planning", and A. Amvrosov, "The Drawing Closer Together of the Working Class and the Intelligentsia in the Soviet Society of Developed Socialism". Chairman of the Soviet Sociological Association, Kh. Momdjan, took part in the work of the congress and discussed problems of cooperation with the heads of sociological associations of the socialist countries.

* *A scientific-practical conference "The Role of the Fatherland Front for the Further Consolidation of the Socialist Way of Life"* was held in Sofia. Taking part were scholars from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. Six papers were read at the plenary meeting, including two papers by Bulgarian scholars "The Essence and Typical Features of the Socialist Way of Life" by S. Angelov and "The Fatherland Front and the Socialist Way of Life" by D. Genov, and a paper by Soviet scholar A. Butenko, "The Soviet Socialist Way of Life". After the plenary meeting work continued in four panels. S. Mikhailov, Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee addressed the final sitting of the conference, and the concluding speech was made by P. Kubadinsky, Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee.

* *A Finnish-Soviet seminar devoted to problems of the family* was held in Helsinki. On the Finnish side, M. Marin spoke about the theoretical foundations of the study of family functions, A. Forssén—about the family functions in European and African cultures, M. Tolki-Nikkonen touched upon the family ideals in Finland, M.-L. Rauste-v. Wright and P. Niemi spoke about the ideals of marriage among Finnish adolescents, and L. Alanen—about the activity and the spending of time in Finnish families, P. Määttä spoke about the effect of a trauma or a child's illness on the family, and A.-L. Sysiharju—about the development of man in the family. The Soviet sociologists delivered the papers about the family functions under socialism (A. Kharchev), about the comparative study of the concept of the family in the Soviet Union (M. Pankratova), and E. Rannik spoke about problems of education and socialisation in the Estonian family.

* *A symposium "Perfection of Socialist Democracy: A Natural Law of the Development of the Socialist State"* was held in Warsaw in keeping with the plan for multilateral cooperation between the Institutes of the State and Law of the Academies of Sciences of the socialist countries. Taking part were scholars from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. G. Manov, D.Sc.(Law), of the Soviet Union delivered a paper "The Marxist-Leninist Concept of Socialist Democracy".

* *A scientific-practical conference "The Growing Role of State Arbitration in the Mechanism of Socialist Economic Management"* took place in Zvenigorod (the Moscow Region). It was sponsored by the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR AS and the State Arbitration Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers. The main papers were delivered by Chief Arbitrator E. Anisimov of the State Arbitration Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers, "The Growing Role of State Arbitration in the Light of the Party and Government Decisions on the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Requirements of the Law on State Arbitration in the USSR"; by Prof. Dobrovolsky, "Improvement of Arbitration Procedure", and T. Ablova, "The Development of Research into Problems of the Organisation and Functioning of State Arbitration".

* *A regular meeting of the multilateral commission of the socialist countries on the problems of the theory of culture, literary and art studies* was held in Dresden. The participants approved a long-term plan of the commission's work, revised the programme of forthcoming conferences, and included the problem of cultural values of socialism and their importance for building the new society into the agenda. They also decided to hold conferences: in Warsaw—on the problems of growth and satisfaction of cultural requirements in the socialist countries, and in Prague—on the sig-

nificance of cultural heritage for socialist culture. Academician M. Khrapchenko, head of the Soviet delegation, proposed to hold one of the meetings in Moscow and devote it to creative strivings in socialist artistic culture.

* *The 4th International Conference of scholars from the socialist countries on "Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures"* was held in Smolenice, Czechoslovakia. It was sponsored by the Slovak Academy of Sciences and attended by literary critics from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. Three papers were read and discussed at the plenary meeting: "Ideological Struggle and Literary Process in the Countries of the Orient" by Prof. E. Chelyshev of the USSR; "On the Dialectics of National and International Features in Asian Literatures" by F. Gruner of the GDR; and "Progressive Traditions and Contemporaneity in the Literatures of Asia and Africa" by Prof. W. Tyloch of Poland. At the sittings of the panels "The Far East", "South and Southeast Asia", "The Middle East", and "Africa" the Soviet literary critics delivered more than 30 papers dealing with both general theoretical problems and topical specific problems such as "Innovation in Oriental Literature in a Socialist Society" by M. Koshchanov, Corresponding Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences; "The Classical Literature of the East and the Education of Youth" by Sh. Shamukhamedov; "The April Revolution of 1978 and Popular-Democratic Traditions of Afghan Literature" by G. Girs; "The Typology of the Development of Realism in the Contemporary Literatures of Tropical Africa" by I. Nikiforova, and "Mass Literature of Japan and Ideological Struggle of Our Time" by Kim Le Chun (Rekho), to mention but a few.

* *An international conference "The Origins and Originality of American Culture"* was held in Budapest. It was sponsored by the L. Eötvös University. Taking part were about 80 scholars from Bulgaria, Britain, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, India, Poland, Spain, the USA, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The plenary meeting heard an introductory speech by Academician M. Szabolcsi of Hungary. Then the papers were read: "European Origins and American Originality: the Case of Drama" by P. Egri of Hungary; "Ideological Controversy in Defining the American National Character" by J. Rathbun of the USA; "Components of the Development of American Literature" by Ya. Zasursky of the USSR; "Functions of Character Names in American Fiction" by H. Bungert of the FRG; and "American Dream: Myth and Reality" by V. Shestakov of the USSR. Then, the participants worked in the panels on literature, linguistics and the history of culture and ideas, where 70 papers were read. The Soviet researchers delivered the following reports: T. Denisova, "The Speciality of Modern Realistic Novel in the USA"; M. Koreneva, "American Romanticism and the Renaissance" and A. Mulyarchik, "American Literary Culture in the 1970s".

* *A session of the Bureau of the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA)* was held in Chapel Hill (North Carolina). Vice-President of the ICLA, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS Yu. Vipper took part in the work of the session which discussed organisational questions, including the preparations for the forthcoming 10th ICLA Congress to be held in New York in 1982. The ICLA Bureau session coincided with *the 7th Congress of the American Comparative Literature Association* at which Yu. Vipper was also present. The Congress was preceded by a seminar "Contemporary Issues and Values in Humanistic Perspectives". The participants in the present session were invited to take part in the discussion of the papers presented by American scholars. Yu. Vipper made a speech along with a number of foreign scholars, including representatives of Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. He noted a great role of belles-lettres in the cultural life of Soviet society and characterised the place which comparative literary studies occupy in the work of Soviet higher educational establishments and research centres.

* *An All-Union Scientific Conference "The Theory of Language, Methods of its Study and Teaching" devoted to the 100th birth anniversary of Academician L. Scherba* was held in Leningrad. It was sponsored by the Division of Literature and Language of the USSR AS, the Institute of the Russian Language of the USSR AS, the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR AS, and the Leningrad State University. Taking part were about 400 scholars from 45 cities and 62 research centres and educational establishments. The conference was opened by Prof. V. Ivanov, Deputy Director of the Institute of the Russian Language of the USSR AS. The plenary meeting heard the papers: "L. Scherba's General Linguistic Ideas" by L. Zinder; "L. Scherba and Problems of Contemporary Lexicography" by F. Sorokoletov; "L. Scherba and Grammatical Theory" by Yu. Maslov; "L. Scherba and the Tungus and Manchu Studies" by V. Tsintsius; "Traditions of Sociologism in Soviet Linguistics" by A. Desnitskaya; "Universal Relationship Between Voiceless and Voiced Consonants and the Explanation of the Verner Law" by V. Ivanov; "Phonological Division of a Syllable in Synthetic Languages and Comparative-Historical Linguistics" by S. Yakhontov; "L. Scherba's Theory of 'Short Words' and Functional Semantics of Expression" by T. Nikolayeva; and "L. Scherba and Problems of Modern Phonetics" by L. Bondarko. The participants worked in the panels of general linguistics and grammar, phonetics and phonology, lexicology and lexicography, and methods, where 33 papers and communications were heard.

* *The Presidium of the USSR AS has awarded the V. G. Belinsky Prize for 1979 to A. Chicherin, D.Sc.(Philol.),* for the series of research works—"Ideas and Style", "The Rhythm of an Image" and "Essays on the History of the Russian Literary Style". Much space in these works is given to an analysis of the style of outstanding Russian prose writers and poets of the 19th century, beginning with Pushkin, as well as of some West-European writers. The author regards literary style as a socio-aesthetic category which manifests itself not only in the author's individual creative work but also in

literary trends. Chicherin reveals relationships between style and the author's creative method and his world outlook.

* *A meeting of the Soviet-American Workshop on psychology of activity* took place at the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS. The Soviet psychologists delivered 10 papers of which the main were: "Methodological Problems of Psychology of Activity" by B. Lomov; "Principle of Subject of Activity in Psychology" by K. Abulkhanova; "Development of Personality in Activity" by L. Antsyferova; "Psychological Analysis of Activity" by V. Zinchenko, and "Psychology of Activity and Development of Child" by A. Zaporozhets. The American researchers read the following papers: H. Pick, "Development of Registration and Transformation of Spatial Information"; J. Wertsch, "Semiotic Mechanisms in Joint Cognitive Activity"; S. Scribner, "Social Historical Development of Consciousness"; P. Greenfield, "The Coordination of Goal-Directed Activity and Speech", and L. Hood, "The Social Organisation of Psychological Processes".

* *A meeting of American and Soviet psychologists which was devoted to theoretical concepts of psychological experimentation* was held in the University of Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania, USA). The participants dwelt on the results of studies in psychophysics, psychology of thinking, neuropsychology, psycholinguistics and social psychology. The Soviet psychologists presented the following papers: Corresponding Member of the USSR AS B. Lomov, Director of the Institute of Psychology, "The Experimental Study of the Cognitive Processes in the Situation of Interaction"; Yu. Zabrodin, "The Methodology Problems of the Experiment Organisation in Psychophysics"; A. Brushlinsky, "The Experimental Study of the Thinking Levels in Task Solving"; A. Zhuravlev, "Socio-Psychological Research into Interaction Between Managers and Collectives in Industrial Organisations". The American papers analysed information processing models in sense-perception systems, the formal and non-formal aspects of thinking, the use of computers in psychological experiment, the state and perspectives of experiment development in social psychology and other problems.

* *An International Symposium "The End of the Neolithic Age and the Beginning of the Bronze Age in Central Europe* was held in Verona-Lazise, Italy. Taking part were archaeologists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Switzerland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The participants heard and discussed 33 papers, including the paper by E. Chernykh of the USSR entitled "The Periodisation of the Early Metal Age: General or Regional?"

* *A Soviet-American Symposium "Results of Two Field Seasons (1978-1979) of Work on the International Theme 'Complex Study of the Longevity Phenomenon'"* sponsored by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR AS was held in Moscow as well as in Tbilisi and Sukhumi. The American scholars were received at the Georgian Academy of Sciences and the Abkhazian Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Georgian AS.

The symposium was opened by S. Bruk, Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnography and V. Rubin, Director of the Institute for the Study of Man (New York). The participants heard and discussed about 40 papers. Among the most interesting were, on the Soviet side: "The Necessity of a Complex Approach in Studying the Phenomenon of Longevity" by A. Zubov (supervisor of studies); "The State of the Cardiovascular System Among the Abkhaz Long-Lived People" by D. Chebotarev and O. Korkushko; "Specific Features of Nourishment in the Phenomenon of Longevity Among the People of the Abkhazian Autonomous SSR" by Yu. Grigorov, B. Medovar and S. Kozlovskaya; "Age Features of the Functional State of the Nervous System Among Persons Differently Predisposed to Longevity" by A. Mints; "Geography of Longevity in the USSR (Ethnical Aspects)" by V. Kozlov; "The Distribution of Some Genetic Traits of Blood Among the Abkhazians of the Ochamchiri District" by S. Dalakishvili, N. Salamatina and Sh. Gogokhia; "One of the Rational Ways of Anthropological Study of Populations with a High Percentage of Long-Lived People" by O. Pavlovsky and V. Volkov-Dubrovin; "Abkhazian Family-Patronymic Organisation and the Role of Senior Age Groups in It" by A. Smirnova. On the American side the most interesting papers were: "The Cultural Context for the Kentucky Longevity Project" and "Social Organisation and Ageing in a Rural Setting" by J. Van Willigen; "A Preliminary Estimation of the Growth Curves for the 'Scoto-Irish' Population of a Rural Kentucky County" by D. Wolf; "A Computer-Based Conversational Research Support Information System: Its Design and Implementation" by C. Tussey and B. Hosmane; "The Theoretical and Practical Consideration for the Collection, Processing and Analysis of Demographic Data" by Th. Arcury; "Mortality and Morbidity Subsequent to Major Life Changes in the Elderly" by F. Lees, Th. Garrity and M. Marx, and "Longevity and Stress Coping" by S. Benet.

* *A conference on archaeology of North Caucasus entitled "Ideological Notions Among Ancient Peoples of North Caucasus"* was attended by archaeologists and regional ethnographers from Moscow, Leningrad, Rostov-on-the-Don, the Krasnodar and Stavropol areas, Kabardino-Balkaria, Northern Ossetia, Chechen-Ingush, Daghestan and Kalmyk Autonomous Republics and Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Region. The conference was opened by the Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR AS, Academician B. Rybakov. 29 papers were delivered and discussed, among them: "Religious Beliefs in the Tribes of Central Caucasus in the Early Bronze Age" by I. Chechenov; "On the Functions of Iron Objects in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age" by S. Dudarev; "The Evolution of the Chechens' and Ingushs' Religious Beliefs in the Middle Ages" by M. Muzhuhoev; "The Sepulchral Complex of North-Caucasian Culture" by Yu. Piotrovsky; "On the Resettlement of Nomads from Asia to South-Eastern Europe" by L. Nechaeva; "Mediaeval Settlements of Karachayevo-Cherkessia" by Kh. Bidzhiev; "The Late Nomads

of Kalmykia" by U. Erdniyev and "Christianity in Derbent" by A. Kudryavtsev.

* *A spring colloquium "Reflections about the Present-Day World: Philosophical, Political, Economic and Sociological Analysis"* was held in Acatlan (Mexico). It was sponsored by the National Autonomous University of Mexico and the National School of Professional Studies and attended by over 300 scholars from France, the FRG, Mexico, Norway, Poland, the Soviet Union, Spain, the USA and Yugoslavia. The colloquium was opened by R. Béjar Navarro, Director of the National School of Professional Studies who also presided at the final session. The entire work was carried out in five panels: humanism, technology and communication; world politics and peace; theoretical challenge in the political thought of our time; the economic panorama of the contemporary world; the world in social perspective. The panel dealing with world politics and peace heard a paper "The Arms Race and Socio-Economic Problems in the Developing Countries" presented by A. Kutsenkov, Editor-in-Chief of the *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa) magazine (USSR).

* *The 21st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association* held in Los Angeles, which unites American scholars dealing with various aspects of international relations (political, economic, military, ideological, cultural, legal, etc.) was attended by about 900 researchers. Taking part were also scholars from France, the FRG, the GDR, Japan, Poland, Romania, South Korea and the USSR. The work was done in more than 150 panels, research groups, "round-table" discussions. Sector Chief of the Institute for US and Canadian Studies of the USSR AS, Yu. Davydov, delivered communications at the "round-table" session: "SALT-III: Issues and Obstacles", in the panel "Changes in American and Soviet Security Perspectives" and at the "round-table" session "Human Rights and Soviet-American Relations". When discussing Soviet-American relations in various areas, many American scholars gave sober judgements on the need to develop Soviet-American cooperation, which is indispensable for preserving a more stable peace and security. The lack of such cooperation, in their opinion, may lead, under the conditions of a deteriorating international situation, to chaos and unpredictability of the development of the entire system of international relations, as a result of which all nations will suffer and, first and foremost, the United States and the Soviet Union.

* *An international symposium devoted to topical problems of the Federal Republic of Germany* was held in Berlin. It was sponsored by the Institute of International Politics and Economics of the GDR. Taking part were scholars from Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. The meetings heard 46 people, including Soviet researchers Prof. Shenayev (head of the delegation), L. Istyagin, V. Lavoshnikov and N. Narochnitskaya. A wide range of problems was discussed, such as the international positions of West-German imperialism on the eve of the 1980s; the foreign policy, military and foreign economic strategy of the FRG, including relations with the NATO allies; East-West relations; political and military detente; the external and internal economic situation in the country; economic cycles, monetary and energy problems; major trends of internal political development; the class struggle in the FRG; relationships between the coalition and opposition, an analysis of their programmes, the inter-party struggles, the role of ideological factors, etc.

* *A scientific session devoted to the second anniversary of the April revolution in Afghanistan* was held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. It was opened by G. Shirokov, the Institute Deputy Director. The session heard the following papers: "The Second Anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan" by M. Arunova; "Soviet-Afghan Technical and Economic Cooperation" by G. Borisov, and "The April Revolution and Traditions of the Afghan Literature" by G. Girs. The session was also addressed by M. Daneshdzho, Charge-d'Affaires of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the USSR.

* *A scientific conference "The Character and Specific Features of China's Economic and Social Development Today"* took place at the Institute of the Far East of the USSR AS. The participants worked in two panels: "The Character of the Economic Basis, Socio-Class Structure, and Economic Policy of China" and "Major Problems of China's Economy Today", where 19 papers were delivered, including "An Assessment of China's Socio-Economic Development" by M. Sladkovsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute; "Questions of the Methodology of Research into China's Economic Basis" by I. Naumov; "Specific Features of the Effect of the Economic Policy Today" by E. Konovalov; "Problems of the Working-Class Development and the 'Four Modernisations' Programme' by A. Ostrovsky; "The Industrial Development of China: Problems and Perspectives" by A. Morozov; and "Problems of Marketability of China's Agriculture" by L. Boni.

* *A scientific conference "China: Society and the State"* sponsored by the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR AS was attended by over 150 Sinologists. More than 90 papers were read on various problems of the history, economy and culture of China, including "The Historiography of the People's Republic of China in 1979" by R. Vyatkin; "Models of Social and State Structures of Emperor's China" by N. Fomina; "China and Neighbours: Two Traditional Models of Relationships" by M. Kryukov; "China and the States of Eastern Turkestan in the 15th-16th Centuries" by O. Zotov; "The Mechanism of Tradition in the Political Thought of Mediaeval China" by Z. Lapina; "The Socio-Political Nature of China's Political Parties Between 1920 and 1940" by A. Meliksetov; "The First Bulgarian in Beijing and on the Amur" by A. Khokhlov; "Textological Structures in the Culture of Ancient China" by A. Kobzev.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW COLLECTION OF LENIN DOCUMENTS

(Survey)

No serious study of Lenin's rich theoretical legacy is possible without drawing on the primary sources, on the original documents belonging to the pen of the great scholar and revolutionary. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU is therefore concerned with collecting, studying and publishing this great legacy. Over the period from 1893 (when the first of Lenin's works to come down to us, *New Economic Development in Peasant Life* was written in Samara) to 1923 (when the last letters and articles were dictated) Lenin wrote scores of books and pamphlets, thousands of articles and letters, made a great number of excerpts and notes, delivered hundreds of reports and speeches at conferences, congresses and international forums and at meetings of working people. In all, more than 34,000 Lenin manuscripts and documents are today preserved in the Central Party Archive in Moscow.

Five editions of the *Complete Works* by V. I. Lenin have already been brought out in the Soviet Union. The fifth is the most complete. It includes everything that Lenin intended for publication, as well as many preparatory materials and his epistolary legacy of more than 4,500 letters. In all, the fifth edition contains close on 9,000 works and documents.

It should be noted, however, that not all documents connected with Lenin's activities have been published in the collected works. In the course of their research scientific workers and archivists constantly come across new, hitherto unknown works and notes. Many of them are of a laconic character and can only be understood within the context of other documents, but they are of great historico-cognitive value, for they throw light on one or another aspect of Lenin's theoretical legacy. Here other forms of publication help, notably the *Lenin Miscellany*.

To date 39 volumes of the *Lenin Miscellany* have been published. Many thousands of documents they include serve as a solid foundation for further research and the propaganda of the Lenin legacy. The latest of them, the *XXXIX Lenin Miscellany* (Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1980, 474 pp., in Russian) was brought out on the

110th birth anniversary of the great leader. It contains 264 documents spanning the period from 1894 to January 1922.

The materials represented in the collection introduce the reader to the creative laboratory of their author, show important landmarks in the preparation of various works and Party documents. Suffice it to note that among the documents of the pre-October 1917 period preparatory materials (more than 40) predominate. They include marginal notes and editorial corrections on Party documents; notes made during meetings, conferences and congresses; outlines of speeches, plans for articles; various data; excerpts from books and articles; bibliographical notes. Analogous materials, which are an integral part of Lenin's ideological legacy, help to better understand the author's completed works, complement and broaden the reader's view of earlier published documents, show how Lenin's ideas evolved and developed, reveal new aspects of his work.

To get an integral picture of the collection let us try to group the materials according to their subject-matter which covers a wide range. Take many of the documents of the pre-October 1917 period characterising Lenin's efforts to create a proletarian party of a new type, to strengthen its ranks and to arm the Party ideologically. Of particular interest here are the materials showing Lenin's participation in working out the major documents of the Party's leading bodies. These include "Notes in Connection with the Fourth Congress of the RSDLP on the Question of the Attitude to the State Duma", written in connection with the discussion of the Bolshevik and the Menshevik resolution and condemning "the resolution of the minority" which "shows a complete failure to understand the danger of the theory of compromise" (Ibid., p. 52); "Observations Regarding the Draft Resolution of the Fifth (London) Congress of the RSDLP on the Attitude to Bourgeois Parties, Submitted by the Delegation of the RSD" (Ibid., pp. 53-54).

Very instructive is Lenin's generalisation of the political and social character of statistical data relating to certain groups and strata of the population. Thus the collection publishes extensive data arranged in tables showing the cash receipts of the newspapers *Iskra, Rabochaya pravda, Severnaya pravda,* and *Nash put.* An analysis of these materials leads Lenin to the conclusion that only the Bolshevik papers are the workers' press.

The *XXXIX Lenin Miscellany* carries a selection of documents on the agrarian question, which complements works published earlier, gives an idea of Lenin's comprehensive elaboration of the question on the basis of a study and scientific generalisation of agrarian relations in Russia and in other countries. The selection includes: "Notes and Excerpts from the Books: *Würtembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde* and *Die Beiträge zur Statistik des Königsreichs Bayern,* "Excerpts from Gustav Bang's Article 'Die Lebenshaltung der unteren Schichten der dänischen Landbevölkerung'", and "Notes on the Character and Content of the US Department of Agriculture's Publication *Monthly List of Publications*".

In describing some of the materials written in the pre-October

1917 period at different times and on different occasions, special mention should be made of those relating to Lenin's analysis of the nature and politics of militarism.

Let us turn in this connection to Lenin's article (published for the first time in the collection), "Armament and the German Reichstag (From Germany)" which appeared in *Pravda* in June 1913 and was signed "NN", the authorship of which was established recently through research. The article lays bare the mechanism of the militarist arms-race policy, the methods of its lying propaganda, which, incidentally, are very much the same today. Lenin writes:

"The German government is with all its might 'rushing' a new law through parliament on increasing the army (from 544,000 to 659,000 in *peace* time, that is, by nearly 20 per cent!!). The manufacturers of war shells and munitions have succeeded in arousing 'in the people' (read: in the bourgeoisie and in the bourgeois papers which sell themselves to the highest bidder) 'patriotic' sentiments because of, believe it or not! the 'Slav' danger.

"But where is the money to come from for this new increase in arms when the people in Germany are everywhere groaning, as it is, under the weight of taxes and the high cost of living? And a lot of money is needed: a whole *billion* marks, that is, about 500 million rubles. How much that would be rational and sensible could be done on this money—for helping the working people, for alleviating their situation if...if the working people were not the hired slaves of the capitalists who are so splendidly making a fortune on 'patriotic' armament!" (Ibid., pp. 91-92).

The largest number of documents in the collection (192) relate to the period after the victory of the Great October Revolution of 1917. They show Lenin's tireless practical work in building the Soviet state, in guiding the country's domestic and foreign policies, the important landmarks in perfecting the science of building socialism and communism.

In many cases the documents of this period are of different character: along with articles, speeches and notes we find here draft resolutions, instructions, directives, assignments to secretaries, mandates, certificates and notes made during talks with delegations.

In this mass of the most diverse and often extremely laconic documents are a veritable treasure-trove of ideas and profound observations which still await research. They reveal the content, character and style of work of a public figure and statesman of the new type, that of the leader of the world's first ruling Communist Party and first state of the victorious proletariat.

If we were to single out the main thing in the Lenin documents of the post-October period it would be that brilliant step forward in the history of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action made by Lenin in the process of directing with the greatest flexibility and high principle the complex, multifarious, still unknown business of consolidating a socialist society.

Lenin, in conformity with the Marxian doctrine, sees the genuine democratism of the new society in the fact that here the decisive role of the working people in material production is coupled with their participation in factory management, in running the state and public affairs, in shaping and

realising the country's domestic and foreign policies. The problems of the democratic nature of the new system, of the conditions of realising its colossal potentials, of the humanistic, creative essence of the proletarian state and of the leading role of the working class are vividly reflected in a number of the documents published as, for instance, in Lenin's speech made on March 16, 1920, dedicated to the memory of Yakov Sverdlov.

After singling out the principal links in the chain of the revolutionary and creative tasks facing the liberated and victorious people, Lenin focused attention on the problem of organisation, of organisational activities which constitute and must constitute the main content of the work of the party of the working class (Ibid., p. 219), for the building of socialism is organisational work of the longest duration, stretching over many years, and only it can lead us here to real victory (Ibid., p. 225). A major task of the Party should therefore be to educate workers and peasants to be persons capable of being organisers and administrators, so that they may learn how to direct people and place them suitably, to unite tens of thousands of people so that the result of their actions, of their work may be assessed from the point of view of the requirements of the needs and interests of millions—this is our principal task (Ibidem).

This theoretical and political premise important for the practice of socialist construction is concretely developed, as the materials of the collection show, in the numerous documents reflecting the day-to-day practical work of Lenin as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Reading the lines written in his hand, whether it is a theoretical statement or a short note, one is conscious of how closely Lenin was connected with the broadest masses. He thoroughly knew the interests and needs of the working people, was always thoughtful for others. This well-known Lenin's human quality is once again graphically confirmed by a series of documents: his letter to A. Smirnov on help to starving railroad workers; his note not to evict the Shtikh family; his note to N. Krestinsky.

Lenin's style of work, his methods of settling the various problems that he had to contend with in his high state and public post, are most instructive for us. The explicit, laconic notes made by him during meetings, during talks with workers and peasants, and with scientific and cultural personalities and during meetings with delegations give us a broader picture of Lenin's many-faceted activities in the early years after the revolution.

No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself—such is the general law for all revolutions, Lenin noted. This was fully borne out by the country and people who were the first in the world to break with the system of private property and who literally from the very first day of the victory of the revolution had to display fortitude, their ability to defend the revolutionary gains from both the internal counter-revolution and outside aggression. The materials in the collection show the great attention Lenin devoted to problems of the defence of the Republic, the organisation of the defeat of the intervention and white guard forces. We cite in this con-

nection an excerpt from his speech at a meeting in the Rogozhsky district of Moscow. After laying bare the social nature, the underlying causes and aims of the internal and external counter-revolution, and pointing out the historical importance of defence of the homeland of the October Revolution, Lenin underlined that vengeance was being wreaked on us because we have overthrown the power of capitalism, because in defending the Soviet power we are fighting for the interests not only of the Russian working people (Ibid., p. 195).

The new documents in the *XXXIX Lenin Miscellany* show Lenin's concern for a durable peace between nations, for the need to save the achievements of mankind, the popular masses themselves from the flames of war. In an answer to the German liberal political figure Hermann Fernau Lenin speaks of the necessity of saving civilisation. "We therefore appeal to all peoples," Vladimir Ilyich goes on to say, "we need peace above all. We propose to all nations concluding peace" (Ibid., pp. 182-183). A number of documents dealing with foreign policy issues shows Lenin's activities aimed at establishing mutually advantageous trade and mutually advantageous economic relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. Of considerable interest in this connection are Lenin's letters to Chicherin and other materials regarding the negotiations of the trade representatives of the RSFSR with German industrialists on concessions (Ibid., pp. 288-289, 292-293, 313-314, 315-316, 317, 321).

Lenin explains the benefit afforded by concessions for both the young Land of Soviets and for the German industrialists, noting that this legally sound form of relations gives both sides full guarantees, facilitates expanding business (Ibid., p. 288).

Of course, the entire spectrum of problems reflected in the documents of the *XXXIX Lenin Miscellany* has far from been covered in this brief survey. The collection needs to be studied as an important source on the history of the life, of the political and theoretical activities of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

M. Mchedlov

Социалистическое соревнование научных и инженерно-технических работников. М., изд-во «Высшая школа», 1979, 263 стр.

Socialist Emulation Among Scientific Workers and Engineering Personnel, Moscow, Vysshaya shkola Publishers, 1979, 263 pp.

Numerous books and magazine and newspaper articles have been written about socialist emulation. However, in this wealth of literature one can hardly find a work which profoundly and comprehensively interprets questions pertaining to the organisation of socialist emulation drives in scientific and engineering work collectives. This is not fortuitous, for scientific activity is complicated and diverse and therefore it is especially difficult to organise socialist emulation in this sphere. By its very nature this labour is in effect a contest aimed at perceiving new truths, making new discoveries, and coming up with new inventions. It is an incessant creative endeavour.

How would one compare and measure the results achieved, and weigh the peculiarities of research labour in organising socialist emulation drives? It is not easy to answer these questions. Meanwhile life itself, and scientific and technological progress, have brought competition in this sphere to the fore: scientific work in our time, while retaining all the features of creative intellectual endeavour, increasingly, and organically interacts with material production and constitutes a crucially important factor of the process of production. The newly published book *Socialist Emulation Among Scientific Workers and Engineering Personnel* edited by R. Yanovsky, D. Sc. (Philos.) can serve as a handy guide in elucidating the numerous problems involved in organising socialist emulation in scientific collectives. The authors—scientists, Party and trade-union workers and functionaries, and executives—have attempted a thorough and pervasive analysis of the wide range of questions relating to the organisation of emulation in scientific collectives.

The book sums up the experience gained in emulation drives, shows the importance of socialist emulation for enhancing the creative initiative of scientific workers, engineers and technicians and brings out the forms and methods whereby the Party, trade-union and YCL organisations take part in its organisation. The book is based upon the materials of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "Socialist Emulation, the Movement for a Communist Attitude to Work, as an Efficacious Means for Promoting the Creative Initiative of the Masses and for Moulding the New Man", held in Leningrad in 1979.

Quite naturally, the authors started out by extensively quoting the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and Party documents, and on this basis, examined the methodological questions pertaining to the organisation of emulation in scientific work collectives and the ways of perfecting it. The book's content confirms the idea that socialist emulation today has become a powerful catalyst for the advancement of science and the rapid application of scientific innovations in practice, as well as an important means for moulding a scientist's creative personality.

At the same time the authors emphasise that increasing demands are being made upon the organisation of emulation inasmuch as the qualitative aspect of the activities of scientific collectives is being accorded priority. Among the causes of formalism in the organisation of emulation and its still insufficient effectiveness are, according to the authors, the imperfection of relevant indicators, inadequate evaluation of results and poorly developed criteria for comparison. The authors have attempted to define the criteria which would reflect not only the results of scientific and technological activities but also their economic, technical, social and educational effects.

Perhaps not all sections of the book deal with the problems in the same profound and comprehensive way and there are instances of incoherence in the treatment of some questions. By and large, however, the work furnishes an in-depth analysis of urgent problems associated with the organisation of socialist emulation.

V. Fedinin

К. Е. ТАРАСОВ, Е. К. ЧЕРНЕНКО. *Социальная детерминированность биологии человека.* М., изд-во «Мысль», 1979, 366 стр.

K. E. TARASOV, E. K. CHERNENKO, *The Social Determination of Human Biology,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1979, 366 pp.

In recent years the problem of the development of man, particularly, the relationship between the social and the biological in the latter, is becoming highly acute and topical both in theory and practice. This is stipulated by the task of the allround development of man in mature socialist society and by the comprehensive research into related problems.

The book under review is one of the works dealing with this problem. It elucidates philosophical, sociological, social and political aspects of man's anthropology and biology. The authors have deliberately chosen only one subject for study—the most important aspect of the dialectical inter-connection between the social and the biological in man, namely, the social determination of his biological nature, without a proper understanding of which it is impossible to comprehend the reverse impact of man's specific biology on his vital social functions. A distinguishing feature of this work is that it interprets the concept "biological" extensively enough and does not reduce it, as is often the case, solely to the concept "genetic".

At the same time, the authors confine the biological only to the sphere of the organism, its development and vital functions and, therefore, do not analyse its manifestations in man's psychic sphere.

Chapter 1 of the book titled "Methodological Aspects of the Dialectics of the Relationship Between the Social and the Biological in Man" deals with the general methodological aspects of this relationship. Following a brief analysis of the history of the examination of this problem in philosophy and special sciences in the past the authors give an in-depth analysis of the Marxist conception of man's social essence and its dialectico-materialistic character. They share the point of view that man's organism is not purely biological or biosocial but a socio-biological system. It is substantiated, on the one hand, in the course of research into the dialectics of the relationship between the social form of motion and the biological form of the motion of matter and the effect of the former upon the latter. On the other hand, the authors support their point of view by analysing the principal methods of solving (at the same time underscoring their potential infinity) the problem of the relationships between the social and the biological and convincingly prove the untenability of unilateral (cultural-sociologised and biologised) dualistic, mechanistic approaches and the genuinely scientific character, and the dialectical systems nature of the Marxist approach to this major problem. This chapter, in our opinion, is one of the most interesting and unorthodox in the present monograph.

Chapter 2, titled "The Social Conditionality of Man's Phylogenesis" extensively elucidates the effect of sociogenesis and the historical development of society on anthropogenesis, the social determination of limiting the action in the latter of such laws of

biological evolution as "natural selection", "the struggle for existence", "survival of the fittest", etc. Much space is allotted to elucidating the role of labour in the man's phylogenesis and the shaping of his biological peculiarities.

Also worthy of note is Chapter 3, which brings out the social conditionality of the ontogenetic development of modern man.

Drawing extensively on the latest information in the various sciences dealing with the human body, its formation and vital functions, the authors substantiate and uphold the idea of the enhancing influence of various social factors at any phase and level of man's individual development in contemporary conditions. Graphically shown is the impact of social conditions of people's lives on their heredity, and the biochemical and metabolic processes occurring at the cellular level. The spontaneous (radiation, chemicalisation, etc.) or an ever expanding conscious effect of various peculiarities and aspects of social life (genetic engineering, medical genetics, etc.) in industrially advanced countries manifests itself in the growing positive and negative shifts in the genotype and phenotype. The authors rightly point out that the actual importance of these factors should be neither underestimated nor overestimated. At the same time, they are of the opinion that it is impossible to agree with a widely accepted view that man allegedly develops under the influence of two programmes, namely, genetic and social, which function independently of and in isolation to each other. In most countries there function only certain sum totals of limited specific measures, and not argumented social programmes. As for the scientifically substantiated social programmes facilitating the allround development of man, these are elaborated and translated into life only in the socialist countries.

Analysing individual stages of man's ontogenetic development (embryonic, post- and pre-natal, childhood, youth, mature and gerontal), the authors show the specific features of their social determination which have found expression in the acceleration, the drop in infant mortality, increase in life expectancy, etc.

Particular emphasis is laid on an analysis of the major social factors affecting man's ontogenesis. There are, first and foremost, the character and conditions of labour, sports and physical culture, everyday conditions, nourishment, psychosomatic and socio-psychological factors.

One of the merits of the monograph under review is undoubtedly the substantiation of the social determination of both the genetics and the adaptation and ecology of man which are often considered only as natural, biological phenomena. In analysing the latter's essence, the authors tried to show their complicated, systems and socio-biological character. In this connection, they criticise anthropocentric, biocentric approaches which are easily overcome by various contemporary biological sciences and, first and foremost, in the ecology of animals, but which are still widely spread in anthropology, medicine, biology and ecology of man. However, the authors are of the opinion that these obsolete methods of scientific analysis should give way not to "population", biocenotic or any other "centric" approach, but to a dialectical systems method of studying the

given phenomena and processes. They criticise the widespread term "external environment" regarding it tautological, indefinite in content and conducive to disseminating a limited centric mode of thinking that hinders the establishment of the systems method of thinking in science with its indissoluble link with materialistic dialectics. From the standpoint of this method, the enhancing social determination and specific features of adaptation and ecology of man under socialism and capitalism are unfolded along with the criticism of the conceptions of "social disadaptation" and inevitability of the global "ecological crisis".

The book ends with an examination of the advantages of the normal biological development of all people under developed socialism, which provides ever growing favourable conditions not only for the protection but also for the improvement of people's health. The final chapter reveals and comprehensively substantiates the relevance of Leonid Brezhnev's words in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress: "The loftiest among the social tasks is concern for the Soviet people's health." In developing this very important provision the authors single out three major peculiarities and advantages of the social determination of the biological as part of the allround development of man. First, it is noted that the socialist way of life is the main objective social condition for the protection of the people's health. Second, the role of Soviet medicine and the socialist health protection system is shown as a means of beneficial and humane impact on the man's health and biological development. Third, the role and significance of the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in improving the people's health are brought out in relief.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the book analyses and summarises vast research done into the present problem. It makes use of data from various sciences dealing with man and gives an argumented criticism of a multitude of biologised conceptions of contemporary non-Marxist philosophy, sociology, political science and anthropology. Many problems in the monograph seem to be treated in such a manner as to prompt broad polemics and scientific discussions.

I. Smirnov

А. П. ОКЛАДНИКОВ. *Открытие Сибири.* М., изд-во «Молодая гвардия», 1979, 223 стр.

A. P. OKLADNIKOV, *The Discovery of Siberia,* Moscow, Molodaya gvardiya Publishers, 1979, 223 pp.

Academician Alexei Okladnikov is the author of 44 monographs and several hundreds of articles. Some time ago the Molodaya gvardiya Publishers put out his 45th book— *The Discovery of Siberia.*

Siberia was discovered on three occasions. One of these discoveries dates back to the time when the Russians, first by hearsay, and later in practice, became acquainted with the boundless expanses of the unknown land and its mysterious and multilingual indigenous population. The author describes in a laconic and expressive manner the advancement of the Russian peasant to the East and the economic development of this vast region.

The second discovery is linked with the Great October Socialist Revolution. It still continues today and will continue in the years to come. Its content is the socialist transformation of Siberia.

The narrative centres on the third discovery of Siberia—the archaeological one. The book contains considerable amount of autobiographical material, because many major archaeological discoveries, which had radically altered the views of scientists about the pattern of Siberia's population in Paleolithic and Neolithic periods are linked with the personal contribution of Academician Okladnikov and with the investigations of his numerous followers.

The book sums up the results of more than half a century of field investigations. It unfolds a detailed picture of the exploration of the vast area. Almost each of the annual expeditions produced some discoveries, which is a result of the incessant search and of the knowledge and experience gained by the scholar over years of hard work. The erudition of the author is backed up by his talent for some unorthodox decisions, and even though not all of them pay off, each of them helps maintain the momentum of the research.

N. Pavlenko

Г. В. ОСИПОВ. *Теория и практика социологических исследований в СССР.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1979, 343 стр.

G. V. OSIPOV, *The Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 343 pp.

The book consists of three sections and nine chapters.

It is pointed out in Chapter I entitled "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—the Founders of Scientific Sociology" that the coming into being of sociology as a science is associated with the development of a materialist interpretation of history. The "socio-economic formation" concept made it possible to examine societies as systems of definite economic, political, ideological and other relations. The interaction of diverse aspects of social life, with the economic factor being of decisive importance, imparts the development of society with the characteristics of a natural-historical process. Thus, the basic principle of historical materialism as a general sociological theory is the principle of social interaction and, hence, social relations do not exist apart from the concrete activities of people. "The sociological conception advanced by Marx and Engels," the author writes, "assumes the unity of the general theoretical and the empiric approaches to social reality, while a point of departure in social cognition is man and his practical social activities."

While upholding materialism in sociology, Lenin revealed the epistemological and social roots of subjectivism and creatively developed the dialectical method of Marxism (Chapter II—"V. I. Lenin and Sociological Science"). Society is a social organism which is in constant development, the study of which

should be conducted in the context of the cause-effect connection. Lenin, when revealing the mechanism of the interaction of diverse subsystems of society, devoted special attention to the study of the laws governing the social activities of the individual, distinguishing as his major characteristic his definite class affiliation. Following the victorious October Revolution of 1917 Lenin urged stronger ties between sociological science and the practice of socialist construction.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet Marxist sociologists conducted some major researches into the social problems of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia; the collectivisation of the countryside; urban, demographic and cultural problems; engaged in the elaboration of the methodology and methods of concrete social researches, the critical assimilation of the works of bourgeois sociologists (Chapter III—"Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the USSR"). During the postwar period, sociological thought has been centred on the problems of historical materialism. Wide-scale discussions and sociological researches were conducted in the 1960s in diverse spheres of socialist society; interesting sociological works were published, the results of sociological researches found their use in social planning. The organic fusion of historical materialism, the general sociological theory of Marxism-Leninism, and social practice is a major result of the development of sociology in the USSR.

The author notes three stages in the evolution of Western sociology (Chapter IV—"The Subject-Matter and Theoretical Orientation of Modern Bourgeois Sociology"). The first stage is associated with the names of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer and with the domination of positivist and evolutionist conceptions. The second stage, which set in approximately at the turn of the century, is characterised by a re-orientation of Western sociology from the theoretical to the empirical level. The current period marks the third stage. Its specific features include the absence of a single understanding of the subject-matter of sociological science, the presence of an enormous number of mutually opposed theories. All Western theories can conditionally be divided into two types—some adopt the "social system" principle as the initial postulate; others—the principle of "social interaction". Correspondingly, their general philosophical basis is either naturalism or subjectivism. The transition from naturalism to subjectivism, from theories of "order" to theories of "conflict" is a distinctive feature of sociology today. The latter theories come forth in two varieties—conservative and radical. One also finds attempts to synthesise diverse trends. Nevertheless, the most common trend is that of diminishing the influence of macrotheory and the spreading of microtheory.

It is stressed in Chapter V entitled "Problems of Empiric Researches and Political Orientations of Bourgeois Sociologists" that researches conducted by Western sociologists are aimed at both obtaining information and elaborating practical measures to stabilise the capitalist system. Usually, the "social system" is the subject of empirical researches, the key concepts of the research being "social interaction", the "social group", etc.

The main types of current researches are those of a purely basic, basic-target, operational and applied nature. The first type has as its aim an ideological function, the next two—that of a cognitive function and, the last one—of a practical function.

It is the author's opinion that at present diverse "scientistic" and "technocratic" ideas are actively penetrating Western sociology (Chapter VI—"Socio-Political Conceptions in the Conditions of the General Crisis of Capitalism and the Scientific and Technological Revolution"). Two aspects are important when analysing "technocratic" sociology: 1) the problem of the knowledge-power relationship and the determination of the motive force of historical progress; 2) the notion of scientific knowledge in technocratic ideology and its social consequences. Despite different political trends (from "conservatism" to "radicalism") the technocratic ideologists try to solve these problems for the sake of the preservation of the techno-political elite, which adopts decisions that allegedly are solely in accord with criteria of scientific rationality.

Chapter VII, called "Subject-Matter and Structure of Marxist-Leninist Sociology" shows the place of sociology in the system of Marxism-Leninism. Historical materialism as the science of the more general laws of the development of society fuses with Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and, as a general sociological theory, it is an integral part of sociology, its theoretical, methodological and philosophical foundation. Besides this, sociology includes special sociological theories (they differ from historical materialism according to the level of generalisation) and sociological research. Thus, Marxist-Leninist sociology is defined as a science on the general and specific laws of the development and functioning of socio-economic formations, a science on the mechanism of the operation and the forms of the manifestation of these laws in the activities of individuals, social groups, classes, nations. The subject-matter of sociological researches is the social forms of interaction of people, whereas that of social researches is the economic, political and other conditions of their interaction.

Chapter VIII—"Social Laws and Social Activity of People"—reveals the essence and the correlation of such concepts as "personality", "society", "social system", "social organisation", "social values" and "social aims". Social aims imply "social changes predetermined by a social law". Cognised social laws form the basis of man's purposeful activities. However, the forms of the manifestation of a social law depend on the concrete conditions of the individual's activities.

Social planning is a qualitatively new stage in national economic planning (Chapter IX—"Indices and Indicators of Social Development and Planning"), aimed at improving the social efficiency of the planned economic and organisational measures. Their efficiency is determined by a comprehensive system of social indicators and indices in correlation with the aims of society. The book cites the following system of such indices at five levels: 1) society as a whole; 2) the social structure of society; 3) branches of production and management; 4) socio-territorial entities; 5) primary units of society (social organisations). Planning indicators, in accordance with the

tasks, can be divided as follows: a) indices of the aims of society and the means for their attainment; b) distributive indices; c) summary indices; d) objective indices gauging conditions of life and, subjective indices gauging their perception. The closing part of the chapter considers problems and experience in the gauging and construction of a system of indices by using diverse, particularly mathematical, methods.

M. Manuilsky

А. Г. ХАРЧЕВ. *Брак и семья в СССР.* М., изд-во «Мысль», 1979, 367 стр.

A. G. KHARCHEV, *Marriage and the Family in the USSR,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1979, 367 pp.

Although marriage and the family are studied by many sciences in the Soviet Union, it is Marxist-Leninist sociology that is called upon to provide a synthesis of this knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that this monograph has aroused wide interest. Apart from the importance of the subject, the clarity, logic, and well-reasoned argumentation in presenting rather a complex material, and also the monograph's literary style have contributed in no small measure to its success.

The inclusion in the book of sections on the history and methods of studying conjugal-family relations and the development of the family in presocialist formations enabled the author to substantiate several fundamentally important propositions. Thus, he notes (correctly, I believe) that the formation of the monogamous family did not result from the development of private property only: a great role was played here by mankind's cultural progress, by the development of men's moral and aesthetic needs. That is a very important conclusion enabling the author to challenge the theories, at present fashionable in the West, concerning the rejection by modern mankind of the traditional moral values regulating the relations between the sexes. Even in bourgeois society, the defence of petty-bourgeois licentiousness, speculating on the public's hostility towards the "values" of the proprietary family, is meeting with growing opposition from public opinion.

This line of analysis (the economy—intellectual and spiritual life—marriage and the family) remains central to the book when the author passes on to consideration of the effect of socialist transformations on marriage and the family, as well as of such factors as the scientific and technological revolution and the future of the family.

The author gives a comprehensive picture of the modern Soviet family (motives for marriage, factors of stabilising it, the evolution of conjugal relations), number, structure, functions, tendencies, and laws of development. A notable feature of the book is that its main emphasis is on the most important, complicated, and acute problems, on which the future progress of the Soviet family depends (stability of marriage, rational combination of the woman's professional and family roles, and many others).

Other merits of the book are its considered definitions; convincing argumentation with non-Marxist sociologists; extensive use of empirical data and theoretical propositions of Soviet researchers in family problems representing virtually all the social sciences that are concerned with this problem.

Of course, not all the questions of the development of the Soviet family have been covered equally comprehensively and concretely. Thus, family education is discussed mainly in a theoretical context. There is not enough material treating of the specificity of conjugal-family relations in the various regions of the country and about the role of the family in transmitting cultural traditions (more extensive use of ethnographic literature could help here). And not all the forecasts concerning the future of the family are indisputable. This, however, does not detract from Kharchev's book as a whole being an interesting and significant study of the modern family.

Academician **Yu. Bromley**

И. С. КОН. *Психология юношеского возраста.* М., изд-во «Просвещение», 1979, 175 стр.

I. S. KON, *The Psychology of Young People,* Moscow, Prosveshcheniye Publishers, 1979, 175 pp.

This book is the first, and so far the only, systematic course devoted to the psychology of young people. There is no need to point out that without some knowledge in this field it is impossible to offer serious pedagogical training to those involved in the upbringing of young people.

Both a psychologist and a sociologist, Professor Kon is known for his researches into the problems of personality formation. This work, intended as a manual for students at pedagogical institutes, can be evaluated highly, apart from its topicality and the newness of the theme dealt with.

The choice of fundamental problems covered was undoubtedly skilful, and it is worth listing them here. "Youth as the subject of scientific research", "Youth as a stage of life", "The formation of the personality and the discovery of self", "Relationships with adults", "Association between coevals, and youth groups", "Interpersonal attachments. Friendship", "Psychosexual development and relationships between young men and women", "The formation of a world outlook and social activity".

Young people's relationships with adults do not always develop simply. One of the reasons for this, in the author's opinion, is that the changes which occur in adolescents and young people happen too quickly in their parents' eyes. "The main trouble with parents is that they knew us when we were little," one fifteen-year-old boy remarked. Kon notes that lack of time and the inability or unwillingness to hear young people out, to understand what is happening in the complex world of youth, the inability to look at problems with the eyes of their son or daughter, smug confidence in the infallibility of their own experience of life—all this creates psychological barriers between parents and their growing children.

This notwithstanding, surveys show that the majority of both parents and children evaluate each other positively, although generally misunderstanding the attitude of the other party to themselves. Young people expect to be evaluated negatively by their elders and vice versa. The reason for these misunderstandings lies in the generalisation of the mutual claims and reproaches inevitably arising between children and their parents. There are, unfortunately, not a few such erroneous generalisations and notions and they usually complicate relationships between adults and adolescents.

The author cites the researches of T. Malkovskaya, who studied the degree of contact between teachers and their pupils. Seventy-three per cent of teachers but only 18 per cent of school children assert that contacts do, in fact, exist. In Kon's view, the disparity in the replies of the two groups can be explained by the fact that teachers and pupils invest the notion of "contact" with different meanings. The former have in mind a normal psychological climate which makes the teaching/training process possible. Children in the senior classes, however, dream of emotional warmth and psychological intimacy which do not exist nor can exist on a broad scale. There is also a striking difference between the teachers' and the pupils' evaluations of the psychological climate in school. Whereas the young person's consciousness is illusory in its maximalism and the demands that arise from this cannot be met, the adult's consciousness is illusory in a different way. They overestimate the degree of their closeness towards young people and hence also the extent of their influence upon them.

The question of the meaning of life occupies a central position in the philosophical searchings of young people. In contrast with children who, in describing the future, speak primarily of their own personal perspectives, young people focus upon socially significant problems. To look at the future as the product of one's own activity in conjunction with other people, Kon considers, is characteristic of the "doer" or fighter. The idea that the future "comes by itself" belongs to the dependant, the consumer. Children who have been too closely watched over and shielded against difficulties begin to fear the responsibility of adulthood, identifying it with humdrum routine.

Young people must also make the important decision about what they are going to do with their lives. Kon writes that dragging out the choice of a profession or, alternatively, making a quick, ill thought-out decision are equally undesirable amongst senior school pupils.

The book is characterised by a tone of confiding meditation on the problems covered. There are no strictly formulated, universal, didactic conclusions. Nevertheless, the foregoing does not imply total acceptance of all the author's ideas. In our view, the book also has its weak points. But on the whole, the author and the publishing house have produced a learned and much-needed book.

B. Lisin

П. И. МАНЧХА. *Актуальные проблемы современной Африки.* М., Политиздат, 1979, 343 стр.

P. I. MANCHKHA, *Key Problems of Present-Day Africa,* Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1979, 343 pp.

Among the many works describing life on the African continent which have come out in this country in recent years the monograph by P. Manchkha *Key Problems of Present-Day Africa* is worthy of note. The work under review sums up rich factual material, analysing the achievements and setbacks of the African countries in their struggle for the abolition of colonialism and racism, against neocolonialist expansion by the imperialist countries and for the establishment of a national-democratic order in the interests of the people.

The book demonstrates the diversity of states on the political map of Africa—from revolutionary-democratic states, which follow a policy of socialist orientation, to openly neocolonialist regimes, which are still dominated by the former colonialist powers. The author devotes great attention to the revolutionary countries which stand at the forefront of the anti-imperialist, liberation movement on the continent, such as Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Congo, Tanzania and others.

Part of the book is devoted to the current activities of the African Communists, to the Marxist-Leninist parties. There are 10 of them now with a total membership of some 70,000. The Communists of the Republic of South Africa, the oldest Communist Party on the continent which was founded back in 1921, are waging their struggle in especially difficult conditions. The author describes on some concrete examples the forms and methods used by the Communists, the vanguard party of the working masses, in their struggle for national and social liberation.

The monograph analyses several specific features of the historical development of many African countries over the past 20 years, and examines the serious problems and difficulties which they had to face—from neocolonialist activities by monopolies to tribal strife. A separate chapter exposes subversive actions by Beijing leadership, especially during the grim years of struggle for the liberation of Angola.

In conclusion the book points to the mounting cooperation between the Soviet Union and scores of young African countries based on the principle of equality. Our country remains loyal to the Leninist principle of maintaining an alliance with the revolutionaries in the industrially advanced countries and also with all oppressed people against imperialists of every stripe. The author provides concrete facts to demonstrate the manifold Soviet aid to the national liberation movement, to the independent countries which have embarked upon the difficult road of national economic construction and cultural development. The Soviet aid covers moral, political, economic and diplomatic fields.

The book contains a large amount of evidence which proves that the progressive forces of Africa are playing a steadily growing role in shaping the course of Afri-

can history by driving the racists and colonialists off the continent and that they are becoming increasingly in favour of fundamental social reforms and of embracing socialist orientation.

V. Korovikov

А. Д. АЛЕКСИДЗЕ. *Мир греческого рыцарского романа (13-14 вв.).* Тбилиси, изд-во Тбилисского университета; 1979, 322 стр.

A. D. ALEXIDZE, *The World of the Greek Romance of Chivalry (13th-14th Centuries),* Tbilisi University Press, 1979, 322 pp.

The theme of this book, in general, is of great importance for the history of world literature. That importance can be defined by several features. First of all, the author touches upon the origin of one of the fundamental genres of modern, and not only modern, prose—the novel. After M. Bakhtin's research into the history of the novel, it is quite clear that the origin of the genre lies in the Greek romance.

Alexidze's book also carries a vital significance for the history of ancient Russian literature, since there is an undisputed link between Russian translated hagiography and narrative prose and the Greek romance of chivalry. There is also a link with *The Life of Alexius, the Man of God* and the heroic epic of Digenes Akritas—18th century works of adventure.

What is more, Alexidze's work has an important bearing on the elaboration of theoretical aspects in constructing the history of literature. Histories of literature should not just be popular collections of information arranged in chronological sequence, they should also record the changes in aesthetic and, in the widest sense, ideological conceptions of the world, they should be histories of genres and styles developed on the theoretical plane. This Georgian scholar's book provides serious material for constructing a theoretical history of Byzantine literature, but it does not stop at that, contributing a great deal of additional detail (concerning, for example, the authorship of *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*).

The book's first chapter is of great importance—"On the Symbolico-Allegorical Interpretation of the Byzantine Romance"—bringing a persuasive argument against attempts to see in the Byzantine novel only an allegorical encodement of general ideas. The historical approach to aesthetics does not exclude, indeed it presupposes, the existence of certain permanent forms of aesthetic knowledge in different epochs. This first chapter in Alexidze's book provides the key which enables the modern reader to see in Greek novels not a rebus for solution but non-transient aesthetic values. The Byzantine novel combines exegetic-allegorical methods and tendencies with a life-like reflection of reality and a spontaneously entertaining content.

Alexidze has also achieved something else important in this work—he has demolished the myth of the exclusively ecumenical nature of Byzantine literature. By not modernising the material and not subordinating his research to any pre-conceived ideas or hypothetical constructs (the scourge of many literary critical works in recent years), he discloses the secular nature of the Byzantine novel.

The virtue of this work lies in its comparative approach to the resolution of theoretical and historical problems. This requires a wide-ranging knowledge of the different mediaeval literatures. The comparisons with Western chivalrous literature and the conclusions drawn from these comparisons are profound and convincing; in many cases Alexidze also reveals the "folklorique", popular foundations of the literature.

Finally, Alexidze's approach is remarkable for the fact that he sees in literature first and foremost the world outlook, the artistic philosophy, which conditioned, incidentally, the title of the book—*The World of the Greek Romance of Chivalry.* In this author's research, literature appears not only as a direct and spontaneous reflection of historical reality but also as a reflection of the notions of the time—ideological, aesthetic, and ethical—as they relate to the reality and deep-seated traditions of their era. Exceptionally interesting, important and persuasive is the distinctive "conception of love" which the author reveals in the Greek romance of chivalry.

Perhaps the book also contains disputable elements, but I am convinced that they do not abrogate its undoubted value and great scholarly interest.

In scholarly learning, if it is really scholarly, it is always very difficult to determine who follows whom. Pupils outstrip their teachers, disciples overtake the "patriarchs" of wisdom. In this book, Alexidze develops many existing ideas and opens up many new perspectives for further study and research.

Academician **D. Likhachev**

Ф. БУРЛАЦКИЙ. *Мао-Цзедун и его наследники.* М., изд-во «Международные отношения», 1979, 399 стр.

F. BURLATSKY, *Mao Zedong and His Successors,* Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya Publishers, Moscow, 1979, 399 pp.

Developments in China are attracting the close attention of the Soviet public. Quite a few interesting works dealing with various aspects of the life of modern Chinese society have appeared in the past few years. The book under review will hold a worthy place among them.

The author has long been dealing, in his writings, with Chinese affairs. Back in the late 1960s, he came up with two works, *Maoism or Marxism?* and *Maoism, a Threat to Socialism in China.* Burlatsky's book *Mao Zedong* published three years ago was well received by the reading public. It was an inquiry into the evolution of the views and activities of the Chinese leader. The latest work is a continuation of the previous one; it presents an ideological and psychological portrait of Mao Zedong himself and of his closest associates and successors.

The book can be described as a political work solidly documented and written in a lively style. Bur-

latsky dissects the mechanism of political power in present-day China and examines the formation of the political leadership and relationships between its various representatives.

In analysing Mao Zedong's political biography, the author points out his distinctive features—"nationalism, craving for power, reactionary social utopianism and the worship of violence".

Much space in the book is given to the biographies of some of the present-day Chinese leaders. "No matter whether they are moderates, like Zhou Enlai," writes Burlatsky, "or Right-wingers, like Liu Shaoqi, or leftists, like Lin Biao, or ultra-leftists like Jiang Qing, they are all related by radicalism, an unquestionable inclination towards violence, social utopianism (in varying degrees); and, finally, their overriding feature is nationalism."

Therefore, the "radical-nationalists" (as the author dubs Mao Zedong and his successors for their tendency to go to the extremes in various spheres of social policy) regard the "great socialist modernisation" primarily as military modernisation which is to prepare the ground to ensure the "dominant role of the billion-strong China at the outset of the next millennium".

The book closes with interesting reflections about China's future. Clearly, forecasts are no easy matter especially with regard to China, as events in that country are hard to predict. And yet, one perhaps cannot but agree with the idea expressed in the book that China's return to the path of genuine socialist development is hardly possible in the near future. The author assumes that "China's development in existing forms bequeathed to the new leaders from the past period is most likely to continue for a long time to come". He is referring to the conservation of petty-bourgeois and semi-feudal forms of "socialism". The strategic aim of transforming China into a power with a mighty military-industrial complex, proclaimed by Mao's successors, and the methods of its realisation can only further China's militarisation and the impoverishment of its millions of working people.

Burlatsky does not exclude another alternative in China's future development. He contends that there are a number of positive factors which can eventually put China onto the path leading to truly proletarian, scientific socialism. These factors are, first of all, the steady growth of the working class, the intelligentsia, the raising of the cultural standards of the entire Chinese population, including the leading political forces, and, finally, the advent to power of a new generation of leaders.

The book under review is a notable phenomenon in Soviet political journalism. Of course, not all the questions dealt with in it are sufficiently elucidated, and some judgements are perhaps controversial. This, however, is inevitable, for the book was written in the wake of events. Our reading public is keenly interested in this type of literature.

V. Burov

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NEW BOOKS BY SOVIET AUTHORS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

From the Editors: Below is an annotated list of individual and collectively-authored studies prepared by the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The works, written by researchers from this institute, were put out between 1977 and 1979 (all the books are in Russian).

Every year the Institute publishes a large number of monographs on a wide range of topical contemporary problems. The present list comprises the works devoted to the characteristic features and peculiarities of the general crisis of capitalism; the scientific and technological revolution and the efficiency of the economy in major capitalist powers; basic trends in the development of the world economy, international economic and political relations; consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; theoretical aspects of the national liberation movement and ways of development of Asian, African and Latin American states; a critical analysis of bourgeois conceptions of socio-political processes in the modern world.

A. V. Avilova, Ya. S. Vedenyapin, *The Economy of Spain,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 176 pp.

This book examines the major trends in the development of the Spanish economy from the early 1960s: the most characteristic features of state-monopoly capitalism, structural and sectoral changes in the economy, and the system of foreign economic relations.

Agro-Industrial Corporations in the USA (Organisation and Management), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 270 pp.

The monograph delves into the essence of agro-industrial integration under capitalism, the objective prerequisites of its emergence, and the peculiarities of the development of agro-industrial corporations in the major sectors of food production in the USA.

A. E. Azarkh, *Civil Servants in India,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 135 pp.

The author analyses the structure and organisation of the state management apparatus under independence; the various attempts to restructure it made under the

impact of the ideas expounded by leaders of the Indian national liberation movement; decision-making at various stages of the administrative system; the role of civil servants in running the state.

A. E. Azarkh, D. B. Malysheva, A. V. Shestopal, *Conceptions of Revolution in Developing Countries. Critical Essays,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 109 pp.

The authors examine problems of the development of the countries which have gained independence, as well as bourgeois conceptions of the role and significance of revolutions in the national liberation movement.

Yu. V. Andreyev, *The Economy of Norway,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 159 pp.

The book provides a comprehensive analysis of the postwar economy of Norway, a small industrially advanced capitalist country. The author pays particular attention to such indicators of the country's economic development as the gross national product, employment, labour productivity, and investments. The book examines the branches of Norway's economy, defining the country's place in the system of the international division of labour; foreign economic relations which play a major role in the economy of small nations; state-monopoly regulation of the economy; key socio-economic problems.

A. Z. Astapovich, *US International Corporations: Trends and Contradictions of Development,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 192 pp.

The author examines the role of US international monopolies in world capitalist economic relations, the economic and social consequences of their activities, and their influence on the internationalisation of forms of the working-class exploitation.

E. A. Bragina, *The Developing Countries: Government Policy and Industry,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 261 pp.

This book reviews the government policy aimed at forming national industry in the developing countries; the impact of the scientific and technological revolution upon their industrial development; peculiarities of small-commodity production in these countries; current problems of economic management.

E. V. Bugrov, *The USA: Oil Companies and the State,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 261 pp.

This monograph analyses the energy crisis in the capitalist world and its consequences in the USA connected with the national and international activity of its oil companies. The author examines the serious lag in the development of the American energy and raw material base, the deepening disproportion between the consumption of fuel and energy resources and their national production, and the country's growing dependence on oil imports. The book closely examines the complexities of state-monopoly regulation of power engineering.

I. M. Bunin, *The Bourgeoisie in Contemporary French Society,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 286 pp.

The author examines the structure, psychology and policies of the French ruling class, the evolution of its socio-political strategy and tactics, the variation of forms and methods of class domination, the mechanism of the amalgamation of the state and monopolies. He also criticises the apologetic conceptions of bourgeois sociology.

G. F. Vishnya, *USA-Latin America: Foreign Policy Relations Today,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 141 pp.

This monograph deals with US Latin America policy under the Nixon and Ford Administrations, their tactics and methods of struggle against the national liberation, patriotic, anti-imperialist movements in the region, and the intensification of joint actions by the Latin American states against Washington's diktat.

S. V. Gorbunov, *Exchange Rates Under Capitalism: Problems and Contradictions,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 239 pp.

The author concentrates on the regularities behind the formation of exchange rates in capitalist countries. He analyses the economic content of the exchange rates and their impact on individual spheres of the capitalist economy and their role in the state-monopoly regulation of the economy.

I. E. Guryev, *The Growing Instability of Modern Capitalism,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1979, 190 pp.

The author centres on instability in economic and political spheres. He analyses the series of crisis upheavals in the capitalist economy from the late 1960s to the first half of the 1970s and the weakening of the foundations of the bourgeoisie's political domination. The book also traces the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries for a democratic answer to the crisis, for social progress.

Western Europe in the World Today, in two volumes, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, and Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1979; Vol. 1, 361 pp.; Vol. 2, 317 pp.

This joint monograph by Soviet and GDR scholars is an attempt to make a comprehensive analysis of major phenomena and problems pertaining to Western Europe, its internal development as a region, and its role on the contemporary world scene.

Volume 1 traces the economic prerequisites of the formation of the West European centre of modern capitalism, international-political and military-political relations between the West European states, as well as internal political and social problems of the region and the peculiarities of the class struggle.

Volume 2 analyses the economic and political relations between West European countries and the developing and capitalist states in other regions, particular attention being paid to Western Europe's relations with the USA and Japan. The authors study the problems and the future of political and military detente as well as of economic cooperation between the European socialist and capitalist countries.

West European Integration and the World Economy, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, and Poznań, Institut Zachodni, 1979, 350 pp.

This collectively-authored work is an outgrowth of cooperation between scholars of six socialist countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and the USSR within the framework of the group studying problems of capitalist integration. The book examines the contradictory essence and the role and place of the

Common Market in the world capitalist economy of the mid-1970s. The processes of integration in Western Europe are examined against the background of the severe deep crisis of the capitalist economy and acute social conflicts in capitalist countries. Much space is allotted to an analysis of relations between the CMEA and EEC in view of the impact of the Helsinki Conference on the development of all-European economic cooperation.

K. P. Zuyeva, *In Defiance of the Spirit of the Times,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 132 pp.

The author examines the views of the French political scientist Raymond Aron on contemporary international relations, criticising both his general theoretical conclusions and his statements on the problems of detente, disarmament and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

N. P. Ivanov, *The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Problem of the Labour Structure,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 318 pp.

This monograph elucidates the major trends in the change in sectoral and vocational-qualification structure of the labour force in the industrially advanced capitalist countries under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution. The author investigates the connection between key technological-economic indicators and workmen's skills, and capitalist contradictions in training and employing the labour force.

N. N. Inozemtsev, *The Leninist Foreign Policy of the CPSU,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 205 pp.

In his work Academician Inozemtsev, Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, traces the major aspects of the CPSU's foreign policy course, which is inseparably linked with the guidelines mapped out by Lenin. The author examines the world revolutionary process and the problems of the further materialisation of detente and the promotion of international economic cooperation.

T. G. Kaluzhskaya, *Bolivia: Socio-Economic Development Trends,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 224 pp.

The author analyses the historical, social, economic and political aspects of the formation of social structures in present-day Bolivia.

A Critique of Modern Bourgeois Political Economy, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 582 pp.

This book, edited by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Mileikovsky, examines old Western conceptions and theories in their connection with new problems of economic growth, state-monopoly regulation, changes in the socio-economic structure of capitalism occurring due to the influence of the scientific and technological revolution and the contradictions in the world capitalist system.

V. I. Kuznetsov, *The Mechanism of State-Monopoly Regulation of the French Economy,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 286 pp.

The author analyses the forms of the adaptation of French capitalism to the rapidly changing conditions of the postwar period, the prerequisites of the emergence and peculiarities of the crisis of state-monopoly regulation of the economy in the 1970s and the consequences of it for France.

V. I. Lan, *The USA During and After the Second World War,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 686 pp.

The book is the third part of a comprehensive study of the 20th-century US history. The author concentrates on the major results of the war, the revision of Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy, the transition to the cold war, and the new correlation of world forces.

The Leninist Theory of Imperialism and Our Time, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 454 pp.

This collectively-authored work edited by Academician Inozemtsev deals with the following problems: concentration of capital and monopolies, the bank system and financial capital, export of capital and international monopolies, the causes and results of the collapse of the imperialist colonial system, the development and major features of state-monopoly capitalism, the uneven development of capitalism and the formation of three centres of imperialism, the foreign policy of capitalism, and the deepening of its general crisis.

N. A. Lidlein, *Bourgeois Theories of Economic Development,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 226 pp.

This book examines bourgeois conceptions of the development of countries which have gained independence, and reveals general theoretical sources of these conceptions, their methodology, ideological principles and evolution (from the postwar period to the present day), and the major theoretical approaches to the problem of modernisation of a multistructural economy.

Yu. P. Lukashin, *Adaptive Methods of Short-Term Forecasting,* Moscow, Statistika Publishers, 1979, 254 pp.

The author examines the developing trend of statistical studies—forecasting of the time series with the aid of adaptive (self-adjusting, self-correcting) models, formulates major principles of building such models and gives examples of their application.

G. G. Matyukhin, *Credit Money: Problems Under Capitalism,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 224 pp.

The book shows the stages of the development of money forms, the changes in money functions, evolution of monetary systems and present-day credit-monetary systems. Monetary and currency crises are analysed as closely interconnected and intertwined phenomena.

The Materialisation of Detente: Economic Aspects, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 439 pp.

This monograph is a study of the cooperation between the USSR and the industrially advanced countries of Western Europe, the USA and Japan in trade, the economy, science and technology. Particular attention is paid to the specific features of the Soviet Union's relations with the above countries stipulated by the peculiarities of their economic development and foreign policy.

The International Annual: Politics and Economics in 1979, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1979, 319 pp.

The present annual, like the previous ones, contains, along with problematic surveys, material about individual countries and regions, international organisations and conferences. The book also presents a chronicle of world events for 1979.

Mechanism of the Economic Cycle in the USA, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 470 pp.

This monograph is an analysis (on the example of the USA) of the postwar economic cycle in its relationship with socio-economic processes and the dynamics of the world capitalist economy. The authors examine the cyclic phenomena in production, capital investment financing, price formation, labour productivity, consumption and other fields.

S. N. Nadel, *Modern Capitalism and Middle Strata of Society*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 382 pp.

The author analyses the socio-economic position of the middle strata of society in industrialised capitalist countries, dissects the bourgeois theories of "social stratification" and the leftist conceptions of the "new proletariat".

N. E. Nikolayev, *Indonesia: the State and Policies*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 183 pp.

The author traces the evolution of the system of state administration in Indonesia since the time it gained independence.

New Technology and the Factors of Its Introduction in Capitalist Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 301 pp.

This investigation is devoted to economic problems of technological progress. It analyses the mechanism of up-to-date technology movement in capitalist countries, and the stages of elaboration, improvement and mastering of new production.

New Phenomena in the Power Engineering of the Capitalist World, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1979, 279 pp.

The book edited by Academician E. Primakov provides a comprehensive analysis of the impact of the energy crisis on the capitalist economy in the late 1970s. It elucidates the contradictory processes of adapting the capitalist economic system to changes in the power base; measures connected with restructuring and developing power engineering in these countries in the coming decades, state-monopoly strategy in the sphere of energy, as well as the problems and rebuilding of relations between the advanced capitalist and developing nations in this sphere.

The New Stage of Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the Advanced Capitalist States, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 301 pp.

Much space in this monograph on the Soviet Union's foreign economic relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries in the 1970s is allotted to non-traditional forms of these relations, namely, large-scale compensatory agreements, industrial cooperation, scientific and technological cooperation, joint companies and leasing.

Public Opinion and the Problems of War and Peace, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1978, 460 pp.

The authors and editors of the present book are scholars and public figures directly involved in the peace movement.

Peculiarities of the Accumulation Process in the Advanced Capitalist Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 439 pp.

Based on a wealth of factual material (most of which is cited in scientific literature for the first time) the book examines the peculiarities of accumulation in the

industrialised capitalist countries, as well as phenomena and trends of reproduction processes in the material and non-material spheres.

V. V. Pavlov, *Monetary Regulation Under Modern Capitalism*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 159 pp.

The author examines Western theories of regulation of currency-payment relations among the advanced capitalist countries, and the activity of governments in state-monopoly regulation of balance of payments and exchange rates.

Ya. A. Pevzner, *State-Monopoly Capitalism and the Theory of Labour Value*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 342 pp.

The author considers the interaction of the laws of capitalist commodity production and state-monopoly regulation, the relation between the cost and non-cost factors of the reproduction process, and specific features of commodity production under capitalism today.

E. S. Pestkovskaya, *The Evolution of Mexico's Class Structure in the Period of Stable Development*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 132 pp.

Analysing the prerequisites and factors of the changing class structure as well as the economic and political role of the classes in Mexico in the 1940s-1960s, the author concentrates on the country's socio-political crisis in the late 1960s.

T. S. Pokatayeva, *Urbanisation in the Developing Countries*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 302 pp.

The author unfolds the peculiarities of the formation and structure of the urban population in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as the influence of migration on its composition; social-property differentiation of citizens; the role of cities in the political, economic, social and cultural development of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Industrial Production Capacities of Major Capitalist Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 384 pp.

The monograph deals with the theories of production capacity, methods of its evaluation; the resources potentials and technological progress as the key factors of its formation; the efficiency of building and utilising production capacity, the potential capacities, and other problems. The book also analyses the methods of evaluating the production capacity existing in capitalist countries, as well as the new methods and models of calculating it at sectoral and general industrial levels.

S. V. Pronin, *A Critique of Bourgeois Conceptions of Income Distribution (Social Aspect)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 367 pp.

The author examines neo-classical and neo-Keynesian sociological theories and their latest interpretations between the 1950s and the 1970s. He also traces the impact of reproductive and social factors on the dynamics of profit and wages.

V. V. Rymalov, *Structural Changes in the World Capitalist Economy (Postwar Tendencies)*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 308 pp.

The author provides a comprehensive analysis of the most essential changes which have taken place over the last decades in the structure of social production and international economic relationships of capitalism.

D. V. Smyslov, *The Crisis of the Contemporary Monetary System of*

Capitalism and Bourgeois Political Economy, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 423 pp.

The author exhaustively traces the evolution of the Bretton-Woods international system of the gold-currency standard beginning with its formation up to its breakdown, as well as major trends and prospects of the present-day restructuring of the capitalist mechanism of international accounts. The book also contains a critical analysis of the main bourgeois theoretical conceptions of international monetary relations and the regulation of the balance of payments.

Modern Bourgeois Theories of Economic Growth and the Economic Cycle (A Critical Analysis), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 344 pp.

This work concentrates on modern Western models of cyclic economic growth; it is also a brief account of the peculiarities of the postwar capitalist reproduction and cycle (on the example of the USA).

International Corporations Today, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 375 pp.

The authors of this book are economists from six socialist countries. Drawing on a wealth of factual material, they carried out a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary forms of the internationalisation of production and capital, peculiarities of the activity of international corporations in the three centres of imperialism, the mechanism of their functioning, the exacerbation of contradictions between the state and international corporations, the influence of the latter on international economic and political relations, and on the class struggle.

O. K. Timashkova, *Social-Democracy in Scandinavia Today,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 272 pp.

This work elucidates the role of the Social-Democratic parties in Sweden, Denmark and Norway in the conditions of a bourgeois state and state-monopoly capitalism, the causes of reformism in the labour movement in these countries and various social-reformist theories.

A. A. Tkachenko, *Agrarian Development in Egypt, Iraq and Syria,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 159 pp.

The author analyses the role of the agrarian sector in the socio-economic development of Egypt, Iraq and Syria in the 1960s and 1970s, the evolution of their agrarian system and a number of conceptions of the agrarian development of the young national states as expounded by Western economists and sociologists.

Levels and Tendencies of the Development of the Major Capitalist Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 279 pp.

The monograph contains the correlation between the end social product, the workforce, capital investments, fixed capital, the productivity of labour and structural shifts in the economy. The sum total of these indicators shows the changes in the levels of the major capitalist countries' economic development in the postwar period, the intensification of production, and the contradictions in economic and social life.

P. I. Khvoinik, *World Capitalist Trade: Problems and Prospects,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1977, 308 pp.

This book deals with topical problems, major trends and prospects of the present-day world capitalist foreign trade, its place in the international division of labour, and the trade between capitalist and socialist countries.

E. S. Khesin, *Britain and the Modern Capitalist Economy,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 364 pp.

The author examines the change in Britain's place in present-day capitalist economy, the causes of her fall as the world's leader, the new strategy and policy of her ruling circles aimed at adapting her economy to new conditions.

V. N. Khlynov, *Japan's Working Class and the Scientific and Technological Revolution,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 248 pp.

The book deals with the position of the working class in Japan, the scientific and technological revolution in the country and major socio-economic changes in Japanese society.

L. S. Khudyakova, *US Banks and the World Market,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 191 pp.

The author analyses facts behind, and developments taking place in, the world banking system of capitalism. From the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist economic science she criticises bourgeois theories on the role of international banks under present-day capitalism.

P. P. Cherkasov, *The Agony of an Empire: Political Crises, Military-Colonialist Putsches and Conspiracies in France During the War in Algeria (1954-1962),* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 180 pp.

The author shows the relationship between the upsurge of ultra-right forces in France and the collapse of the French colonial empire. He also describes the overthrow of the Fourth Republic in May of 1958, the "week of barricades" in Algeria, the putsch of generals and the "Paris plot", the OAS' activities and the struggle of France's democratic forces against the threat of neo-fascism.

M. A. Cheshkov, *A Critique of Ideas on Ruling Circles in the Developing Countries,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 450 pp.

The book deals with theories, elaborated both in Western political science and sociology and by researchers from the developing countries of capitalist orientation pertaining to the role, structure and character of the top political, administrative, economic and military personnel in the developing states.

Yu. V. Shishkov, *A Theory of Regional Capitalist Integration,* Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1979, 343 pp.

The author provides a comprehensive critical analysis of economic and major politological conceptions of the integration and shows to what extent they are viable and are applied in regional integration in Western Europe.

Yu. V. Shishkov, *The Formation of an Integration Complex in Western Europe: Tendencies and Contradictions,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 341 pp.

This book examines economic and political factors behind the formation of regional integration complexes under modern capitalism, and the methodology of measuring the degree of actual integration of national economies within such complexes. Extensively analysing statistical data about the West European region, the author reveals the inner contradictions of integration processes in Western Europe.

Japan and the World Economy, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1977, 304 pp.

This book examines Japan's place in the world capitalist economy, international trade, the monetary system of capitalist countries and in the processes of international interlacing of capital. It also contains an analysis of the general and specific features which characterise Japan's economic relations with individual regions and countries of the capitalist world, as well as with the People's Republic of China, and gives a picture of the state of, and prospects for, trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan.

* * *

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

B. PONOMARYOV, Academician, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

P. FEDOSEYEV, Academician, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Social Sciences' Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Chairman of the Editorial Council of this journal. Author of many works on the dialectics of contemporary social development, the interaction of the productive forces and relations of production, the role of the masses and the individual in history, problems of humanism, including the monographs *Communism and Philosophy; Marxism in the 20th Century. Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Present Epoch.*

G. SHAKHNAZAROV, D. Sc. (Law), President of the Soviet Political Sciences Association. Author of many works, including *Socialist Democracy. Some Questions of Theory; The Bourgeois State in the Epoch of Imperialism; Communism and Personal Freedom.*

V. MEDVEDEV, D. Sc. (Econ.), Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. Specialises in the political economy of socialism. His books include *Socialist Production. A Politico-Economic Study, The 25th CPSU Congress and Questions of the Development of Economic Theory.*

A. ANCHISHKIN, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Department Head at the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialises in the theory of economic growth, macromodelling, methods of national economic forecasting. Author of many works, including the monographs *Forecasting the Growth of the Socialist Economy* and *The Rates and Proportions of National Economic Development.*

V. KUDRYAVTSEV, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences. Expert in criminology and author of many books in this field, including the monographs *Law and Behaviour, A General Theory of Crime Classification, The Psychological Make-up of the Criminal.*

E. ZHUKOV (1907-1980), Academician, author of more than 200 works on modern and contemporary history, editor-in-chief of the multi-volume *World History* and *The Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia*, Deputy Chairman of the Central Editorial Commission of *A History of the Second World War. 1939-1945.*

I. FROLOV, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Deputy Director of the All-Union Institute of Systems Research of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the Editorial Council of this journal. Author of many works, including the following published in this journal: "The Global Problems of Our Time" (No. 4, 1977), "Socio-Philosophical Aspects of Demography" (No. 4, 1978), "The Ethics of Biological Research" (No. 2, 1980).

A. MILEIKOVSKY, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Sector Head at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialist in the political economy of capitalism and in current international economic and political relations. Author of many works on the economies of the United States and Britain, on the disintegration of the British empire, and on bourgeois political economy and the economic policy of state-monopoly capitalism.

T. GAMKRELIDZE, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Georgian Academy of Sciences. Author of many works on linguistics, including *Sibilant Conformities and Some Questions of the Early Structure of Kartvelian Languages, Desaffrication in the Svanetian Language, The System of Sonants and Ablaut in Kartvelian Languages* (in co-authorship).

V. IVANOV, D Sc. (Philol.), Head of the Sector of Structural Typology at the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of many works on general and comparative-historical linguistics, including *The Hittite Language, An Outline History of Semiotics in the USSR* and *Odds and Evens. Numbers: Asymmetry of the Brain and of Sign Systems.*

V. MEZHUYEV, Cand. Sc. (Philos.), an associate at the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of *Culture and History; Concerning the Concept of Culture* and *Science as a Phenomenon of Culture.*

G. SMIRNOV, D. Sc. (Econ), Sector Head at the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialises in the socio-economic problems of the developing countries. His contributions in this field include the books *Africa: Problems of Socialist Orientation* and *The Theory and Methodology of Planning in the Developing Countries* (both in co-authorship).

R. FARAMAZYAN, D. Sc. (Econ.), Sector Head at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialises in the economy of capitalist countries, particularly its militarisation. His many works include *The Military Economy of Present-Day Capitalism* and *Armament and Economics.*

I. ANDREYEVA, D. Sc (Philos.), an associate at the Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences. Specialises in the moral aspects of marriage and the family and in the history of philosophy. Her works in this field include *Sex and Culture* and *The Problems of Universal Peace in West European Culture.*

V. ZAKHAROV, Cand. Sc (Geogr), Head of the Department of Ice Forecasts at the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Specialise in the influence of sea-ice on the climate.

I. LEVYKIN, D. Sc. (Philos.), Deputy Director of the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences. Author of many works on sociology and social psychology, including *Theoretical and Methodological Problems of the Study of the Psychology of the Peasantry; Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Social Psychology.* Editor of the book *Collective-Farmers as a Collective.*

L. SHESTAKOVA, senior lecturer of the Chair of Philosophy at the All-Union (Correspondence) Trade Institute.

V. GUBAREV, science correspondent of *Pravda,* a USSR State Prize winner Author of the books *A Space Trilogy, Space Bridges* and *We Are Leaving For Baikonur* and several others.

S. ZALYGIN, Cand. Sc. (Tech.), a Soviet writer, Secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers, a USSR State Prize winner.

OUR GLOSSARY

THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (AIC) is the totality of all branches of the Soviet economy connected with the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods out of agricultural raw materials and their delivery to the consumers. The AIC includes: agricultural production proper; industries supplying agriculture with machinery and equipment, fertilisers, building materials and other means of production; industries responsible for material and technical supplies services for AIC; a group of industries and enterprises engaged in purveying, transporting, storing, processing and marketing agricultural products.

Besides the national economic AIC, there are also regional complexes based on Union Republics, regions and districts. They are smaller both in scale and the number of branches of industry, transport and trade involved.

FIXED PRODUCTION ASSETS (FPA) include buildings, installations, machinery, equipment, means of transportation, instruments, tools and other items functioning in the sphere of socialist production. This totality of material values represents means of labour, the cost of which is transferred to the product being manufactured by parts, as they wear out in the course of a long period of time.

PRODUCT-TO-ASSETS RATIO (PAR) is a summarising economic indicator of the effectiveness of the use of the FPA at an enterprise (amalgamation), an industry or the national economy as a whole. In the case of the national economy, PAR characterises the volume either of the aggregate social product or of the national income per one ruble of operational fixed assets. The

effectiveness of individual types of equipment is determined by such indicators as the number of kwh of energy produced (turbines), number of metres drilled through (drilling machines), average daily steel production per one square metre of hearth (open-hearth furnaces), etc. PAR is proportionate to the time (in hours) during which the equipment is used. In this connection of great importance is the duration of the operation of PAR and their intensive use, that is, raising the technical level of production and of the utilisation of the means of labour per unit of time. The increase of PAR is a major means of increasing the effectiveness of social production under socialism.

KHVOSTISM (TAILISM)—an opportunist ideology and tactics manifested in and aimed at narrowing revolutionary aims and belittling the role of the working class and also at reducing its political and economic demands to the backward masses' level of consciousness. This ideology leads to abandonment of the revolutionary struggle and to denial of the guiding role of the party of the working class and of the importance of the Marxist theory. In his work *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) Lenin ideologically defeated the ideology of tailism, which was preached by the Russian Economists. The term "khvostism" was used with regard to the Mensheviks, Bundists and other opportunists, while after the victorious October Revolution of 1917 it was used with regard to those Communists who failed to lead the masses and trailed behind backward elements of society.

Our Mailbag

Below we publish some excerpts from our reader's letters, in the original or translated into English.

*"**Social Sciences** is an excellent research journal covering a wide range of subjects and topics which are of great value to any social scientist and researcher. The careful selection of topics and subjects, the scientific content and appropriate presentation of the matter make it a unique research publication of the world. The analytical approach, which is the basis of scientific research, is consistently followed by Soviet scientists. They really deserve to be congratulated for the excellence in the production of intellectual values and sharing them with the world community of intellectuals."*

Dr. R. P. Sharma,
Bharatpur, India

*"I want to congratulate your Board and authors for producing a journal of outstanding merit. It succeeds in combining theoretical discussions at a high level for general readers with a sound, practical analysis of contemporary thinking and events in many fields of social activity. I have become a reader only recently, but regard **Social Sciences** as one of my major sources of information and intellectual stimuli."*

H. Simons,
Professor of Sociology,
University of Zambia,
Lusaka, Zambia

"... Both the materials of the collections and the content of each issue of the journal are very topical, instructive and, above all, of great ideological value. I do not want to miss a single issue. With the help of this material one can indeed become a 'militant materialist' in the Leninist sense of the words."

Gerhard Thomas,
Oppach, the GDR

"I am a professor of philosophy at Minho University in Portugal. I read your journal every three months and with each issue find it ever more profound, remarkable and useful in criticising bourgeois conceptions.

"A distinctive feature of your journal is the great variety of topics it covers, which give an idea of the fruitful debates among Soviet scholars on questions of Marxism and of social analysis. I should like to congratulate you on the high quality of your journal."

Ronaldo Fonseca,
Braga, Portugal

*"I am a permanent reader of **Social Sciences.** The diversity of topics dealt with in each issue, the presentation and the strict approach to them to a considerable extent meet the standards expected of publications of this type. Thus, for instance, I was very much impressed by A. Losev's article "The Specific Features of the Language Sign" and by other articles on linguistics, which I recently had the opportunity to read again. For me, the importance of those articles lies in their clear exposition of Marxist-Leninist principles as applied to philological studies."*

Noel José Fernández González,
Holguín, Cuba

USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

SCIENTIFIC THEMATIC COLLECTIONS

the following scientific thematic collections are being prepared for press

"Problems of the Contemporary World" Series

Developed Socialism: Economics, Politics, Ideology—Eng., Fr., Ger., Port., Span.

The Socialist Way of Life: Problems and Perspectives—Eng., Fr., Ger., Port., Span.

A History of US Interventions (in 2 vols.)—Eng., Fr., Ger., Port., Span.

Science and Technology: Humanism and Progress (in 2 vols.)—Eng., Fr., Ger., Span.

"Oriental Studies in the USSR" Series

Afghanistan: Past and Present—Eng., Fr., Ger., Port., Russ., Span.

India: Problems of Development—Eng.

South-East Asia: History and Our Time—Eng.

Africa: Economic Aspects of Development—Eng., Fr., Port., Span.

USSR-Africa—Eng., Fr., Port.

"Latin America: Studies by Soviet Scholars" Series

Mexico: History, Culture, Problems of Present-Day Development (in 2 vols)—Span.

Latin American Literature of the 20th Century—Span.

Pan-Americanism: Its Historical Evolution and Essence—Eng., Span.

"Soviet Ethnographical Studies" Series

Community and Its Types—Eng., Fr., Ger.

The Racial Issue in the World Today—Eng., Fr., Span.

Problems of Ethnic Geography and Cartography—Eng., Fr., Ger.

Collections may be ordered through bookstores and firms handling the Soviet publications in your country and doing business with V/O "Mezhdunarodnaya kniga" (121200, Moscow, USSR).

A collection is put out provided the number of orders exceeds 1,000 copies.

Sample copies are sent at request to the *Social Sciences* journal subscribers.

Subscriptions for the journal *Social Sciences* and orders for the scientific thematic collections can be placed with the firms and bookshops handling the distribution of Soviet periodicals:

AUSTRALIA

C.B.D. Library and Subscription Service,
Box 4886, G.P.O.,
Sydney, N.S.W. 2000;

New Era Bookshop,
531, George Street,
Sydney, N.S.W. 2000;

Spring Bookshop,
Room 5, 1st Floor, 37
Swanston Street,
Melbourne, Victoria 3000;

New World Booksellers,
425, Pitt Street,
Sydney, N.S.W. 2000;

International Bookshop, Pty, Ltd.,
2nd Floor,
17, Elizabeth Street,
Melbourne, Victoria 2000;

Pioneer Bookshop,
75, Bulwer Street, Perth,
West Australia 6000.

BANGLADESH

Sreejani,
74, Station Road, Chittagong;

Jatiya Shahitya Prakashani,
10, Purana Paltan, Dacca-2;

International Books and Periodicals Center,
17, Motijheel C.A., Dacca.

BURMA

Trade Corporation No. 9,
550/552 Merchant Street,
Rangoon.

CANADA

Ukrainska Knyha,
1162 Dundas Street West,
Toronto 3, Ont. M6Y 1×4;

Troyka Limited,
799 College Str.,
Toronto 4, Ont.; M6G 1G7;

Northern Book House,
P. O. Box 1000, Gravenhurst,
Ont; POG 1GO;

People's Cooperative Bookstore Association,
353 West Pender Street,
Vancouver 3, B.C.; V6B 1T3;

Progress Books,
71 Bathurst Street, 3rd Floor,
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6;
Librairie Nouvelles Frontières,
185 Est., Ontario,
Montreal P/Que. H2×1H5.

CYPRUS

Sputnik Ltd.,
Const. Paleologou 19, Nicosia;
People's Agency,
Tricoupi Str., 53, Nicosia.

DENMARK

Akademisk Boghandel,
Universitetsparken,
8000-Aarhus C;
Sputnik International Import Og Boghandel,
Vester Voldgabe 11;
1552 Copenhagen K;
Rhodos International Subscription Agency,
36, Stradgade,
DK-1401 Copenhagen K.

FINLAND

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa,
Postilokero 128, Helsinki 10;
Kansankulttuuri Oy,
Simonkatu 8, Helsinki 10;
Rautakirja Oy,
PL 1, 01641 Vantaa 64.

GHANA

Science Spot Book Shop,
P. O. Box 10331, Accra North.

GREECE

Librairie Kauffmann,
28, rue du Stade Athens 132;
"Sinhroni Epohi",
Str. Solonos 130 Athens.

GUYANA

GNTC,
45/47; Water Street,
P. O. Box 308, Georgetown.

HONG KONG

Apollo Book Co.,
27, Kimberley Road,
P. O. Box 95710, Kowloon;
Great Eastern Book Co.,
123 Henessy Road,
13/F.P.O. Box 20005, Hong Kong.

INDIA

People's Publishing House (P) Ltd.,
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-55;
Magazine Centre,
2nd Floor, M.C.D. Buildings
D.B. Gupta Rd. Paharganj,
New Delhi 110055;
Lok Vangmaya Griha,
190-B Khetwadi Main Road,
Bombay-4;
People's Book House,
Piramshah Manzil, Relief Road,
Ahmedabad;
Vijay Stores,
Station Road, Annand 388001;
Magazine Centre,
2nd Floor, Ganapathi Bldgs,
B.V.K. Iyengar Road,
Bangalore-560053;
People's Book House,
Opp. B.N. College
Patna-80 000, Bihar;
Manisha Granthalaya (P) Ltd.,
4/3B, Bankim Chatterjee Street,
Calcutta-12;
National Book Agency (P) Ltd.,
No. 2 Surya Sen Street
Calcutta-700012;
Bingsha Shatabdi,
22/A, Arabinda Sarani,
Calcutta-5;

Visalaanhdra Publishing House,
Chandram Bldgs.
Vijayawada-520004, A.P.;
Magazine Centre,
54 Abid Shopping Centre Lane,
(Chirag Ali), Hyderabad, 500001;
New Century Book House (P) Ltd.,
41/B Sidco Industrial Estate,
Ambattur, Madras-600098;
Navakarnataka Publications,
Sarpabhushana Mutt Compound,
Kempegowda Circle,
Bangalore-9;
Magazine Centre,
56/5-6 Shatranji Mohal, Kanpur;
Prabhath Book House,
Head Office Prabhath Bldg.,
Trivandrum-24;
Vijay Stores,
62, Kalyan Bhuvan,
Ahmedabad-1;
Vijay Stores,
Rajni, 1st Floor, Bhupendra Road,
Rajkot-1;
Punjab Book Centre S.C.O.,
1126-27 Sector 22-B,
Chandigarh-22.

JAMAICA

Independent Book Stores,
2, Wildman Street, Kingston W. 1.

JAPAN

Nauka Ltd.,
2-30-19, Minami-Ikebukuro,
2-chome, Toshima-ku, 171 Tokyo;
Nisso Tosho Ltd.,
1-5-16, Suido. Bunkyo-ku Tokyo;
Kaigai Publications Ltd.,
P.O. Box 5020,
Tokyo International,
Tokyo 100-31;
Far Eastern Book-Sellers,
Kanda, P.O.B. 72.
Tokyo, 101-91.

JORDAN

Jordan Distribution Agency,
P.O. Box 375, Amman.

NEPAL

Baje, Ko Pasal,
Bank Road, Biratnagar, P.O. 1,
Biratnagar;
International Book House,
11/20, Kamalakshi, Post Box 32,
Katmandu.

NETHERLANDS

"Pegasus" Boekhandel,
Leidsestraat 25, Amsterdam.

NEW ZEALAND

Progressive Book Society Ltd.,
3 Lorne Str., Auckland 1;
Technical Books Ltd.,
262 Lambton Quay, Wellington;
New Zealand Tribune,
P. O. Box 19-114, Auckland.

NORWAY

A/S Narvesens Litteraturtejenste,
Bertrand Narvesens vei 2,
Postboks 6140, Oslo 6;
Tidsskrift-Sentralen Tanum A/S,
P.O.Box 1117, Sentrum, Oslo 1;
Norsk-Sovjetrussisk Samband,
Boks 119, Ankertorget, Oslo 1;
A/O Oslo Bok-og-Papirhandel,
Jacog Allsgt. 28, Oslo 3.

PAKISTAN

Standard Publishing House,
Marian Hotel, Bonus Road,
Karachi-4.

P.D.R.Y.

The 14th October Printing Publication, Distribution and Advertising Corporation,
P. O. Box 4227, Aden.

SINGAPORE

New Soviet Gallery Pte. Ltd.,
Shop No. 1.66-1.68,
1st Floor Lucky Plaza,
304 Orchard Rd., Singapore-9.

SRI LANKA

People's Publishing House,
124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,
Colombo-2;
Lake House Bookshop,
100, Chittampalam Gardener
Mawatha, Colombo-2.

SUDAN

Sudanese Intercontinental Marketing Co.,
P. O. Box 1331, Khartoum.

SWEDEN

Wennergren-Williams AB,
Box 30004,
S-104 25, Stockholm 30;
Gumperts Bokhandel AB,
P. O. Box 346,
S-401 25 Göteborg;
Almqvist & Wiksel
26, Gamla Brogatan, Box 62
S-101 20 Stockholm;
A.B.C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel
P. O. Box 10356, Stockholm 16;
Gleerupska Universitets-Bokhandel,
Lund;
Förbundet Sverige-Sovjetunionen,
Katarinavägen 20, 1tr.,
116 45 Stockholm.

SYRIA

"L'Etablissement Arabe Syrien",
Pour la Distribution des
Imprimés "Cham"
B.P. 4902, Damas, Syrie

TANZANIA

Tanganyika Standard (Newspapers) Ltd.,
P. O. Box 9033,
Dar es Salaam.

UNITED KINGDOM

Central Books Ltd.,
14 The Leathermarket,
London SE1, 3ER;
Collet's Holdings Ltd.,
Denington Estate,
Wellingborough Northants,
NN 82 Ot.

USA

Four Continent Book Corporation,
149 Fifth Ave., New York,
N.Y. 10010;
Imported Publications Inc.,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610;
Stechert-Macmillan Inc.,
7250 Westfield Avenue,
Pennsauken, New Jersey 08110;
EBSCO Subscription Services,
17-19 Washington Avenue,
Tenafly, New Jersey 07670;
Znanie Book Store,
5237 Geary Boulevard,
San Francisco, Ca. 94118.

«ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ НАУКИ» № 1, 1981 г.
на английском языке

70604
(англ.)

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

Man of the Future

Global Problems of Today

The Leninist Concept of Foreign Policy

The Young States: Change of Socio-Economic Formations

Capitalism of the Late 1970s-Early 1980s

Language as a Developing System

Issued by the "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board

Printed by Nauka Publishers