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SOCIAL SCIENCES

Historical Sciences
in the USSR
(15th International Congress
of Historical Sciences)

The Scientific
and Technological Revolution
and the Modern World

Industrialisation
in the Developing Countries

The Myth About
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1980

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The articles on the historical sciences in this issue were prepared jointly with the National Committee of Historians of the USSR.

To the Reader

In this issue we continue our practice of publishing articles relating to some of forthcoming international forums in the social sciences.

The materials have been selected with due account of our readers' replies to our Questionnaire (see **Social Sciences,** *No. 4, 1979).*

We open this issue with an article by **N. Inozemtsev**, *Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, on the socio-economic transformations which are reshaping the modern world in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution.*

The 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences

The Congress will take place this summer. In collaboration with the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union, we have prepared several articles on the topics that will be discussed there.

E. Zhukov, *Chairman of the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union, analyses the social sources and origins of the Second World War; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences* **I. Kovalchenko,** *and* **G. Kucherenko** *examine, on the example of the spread of Utopian Socialism, the interconnections in European social thought of the 19th century;* **A. Chubaryan** *writes about the development of the idea of "eternal peace" in Russian literature; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences* **S. Tikhvinsky** *studies the correlation of the national and social factors in the Xinhai revolution in China; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences* **V. Pashuto** *expounds the basic principles in the teaching of history in Soviet schools.*

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Youth and Society

V. Davydov, *Director of the Institute of General and Educational Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, emphasises the importance of combining the objective of general development of the pupil's individuality with that of giving him or her the necessary knowledge.* **K. Myalo** *devotes her article to a social analysis of the conservative tendencies among the Western youth in the context of the counter-culture.*

This issue also carries several reviews, surveys and annotations on the historical sciences.

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We thank our readers for their answers to our Questionnaire. The suggestions and comments sent in will be taken into consideration in our plans for the next issues.

The Editors

The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Modern World

NIKOLAI INOZEMTSEV

The scientific and technological revolution (STR) is unfolding in an exceptionally dynamic era of deep-going social change and continuous development of the world revolutionary process, which has fundamentally changed the very image of the world. The revolution in science and the technical materialisation of its results in the productive forces have already led to profound changes in diverse spheres of production, serious economic and social transformations, and a new alignment of class and political forces. And as Leonid Brezhnev noted at the 24th CPSU Congress, "the prospects are that the revolution in the development of the productive forces, touched off by science and its discoveries, will become increasingly significant and profound".[1]

The STR is affecting all countries. But the most favourable conditions for bringing its potential to bear and making optimal its results are provided by the socio-economic system in which science, technology and production serve society and the harmonious development of the individual. It is only natural, therefore, that the country of the first socialist revolution was able, within a brief span of history, to wipe out age-old backwardness and advance to top place in several decisive branches of science and technology.

Under capitalism, the STR only aggravates its economic and socio-political contradictions, a process so clearly demonstrated in the 1970s. On the one hand, the STR accelerates socialisation of the economy, but on the other, it is widely used by the monopolies to strengthen their positions, increase profits and intensify

exploitation. The STR further aggravates the general crisis of capitalism.

Marxism-Leninism regards the productive forces as the primary revolutionising elements of the given mode of production. Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the root of the contradictions of the capitalist system, and in the final analysis, the cause of its demise, not in the stagnation of the productive forces, but in the exacerbation of the conflict between the forces and relations of production. "Capitalist technology is increasingly, day by day, outgrowing the social conditions which condemn the working class to wage-slavery," Lenin wrote.[2] That is especially important now, first, because of the greatly increased scale and growth rates of production. Second, because of the unprecedentedly close link between social, economic scientific and technical development.

The problems posed by the STR, its role in socialist and capitalist societies are being constantly and comprehensively researched by Soviet scholars and their colleagues in the fraternal socialist countries. They have long been in the focus of the world scientific community. In particular, the STR and the deepening of the economic and socio-political contradictions of modern capitalism was the subject of an international conference held in Moscow in May 1979.[3] The position of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, was set out in the specially prepared theses for the conference.[4]

Of the major fundamental problems discussed at this representative forum, special attention, in my view, should centre on the *link between the present worldwide scientific and technological revolution and social revolutions,* on how this organic link affects modern capitalism.

The combination of deep-going revolutionary changes in social relations and the revolution in science and technology is a distinguishing feature of our time. It would be hard, indeed impossible, to imagine the world we live in without jet aviation and television, nuclear power and flights into outer space, computers and plastics, the new technological processes in industry and agriculture, our present system of education, information and management. Basic to all these are the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution begun around the middle of the century.

But no less profound are the worldwide social changes—the socialist revolutions and the growth of the socialist world system, national liberation revolutions and the emergence of dozens of independent developing countries, the upsurge of the working class and democratic movements in capitalist countries.

If one were to ask: What is the fundamental difference between the world situation today and that of some 30 or 35 years

ago, between capitalism of the 1970s and that of the early postwar years—the answer would probably be as follows:

— first, capitalism—if we take the industrialised countries—now accounts for only 18 per cent of the world population and for about 50 per cent of its industrial output. Though capitalism is engaged in combat with the other, opposite world system, socialism, it finds itself compelled to coexist with it, cooperate with it in different fields, in the conditions of the balance of forces steadily changing in favour of socialism;

— second, with the collapse of its colonial empires, capitalism has lost its hinterland, its colonial periphery; it is still keeping most of the developing countries within its economic orbit, but it has increasingly to reckon with their demands. While influencing these countries, it finds itself increasingly dependent on their energy and raw-material resources, as was strikingly demonstrated in the mid-1970s.

The STR plays an especially important role in the current social changes, primarily in the altered balance of strength between the two systems.

For it was accelerated scientific and technical progress, wide use of scientific achievements, genuine cultural revolution, naturally combined with the social, economic and political advantages of socialism, that have enabled the socialist community, which accounts for less than 10 per cent of the world's population, to raise its share in world industrial output to one-third.

There is another, no less characteristic factor. The Soviet Union, whose economic potential is less than that of the USA, and in conditions of the military confrontation imposed upon it by imperialism, was able to achieve parity with the USA in so vitally important a field as strategic armaments. And this, as we all know, has become a formidable barrier to imperialism unleashing another world war. This is a tremendous achievement of Soviet science and technology, a tremendous contribution to the peoples of the socialist countries, to the whole of mankind, to civilisation.

And so, the STR makes for far-reaching qualitative changes in the whole complex of human life and in the line-up of class and social forces throughout the world.

The second question—*the impact of the STR on internal processes in the capitalist countries.*

Characteristic of modern capitalism is an entirely new relationship—one that differs from that of even a few decades ago—of class, social and political forces in the industrialised countries. We are talking not only of highly developed state-monopoly capitalism, but of a capitalism afflicted by sharper economic and socio-political contradictions. These include the clash between egoistic monopoly interests and the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, the unprecedented upsurge of democratic movements standing opposed to the menace of fascism and extreme right bourgeois dictatorships. The STR has played no small part in changing both the international and internal situation in the capitalist world.

Under capitalism, the STR is a complex and contradictory process marked by collisions between its positive and negative principles. Because of the very existence of capitalism, the unprecedented scope of man's knowledge of the hitherto unexplored forces of nature and the immense opportunities for progress in the material conditions of society are combined with great dangers for mankind, the threat—a very real one—of destroying all civilisation. That is a direct result of imperialism's persistent efforts to militarise science and turn the scientific and technological revolution into a military-technological revolution that would serve its reactionary and aggressive aims.

Hence, the tremendous responsibility devolving on all progressive and peace forces, on all progressive scientists, to prevent a thermonuclear holocaust, ensure peace and security for all the peoples. This is, indeed, the central task of our era, the first priority for the efforts of the whole of the human race.

The STR's influence on the capitalist economy is a highly dialectical process. That follows from the very nature of monopoly which, as Lenin repeatedly noted, implies the struggle of two contradictory trends in science and technology: towards progress or towards stagnation, an artificial retardation of progress. Competition with world socialism naturally stimulates the first of these tendencies, but the very nature of capitalism creates serious obstacles.

On the one hand, technical progress under capitalism produces more effective means of production, increases labour productivity and boosts expansion of the economic potential, brings hitherto untapped natural resources into the economy, contributes to the rise of new industries and lines of production, specialisation and cooperation, bigger markets, etc.

On the other hand, the growth of the productive forces, powered by the STR (annual growth of industrial output in the developed capitalist countries in 1950-1973 amounted to 5.4 per cent compared with 1.8 per cent in 1913-1937) has aggravated a number of contradictions of capitalism, primarily that between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation of its results. The following are some of the more glaring examples:

— deepening contradiction between increasing economic monopolisation accelerated by the STR, and the vital interests of

the masses; economic crises, unparalleled inflation and unemployment;

— sharpening contradiction between the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation, operating mainly within national boundaries, and heightened monopoly activity unhampered by national barriers; the limited scope of state-monopoly regulation at a time when economic realities, the rapid growth of production powered by the STR, objectively require effective planning and prognostication;

— deepening contradictions between the national economic mechanisms of capitalist countries and the interests of monopoly capital within these countries, and the development requirements of the capitalist world economy as a whole. A few convincing examples: exacerbation of several global problems; structural crises of the world capitalist economy in such fields as energy, raw materials, foodstuffs and finances; sharpening of contradictions between the developed and the developing countries; acute economic struggle between the three main capitalist centres (USA, Western Europe and Japan); contradictions linked with the development of economic integration of several capitalist countries, etc.

All these contradictions, added to those accumulated in the last cycle, imparted especial depth to the 1974-1975 economic crisis and to the economic upheavals of the mid-1970s. A noteworthy feature of this crisis, the severest since that of 1929-1933, is that it has affected the highly developed postwar state-monopoly economy and its regulatory and stimulating mechanisms. The bourgeoisie was prepared to accept partial reforms and concentrated on using the achievements of the STR to raise the effectiveness of production and boost growth rates to strengthen its positions.

And so, taking into account the cardinal changes in the social and political picture of the world (notably the weakening positions of capitalism in its confrontation with the main anti-imperialist forces), aggravation of internal contradictions in individual capitalist countries and in the world capitalist system as a whole, sharpening of global problems (particularly with the end of cheap oil, energy and raw materials, the vital need for environmental protection involving larger investments, the need to narrow the gap between the developed and the developing countries as an important condition for expanding international economic relations and the normal functioning of the world economy) there is every ground for the conclusion that the world economic crisis of the mid-1970s ushered in a period of considerably worse capitalist reproduction conditions compared with the preceding 30 years.

The next question of practical importance—*the correlation*

between the deepening of capitalism's contradictions, the continued development of the STR, and the growth of the capitalist economy.

The difficulties and contradictions of modern capitalism are there for all to see. More, they are bound to increase in scope and depth. That, however, should not be taken to mean that science, technology and the economy will simply mark time or retrogress. Nor does it mean that in the coming years and decades we will see the sclerosis of capitalism's productive forces, a kind of automatic stagnation. It would be wrong to underestimate the vast opportunities available to modern capitalism. "It is farthest from the Communists' minds to predict an 'automatic collapse' of capitalism," Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th Congress of the CPSU. "It still has considerable reserves."[5]

And one of the most important of these reserves is the continued development of science and technology and their practical achievements, used to expand the productive forces. This potential is a very appreciable one; in my opinion, there is every reason to predict that the STR, far from slowing down, might well proceed at an even faster pace in the coming decades.

The economy will be increasingly influenced by the practical realisation of the existing and rapidly growing fund of scientific and technological know-how. This will mean, in particular, that:

— perfection of computer techniques will greatly stimulate microelectronics, the use of robots, with resultant much wider automation;

— the revolution in biology will sharply increase the output of foodstuffs;

— advances in chemistry will extend production of new materials with programmed properties;

— wider use will be made of underdeveloped areas of our planet, the World Ocean, deep strata of the Earth, Arctic and sub-Arctic land areas;

— new energy sources will be developed, especially through breeder reactors, thermonuclear synthesis, use of solar energy, etc. This could make for a cardinal solution of the energy problems within twenty or thirty years.

In recent years, the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations has devoted much time and effort to prognostication oriented on working out a realistic appraisal of trends and development rates of the capitalist world economy up to the years 1990 and 2000. These studies are an organic part of a wider project, "Integrated Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress and its Socio-Economic Consequences for the Period up to the Year 2000". The project is being carried out jointly by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Our prognostication has been based on the following:

— the capitalist economy will continue to develop cyclically, which means recessions, depressions and profound crises;

— capitalist economic development will be impeded by high levels of inflation, chronic unemployment, structural crises, deeper social conflicts, and sharper international contradictions;

— the coming decades will see the imperialist chain broken in more links, with possible social revolutions in different parts of the capitalist world and also in developing countries. Such events as the collapse of the dictatorial regimes in Greece and Spain, the revolutions in Portugal, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Iran are the most convincing confirmation of such a forecast.

Prognostications vary, naturally, with the changing outlook for the development of international political relations, the results of detente and possible changes in the levels of military expenditure.

Taking into account factors that tend to impede economic development, and those that stimulate it (scientific and technical progress, more efficient production organisation and management, larger internal markets based on growing private and, more especially, state consumption, role of larger foreign markets, etc.), long-term forecasts cleared of cyclical fluctuations suggest that between now and the end of the century the capitalist economy will grow at an appreciably lower, but nevertheless substantial, rate than in the 1950s and 1960s. Our prognostication suggests that the gross domestic product of the developed capitalist countries might increase 100-130 per cent by the year 2000 compared with 1978, and their industrial output, by approximately 150 per cent.

Our institute's forecast outlines some indicators of STR influence on the capitalist economy. From this forecast it follows that in the coming years capitalist countries will concentrate on the development and application of energy- and material-saving technology. As a result, we forecast that for the mid-1980s fairly substantial structural changes in the economy of the USA and other developed capitalist countries, mainly in reducing the share of the extractive industries and metallurgy and increasing the share of power engineering, chemistry and machine-building, will occur. There will be a considerable increase in the output of computers, digital programmed machine-tools, and an especially sharp increase in robots. The output of aluminium and other modern construction materials, plastics and synthetic resins will increase at a rapid pace.

The law of uneven capitalist development will continue to operate in the decades after that too. This will generate serious changes in the economic balance of the USA, Western Europe and Japan. Thus, by the year 2000 West European industrial production could be 120 per cent and Japan's 47 per cent of the

US level (as against 95 and 27 per cent respectively in 1977). There is reason to anticipate that productivity by the year 2000 will be 70 per cent of the US figure in Western Europe and 75 per cent in Japan (the 1977 figures are 48 and 38 per cent).

And another reasonable probability is a higher share of the developing countries in the industrial output of the non-socialist world, some 25 or 28 per cent in the year 2000, compared with 14.7 per cent in 1977. Their share in energy output could increase to 55 or 60 per cent and to as much as 80 per cent in oil. But in such key economic indicators as per capita production and consumption the tendency is to an even wider gap between the developed and the developing countries. Another probable development is a more pronounced differentiation among the developing countries themselves; a certain number will, on several indicators, achieve medium development; the emergence of centres of so-called sub-imperialism in the Third World should not be precluded.

Uneven development, particularly in growth rates, is bound to aggravate intra-imperialist contradictions and contradictions between the industrialised and the developing countries.

We should also foresee that centrifugal forces in the capitalist world will be paralleled by centripetal tendencies. This process stems from the community of class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie in different countries. And from this follows the objective need for unity of all revolutionary forces, and the special importance of unity of progressive movements and of stringent adherence to the principles of internationalism.

And one more very important question deserving of close attention—*the forces standing opposed to the reactionary and aggressive ambitions of the monopolies; the forces working for genuine progress, for the use of science and technology in the interests of humanity; the tasks confronting these forces in the context of the continuing development of the STR.*

Let me first emphasise that the struggle of the working class, the popular masses, to make scientific and technical progress serve their interests and the struggle against militarism and the menace of another war are closely connected with the struggle to restrict monopoly omnipotence, raise living standards, democratise management at every level of economic and social life—that struggle is an inalienable component of the anti-monopoly, democratic struggle in the broadest sense of the term.

In fact, the very development of the STR, which inevitably intensifies social and class polarisation, makes for higher numerical, organisational, educational and professional levels of the working class and its closer association with widening sections of intellectuals and white-collar workers, and aggravation of some old

and emergence of new social antagonisms—all this creates new, more favourable conditions for the masses, for the activity of all anti-monopoly forces dedicated to democratic alternative to the policies of state-monopoly capitalism.

In the developing countries, too, the struggle for positive use of the STR is inseparably bound up with the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, for genuine independence and sovereignty, and for far-reaching progressive economic and social changes. Reconstruction of international economic relations on a democratic basis is important for victory in that struggle and is actively supported by the USSR and other socialist countries.

As noted above, the STR has exacerbated a number of global problems, whose solution requires collective effort by states with differing social systems and comprehensive economic cooperation. It should be stressed in this context that the solution of any of these problems, let alone all of them, depends on preventing another world war, ending the arms drive, an international detente and a stronger economic foundation for peaceful coexistence.

The STR is of prime importance for the internal development of the USSR and other members of the socialist community. Genuine scientific socialism has always been associated with the major achievements of scientific thought in different fields, and the theory of scientific socialism, works by Marx, Engels and Lenin, have done much to enrich world science.

One of the greatest advantages of the socialist system is that science serves the whole of society. Socialism also ensures unlimited scope for its development, and there is every ground for the assertion that the STR can fully unfold only in the conditions of communist formation.

The Soviet Union and all the other members of the socialist community are engaged in a vast construction effort in which science plays a key part. "The task we face," Leonid Brezhnev declared at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, "is one of historical importance: *organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system,* to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production." [6]

In pursuance of that aim, the CPSU and fraternal Communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries are concentrating on the development of science, faster scientific and technical progress, and the creation of a planning, organisation and management mechanism capable of accelerating economic application of every achievement of science and technology.

We have no illusions about the difficulties of these tasks, but also no doubt about our ability to accomplish them. And

accomplished they must be, for they are essential to effective economic management and, consequently, to the attainment of the main goal of all our economic efforts, namely, the steady uninterrupted rise of the material and cultural standards of the people. For the development of science and technology, optimal use of their discoveries have become a major area in the economic competition between world socialism and world capitalism. Last but not least, our successes in this sphere are closely associated with the efforts for peace and international security and with the continued development of the world revolutionary process.

NOTES

[1] *24th Congress of the CPSU. 1971,* Moscow, 1971, p. 69.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 19, p. 62.

[3] *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya,* Nos. 6-8, 1979.

[4] Ibid., No. 6, 1979, pp. 27-62.

[5] L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. 25th Congress of the CPSU,* Moscow, 1976, p. 34.

[6] *24th Congress of the CPSU. 1971,* p. 69.

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The 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences

The Origins of the Second World War

EVGENI ZHUKOV

Below we publish posthumously an article by Academician Evgeni Zhukov (1907-1980), eminent scholar and public figure, Member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academic Secretary of the Division of History, Director of the Institute of World History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union. Since 1939, Academician Zhukov had been working in the USSR Academy of Sciences. He headed the Pacific Ocean Institute, was one of the heads of the Institute of Oriental Studies and in 1968 was appointed Director of the Institute of World History. His name is widely known in the USSR and abroad: he was foreign member of several Academies of Sciences and President of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (1970-1975).

On September 1, 1939, the most bitter and devastating war in world history broke out. Prepared by the forces of international imperialism the Second World War (1939-1945) was unleashed by the aggressive bloc of fascist powers made up of Germany, Italy, and militarist Japan. The battlefields saw a clash between the forces of the blackest imperialist reaction, on the one hand, and, on the other, an anti-fascist coalition of states, in which the leading role was played by the Soviet Union, that mighty socialist power.

Though over 40 years have elapsed since the beginning of the Second World War, it is useful to recall what social forces encouraged the aggressor and freed his hands for his murderous activities.

The Second World War was engendered by imperialism as a whole, and was a manifestation of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system, which is incapable of coping with its acute contradictions by peaceful means. However, this statement, which is correct as a whole, has to be made more concrete and specific. A scientific study of the causes of the Second World War is of great and pressing importance today too, since reactionary bourgeois historiography is resorting to all and any means to conceal from the public that the main responsibility for the unleashing of that war rested with imperialism. In the existent historical literature,

emphasis is often laid on the inevitability of the Second World War being predetermined by the outcome of the First World War (1914-1918). The Treaty of Versailles, in fact, stripped Germany of the status of a great power, docked its territories in Europe, liquidated her colonial empire, and imposed severe restrictions on her armaments. Many researchers attribute the inception of the Second World War to Germany's striving to achieve revenge. Of course, in any consideration of the causes of the Second World War, one cannot ignore the Versailles system, which, far from eliminating the old and ingrained imperialist contradictions, created new ones, of which the contradictions between victor and vanquished were very important. It was the main purpose of Germany's ruling circles, immediately after the signing of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, to cast off the treaty conditions imposed on that country, as well as to rearm Germany. A whole generation of Germans were educated in the spirit of *revanche* and the necessity of revising and liquidating the Versailles system.

However, it would be mistaken to reduce the outbreak of the Second World War to this factor alone, despite all its importance, for the causes lay far deeper, just as the causes of world wars in general do. Particular attention to the radical causes of imperialist war was paid by V. I. Lenin, who summed up the vast material characterising the highest and final stage of capitalism and showed the objective dangers presented to mankind by imperialism. Lenin proved that the First World War was, in respect of the two coalitions of imperialist powers that had come into collision, a predatory war, a war of plunder, a war for the partition of the world, and the division and redivision of colonies, of "spheres of influence of finance capital, etc." [1]

The uneven economic and political development of capitalism, as well as the completion, by the beginning of the 20th century, of the territorial partitioning of the world among the leading imperialist states, fostered the latter's striving to recarve that world in accordance with the new alignment of forces. The capitalists carve up the world "according to capital", and "according to force", for no other means of division can exist under the capitalist system. The transition of capitalism to its monopoly phase was directly connected with the aggravation of the struggle to get colonies reshuffled from one "master" to another. "The principal feature of the latest stage of capitalism is the domination of monopolist association of big employers. These monopolies are most firmly established when *all* the sources of raw materials are captured by one group, and we have seen with what zeal international capitalist associations exert every effort to deprive their rivals of any opportunity of competing, to buy up, for example, iron ore deposits, oilfields, etc." [2]

One cannot fail to note how topical these words are, which Lenin wrote over 60 years ago:

"This is because the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial and military strength and so on." Peaceful alliances between imperialists, their coalitions, "are *inevitably* nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and, in their turn, grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, producing alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on *one and the same* basis of imperialist connections and relations within the world economy and world politics."[3] Lenin repeatedly noted, when stressing that it was essential to make a thorough analysis of the genesis of war, that the policies leading to war should be studied as well as who benefits from it, "what is the war being waged for, and what classes staged and directed it".[4] This analysis is essential for an understanding of the causes leading up to both world wars.

The Second World War arose as a collision between two groups of imperialist powers. However, the overall world situation in which the struggle between two imperialist coalitions arose in 1939, a struggle born of the striving of the participants to repartition the world in their own fashion and achieve worldwide domination, was markedly different from the set-up in 1914, this determining the profound distinctions between the two world wars, although they were both born of imperialism.

The cardinal difference was that, in 1939, capitalism no longer existed as a system that controlled and dominated the entire world. Active on the world scene was a great socialist power, which was the natural focus to which all progressive anti-imperialist forces were attracted. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new historical era, this being reflected in the profound changes in the world which involved practically all states and continents. The capitalist system had entered a phase of general crisis which affected literally all spheres of its activities. The world working class had grown not only in number but in quality. The problem of the imperialist repartitioning of the world also assumed an entirely new nature. The colonialists, who were competing between themselves, met with a firm rebuff from the peoples, who were fighting for their independence. The impact of the October Revolution led to an exacerbation of the crisis of imperialism's colonial system.

However, the main factor consisted in the existence and the activities of the Soviet Union as a mighty socialist state having upset the aggressive plans of the international monopolies and the calculations of the imperialist powers and serving to constantly

unmask the schemes of the initiators of military adventures; they inspired the peoples to hurl back the invaders.

The Second World War began within the framework of the capitalist system; its initial stage was unjust and imperialist in character on the part not only of the aggressive fascist bloc but also of the Anglo-French coalition. However, it is insufficient to appraise the Second World War at that early period as imperialist on both sides, since the resistance offered by the masses of the population in countries that were victims of the fascist aggression was emancipatory from the very start. Account should be taken of the special danger presented by the states of the aggressive fascist bloc, who had unleashed the war with the aim of enslaving the world and establishing their predatory "new order". That is why, from its very outbreak, the war acquired the nature of a just struggle for freedom and national independence for the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries that were victims of fascist aggression.

The just and liberatory nature of the Second World War for peoples and countries standing opposed to the fascist bloc became finally manifest when the Soviet Union entered the war on June 22, 1941 after the sudden and treacherous attack against it by nazi Germany and its allies. The world's first socialist state played a decisive part in the struggle against the fascist invasion and for the freedom, independence and social progress of all peoples.

As Lenin wrote, the First World War also contained certain elements of a just struggle for national liberation; in particular, he spoke of the struggle waged by Serbia against Austro-Hungary.[5] However, such elements played a secondary role and could not influence the overall nature of the First World War as an imperialist war. A completely different situation came into being in the Second World War, in the course of which peoples were fighting to restore their sovereignty and national independence and against brazen attacks by the fascist imperialist gangsters.

This overall appraisal also recognises that throughout the Second World War its events were actively influenced by contradictions among the imperialists, as can be seen from the examples of the Anglo-German, Franco-Italian, US-Japanese and other inter-imperialist relations. Yet on the whole, such contradictions played a secondary role and did not change the overall nature of the Second World War as a just war fought by the anti-fascist coalition of peoples and states.

As is common knowledge, the Soviet socialist state arose under the banner of the struggle for peace and the immediate cessation of the imperialist war. Lenin and the Bolsheviks conducted a consistent and purposeful foreign policy aimed at ensuring

mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation between all states, irrespective of their social systems. This policy of peaceful coexistence was not dictated by any considerations of the day but sprang from a desire to create the best and most favourable external conditions for the construction of the new socialist society. The Soviet state worked actively to bring about a universal rejection of war as a means of dealing with international problems. "We know, we know only too well, the incredible misfortune that war brings to the workers and peasants," Lenin wrote.[6] At the same time, the Soviet Union has never proceeded from any kind of abstract pacifism. In so frequently advancing, at various international forums, concrete proposals on complete or partial disarmament, the USSR has been well aware that a rejection of the use of arms cannot be achieved unilaterally.

History of the imperialist intervention and the blockade of the Soviet state during the first years of its existence left not the least illusions as regards the deep hostility of the capitalist encirclement towards the Soviet system. This dictated the need for Soviet people to be constantly prepared for an armed defence of the socialist homeland. Guided by principles formulated by Lenin, Soviet diplomacy displayed great activity and unmasked the intrigues of imperialist forces hostile to the Soviet Union and carrying within themselves the danger of a new world war.

The anti-popular policies of the world's imperialist reactionaries systematically impelled them towards anti-Soviet provocations and adventures, an objective circumstance which had an important part to play on all world developments after the Great October Socialist Revolution. It also had an immediate effect on the fate of the Versailles system imposed on a conquered Germany by the Entente after the First World War.

There can be no doubt that Germany's imperialist rivals, who had emerged victorious from the First World War, were powerful enough to prevent any radical revision of the Versailles dictate. However, the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia shook the capitalist system to its foundation, affecting both the victors (Britain, France and the US in the first place), and the defeated states (Germany and her allies). It cannot be considered fortuitous that even Georges Clemenceau, one of the main authors of the Versailles system and an irreconcilable enemy of militarist Germany, revealed hesitation on the question of the complete disarmament of the German army, on the grounds that it could still prove useful in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. No less "prudence" was revealed in this respect by the other Versailles "peace-makers" such as US President Wilson and Britain's Prime Minister Lloyd George.

The victory of the Great October Revolution brought about a series of imperialist attempts to effect armed intervention against the young Soviet state. The "campaign of 14 states" organised by the imperialists against Soviet Russia expressed the very essence of the attitude of the world's imperialist bourgeoisie towards the socialist revolution in Russia. It should also be taken into account that the predatory Peace of Brest-Litovsk, which German militarism had imposed on Soviet Russia even before the 1914-1918 war was over, made Germany a highly active participant in all of the most aggressive acts directed against the world's first proletarian state. And although, after the military defeat and the 1918 November Revolution in that country, Germany had to withdraw forces from Soviet territory, it preserved with the imperialist powers a reputation of a highly efficacious force against the "Bolshevik menace". This found expression in many clauses of the Versailles Peace Treaty. France was unable to carry out her initial plan of bringing Germany to her knees. The acute contradictions between the imperialists also played a part, in particular the patent reluctance of the victor states—Britain, the USA, and Italy—to permit any form of French hegemony in Europe.

The further course of events revealed an aggravation of the imperialist contradictions, which, however, proceeded against the background of the steady consolidation of Soviet Russia, that bulwark of socialist transformations and consistent defender of the principles of world peace and the establishment of mutually advantageous cooperation between the peoples.

The Leninist foreign policy of peace underlay numerous acts of the Soviet state in favour of disarmament and the development of peaceful trade relations between countries, irrespective of their social systems. The signing of the Treaty of Rapallo between Soviet Russia and Germany in 1922 was a marked success scored by the Leninist foreign policy.

Quite understandably, the Treaty of Rapallo, which in its time caused much consternation in the camp of the world's reactionaries, could neither change the nature of imperialist Germany nor turn it into an ally of Soviet Russia. It simply marked a concrete success scored by Soviet diplomacy in utilising a breach in the system of inter-imperialist relations, thereby deferring the danger of military collision between the socialist states and its hostile capitalist encirclement.[7]

Already by the end of 1923, British and US diplomacy, fearful of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Germany, began to give active support to Germany's ruling circles, insisting that France should not demand of Germany full reparations as provided for in the Treaty of Versailles. A special committee of experts was set up under the US banker Dawes, who drew up a

report on the need to stabilise the German economy by means of a big loan to Germany totalling 800 million gold marks. The London Conference of 1924 officially adopted the Dawes' Plan, which spelt a complete change of course in respect of Germany on the part of the Western powers, with French forces being withdrawn from German territory. Throughout the period between 1924 and 1932, direct British and US patronage brought about the restoration of Germany's industrial and military potential. The total value of the foreign loans received by Germany during those years stood at over 31 thousand million gold marks, whereas reparation payments were limited to 11 thousand million. Thus, the financial shot in the arm provided by British and American capital, which totalled the vast sum of 20 thousand million gold marks, played an important part in restoring Germany's military potential and her rearmament.

It goes without saying, this was not only marked by a cooling of German-Soviet relations, this on German initiative, but by ever more fostered German political ambitions on the world scene. The government of that country officially presented a demand to the League of Nations that it should not only be recognised as equal in the area of armament but should be given mandates for the colonies it had lost in the 1914-1918 war.

In the autumn of 1925, Locarno was the venue of an international conference attended by Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the latter two countries being closely linked to France by military agreements. Although officially called to help consolidate European peace, the Locarno Conference was in fact designed to involve Germany in the "concern" of the Western powers, isolate the Soviet Union, and organise another anti-Soviet intervention.[8] The decisions of the Locarno Conference provided for an Anglo-Italian guarantee of Germany's Western boundaries (with France and Belgium) alone but did not in the least affect her eastern borders (with Poland and Czechoslovakia). Thus, these decisions already contained the seeds of the anti-Soviet idea, later to find frank expression, of freedom of actions for imperialist Germany in the eastward direction. "The relative stabilisation and the so-called 'pacification' of Europe under the hegemony of Anglo-US capital," said the resolution adopted by the 14th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the report submitted by the Central Committee, "produced a whole system of economic and political blocs, the latest of which was the Locarno Conference on the so-called 'mutual guarantees' that were spearheaded against the USSR."[9]

The Soviet state took steps to neutralise the Locarno Pact, at least partially. Thus, a treaty of non-aggression and neutrality was

signed between Germany and the USSR in 1926. At the Geneva preparatory conference in 1927, the Soviet Union tabled a proposal on universal and complete disarmament. On the initiative of the USSR, a protocol was signed with a number of neighbouring states on the immediate implementation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact on the rejection of war as a vehicle of national policies.[10]

Nevertheless, the strengthening of imperialist Germany continued with active aid from British and US diplomacy. According to the Young Plan of 1930, and then at the Lausanne Conference of 1932, Germany was in fact completely exempted from all reparation payments, with Britain, the US, France and Italy officially recognising the principle of German equality in the area of armaments.[11]

Germany was ever more becoming a powerful militarist state armed to the teeth. The German imperialist monopolies, as well as the Reichswehr, who had previously regarded Hitler's claims to political leadership with scepticism, now began to change their attitude towards his adventurist military programme. At the same time, Hitler did his utmost to convince the Western capitalist powers that the struggle against the danger of revolution and for the destruction of Bolshevism and the liquidation of the Soviet socialist state were the main tasks. His official statements and published articles frankly proclaimed a course towards war against the USSR. The compliments he paid to the Western powers, Britain in the first place, were accompanied by a single demand: Germany should get her former colonies back.

In the autumn of 1931, militarist Japan fell on China and occupied Manchuria. Japan's imperialist rivals, primarily the US and Britain, limited themselves to verbal protests against the robber acts of the Japanese military. In this, they were guided by the illusory idea that Japan's aim was a preparation for an attack against the USSR.

Irrespective of nationality, the reactionary leaders of the capitalist monopolies ever more openly linked the possibility of a takeover of power in Germany with the prospect of an aggressive war against the USSR. The international situation took a sharp turn for the worse, and in 1933, the Hitlerites came to power.

Shortly afterwards Germany officially declared she would no longer take part in the work of the International Disarmament Commission, and left the League of Nations. With British and US connivance, the nazi leadership continued to strengthen in every possible way the German military machine, whose resurrection was initiated in many respects by those two countries.

The impunity of the Japanese aggressor encouraged the German and Italian fascists to speed up their own war preparations. Despite the failure of the nazi-inspired putsch in Austria in

1934, the rulers of Germany and Italy continued insistently to wrest ever new concessions from the Western powers in the area of rearmament. The League of Nations plebiscite in the industrially developed Saarland gave that area to Germany.

In March 1935, Hitler Germany officially rejected all the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and introduced universal conscription. Britain agreed to a 100:35 ratio in the strength of the British and the German navies. Finally, in March 1936, Germany unilaterally flouted the guarantees in the Treaty of Locarno and occupied the Rhineland.

It might have seemed that all these aggressive acts on the part of nazi Germany should have evoked appropriate retaliatory measures from the Western powers. However, the latter's leaders were captivated by the idea that at long last a strong militarist Germany was emerging, which was capable of opposing the Soviet Union so that they should display if not open encouragement then at least tolerance of nazi military build-up.

Fascist Italy, which was considerably weaker than Hitler Germany hastened in its turn to make use of the favourable international situation. In the autumn of 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia, a gangster act which evoked a very weak reaction on the part of Britain, France and the USA. In May 1936, Mussolini announced the annexation of Ethiopia.

Two months later, in July 1936, General Franco's mutiny against the lawful government of the Spanish Republic flared up, with active support from nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Besides sending the Francoist mutineers every kind of military equipment, Italy also sent an expeditionary corps 250 thousand strong. Hitler Germany, too, sent a force of 50 thousand and, besides, picked Luftwaffe units against the Spanish Republic. Despite the immediate threat to their interests posed by the Italo-German intervention in Spain, the governments of Britain and France in fact supported the mutineers. The US Administration extended to Spain the Neutrality Law, which banned the export of war materiel to belligerent countries. As a consequence, Spain's republican government seeking to receive weaponry for self-defence was equated with the Francoist mutineers.

The Spanish civil war and the fascist armed intervention laid bare the reactionary essence of the "non-intervention" policy by Britain and France. For almost three years, until March 1939, the Spanish Republic's armed forces waged a heroic but unequal struggle against Franco, who was getting ever more military support from Hitler and Mussolini. The only country to render aid to Republican Spain was the Soviet Union, a country located in highly unfavourable geographical position vis-à-vis Spain as compared with the fascist powers.[12]

Characteristically enough, on February 27, 1939, i.e., more than a month prior to the counter-revolutionary coup in Madrid, Britain and France officially recognised the Franco mutineer government. The USA followed suit early in April of the same year.

Crushed by the fascists, Spain, which was now represented by Franco, officially joined the so-called Anti-Comintern Pact, a military and political bloc of three fascist aggressors: Germany, Italy and Japan.

The behaviour of Britain, France and the USA during the Spanish civil war convinced Hitler that he could carry out the seizure of more territory in Europe with ease. Next in line was Austria, where local Hitlerite agents were waging a rabid campaign for Anschluss, i.e., the liquidation of the independent Austrian state and its conversion into a German province. For a while, there was even some tension on that score between Germany and Italy, the latter laying claim to a dominant role in Austria where they had a fairly firm foothold. However, the rivalry between these two aggressors ended in victory for the Hitler Germany the senior partner.

The Soviet government came out against the aggressive plans of fascist Germany, stating that the USSR was prepared "to participate in collective action designed to curb the further development of aggression and remove the growing danger of a new world war.... It may be too late tomorrow but the time for that has not yet passed, if all states, especially the Great Powers, take up a firm and unambiguous stand towards the problem of the collective salvation of the world." [13]

Britain and France, who had voiced opposition to territorial changes in Europe, intimated to Hitler that they would not come out in defence of Austrian independence. It seemed to them that, by resurrecting a powerful militarist Germany capable of opposing the USSR and the other world revolutionary forces they so hated, they were conducting a farsighted policy. Thus, Austrian independence was trampled under foot, and nazi troops entered Vienna. Some time later, Italy attacked Albania and occupied it.

There was a continual extension of fascist aggression and a growing number of new hotbeds of world war.

The Soviet Union ceaselessly unmasked those who were preparing such a war, and came out in defence of the freedom and independence of peoples that were now objects of fascist aggression. In 1935-1937, the USSR signed bilateral treaties of joint defence action against the forces of aggression with France and Czechoslovakia, and a non-aggression pact with China. For many years, the Soviet people had been helping the Chinese people in the struggle against the Japanese invaders.[14] Soviet

diplomacy was waging an unflagging struggle for the establishment of an effective system of collective security, with the aim of preventing war.

However, all Soviet proposals met with opposition from the Western "democracies". At the Brussels Conference called by the League of Nations in November 1937 to discuss the situation in East Asia, the Soviet Union tabled a demand that collective measures should be taken against the Japanese aggressors, but the Western powers, primarily the USA and Britain, refused to support the Soviet initiative.

Since the Hitlerites made no secret that their occupation of Austria would be followed by the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Soviet government released an official statement on March 15, 1938, that it was prepared to fulfil its obligations under the Soviet-Czechoslovak pact.[15]

Germany was planning the stage-by-stage occupation of Czechoslovakia, in the confidence that it would be facilitated by Franco-British advocacy of the aggressor. That is why the nazis first advanced a plan providing for the transfer to Germany of the Sudetenland, which, they claimed, contained predominantly German population. Henlein, the fascist Führer of the Sudetenland, set up his paramilitary detachments and presented an ultimatum to the Czechoslovak government that the Sudeten Germans be granted full autonomy. The Czechoslovak authorities attempted resistance: Henlein's demand was rejected and a partial mobilisation was declared in Czechoslovakia. In view of the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union and its unambiguous support for Czechoslovakia, and also in view of the treaty of alliance with France, the Czechoslovak Republic had good chances of defending its territorial integrity. On May 25, 1938, the Soviet government reaffirmed its frequently made statements of its preparedness to give Czechoslovakia military aid. Similar statements were made on June 25 and August 22, with the Soviet government stating it was prepared to defend Czechoslovakia, "even if France fails to perform her obligations under the treaty, but on condition that Czechoslovakia will defend itself and appeal to the USSR for help".[16]

However, the London reactionary politicians, followed by the French, were guided by quite different considerations, and came to Hitler's aid under the guise of conducting "mediation" between Germany and Czechoslovakia. Runciman, the official British spokesman, who came to Prague in July 1938, returned home with the recommendation that the German conditions should be accepted and that the transfer of the Sudetenland to Germany should be demanded of Czechoslovakia. This recommendation was supported by the British and the French governments and even

couched in the form of an ultimatum to Czechoslovakia. Thus, the French ruling circles not only ignored their treaty obligations to defend Czechoslovakia but in fact became accomplices in the Hitler blackmail. The government in power in Czechoslovakia rejected the Soviet offer to carry out treaty obligations and thereby avert the partition of the country. "The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie preferred national betrayal to an alliance with the country of socialism."[17]

The Anglo-French ultimatum was accepted by Czechoslovak President Beneš on September 21, 1938, but three days later Hitler told British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain that the Czechoslovak concessions were not enough. On September 24, the Hitlerite authorities demanded that the entire Sudetenland be handed over to Germany by October 1.

It should be remembered that the Czechoslovak army was a considerable force at the time and equipped with up-to-date weaponry. Besides, fortifications had been built along the German border, which could be successfully used if the country had to be defended.

The nazi ultimatum was rejected by the Czechoslovak authorities. It was widely known that 30 Soviet rifle divisions and tank and air formations were standing in combat readiness to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia. These acts evoked hesitation in the German military leadership, who were not yet sure that Germany was already sufficiently prepared for a big war. Objective conditions existed for an end to be put to the brazenly aggressive action of the Hitlerites in Europe.

However, such a prospect was not at all to the liking of the imperialist reactionaries.

On September 29-30, Munich was the venue of a conference of heads of government of Britain, France, Germany and Italy which produced a deal between the Western states and the fascist aggressors, giving the latter freedom of action in respect of Czechoslovakia in exchange of hypocritical promises to preserve European peace. The Munich agreement was immediately followed by the entry of Hitler's troops into Czechoslovakia.

A considerable part of the world bourgeois press lauded the Munich agreement to the skies as guaranteeing European peace for a long time to come. Neville Chamberlain was depicted as an outstanding peacemaker. However, all those who realistically appraised the Munich deal saw that it was not only an act of capitulation to nazi Germany but also granted it freedom of action for further acts of aggression, primarily in the east of Europe. The statements on non-aggression against Britain and France which the Hitlerites so hastily made were meant to deceive public opinion and cover up their actual intentions.

At Munich, British Premier Neville Chamberlain and French Premier Daladier perpetrated an act of flagrant treachery to the cause of peace and curbing the aggressor. The Munich agreement not only brought the Second World War nearer but made it inevitable. "The imperialists of the United States, Britain and France," said Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "did much to resurrect German militarism after the First World War and direct it against the Soviet Union. And when, with the aid of the German monopolies, Hitler came to power, with his publicly declared course towards war, the Western powers began to 'appease' the aggressor. They threw ever new victims to Hitler's feet in the hope that he would move his hordes eastward, against the land of socialism. The Munich deal, which handed Czechoslovakia over to nazi Germany, was a most shameful manifestation of that treacherous design of the imperialists." [18]

By sacrificing Czechoslovakia to the Hitlerites, the men of Munich also opened the way for the seizure of the territories of other allies in the Eastern Europe, Poland and Rumania first and foremost. The Munich deal was directed against world and European peace, with Hitler being intimated that favourable consideration might also be given for the restoration of Germany as a colonial power.

The recognition of the "legality" of the nazi hegemony in Europe was so outspokenly expressed at Munich by Neville Chamberlain that it gave rise to protests from other and more farsighted representatives of British imperialism. Such experienced defenders of the interests of the British empire as Churchill and Eden were fully aware of the danger of trusting the Hitlerites even when they tried to pose as champions of the struggle against Bolshevism. Fresh proof of the short-sightedness and the egregious political miscalculations of the Western appeasers of the aggressor was provided when Hitler flouted the illusive Anglo-French guarantees of Czechoslovakia's new borders. On March 15, 1939, the nazis occupied Prague and then all Czechoslovakia.

In its Note of March 18, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR roundly condemned the Hitlerite aggression against Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union being the only country to come out in defence of the Czech and the Slovak peoples.

The secret talks that began in June 1939 between Britain and nazi Germany revealed that the fascist claims to world hegemony were incompatible with the preservation of the positions of British imperialism. The two sides tried to come to terms at the expense of the USSR and other countries. What Hitler was after was not only the return of Germany's former colonies but also the achievement of full domination of the European continent,

something that London, Washington and Paris could not agree to. However, the British, French and US imperialist upper crust were confident that Hitler Germany would come out openly against the Soviet Union and that the resulting war would bleed the two countries white; that was why the efforts of the British and French men of Munich continued to nudge Hitler Germany towards aggression against the USSR. Neither London nor Paris had any intention at the time of taking into consideration their former allies in the notorious *cordon sanitaire* along the Soviet borders.

In word, Britain and France expressed indignation at the Hitlerite pressure on Poland. When, on March 21, 1939, Hitler presented Poland with an ultimatum that Danzig should be turned over to Germany and that it should be given full use of the so-called Polish corridor, Britain and France were forced to remember their obligations as allies. On March 31, Britain promised Poland help should the latter become an object of aggression, and on April 13, Anglo-French "security guarantees" were given to Rumania and Greece.

In the emergency conditions of the spring and summer of 1939, the USSR came forward with an initiative for concrete joint action against the nazi aggressor in the form of a military and political agreement between three powers: the USSR, Britain and France. At the invitation of the Soviet Union, a French and a British military delegations came to Moscow for talks on a military convention between the three powers to concretely determine the participation of each of them in military measures designed to curb the fascist aggressor. The Soviet military delegation to the tripartite talks was headed by Marshal K. Voroshilov, the People's Commissar for Defence, with leading Soviet military experts serving on the delegation.

However, the British and the French governments revealed reluctance to begin military cooperation with the Soviet Union at the time. Their delegations were headed by men who were not only little known but had no mandate to conclude a military convention, which was why the talks were abortive.

The Western powers' policy of appeasement and complicity in respect of the fascist aggressors now made the Second World War inevitable, with the Hitlerites getting the green light.

It was later learnt that, parallel with the Anglo-Franco-Soviet talks on military cooperation, Britain was continuing secret talks with nazi Germany on a wide range of questions. British diplomacy still harboured hopes of finding a form of agreement with Germany that would, if only for a while, reconcile the antagonistic interests of the two rival imperialist powers. The British political line was unchanged: its terms were designed to accelerate nazi aggression eastward against the Soviet Union.

It was clear to the Hitler command that, despite the change in the tone of the British, French and US press, which were "condemning" the German-fascist provocations against Poland, the Western powers had no intention of warring against Germany.

The economic and political talks held with British representatives by Wohltat on behalf of Germany produced no results favourable to British diplomacy. Hitler was everywhere finding evidence, not only of his rivals' spinelessness and desire to capitulate but also of their inability to defend their positions against his constantly growing demands.[19]

The Anglo-French torpedoing of the Moscow talks in the summer of 1939 and the simultaneous search for a backstairs accommodation with Hitler revealed the perfidy of the Western powers. That was why, when in the August of 1939, in the conditions of the enmity showed by the Western powers towards the USSR, Hitler Germany proposed a non-aggression pact to the Soviet Union, the latter agreed to hold such talks so as to avoid isolation and forestall any aggression against the Soviet land. The Soviet Union was bound by no obligations towards the Western powers inasmuch as all its constructive proposals had been rejected by them. Soviet people had no illusions regarding the anti-Soviet plans of the Hitlerites and their allies in the Anti-Comintern Pact. By signing a non-aggression treaty with nazi Germany, the Soviet state obtained a certain breathing spell, which enabled it to take extra measures to build up country's defence. At the same time, by signing the treaty with Germany, the USSR disorganised the anti-Soviet front of world imperialism.

The German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, marked the onset of the Second World War. Betrayed by their puny leaders and by their allies, the Polish people offered heroic resistance to the nazi invaders, but the forces were too unequal.

On September 3, the governments of Britain and France were forced to declare war on nazi Germany, an act which in many respects proved a formality. Neither the British nor the French command took any steps to bring effective military pressure to bear on the Hitler aggressors. The so-called "phoney war" began in which the passiveness displayed by the allied Anglo-French command was merely a continuation of a policy designed to have the war directed only against the USSR in the east of Europe. The Hitlerites were invited, as it were, to develop their military activity along the immediate approaches to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the British and French political and military leaders showed that they wanted a campaign by the fascist states against the Soviet Union. What came to light was the Western powers' strategic plans to use Finland against the Soviet Union in the north, and Turkey in the south.

No real steps to give help to Poland were taken either in London or in Paris.

The responsibility for the unleashing of the Second World War lies squarely with international imperialism, which for a long time created especially favourable conditions for the establishment and consolidation of Hitlerite Germany's monstrous military machine. The world's reactionaries frankly counted on that military machine being the force that would smash and destroy the world's first socialist state.

However, the experience of history shows not only invincibility of socialism but the impossibility of changing the social nature of imperialism. It was therefore quite impossible to cancel the jungle laws of imperialist rivalry that are inherent in the final and monopoly phase of the capitalist system.

The calculations of Neville Chamberlain and other overt or covert men of Munich that the trend towards unity of the anti-Soviet forces in the policies of the various capitalist countries would emerge victorious proved illusory. The Second World War began within the capitalist system and was waged between states that formed part of that system. The West's reactionary leading politicians underestimated the strength of the imperialist contradictions and let themselves be deceived by such primitive camouflage of the military and political alliance of the fascist aggressors as the notorious Anti-Comintern Pact.

The realities of history proved far more complex than was thought by the political leaders of most of the capitalist countries. In the person of fascism, such destructive forces were released that presented a direct threat even to those who counted on using them in their own interests. Millions of peoples in the capitalist countries paid with their lives for their governments' having turned a deaf ear to the calls coming from the Soviet Union for collective action to be taken to defend the world and the peoples' security, which might have curbed the fascist aggressors and prevented the Second World War.

The victory over fascism was, first and foremost,the triumph of socialism, the most progressive social system.

Victorious in the Second World War, the Soviet Union has been firmly and unswervingly pursuing the Leninist policy of consolidating world security. This policy is being conducted jointly with the fraternal socialist countries and enjoys the support of all progressive mankind.

However, one cannot but see that the policy of peace is advancing in conditions of an acute struggle with the forces of war and reaction. These forces—from the imperialists to the Maoists—have not laid down their arms. Since 1945, over 100 major local

wars have been fought, presenting a potential danger of a worldwide conflict.

The lessons of the Second World War enjoin us to spare no efforts in the struggle to avoid any repetition of the tragedy of the past and to make sure that mankind shall never experience the horrors of a destructive nuclear war. The peaceful skies of our planet should never be lit up by the blood-red flames of a world conflagration.

NOTES

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Progressive Social Thought in Russia and Western Europe in the 19th Century

(Problems of Mutual Influence)

IVAN KOVALCHENKO,
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The ideological aspect of man's life is gaining prominence in modern historiography. For quite a few decades now periodicals have been coming out about Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot. International conferences on antique and mediaeval culture, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and social thought of the 19th century command the attention of the world's outstanding scholars.

Utopian Socialism is being widely studied in the 1960s and 1970s; we have every reason to speak of an explosion of interest in it. Hundreds of summarising works have been written. There have appeared quite a few books not only about the socialist ideas of the modern times, but also about "antique socialism" and mediaeval principles of community. The collected works by Mélier, Saint-Simon and Fourier have been put out. Monographs on Th. More have been published by E. Surtz and J. Hexter, G. Marc'hadour and A. Prévost; on Campanella by N. Badaloni and L. Firpo; on Mélier by M. Dommanget; on Deschamps by A. Robinet; on Owen by J. Harrison.... The list could be continued. For example, the latest bibliographical index about Saint-Simonism alone is 132 pages long. Numerous international conferences are held on More, Mélier, Fourier, Owen; international editions are being put out. In the early 1970s, seven issues of the magazine *Economies et sociétés*, the organ of the International Institute of Applied Economics, were devoted to Saint-Simon. At

Yale University in the USA many scholars from many countries prepared a multi-volume collection of the works of More. Special issues of leading monthlies, newspaper articles and radio programmes concerned with Utopias and Utopians have appeared. The film "A Man for All Seasons" about More won the highest awards and was shown in every corner of the world.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Soviet scholars made their tangible contribution: Russian translations of works by More, Deschamps and Babeuf and a five-volume edition of *Collected Works* by Academician Volgin, a prominent Soviet historian, have been put out. The works of V. Dalin about Babeuf, B. Porshnev about Mélier, I. Zilberfarb about Fourier, A. Ionnisyan about the communist ideas at the time of the French Revolution, M. Barg about Winstenley and his contemporaries, I. Osinovsky about More, A. Shtecklya about Campanella and G. Kucherenko about Mélier, Saint-Simon and Evgeni Tarle's research concerning West European Utopian Socialism have become firmly established in science.[1] Of the works on Russian Utopian Socialism the writings of G. Vodolazov, A. Volodin, B. Itenberg, R. Konyushaya, V. Leykina-Svirskaya, V. Malinin, P. Nikandrov, M. Nechkina, O. Orlik, I. Pantin, Yu. Polevoy, U. Rozenfeld, E. Rudnitskaya and V. Tvardovskaya are of special value.

No doubt, the present keen interest in the history of socialist ideas has been generated by the needs of our time. However, in the past, too, scholars took great interest in the history of spiritual culture. Although the evolution of mankind is an objective and natural process, and the changes that take place are caused, in the final analysis, by socio-economic reasons, "history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims".[2] Man has always toiled, reared children, fought and waged wars, but, at the same time, has always tried to understand and express the meaning, fundamental principles, properties and destinies of being. In restoring an authentic picture of the past, the researcher comes to view socio-economic facts as primary in the overall historical process, while politics and intellectual life as phenomena without which this process does not exist.

An analysis of foreign and Soviet works of the 1960s and 1970s on West European and Russian Utopian Socialism is a hard scholarly task. (Even an attempt to present the situation as a whole, to grasp the main results, to determine the major areas of discrepancies and confrontations, to reveal methodological and research difficulties and map out avenues for further research would probably require a number of independent studies.) One feature common to many of these works is that the development of social thought and the heritage of its outstanding exponents are studied largely on a national level. The monographs on More,

Winstenley, Mélier, Babeuf, Saint-Simon, Owen, Herzen and Chernyshevsky have been written in this manner. The historians of social ideas seem to have overlooked the achievements and methods of scholars in the field of comparative literary criticism[3] and often put too much emphasis on the national identity of this or that thinker.

An eminent authority of More's works, Abbot Marc'hadour, Professor at the Free University (L'Université libre) in Angers and Editor-in-Chief of *Moréanne* journal, says that his hero is the pride and joy of England, an unfading luminary of her history, that he called his homeland to the bosom of the united Roman church and, therefore, is dear to the Catholics of the whole world. A young English researcher M. Farrare was ingenious enough to prove that Saint-Simonism stemmed from the French spirit and hence failed to strike roots on English soil. Yet, did not the famous *Utopia* by More, disputes about which have been going on unabated for five centuries, make the great Englishman prominent in the history of French, German, Italian and Russian social thought as well? Did not *New Christianity* and other Saint-Simon's works exert a profound influence upon Carleyle and Mille? Did not Mikhail Lunin and Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, Owen and Herzen were in association with each other? Did not the Saint-Simonites, Fourierites, Owenites and Russian revolutionary democrats belong to one and the same trend of social thought, though, naturally they differed from each other?

The interrelation and mutual influence of the social thought of various peoples, in particular, of Russia and Western Europe, are a complicated and little studied problem, although there are some achievements in this field and initial data have been accumulated. It seems that Russo-French cultural relations have been studied better and that literary critics have made a more tangible contribution to their study than historians. Let us take, for example, the works by L. Pingaut, E. Haumant, L. Jousserandot, R. Labry, P. Angrand, A. Granjard, Ch. Corbet and M. Cadot. The data they have collected are of lasting value to scholars. However, the French authors are more inclined to write not about the mutual influence of the two countries, but about the influence of France on the Russian culture and social thought. It is also necessary to recall the best Russian and Soviet works on this theme. In particular, the books of P. Sakulin,, a collective monograph by Soviet researchers, *Socialist Ideas in Classical Russian Literature* (Leningrad, 1969), and O. Orlik's works are extremely useful for studying the interrelation between West European and Russian Utopian Socialism. But, on the whole, the progressive social thought of Western Europe and Russia is analysed separately rather than in interaction.

A number of works by Soviet scholars have testified, however, that they sought to overcome the traditional—in the writings of historians—isolation of "Russian socialism of the 19th century" from "Western socialism".[4] Such are *The Genesis and Content of Herzen's Socialist Thought* by Volgin and a number of this Russian thinker's works which he selected for the series "The Forerunners of Scientific Socialism".[5] The last brain-child of the outstanding Soviet scholar has been received as a wise call to persistently tackle the vital historical problem of the relationship between the national and international in the development of social thought. In working on this problem a scholar of any country is faced with complicated and delicate issues of home and foreign history which may enrich his understanding of the phenomena making up the notion of "relationships between countries" and "relationships between peoples". Authentic knowledge in this field proves the international character of the remarkable achievements of culture, as well as the fact that the social thought of this or that country did not exist, with rare exceptions, without assimilation of the achievements of other countries.

Speaking of the progressive social thought of Russia and Western Europe in the 19th century we shall confine ourselves to an analysis of the interrelation between West European and Russian Utopian Socialism, formulate in this connection only a few general considerations and theoretical and methodological problems, giving some examples.

Let us define the notion "progressive social thought". In our opinion, it should denote those trends and tendencies which could, if translated into life, contribute to social progress. Inasmuch as the development of productive forces (i.e., the material basis of the prosperity of every society) is the main yardstick of progress, the degree of progressiveness of an idea is determined, first and foremost, by its social and economic content. It is determined by the degree to which the proposed changes and transformations may be conducive to the development of the material basis of society and by the extent to which the social and economic progress, its conditions and results would be beneficial to the overwhelming majority of society, i.e., the mass of working people. These guidelines help one single out the three most radical trends in the progressive social thought in Europe at the end of the 18th and the 19th century, representing three stages in its development, namely, the Enlightenment, Utopian Socialism and Marxism.

The character of social ideas and the degree of their progressiveness are established by bringing out their objective essence, i.e., the results which might be obtained if they were carried out under given conditions, and not by sticking to the

interpretation of their essence by the ideologists themselves and their followers. Objectively the ideas may have quite a different essence and yield different results than that their authors envisaged and strove for. The non-coincidence of the objective and the subjective engenders Utopian trends in social thought in the given historical conditions. However, the Utopian character of an idea in itself can in no way serve as a basis for evaluating its essence or progressiveness.

For example, the mid-19th century progressive Russian thinkers believed that once the traditional commune (*obshchina*) was retained and the serf peasants freed with plots of land the end-result would be socialism. That was Utopian, since the more land the peasantry would receive, the more rapidly capitalism would develop in the countryside. Thus, the socialist aspirations of the thinkers were Utopian, while bourgeois democratism, the objective content of these aspirations and ideas, was progressive and revolutionary.

In studying the history of social thought one must single out the factors that determine the degree of progressiveness of one or another idea. Social thought, though conceived by an individual, is an expression of the needs and interests of definite social classes, strata and groups. Here the individual is always the expression of the social. Therefore, in the final analysis, the degree of progressiveness of trends of social thought is determined by the extent to which the interests and activity of the classes, social strata and groups which these trends represent correspond to the course of historical development and can help accelerate this development. In the epoch of transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe, the bourgeoisie came out as the most consistent fighter for progress, and the Enlightenment as the ideological expression of this progress was the most advanced trend of social thought. In the epoch of struggle for the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the interests of the peasantry dovetailed to the greatest extent with the course of historical development and the needs of social progress. Therefore, revolutionary democratism, expressing the interests of the peasantry in the form of peasant Utopian Socialism, was the most progressive trend of social thought. With the establishment of the capitalist mode of production the proletariat became the most progressive social force. Thus, Marxism, which represents its class interests, became, and still remains, the most advanced trend of social thought.

Hence, the pluralistic approach to the assessment of trends in social thought, where nearly all of them are regarded as equally good, as having their positive and negative features, is, in our opinion, unacceptable. As Lenin pointed out, the paramount methodological task in the study of the history of social thought is

"to reduce social ideas to socio-economic relations",[6] i.e. to reveal the social in the individual and to assess the essence of the ideas according to the relationship between the subjectively social and the objectively historical. Such an assessment, naturally, does not rule out an evaluation of the thinker's personal contribution to the development of social ideas. But this evaluation must be as consistently historical as the determination of the general degree of the ideas' progressiveness. However, in their evaluation of any given thinker historians often modernise him and judge of his contribution according to the subsequent or even present-day state of social thought. We think one should evaluate a thinker not in comparison with subsequent periods, but in comparison with his predecessors.

In our opinion, when speaking about the narrowness of this or that thinker's ideas it is necessary to differentiate between historical and social narrowness. Many representatives of the Enlightenment, for example, upheld the idea of universal prosperity and assumed it could be achieved by preserving private ownership and exploitation. The historical narrowness of this idea stemmed from the underdeveloped nature of bourgeois society's class contradictions at the time. The Enlighteners did not and could not see these contradictions. Therefore, they could not uphold and speak out from the class positions, defend the class interests of the working people. Yet they sincerely fought for these interests. But an attempt to uphold the idea of universal prosperity under a mature bourgeois society with its clear-cut antagonisms is unquestionably the consequence of social, class and party narrowness, amounting to an actual defence of the bourgeoisie's interests. In light of this we would like to underscore once again that the essence of an idea should be assessed not according to its author's declarations, but according to its objective essence.

Another group of general problems in the history of social thought is connected with the inner mechanism of its emergence, dissemination, interrelation and mutual influence in various countries.

It is common knowledge that the emergence of certain progressive ideas in a certain period in a certain country is stipulated by concrete historical conditions. Thus, ideas of bourgeois political economy were largely elaborated in England, Utopian Socialism—in France, and philosophy—in Germany. It is also generally recognised that after progressive ideas have appeared in a particular country they start to spread, whether quickly or slowly, beyond its boundaries, and when their content is sufficiently broad and their social significance is topical they rapidly become international in character. In the 19th century

such were the ideas of the Enlightenment, Utopian Socialism and Marxism. Yet, researchers do not always take into account the fact that progressive social ideas already have an international foundation when they emerge and are developed since their genesis rests on the ideological material accumulated by mankind.

The consideration of the national and international in the emergence, existence, dissemination, and influence of advanced ideas and trends in social thought is of major methodological importance. It allows for a deeper historical revelation of the essence of this complex process.

There exists, for example, a widespread and, we should say, untenable notion of the self-determined filiation of ideas and their ability to be an origin of social changes. For example, there are researchers who explain the abolition of serfdom in Russia by the fact that the landowners, having familiarised themselves with the ideas of West European political economy and other bourgeois teachings, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to abolish it. But, we may object, any ideas are accepted, disseminated and acquire social response and weight only inasmuch as there appears an inner objective historical need for them. Moreover, once they are accepted, ideas novel to a given society do not remain unchanged. They are developed and concretised conformably to the new conditions of their existence, and provision is thereby made for their further development. Hence, the notion that some countries and nations generate ideas, while others only make use of them, is untenable. Finally, when studying the interrelation and mutual influence of ideas one should take into account that this process is extremely complex, multi-stage and indirect. For example, one must not confine oneself to a study of certain ideas and their perception in a certain period: the efficacy of social thought is embodied in social movement. Thus, the mutual influence of ideas also finds an indirect expression in the interconnection and mutual influence of social movements. For example, few people in the West knew about the ideas of the Russian *Narodnik* (Populist) Utopian Socialists; nevertheless, their heroic struggle against the tsarist regime found a response among the representatives of progressive social thought and social movement in the West.

West European literature on socialism began to spread in Russia as far back as the 18th century. Representatives of the Russian Enlightenment, Alexander Radishchev, Decembrists, Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov, members of the circle headed by Mikhail Petrashevsky, Vissarion Belinsky, Nikolai Dobrolyubov and Nikolai Chernyshevsky, *Narodniks*, Georgi Plekhanov and the first Russian Marxists, i.e., representatives of all the three stages of the Russian revolutionary movement, devoted much attention to

the heritage of the Utopian Socialists. In fact, this has been the subject of a number of studies of Russian and West European Utopianism. Data have been collected as to how the ideas of More, Mélier, Fourier and Owen became known in Russia. But historians have only started to do research in this field. Much work lies ahead to create a sufficiently complete, rich and historically authentic picture of how Western Utopian Socialism was studied in Russia and the latter's contribution to the history of social thought in Europe. However, the outlines of this picture can already be seen.

As is known, the last third of the 18th and the first third of the 19th century saw the prevailing influence of the Enlightenment in Russia, as expressed in the idea of universal prosperity based on the preservation of private ownership and exploitation provided the peasantry was freed from serfdom and granted civil rights and the social-political system was appropriately democratised. There existed two lines of thought on the subject, namely, the reformist (majority) and the revolutionary (Radishchev, Decembrists).

The ideas of Utopian Socialism began to spread in Russia at the end of the 18th century, and from the 1830s it became an independent trend in the country's social thought: ways were sought to overcome the narrowness both of the nobility's revolutionarism (the struggle for the people, but without the people), and of the Enlightenment ideas of universal prosperity. In the 1840s and 1850s a new trend of progressive social thought was coming into being. Revolutionary democratism began with Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. This ideology, which shaped up as peasant socialism expressed the class interests of the peasantry, which (without taking into account the urban petty bourgeoisie) was "the only important and mass vehicle of bourgeois-democratic ideas in Russia".[7] Underlying this thinking was the search for an alternative to the autocratic, feudal system and capitalism, the belief in Russia's ability to bypass capitalism in reaching socialism. This variety of Utopian Socialism began with Herzen, who believed that socialism meant liberating the peasants and giving them land, under the conditions of communal landownership and the peasants' right to land. This was Utopic. Russia was on the threshold of bourgeois and not socialist transformations. Nonetheless, these demands were "a formulation of the revolutionary aspiration for equality cherished by the peasants who are fighting for the complete abolition of landlordism",[8] i.e., objectively, the Socialist Utopia was of a bourgeois-democratic nature. Such was the peculiarity of the Russian thinkers' contribution to the development of the ideas of Utopian Socialism.

Predominant in this ideology were the notions of the necessity of a popular peasant revolution, of the "working people of the West" as fighters for socialism, of the alliance of the working people and peasants, Russia's lofty mission and the unity of socialists and democrats of all countries in the struggle for the bright future of mankind.

The transition to revolutionary-democratic positions was connected with the elaboration of the philosophical and socialist theory most advanced for the democratic period. "In the feudal Russia of the 40s of the 19th century, he [Herzen] rose to a height which placed him on a level with the greatest thinkers of his time.... Herzen came right up to dialectical materialism and halted before historical materialism."[9] After Herzen "Chernyshevsky is the only really great Russian writer who, from the 1850s until 1888, was able to keep on the level of an integral philosophical materialism and who spurned the wretched nonsense of the neo-Kantians, positivists, Machists and other muddleheads".[10] One cannot but take this factor into account when evaluating Russia's contribution to progressive social thought in Europe.

Russian peasant Utopian Socialism, which was objectively revolutionary democratism, was shaped in the 1840s and 1850s and remained predominant in progressive Russian social thought right up to the beginning of the 1880s, it was represented by *Narodism*. The *Narodniks* criticised capitalism, basing themselves on the socio-economic development of the West European countries and its debunking in the works of Utopian Socialists. Their theories expounded a different, i.e., non-capitalist, course of development for Russia. In Russia, just as in other countries, "until the complete collapse of serf-ownership and absolutism, the bourgeois democrats *constantly* imagined themselves to be 'socialists'".[11] That was the time "when democracy and socialism were merged in one inseparable and indissoluble whole".[12] This merger was due to the fact that the forces which could actually become the fighters for socialism had not emerged in Russia before the 1880s. Therefore, the ideas of struggle for socialism remained Utopic, but, nevertheless, they were extremely progressive for they objectively expressed the decisive and consistent revolutionary democratism of the peasantry.

By the early 1880s the class of the proletariat—a social force objectively interested in the struggle for socialism—had been formed in Russia in the main. Scientific socialism had emerged and Marxism had become an independent trend. That period signified the end of the epoch of historically conditioned merger of socialism and democratism. And although bourgeois democrats continued to consider themselves "socialists", their Utopianism had become the consequence not of historical, but of social, class

narrowness. Utopian peasant socialism had been replaced by a radically different philistine socialism and the Utopian romantics objectively fighting for revolutionary bourgeois-democratic transformations had given way to Utopian reactionaries who hoped to defeat capitalism by bourgeois means.[13]

What was particularly characteristic of Russia was that here as nowhere else in the world the ideas of Utopian Socialism had become the banner of resolute and heroic revolutionary struggle against autocracy, i.e., progressive ideas were embodied in the practice of social movement. The experience of this struggle exerted a tremendous influence upon the development of both progressive social thought and the liberation movement in Russia and other countries.

Utopian Socialism of Western Europe was, undoubtedly, one of the ideological sources of "Russian socialism", and it facilitated the transition of Russian social thought from the Enlightenment and the revolutionarism of the nobility to revolutionary democratism. Utopian Socialism also assisted Russian thinkers in studying critiques of bourgeois development in the West and plans for social reconstruction, and then seeking for and thinking they had found, an alternative to capitalism—the path which would deliver people from both the nightmare of the autocratic-feudal system and the horrors of capitalism. The problem of the interrelation between Western and Russian socialism gives rise to reflection on how and when the history of socialist ideas in Russia began, whether, in the second half of the 18th century when Russian thinkers started to master, translate and popularise the works of the Western Utopian Socialists, or the 1830s when Herzen's first works appeared. There seems to be no need for such contraposition. What we have here are two qualitatively different stages of the development of one and the same trend of social thought. Nor is the problem of the "beginning" essential for other countries; one might wonder, for example, whether this trend arose in Italy and France with the translation of More's *Utopia* or the publication of *City of the Sun* by Campanella and *L'ile de Sévarombovo* by Vairasse d'Allais? In our opinion, France, for instance, absorbed much from the thinkers of England and Italy, from More and Campanella, before becoming the country of classical Utopian Socialism.

As is known, in 1847 Herzen, the father of Russian socialism, went to Western Europe. His journalistic activity and correspondence with prominent representatives of European social thought and culture, with democrats and revolutionaries of the early period of Russian socialism, became part and parcel of the spiritual life of European society. Suffice it to recall that Herzen repeatedly discussed the principles of socialism and the future of mankind with Michelet, Kinet, Mazzini and Garibaldi.

The example of Herzen, who learnt much from the West and, in turn, taught the latter much, makes it easier than in other cases for the historian to see the interconnections between Western and Russian socialism, to elucidate the complex problem of the relationship between the national and the international in the history of social thought in the 19th century.

NOTES

1 V. A. Dunayevsky, G. S. Kucherenko, *Soviet Historians on West European Utopian Socialism*, Moscow, 1980; G. S. Kucherenko, "Problems of West European Utopian Socialism in the Works of E. V. Tarle", *The History of Socialist Teachings*, Moscow, 1977 (both in Russian).

2 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, p. 93.

3 See, for example, V. M. Zhirmunsky, *Comparative Literary Studies. East and West*, Leningrad, 1979 (in Russian).

4 See, in particular, V. P. Volgin, *Essays on the History of Socialist Ideas*, Introduction by B. F. Porshnev, Moscow, 1975, p. 7 (in Russian).

5 Both were published after Volgin's death in A. I. Herzen, *About Socialism. Selected Works*, Moscow, 1974 (in Russian).

6 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 1, p. 397.

7 Ibid., Vol. 20, p. 117.

8 Ibid., Vol. 18, pp. 26, 28.

9 Ibid., pp. 25-26.

10 Ibid., Vol. 14, p. 361.

11 Ibid., Vol. 20, p. 118.

12 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 271.

13 Ibid., pp. 395-396, 445-446.

The Idea of Just and Eternal Peace in Russian Social Thought of the 19th-Early 20th Centuries

ALEXANDER CHUBARYAN

The origin and evolution of the idea of universal peace have always figured broadly in world historical and philosophical literature. Interest in this theme has rapidly increased in recent years owing to its crucial significance in the nuclear age. The study of the various theories of eternal peace is part of the general study of the problem of peace. Soviet historico-philosophical writings have also shown a heightened interest in this problem recently. In Marxist-Leninist historical studies an overall analysis of the problem is made, taking account of political, social, economic and moral factors; the historical approach to the study of various peace treaties and theories as they relate directly to the concrete policies of different states makes it possible to describe their evolution and show up their social content and class roots.

Soviet researchers explore the problem of war and peace from two angles. First, in the context of the peaceful and non-peaceful (or violent) alternatives in settling social and class antagonisms and dealing with revolutionary processes of development. It is in this sense that the thesis of just and unjust wars is interpreted. The Marxist-Leninist concept proceeds from the desirability of settling class conflicts by peaceful means, for violence has always led to great sacrifices, especially on the part of the broad masses. The use of violent means of settling deep-rooted conflicts has depended on many circumstances, not least of which is the resistance of classes and groups personifying the old order which was at variance with social progress.

Second, in connection with the settlement of contradictions and conflicts between states. Here the Marxist viewpoint is based on the condemnation of war as the alternative to peace and on orientation towards peaceful interstate relations. The Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence was formulated in the 20th century on this basis.

In their study of the idea of a just and eternal peace, Soviet specialists see it not as the evolution of some general abstract idea, but as the clash of different trends and concepts reflecting concrete social and class factors and contradictions. Philosophical treatises outlining the benefits and blessings of peace have frequently, in the past, been transformed in active political practice and in the actions of various political figures of those times, and were often used as justification for aggressive wars and ambitions of aggrandisement. Referring to the Age of Enlightenment, Engels wrote: "The state based upon reason completely collapsed.... The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest." [1]

Therefore when analysing the idea of eternal peace in history, we consider that a clear distinction should be made between the humane ideas of eternal peace advanced by the progressive thinkers of the past and the pacifist phraseology used to justify political ambitions, new redivisions of the world and the unleashing of wars, that is, in effect for anti-humane purposes.

Soviet historians, who are studying the origin and evolution of the idea of eternal peace, correlate it primarily with the humanist tradition and with the history of how this idea, which originated in the ancient world and the Middle Ages, was thoroughly substantiated in the Renaissance. At that time it began to be associated with the idea of human liberty and the individual's release from the fetters of religion and despotism.

In the 17th-18th centuries, various ways of achieving eternal peace were proposed—beginning with Crucé and ending with Jean Jacques Rousseau. It was at the close of the 18th century, during the pre-revolutionary era and the cleansing revolutionary process in Europe, that the tendency towards linking the idea of eternal peace with fundamental internal changes in individual countries and in society as a whole, first manifested itself. Even those theories and projects, which were based on the then prevalent idea of a "social contract" (according to which eternal peace was to be a corollary of accord between enlightened rulers) showed a growing realisation of the fact that revolutionary transformations were a prerequisite for the establishment of eternal peace. In other words, the idea of eternal peace as the ideal of mankind was to an increasing extent linked with the liberation struggle against despotism and exploitation. In pre-

Marxian philosophy this approach was most explicitly expressed in Utopian Socialism. Fourier, Owen and Saint-Simon in their works showed that the "golden age" of peaceful relations between nations, and individual's harmony could be achieved only by eliminating poverty and social inequality.

The new stage in considering the concept of a just and eternal peace was connected with Marxism-Leninism which not only gave an in-depth substantiation of "peace" and revealed its class and social nature, but also showed how it could be attained.

The numerous works on the concept of peace published in the West are devoted, in the main, to the theories and practice of West European nations and generally include no analysis of the ideas of peace that originated in Russia. Even in those instances where Russia is mentioned it is only in the context of the government's policy being oriented towards the seizure of foreign territories or in connection with the formation or disruption of the European balance. The aim of the present work is to show how the idea of just and eternal peace was developing in Russia.

At the end of the 18th and in the 19th century in Russia, as in other European countries many projects for social reconstruction were advanced, which posed, among others, the problem of peace. The tradition of linking the attainment of eternal peace with social reconstruction, which was evolving in West European thought at that time, developed simultaneously in Russia. The social utopias that existed in Russia in the 14th-19th centuries are studied in detail in works by the Soviet researcher, Klibanov,[2] recently published. These utopias, reflecting essentially the sentiments of the Russian peasantry, condemned the system of injustice and tyranny and advanced plans for the reconstruction of society in the spirit of egalitarianism, based on the principles of justice and the common good. They also stressed the necessity of establishing peaceful relations among people and condemned wars and enmity in society. The ideas of enlightenment in the latter half of the 18th century were principally concerned with the struggle against feudalism, and were associated with the names of Lomonosov, Novikov, Desnitsky, Polenov, Tsebrikov and others.[3]

Of considerable interest are the ideas of Kozelsky, a Russian enlightener of the latter half of the 18th century, who expounded them in his work *Reflections on Philosophy*.[4] A man of broad interests and an enormous intellectual range, Kozelsky sharply criticised religious dogmas and ideas, and formulated a humanist concept of the nature of man, his rights and place in the life of society. In developing his views on the social order he also took account of foreign policy. His "virtuous homeland" is based on two essential features: an internal one—well-being, and the

external one—security. He wrote of the necessity of "treating other nations with goodwill and justice."[5]

The Soviet researcher Kogan, analysing Kozelsky's views and works, noted that he was acquainted with Saint-Pierre's well-known treatise "On Universal Peace" and with Voltaire's articles.[6] This Russian enlightener wrote that no nation has the right to exterminate other nations. He was no abstract pacifist; he recognised the right of nations to self-defence because even a state based on principles of true virtue must see to its security. Kozelsky dreamed of the time when "true virtue" would exist among all nations, when it would be possible to eliminate all types of wars.

Similar ideas were expressed by another Russian enlightener, Tsebrikov. He made a free translation into Russian of Goudar's treatise on war and peace, anonymously published in 1757 in Amsterdam under the title "Peace in Europe or a Project of Universal Pacification" and commented upon it. The treatise was published with his initials "R.Ts." The treatise declared that "to ensure peace in Europe the altars of the false political deity must be destroyed and the chains of prejudice binding states to the chariot of war must be torn asunder", that peace in Europe could not be achieved instantly, and that the conclusion of international treaties would make it possible to properly distribute the common power and to draw the peoples into peaceful life.[7]

Chulkov, a well-known Russian writer, scholar and enlightener of the latter half of the 18th century, amongst other works wrote *A Draft Treaty Between European States to Eliminate Wars in Europe Forever*.[8]

A prominent place in the Russian liberation movement belongs to Radishchev, whose tragic life, work and writings, imbued with the spirit and ideas of revolutionary struggle, marked the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionary movement in Russia. A consistent opponent of the autocracy and serfdom, Radishchev did not deal specifically with problems of war and peace. But in many of his works he castigated the oppression of the nation by another, declaring that oppression was, as a rule, connected with wars.[9] Radishchev's condemnation of predatory wars, his impassioned calls to restructure society on a new enlightened basis, on the principles of liberty and equality, shaped the notion that any reconstruction of society (including the elimination of wars) was organically connected with the struggle for freedom, and against despotism and tyranny.

Malinovsky, who in 1803 published the treatise "Reflections on Peace and War", held highly interesting views on this subject. In 1958 his selected works were published in the Soviet Union[10] and recent years have seen the publication of a number of studies on his work and views.[11] The main idea expressed in the treatise is

the need for social, economic and political reforms in European states as the precondition to any changes in their interpretation of the issues of war and peace. He outlined a plan for solving the land problem in Russia (by giving land to every citizen), called for the predominance of small farming and a rural way of life, and preached the ideals of good and morality and the attainment of universal literacy. Government, according to him, should, as far as possible, be by the public, by the people.

As the Soviet researcher Dostyan notes, Malinovsky's social Utopia was of a more strongly pronounced democratic character than that of Rousseau's and of the other egalitarians of the 18th century.[12]

The idea of eternal peace was central in Malinovsky's works. He advocated equal rights for all peoples of the world, irrespective of race or nationality. Sharply critical of the situation in Europe, he put forward a plan for political reconstruction based on federalism, with due regard for the nationalities that had grown up in the continent.

The first part of the treatise consisted of a detailed study and criticism of the anti-humanitarian content and consequences of predatory wars. "The force of habit makes us indifferent to everything," he wrote. "Blinded by it, we do not feel the ferocity of war. If we could free ourselves from this blindness and indifference and see the real face of war we would be horror-stricken by the suffering it causes. War combines all the calamities that can befall man; it unites the ferocity of wild beasts with the skills of the human mind, fixed on the destruction of people. War is a fearful monster whose steps are stained in blood and which is followed everywhere by terror, despair, grief, illness and death.... It is time we gave up the delusions and destroyed the evil which is fortified most of all by ignorance."[13] Malinovsky sharply condemned the "exploits" of various conquerors of the past, from Alexander of Macedonia to Genghis Khan,[14] and substantiated the benefits of peace in Europe. "Peace in Europe," he wrote, "will bring abundance and justice which constitute the prosperity of nations, it will keep Europe in a state of independence and integrity and will bring education to the highest level of human wisdom."[15]

In the second part of his treatise, Malinovsky proposed passing public laws establishing the principles of peace in Europe, and setting up a Union of Europe to ensure that these laws were put into practice. He also envisaged measures aimed at limiting armaments. He wrote of the benefits of trade for the establishment of European peace.

Malinovsky's *Utopia* published in the conditions of tsarist censorship, did not contain a clear exposition of the relation

between peace in Europe and the development of liberation movements and ideas. But it did contain numerous references to the need to ensure people's prosperity, sharp condemnation of wars and annexation attempts and calls for peace—all of which makes it a significant document for those times, its merits and demerits notwithstanding. It is important to note the relation between Malinovsky's treatise and corresponding ideas of West European thinkers. The idea of Union of Europe was also reflected in the schemes of Penn and Abbot Saint-Pierre, and substantiation of the role of trade can be found in Kant's works. Many propositions for an enlightened Europe, cleansed of ideas of annexation and enslavement, can be found in the works of Rousseau. Malinovsky's treatise thus constituted part of the mainstream of ideas at the turn of the 19th century, which called for the unification of Europe in the interests of universal peace.

The attitude of the great Russian poet, Pushkin, to the problem of eternal peace is of considerable interest. Although his draft "On Eternal Peace" was published in his complete works, it is not well known, especially in the West. We will therefore quote some of it here.

"1. People, with time, will necessarily come to realise the absurd cruelty of war," Pushkin wrote, "just as they came to realise the essence of slavery, tsarist power, and the like. They will see that our true destiny is to eat, live and be free.

"2. Since constitutions already represent a major step in human consciousness, and a step which will be followed by others—inspiring a desire to reduce the size of the army—for the principle of armed force is the exact opposite of any constitutional idea—it is possible that in less than a century there will be no regular armies.

"3. As for great ambitions and great military talents, there will always be the guillotine for that, for society has more important things to do than admire the great manoeuvres of a victorious general—it is not for that that we have put ourselves under the protection of laws."

Further, Pushkin recalls Rousseau's ideas and cites the great French enlightener's words about the well-known plan of Henry IV and Sully: "Without doubt, eternal peace is a totally absurd project at present; but let Henry IV and Sully be returned to us and eternal peace will again become a feasible idea or, to be more precise, let us give this excellent plan its due, but make sure that it is never carried out for this can be done only by means cruel and terrible for mankind." After quoting these words from Rousseau, Pushkin notes: "It is obvious that these terrible means he referred to are revolutions."[16]

This small passage by Pushkin, dated 1821, attracted the attention of a number of Soviet researchers, in particular of the well-known specialist on Pushkin, Academician Alexeyev.[17] They have extensively annotated Pushkin's draft, the text of which is of great value in many respects.

Pushkin reveals an excellent knowledge of the designs of Saint-Pierre and Rousseau. In Russia at that time, as in Paris and in other capitals of Western Europe, these and many other schemes for eternal peace were being heatedly debated. Democratic circles in Russia, as also in the West, were beginning to see more clearly the watershed between attempts to build up new coalitions in Europe (like the Holy Alliance established at the Vienna Congress in 1815) to suppress liberation movements, and the projects of progressive thinkers. They were also beginning to understand more deeply the qualitative difference in the various projects for eternal peace, many of which were of a speculative character, or placed hopes on accords between rulers, which were to lead to eternal peace (Saint-Pierre's project was drawn up in this spirit). But West European and Russian progressive thinkers were attracted by those designs in which peace was linked with the fundamental reconstruction of society, with the struggle against tyranny and despotism, and the fight for democracy and liberty.

Pushkin's life, his association with the Decembrists and his exposure of tyrants show that the great poet, though constrained by censorship, favoured plans that inseparably linked peace with the struggle for freedom and with revolution. That is why Pushkin identified himself with Rousseau but was ironical about the good intentions of Abbot Saint-Pierre. This is why he spoke of the guillotine for those who wanted only conquests and campaigns, and of revolutions which had already begun. It should be remembered that this was written in 1821 when revolutions were taking place in Sicily, Piedmont and Portugal.

We spoke earlier of Malinovsky's social Utopia. Malinovsky was director of the lyceum where the young Pushkin studied, and his son was a close friend and classmate of Pushkin. As already noted, Pushkin, in the draft, quoted above, wrote that it was possible "that in less than 100 years there will be no regular armies". In the works of Academician Nechkina, the leading authority on the history of the Decembrist movement in Russia, evidence is cited that many of the Decembrists' programme documents specially stipulated the abolition of standing armies. Thus, Pushkin's attitude to the concept of eternal peace corresponded to that of progressive thinkers both in Russia and in Western Europe.

The tradition born in Russia in the 18th and in the first quarter of the 19th century, linking the dreams of a perfect homeland with the struggle against autocracy and exploitation, was

carried on by the leaders of the liberation movement in the latter half of the 19th century. Herzen, Chernyshevsky, and other prominent personalities left us no special treatises or writings on the subject of eternal peace, but their revolutionary struggle, their practical activities were an impassioned struggle for the abolition of tyranny and exploitation and for the creation of a new society, based on the principles of liberty and equality, in which there would be no place for enslavement and predatory wars. Their views echoed the ideas of West European Utopian Socialism.

The dreams of a society in which the ideas of a just and eternal peace would triumph, which were characteristic of European progressive thinkers in the 18th-19th centuries, and were elaborated in the ideology of Utopian Socialism were further developed in Marxist ideology. Marx wrote that the international principle of the new communist society that would replace the old society "will be Peace, because national rulers will be the same everywhere—Labour!"[18] Manifesto of the Communist Party—the programme document of Marxism—noted that "in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end".[19]

In Russia, at the turn of the 20th century, the ideas of peace were comprehensively substantiated and analysed in Lenin's works and speeches. The Leninist concept of the historical process synthesised the progressive ideas of the Russian liberation movement and social thought. Lenin more than once noted in this respect the significance of the revolutionary writings of Radishchev, the progressive views of the Decembrists and subsequent generations of the revolutionary movement, and progressive thought in Russia. Lenin's interpretation of the concept of a just and eternal peace reflected not only the achievements of Russian thinkers but the views of many Western theoreticians as well. We will not deal here with the whole spectrum of Lenin's ideas and his approach to the problems of war and peace, but only with what we consider to be some of the basic points.

First of all, it is evident from his numerous works that to Lenin peace was one of the loftiest and ultimate ideals of mankind. His interpretation of peace took into consideration various factors such as how to eliminate wars from the face of the earth and what form of relations should be established among states and nations. In one of his works, Lenin wrote of communism as a society of "universal prosperity and enduring peace".[20] His programme for disarmament logically provided for such revolutionary measures as the replacement of the regular army by a people's militia. Following Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote more than once that in the future communist society the general laws of morality (encompassing the concept of justice, elimination of wars, and so on) will become the

norms of relations among people, as well as among the nations on our planet.

Secondly, the demand for peace was not simply an abstract pacifist slogan to Lenin; it was filled with concrete historical meaning and he considered it in the context of class and social antagonisms and the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Lenin linked the establishment of a just and democratic peace among all nations with the triumph of socialist and communist ideas. Developing the laws of Marxism in conformity with the conditions of the 20th century Lenin gave a comprehensive interpretation of just and unjust wars, and substantiated the right to wage war in the interests of achieving national and political independence and against despotic and reactionary regimes.

Thirdly, in the concrete historical practice of the 20th century, when the world found itself divided into socialist and bourgeois camps, Lenin advanced the idea of peaceful relations between states with different social systems making a distinction between these relations and the "class peace" concept. The main thing, as Lenin saw it, was to shift the centre of gravity of the struggle and clashes between states of the two systems from the military sphere to that of the social and economic. This was the origin of the concept of peaceful coexistence which rules out military conflict and ensures peaceful conditions for competition between the two systems.

The Leninist concept of peace spanned many different aspects and problems. Examination of even a few of them will demonstrate the continuous link between Lenin's ideas and progressive interpretations of peace in the 18th-19th centuries. The Leninist approach to the problems of war and peace and its further development also occupy a central place in the general system of theoretical views on these problems in the 20th century.

NOTES

1 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1979, p. 303.

2 A. P. Klibanov, *Common People's Social Utopia in Russia. Period of Feudalism*, Moscow, 1977; idem., *Common People's Social Utopia in Russia. 19th Century*, Moscow, 1978 (both in Russian).

3 S. V. Paparigopulo, "Progressive Russian Thinkers of the 18th Century on War and Peace", *Voprosy filosofii*, No. 2, 1960, pp. 132-142.

4 Ya. P. Kozelsky, *Reflections on Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1768 (in Russian).

5 Ibid., p. 208.

6 Yu. A. Kogan, *Kozelsky, Enlightener of the 18th Century*, Moscow, 1958, p. 177 (in Russian).

7 S. V. Paparigopulo, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

8 Georg von Helbig, *Russische Günstlinge*, Tübingen, 1809, p. 238. Von Helbig writes that Mikhail Chulkov has published more than 75 volumes of his works and that his, yet unpublished *Draft Treaty* is a whole century ahead of his time.

9 A. N. Radishchev, *Selected Philosophical and Socio-Political Works*, Moscow, 1952, p. 139 (in Russian).

10 V. F. Malinovsky, *Selected Socio-Political Works*, Moscow, 1958; also *Treatises on Eternal Peace*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 213-253 (both in Russian).

11 B. R. Meilakh, "Outstanding Russian Democrat and Enlightener", *Voprosy filosofii*, No. 2, 1954; I. S. Dostyan, "V. F. Malinovsky's 'European Utopia'", *Voprosy istorii*. No. 6, 1979, pp. 32-46.

12 *Voprosy istorii*, No. 6, 1979, p. 39.

13 *Treatises on Eternal Peace*, pp. 213-214.

14 Ibid., p. 226.

15 Ibid., p. 233.

16 A. S. Pushkin, *Complete Works*, Vol. XII, Moscow, 1949, p. 480 (in Russian).

17 B. V. Tomashevsky, *Pushkin*, Book I (1813-1824), Moscow-Leningrad, 1956 (in Russian); M. P. Alexeyev, "Pushkin and the Problems of Eternal Peace", *Russkaya literatura*, No. 3, 1958, pp. 3-39.

18 K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 2, p. 194.

19 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 125.

20 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 159.

The Correlation Between National and Social Factors in the Xinhai Revolution in China

SERGEI TIKHVINSKY

The Xinhai revolution was an important stage in the struggle of the Chinese people for democracy and national liberation. In the course of this revolution, thanks to the heroic battles carried on by the working people against their age-old oppressors and the selfless actions of Chinese revolutionaries, the Manchu Qing monarchy collapsed, and the two-thousand-year-old monarchic rule was replaced by a republic. However, the Xinhai revolution failed to bring the Chinese bourgeoisie and the new landlords to power. Instead, the Manchu aristocrats ceded political power to various regional groupings of Chinese militarists representing the reactionary circles of landlords and merchants who were closely linked with the imperialist powers.

Huang Xing, one of Dr. Sun Yatsen's closest associates and former Defence Minister of the Nanjing provisional revolutionary government, who later became governor-general in Nanjing and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of South China, gave a self-critical appraisal of the reasons for the defeat of the Xinhai revolution. In June 1912, that is, three months after the Qing abdication, during a conversation with A. Voznesensky, Secretary of the Russian Consulate at Hankou, he said: "Right from the triumph of the revolution, the republican circles, that is, the present administration, army, and the government, were infiltrated by elements that were alien and even hostile to the spirit of the new order. The revolution had been launched by young, fresh

forces in China who applied great Western ideas to Chinese life as best they could... When it was clear from the general mood of the country that the old regime was near its end... and that no victories by a handful of Manchu soldiers could halt the natural course of events, the most eminent dignitaries of the empire, one after another, went over to the republican side. There was an overall sell-out of the former government. Most of these dignitaries... were guided, I believe, by only one consideration—to stick to the porkbarrel... However drastic the upheaval might be, we could not, if only for the time being, do without the experienced officials of the old regime. I, too, interpreted their role in that light, putting no trust whatsoever in their loyalty to the new order. Regrettably, events took a turn that was unexpected even by the most moderate elements. Not only the special branches of the state machinery but even the introduction of the new regime and new ideas, in fact, the whole leadership of China's administration, ended up in the hands of officials spared by the revolution." [1]

One must look to the origins and composition of the Chinese bourgeoisie for the reasons why the Xinhai revolution did not bring them to power, even though their revolutionary wing, led by the great Chinese democrat and revolutionary, Sun Yatsen, as early as 1895 began to organise an armed overthrow of the Qing monarchy.

The Chinese bourgeoisie as a class began to grow up in the 1880s and 1890s, but the process was extremely slow and uneven, and it was regional rather than national in character. The representatives of this young and politically immature and inexperienced class, which did not as yet realise its true interests, were divided into a number of loosely connected or even virtually unconnected strata and provincial and regional groupings. The most politically mature and active elements of the Chinese bourgeoisie consisted of the so-called emigrant bourgeoisie, that is, Chinese who had at one time emigrated from the home country, made their fortunes in the colonial possessions of Britain, France, Holland, and the USA in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and wanted to create favourable conditions for capitalist enterprise on their return to China. This ambition was hampered, however, by the feudal system dominating the country and the inability of the Qing government to defend China's national interests against the colonial expansion of the imperialist powers.

The emigrant bourgeoisie had previously had the opportunity to study Western bourgeois political and economic theories and practices and witness the great powers' colonial policies, so they were able to appreciate the military, scientific and technological superiority of these powers over backward feudal China. These

emigrant Chinese, the huaqiao, traditionally retained their kinship and local ties with the country of their birth, rendering financial assistance to their relatives in China, and often returning home in their old age to buy land and attempting some commercial or industrial occupation. The huaqiao and their relatives living in the sea-coast provinces of southern and eastern China played an active role in the anti-Manchu activities of the secret societies—the Triads, Heaven and Earth, Elder Brothers, and others, whose cells were active among Chinese emigrants in South-East Asian countries. Seventy-eight per cent of the members of the first bourgeois revolutionary anti-Manchu organisation, the China Revival Society (founded by Sun Yatsen in 1894), were huaqiao, of whom forty-eight per cent were representatives of the Chinese emigrant bourgeoisie.[2]

The most numerous stratum of the Chinese bourgeoisie were the owners of workshops, commercial and transport firms catering for the internal market and export-import trade, or were engaged in small light industry and communal enterprises as well as owning factories for processing exported raw materials and foodstuffs. The owners of such enterprises also often had small landholdings which they rented to farmers. A large proportion of this stratum of the Chinese bourgeoisie came from the *shenshi*—the learned layer of Chinese landlords. In the provinces of Eastern, Southern, and Central China they were strongly influenced, on the one hand, by the traditions of anti-Manchu resistance led by the secret societies, and, on the other, by the people's rebellions against the activities of foreign missionaries in China's various provinces in the 1870s-1890s. These rebellions were headed by the local *shenshi*, who viewed Christianity as a threat to the official feudal ideology, Confucianism. Members of this stratum of the Chinese bourgeoisie took part both in the revolutionary and the constitutional-monarchic reform movements at the turn of the century.

The big Chinese bourgeoisie, which was not a very numerous but politically most influential group with which the Qing court had in certain respects to reckon, consisted of those with feudal and bureaucratic backgrounds who took an active part in the "self-strengthening" policy of the Qing monarchy in the 1860s-1890s. They invested in mixed state private-owned enterprises in the industrial, commercial, and transport spheres, as well as in mixed Chinese foreign-owned enterprises. However, these big businessmen were not exempt from the oppression and restrictions imposed by the Qing government and the regional feudal militarist cliques. This stratum of the Chinese bourgeoisie retained very close ties with the local bureaucratic machine and the feudal landlords, encouraging the planting of industrial and other commodity crops. Since they bought abroad the modern equipment for their enterprises and carried out their export-import operations through foreign banks and offices, they largely depended on foreign capital.

This upper layer of the Chinese bourgeoisie also included the so-called compradores, that is, Chinese agents of foreign firms and companies, whose job was to buy and transport raw materials for export, such as tea, cotton, tung-oil and bristle, from China's remote regions to the sea ports. They also sold imported industrial commodities—machine equipment, kerosene and textiles, etc. The compradores also formed a significant part of the management of foreign factories, concessions and settlements in China's port cities. Many compradores, in addition to their services to foreign firms, started commercial and industrial companies of their own, using the foreign flag as a shield against the oppression of the local authorities.

The Chinese big bourgeoisie and the compradores took an active part in the constitutional monarchic opposition to the Qing regime.

A direct result of the "self-strengthening" policy of the Qing government in the 1860s-1890s was the emergence of the Chinese bourgeois intelligentsia, which largely consisted of foreign-trained Chinese specialists working at modern state-owned and mixed state-private enterprises set up within the framework of this policy. It also included specialists trained at modern educational establishments initiated at the time in China itself. Under pressure from the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the 20th century, the government began to encourage the policy of sending young men with some schooling (mostly from the ranks of the *shenshi* and the urban petty bourgeoisie) to continue their education in Japan. This stratum of the Chinese intelligentsia, together with elements of the Chinese emigrant bourgeoisie, formed the most dynamic of the forces that chose the path of revolutionary struggle against the Qing monarchy and was very active in the work of the China Revolutionary United Alliance led by Sun Yatsen.

The first decade of the 20th century was marked by comparatively rapid industrial development in China. The textile industry in Eastern China and other branches of light industry, such as production of flour, glass, ceramics, tobacco, matches, etc., grew particularly fast. However, the total capital investments in modern industry by the Chinese national bourgeoisie in the 40 years before the 1911 revolution were quite small—about 140-150 million Chinese silver dollars.[3] On the national level, the physical volume of "old" industry decreased, but insignificantly. Chinese society was going through a period of transition: the capitalist economic structure and transitional economic forms had emerged, while the old traditional patterns had lost their momentum and

held no prospects, hictorically speaking, although they still retained their structural and physical superiority. This general evolution was manifested not so much in the emergence of bourgeois tendencies as in the building of a mixed-type socio-economic structure. Budding Chinese capitalism inherited from feudalism the *Gründer* bureaucracy as well as the links with the state in the form of various mixed state-private firms. The social, economic, and political situation in China at the turn of the century offered the best opportunities to the conservatives and the landed gentry, which was detrimental to a democratic and progressive path of development. The immense scale of pre-capitalist, small-scale production, which grew faster than bourgeois transformation could proceed, made a spontaneous capitalist restructuring of society "from the bottom upwards" incredibly difficult. At the same time, the Chinese bourgeoisie lacked the necessary strength to modernise society "from the top"—in other words, they were unable to release the potential needed to achieve this goal and to remove both the internal traditional, and the new, external, obstacles in the way of bourgeois development—the feudal forces and the imperialist powers.[4]

The fact that the national, anti-Manchu trend prevailed over social factors in the Xinhai revolution can be explained precisely by the historically conditioned weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, which was not an integral whole but rather a motley aggregate of loosely interconnected strata, groups and groupings differing in genetic, typological, local, regional, corporate, legal and other features.[5] This, then, determined the meagre results of this revolution which fell far short of the expectations of the country's revolutionary-democratic social forces.

In his article "Democracy and Narodism in China" written in June 1912, Lenin revealed the essence of the basic contradiction of the Chinese society on the eve of the Xinhai revolution: "The *objective* conditions of China, a backward, agricultural, semi-feudal country numbering nearly 500 million people, place on the order of the day only one specific, historically distinctive form of this oppression and exploitation, namely, feudalism... The political exponents of this exploitation were the feudal lords, all together and individually, with the emperor as the head of the whole system."[6]

Due to the factors outlined above, the Chinese bourgeoisie proved unable to advance direct and explicit anti-feudal demands during the Xinhai revolution; it concentrated all its efforts on overthrowing the Manchu monarchy which, in its eyes, personified all evils and miseries. Only Sun Yatsen, a progressive spokesman for Chinese revolutionary democratic forces, demanded an improvement in people's living conditions through nationalisation of

land via the transfer of differential rent to the state. However, his demand for "equalisation of rights in the ownership of land" got no response from the broad peasant masses, nor any support from the majority of the revolutionary organisations, which comprised too many members with a feudal family background. On the contrary, in many provinces, after the overthrow of the Qings, the Chinese bourgeoisie joined forces with the squires in their efforts, including punitive expeditions to nip in the bud any peasant unrest or other manifestations of popular spontaneous revolutionary activity.

It should be recognised, however, that the demand for the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy was, objectively, anti-feudal in nature. The highly centralised Qing empire with its archaic institutions (which had been somewhat modernised, however, after the Yihetuan uprising) and its feudalist Confucian ideology, was the embodiment of the most conservative forces in Chinese society and impeded the development of a capitalist economic structure. Considerable tracts of land belonged to Manchu aristocracy and the "banner" (Manchu) troops. Maintaining the Manchu court was a great drain on the national budget. The Qing government was ruthless in suppressing all popular movements which protested against corruption, abuse of power by the authorities, the unbearable burden of taxes, and the nationalistic oppression of the Hans (Chinese) and other peoples of the Qing empire by the Manchus. The Manchu court and Qing civil and military authorities in the provinces repressed private enterprise by means of excessive taxation, extortion, bribery and corruption.

A distinguishing feature of the anti-feudal class struggle in China during modern times was its clear-cut anti-Manchu orientation. Evidence of this are the proclaimed goals and practices of the major peasant uprisings—the White Lotus revolt, the Taiping, Nianzun, and Yihetuan rebellions, and the activities of numerous secret societies.

The Chinese bourgeoisie did not advance any clear anti-imperialist slogans during the preparations for the Xinhai revolution nor even during the revolution itself. There were no demands for the withdrawal from the country of the foreign armed forces stationed there after the suppression of the Yihetuan revolt; for the collection of customs duties, run by foreigners,to be handed over to the Chinese; for the liquidation of foreign settlements and concessions in China, and for the cancellation of the humiliating fetters of the 1901 Final (or Boxer) Protocol.

In fact, the manifestos the Chinese revolutionaries issued before and during the revolution contained repeated appeals to the populace not to take action against foreigners, as well as official assurances to foreign powers to the effect that the revolutionaries

would observe all treaties and accords earlier concluded by the Qing government—provided the foreign powers refrained from aiding the Qings during the uprising against the government. Sun Yatsen and his followers wanted at all costs to prevent coordinated action by foreign powers on the Qing government's side, recalling that it was only the support of the latter that kept the Manchus in power in 1860 and 1900. Even outright interference by foreign powers in the negotiations between the North and the South on General Yuan Shikai's side and the refusal of sea port customs houses, which they controlled, to remit to the republican authorities part of the sums collected in Central and East China as customs duty and taxes, failed to incite the revolutionaries to resolute anti-imperialist action.

On the eve of the revolution, some articles and pamphlets of both the revolutionary democratic and particularly the constitutional monarchic trends in the Chinese bourgeoisie strongly denounced the predatory policies of foreign powers in China, and their arrogation of the Chinese people's sovereign rights to exploit the country's natural resources, construct railways, etc. The blame, however, was mainly placed on the Qing government, which was unwilling or unable to counter the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers.

At the same time, the removal of the Manchu monarchy by the Xinhai revolution was, objectively, anti-imperialist in character. The resolution of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party "The Chinese Revolution", written by Lenin, emphasised that the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle undermined the dominance of the European bourgeoisie in Asia.[7] However, after the fall of the Qing monarchy, the imperialist powers transferred their support to the feudal militarist and compradore forces headed by Yuan Shikai, which enabled them to retain and even strengthen their positions in China after the revolution.

The absence of explicit anti-feudal and anti-imperialist demands in the Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries' programme is, however, no reason to deny the general democratic nature of the programme of the principal revolutionary party, the China Revolutionary United Alliance, which was the most concentrated expression of the goals and tasks of the revolution. The Alliance's Declaration stressed the fundamental difference between the revolution as prepared by the Alliance from all the previous popular movements—from the Chinese people's patriotic struggle against the Tatar-Mongol yoke and the Taipings' struggle against the Manchu rule. "As distinct from the upheavals of the past," the Declaration read, "the present revolution should also bring about a change in the state system and in the people's well-being. The

changes anticipated are extremely varied, but their meaning may be expressed by the words 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'."[8]

The Declaration also pointed out that "the previous revolutions, the revolutions of the Ming period and of the Taipings' State of Heavenly Peace, set as their task only the expulsion of foreigners and the revival of the glory of our motherland."[9]

A major achievement of the Xinhai revolution was the elaboration and adoption of an essentially bourgeois constitution by the Nanjing provisional republican government on March 10, 1912. This constitution was soon brusquely swept aside by Yuan Shikai and the militarists who succeeded him, and the struggle for its restoration was waged by China's revolutionary forces right up to the 1925-1927 revolution. Lenin appraised highly the success of the 1911 revolution which had overthrown the monarchy, viewing it as a victory of Chinese democracy "*in spite* of Yuan Shikai".[10]

The ideology of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the Xinhai revolution was Chinese nationalism of a distinctly anti-Manchu type. All of the manifestos put out by the bourgeoisie before the revolution and all of its publications, came out strongly condemning the Qing court and the Manchu rule in China. In August 1905, Sun Yatsen formulated the top-priority goal of the coming revolution in the following words: "To cleanse the country of the 260-year-old disgrace of subordination to barbarians, to revive our native country, whose history spans 4,000 years, and to ensure happiness and prosperity for 400 million people."[11]

The Declaration of the Society for Mutual Progress—another Chinese revolutionary party—dated May 1907, also called for the overthrow of the Manchu domination over China, giving wrathful accounts of the Manchus' evil doings during their conquest of China and of abuses of power by the ruling Qing administration.[12]

On October 12, 1911, one day after the triumphant uprising of the Wuchang garrison against the Qing authorities, the military government of the Hupei province launched its Appeal to the Whole Country. This called for the overthrow of the Manchu government, reminding the people of the Manchus' brutalities during their conquest of China, their ruthless stamping out of the Chinese people's national customs and traditions, and of the abuse of power, corruption, and anti-popular policies of the Qing government, which consisted of "profligates and criminals". It also mentioned the selling out to foreigners by the Machus of China's sovereign rights to exploit its natural resources and to build railways.[13]

There were, of course, differences between the Chinese revolutionaries in their interpretation of the idea of nationalism. Sun Yatsen emphasised that nationalism should not be reduced to revenge meted out to all Manchus without exception.[14]

As opposed to Sun Yatsen and his supporters, Zhang Taiyen and his followers put the idea of a national vendetta against the Manchus in the forefront, agitating for a purely racial approach to the revolution. The theory of nation and nationalism as developed by Zhang Taiyen was essentially chauvinistic. In his view, the concept of nation was based on blood kinship only; he had a supercilious attitude to the non-Han nations and nationalities within China, advocating at the same time the annexation of Vietnam, Korea, and Burma. His works, written shortly before the Xinhai revolution, set China's ancient culture in opposition not only to the supposedly corrupt culture during Manchu rule but also to modern Western culture.[15]

The nationalistic views of the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie were formed under the strong impact of the patriotic, anti-Manchu, traditions of the Chinese feudal society, especially the traditions of the peasant wars of the Taipings and Nianzuns, and the activities of the numerous anti-Manchu secret societies in South, Central, and East China, as well as among Chinese immigrants in South-East Asian countries. At the same time they were not free from the influence of the Sinocentrist feudal ideology of Confucianism which slighted all non-Han peoples as barbarians and ascribed to China (the Middle Kingdom, Heavenly Empire) the historical mission of spreading its culture to all countries and nations.

The bourgeois reformers' brand of nationalism reflected the inclination of the Chinese bourgeoisie to exploit the non-Han peoples that had at one time been forcibly included in the Qing empire by the Manchus. Also characteristic of the reformers was the tendency to introduce a racial element into appeals to fight against the sway of the foreign powers in China: they regarded foreign colonial expansion in China as the expansion of the white race against the yellow race, and clamoured for "protection of the race".[16]

The reformers asserted that "the Han tribe was strong in that it always assimilated other tribes, it was never conquered by other tribes".[17]

The nationalism of the Chinese bourgeois reformers took shape under the predominant influence of the feudal Sinocentrist ideas of China's exceptional position in the world; it was also affected by the prevalent sociological theory of social Darwinism concerning the natural struggle of nations and races for survival, according to which racial community was allegedly the most effective association of men in the struggle for survival under conditions where the natural selection mechanism is at work.[18]

After the institution of the republic, the nationalist policy of the Chinese bourgeoisie was that of assimilating the non-Han

peoples of the republic under the aegis of the Hans (Chinese), and of retaining within this republic territories inhabited by the Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, and other non-Chinese peoples at one time forcibly incorporated by the Manchus into their empire.

The ideological preparation for the revolution by the Chinese bourgeoisie was actually limited to nationalistic propaganda, that is, advocating the unification of all Chinese regardless of their social status and class membership in the struggle for the overthrow of the Qing monarchy. The slogan of nationalism, which dominated the preparatory period of the revolution, was not linked with the other two demands—the institution of a bourgeois democratic republic and nationalisation of the land, advanced by the most consistent bourgeois revolutionaries as early as 1905. This obscured, as it were, the class content of the revolution. The new social forces were not mature enough to get a clear perspective on their most dangerous enemies—Chinese feudals and foreign imperialists.

Nonetheless, it was in this specific form of a nationwide demand for the overthrow of the Qing monarchy that the objective social tasks of the revolution were reflected—the goal of eliminating feudal remnants and the semi-colonial dependence on imperialism that stood in the way of the development of the capitalist economic structure.[19]

The Xinhai revolution solved only that long overdue task of eliminating national oppression by the Manchu aristocracy and the monarchic form of government. Nevertheless, it was, objectively, the first nationwide, mass revolutionary action against the feudal order and semi-colonial dependence embodied in the Qing monarchy, and represented the first stage in a democratic revolution that passed through several phases and was crowned in 1949 by the victory over the forces of feudal and imperialist reaction in China.

The Xinhai revolution was a brilliant confirmation of Lenin's forecasting, made as early as 1908, to the effect that "the old-style Chinese revolts will inevitably develop into a conscious democratic movement"[20] in the Qing empire, as well as of Lenin's thesis that "the bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation has a general democratic content"[21] directed against oppression.

NOTES

[1] Quoted from *The Xinhai Revolution of 1911-1913. A Collection of Documents and Materials*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 250-252 (in Russian).

[2] Wu Yuzhang, *Xinhai geming*, Beijing, 1978, pp. 5, 7.

[3] *The Revolution of 1911*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1976, pp. 3, 7.

[4] O. E. Nepomnin, "The Crisis of the Chinese Society in the Early 20th Century: Its Origin and Specific Features" in the collection *The State and Society in China,* Moscow, 1978, pp. 146-151 (in Russian).

[5] O. E. Nepomnin, "The Chinese Bourgeoisie on the Eve of the Xinhai Revolution (Problems of Social Community)", in the collection *The State and Society in China,* Moscow, 1976, p. 204; on the role of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the Xinhai revolution see also Marie-Claire Bergere, *The Role of Bourgeoisie. China in Revolution. The First Phase. 1900-1913,* edited and with an introduction by Mary Clabough Wright, New Haven-London, 1968, pp. 229-295.

[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 18, p. 166.

[7] Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 485.

[8] *The Xinhai Revolution of 1911-1913,* p. 37.

[9] Ibidem.

[10] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 17, p. 490.

[11] *The Xinhai Revolution of 1911-1913,* p. 37.

[12] Ibid., p. 45 (The original of the Declaration was published in *Jindan Ziliao,* 1957, No. 2, pp. 94-98).

[13] Ibid., pp. 50-52.

[14] N. M. Kalyuzhnaya, "The *Minpao* as the Journal of the Tungmenghui Alliance" in the collection *China. The Search for the Way of Social Development (From the History of Socio-Political Thinking in the 20th Century),* Moscow, 1979, p. 73 (in Russian).

[15] A. G. Krymov, *The Social Thinking and Ideological Struggle in China (1900-1917),* Moscow, 1972, p. 23 (in Russian).

[16] Yu. V. Chudodeyev, "The Ideas of Nationalism and Sinocentrism in the Programme of Bourgeois Reformers (Early 20th Century)" in the collection *China: Traditions and the Modern Times,* Moscow, 1976, p. 143 (in Russian).

[17] *Selections from the Press of the Decade Preceding the Xinhai Revolution,* Vol. 2, Part 2, Beijing, 1963, p. 628 (in Chinese). The idea of the Chinese people's superiority over the others is contained in the numerous works of Liang Cichao who claimed in particular that "among all countries of the world only China has reached the highest perfection in historical science" (quoted from Joseph R. Levenson, *Modern China and Its Confucian Past. The Problem of Intellectual Continuity,* 1962, p. 122).

[18] L. N. Borokh, "Theories of Progress in Early 20th-Century Chinese Thinking" in the collection *China. The Search for the Ways of Social Development,* p. 28.

[19] S. L. Tikhvinsky, *The History of China and Our Time,* Moscow, 1976, p. 189 (in Russian).

[20] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 15, p. 185.

[21] Ibid., Vol. 19, p. 412.

History Teaching in Soviet Schools

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From the Editors: The following is an abridged version of the article in the journal *Voprosy istorii* (Problems of History), No. 6, 1980, written for the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences in collaboration with Yu. Kukushkin, B. Marushkin and I. Fedosov.

The foundations and guiding principles of Soviet pedagogics were worked out and formulated shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.[1] Ever since then the ideas of peace, equality and social freedom have been basic to all aspects of education in the Soviet Union. History holds a central place in Soviet school curricula. It is taught by pedagogues trained in 67 universities and more than 70 pedagogical institutes, about 10,000 young historians are graduated every year and most of them become school teachers.[2] The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences plays an important part in perfecting the teaching of history. The journal *Prepodavaniye istorii v shkole* (History Teaching in School), founded in 1934, keeps school teachers abreast of Soviet and foreign advances in history and pedagogics. Its popularity can be judged by its stable circulation of nearly 200,000.

We have consistently sought to produce scientifically sound and lucid text-books on history. Many of them have been written by eminent scholars working under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, universities and pedagogical institutes and prominent methodologists. Standard history books were introduced in the 1930s and have since been improved and amended, and now, with the introduction of compulsory, free 10-year schooling, pupils are given a wide range of historical knowledge on the countries and regions of the five continents.

Our history books for the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th grades give the pupil a comprehensive picture of the ancient world, the Middle Ages, modern and contemporary times.[3] The idea is to combine chronological sequence within the framework of the social and economic formations (primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist [including imperialist] and socialist), with territorial treatment to bring out the objective course of historical progress, rather than the assessment of one or another period of history by the European or "white man".

Our text-books relate a characteristic of the dominant social and political system in a given epoch with the role of leading countries and regions symbolising this domination. The history of the main continents is systematised, and there is continuity of the main assessment parameters.

For the ancient world (from antiquity to 476 A.D.) these are Egypt, Mesopotamia and other regions in Africa and South-West Asia; India, China, Persia, Parthia and other areas in Asia; Greece and Rome in Europe.

For the Middle Ages (from the 5th to mid-17th century) the geographic scope is much wider. It includes the Germans, Slavs and early feudal, decentralised and centralised European states in process of formation and development, viz., Byzantium, France, England, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Bohemia, Turkey. European history includes also assessments of the Catholic Church, the Crusades and the struggle against the Ottoman conquests. In Asia, school studies centre on China and India, in Africa on the consequences of the domination of the Arab Caliphate and the Crusades. American history begins with the discovery of the continent and up to its partition by the Europeans.

In modern history (mid-17th century to 1917) emphasis is laid on the uneven development of continents and countries and the consequences of continued change in their relations and development levels. Much attention is paid to Europe—England, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, the Balkan and West-Slav peoples; this is accompanied by a characterisation of progressive European ideas (Utopian Socialism, scientific communism) and organisations, world culture and science. Much material is devoted to America, not only the USA, but also the national liberation struggle in North and South America—Haiti, Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, etc. In Asia, there is a detailed account of the history of India and China, in Africa—a description of the partition of Africa by the big capitalist powers and the anti-colonial struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples. The text-book also contains a general characteristic of imperialism, indicating the causes, process and results of the First World War.

In the text-book on contemporary history (1917 to our days), description of the geographic regions is complemented by social regioning in the context of the triumph of socialism and collapse of the colonial system. Much space is devoted to the struggle for social and national freedom, against fascism and war. In accordance with our chronological principle, much attention is given to the history of Britain, Germany, France, Italy and of the new socialist countries. In Asia, along with the history of China and India, the text-book describes the rise and development of Japan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Mongolia, Korea, Vietnam and Indochina as a whole, Indonesia, and other countries. In Africa, besides the history of Egypt, there is the history of Ethiopia, Algeria and a number of other countries that emerged following the breakdown of colonialism. The section on America contains, besides the history of the USA, material on Cuba and also on the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples. In addition, there is a review of the socio-economic development of the capitalist world and of cultural development in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries.

It should be borne in mind that the Soviet pupil is given additional information on European history (notably on the Western Slav, Balkan and Scandinavian countries) in Soviet history and social-science text-books. But, of course, there are still many opportunities for a more even, balanced presentation of world history. These opportunities are being explored by scholars and teachers, and in 1974 the USSR Academy of Sciences set up a commission to cooperate with the secondary schools in improving the teaching of history.

Are we satisfied with our text-books and curricula? By and large yes, but not entirely.

Yes, because our text-books provide a rounded-out picture of world history. Dr. Bossard of Switzerland told the 1977 Bucharest Meeting that Soviet text-books contain more material on the history of Western Europe than Western text-books on the history of Eastern Europe. This applies to other parts of the world, too. Dr. Barr of the USA believes that the Soviet system maintains a healthy balance between changes in the life of society and the level of education in its schools, and the level of factual knowledge of Soviet school children is considerably higher than among their American counterparts.[4]

But we are not entirely satisfied, because not all latent reserves for perfecting the teaching of history have been brought to bear. And these reserves lie in the very nature of our method, scientific historicism, which regards history as a law-governed, integral process and is not subject to a crisis of ideas resulting from the absence of historical traditions in contemporary society. Our

reserve (accessible to all) is the comparative historical method. Our interest in this method is natural. For the history of the USSR, a country situated in Europe and Asia and with a wide variety of natural and geographical conditions and ethnic structures, impels the researcher to apply the principles of comparison and typology. But comparison not for the self-assertion of any one nation that has advanced further than another, and not for social pacification of one at the expense of another. All that is alien to us. The comparative method makes it possible to single out the different stages in the development of civilisation in the USSR and the world, to distinguish the common and the particular in the rise of classes and states, and in the change of social and political structures in different countries and regions. This, in turn, makes for a deeper understanding of human history and creates optimal conditions for the pupil to assimilate the process of history and its implications.

The comparative method organically combines general, theoretical and methodological work with concrete research, thus helping the historian reconstruct the past and reveal the common "laws of history" valid for all countries, irrespective of national, natural, geographic, social, political and cultural distinctions, on the one hand, and the specific features of one or another process taking place in a given country or given region, or limited to a given period, etc., on the other.

A close examination of synchronous stadial development levels of comparable social and political structures enables us to analyse the numerous forms of their synthesis and of their accelerating or stagnating role in the history of countries and peoples.

World history must not be reduced to a mechanical combination of the history of different peoples. Their histories have much in common, as is testified by unity of their historic destinies in the fight for progress, national and social freedom, and this should be compared and generalised. But there is much that is specific in their histories, and this, too, should be taken into account, analysing diverse and even fortuitous phenomena. Unification of the past is alien to the dialectical method, which sees the history of the world as a uniform process in its main, and widely diverse in its partial, features. This helps to utilise the experience of past generations, and promote faith in the progress of future generations.

Correctly to understand the educational value of history as taught in the USSR one must bear in mind that our youth is guaranteed the right not only to education, but also to immediate application of its results. The guarantees set out in our Constitution exert a fundamental influence on identification of the personality. And the term identification is here used to denote an

active position in life, i.e., primarily self-assertion in work, for it is only work, we firmly believe, that leads to intellectual, moral, aesthetic, emotional, physical development, to the formation of the ideological basis of one's personality. The absence in the USSR of social inequality, antagonistic classes and groups, vastly facilitates this process, which begins in the family, is continued in the school and in later years. Under the Constitution, "citizens of the USSR, in accordance with the aims of building communism are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic work".[5] This is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. In 1978, no less than 17.5 million young people were involved in scientific and technical work.[6]

Soviet historians have always maintained that history is a partisan discipline and that its cognitive and educational potentialities are directly dependent on what class interests it expresses. Defence of the interests of the proletariat, peasantry, the toiling people generally, impart to history a high cognitive value. And it is only on this path that we can achieve scientific validity and supreme class, proletarian objectivity blended with kinship with the people, patriotism, internationalism and passionate defence of one's ideal. By active involvement in public affairs, the historian, be he researcher or teacher, fulfils his professional duty.[7]

Not only communist theoreticians, but men like Prof. Erdmann of Kiel, President of the International Committee of Historians, now emphasises the link between politics and history and, one infers, the teaching of history.[8]

The controversy now is only over how best to link pedagogics, in particular the teaching of history, with politics.[9] And since a basic principle of politics, peaceful coexistence of states with differing political systems becomes of especial interest for an international forum of historians, they should strive to purge text-books of all manner of unscientific prejudices. History teachers in the socialist countries have set an example in this respect: their regular contacts play a positive role in generalising international experience in teaching history and in forming a scientifically grounded world-outlook of the young men and women and promoting the allround development of their personalities.

The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has a research institute on the content and methods of teaching. Its functions include coordination and exchange of experience in improving school history books. There is also systematic exchange of curricula and teaching aids at all levels with teaching personnel in the European socialist countries and in Cuba. The results of a comparative analysis are discussed at bilateral meetings (there have already

been 14) and at multilateral symposiums held every two years. Some of their results were summed up at symposiums in Poland (1975) and Czechoslovakia (1977) and were also discussed in the pedagogical press.

This makes for a closer understanding of the history of individual countries and their cultural ties, and of their joint struggle for social liberation.

Soviet history teachers keep in touch with their colleagues in Finland, France and a number of other countries. Their cooperation in improving text-books has proved mutually beneficial. The six discussion sessions between Soviet and Finnish pedagogues resulted in improvement of text-books and in agreement on certain methodological principles in their compilation. This was noted at the UNESCO educational conference (Geneva, 1977), and has been commented upon in the Soviet and Finnish press as proof of the many opportunities schools have in promoting cooperation and friendship.

Or this example: the USSR-FRG cultural cooperation agreement of May 21, 1973, Par. 6 of Article 2 obligates the two sides to "promote the exchange of pedagogical and methodological literature, teaching aids, educational films", and Art. 3 calls for "text-book treatment of the history, geography and culture of the other party in a way calculated to facilitate better understanding".[10] This is of especial importance, considering the prejudice in European historiography in treating German-Slav and more particularly, German-Russian relations in the past.[11]

Soviet scholars and their GDR colleagues have drawn the attention of West German historians to the deplorable position in "Eastern studies" *(Ostkunde)* in FRG schools, which is exerting a negative influence on the teaching of history of the USSR and a number of other countries. Some, though slight, improvements are to be seen in the new series of text-books.[12] What are they? Abandonment, first, of open apology of war in favour of moderate pacificism; second, German fascism is no longer eulogised and the war against it is now regarded as a liberating war; third, Marxism is no longer condemned, though it has been replaced by social-reformism.

These general changes have been followed by certain shifts in the interpretation of East European, notably Russian, history. There is no longer outright glorification of the *Drang nach Osten,* though there is still idealisation of the *Ostbewegung;* the geopolitical presentation of the history of the German Reich has been revised, but the Reich is still idealised as Europe's biggest and most progressive state; the growing role of Russia as an organic factor of European history is recognised, but the patently unscientific theory of the "Germano-Norman" origin of the Russian state still

persists, as does the allegation that Russia played an insignificant role in mediaeval history, that its growth in modern times was conditioned by "Europeanisation" and expansion, and not by internal economic, social, emancipatory and cultural changes; recognition of the Soviet Union's major role in the world of today, the growth of its industrial, military and cultural strength, is attended by emphasised disregard of the popular roots of the revolution, the creative character of socialist construction, its tangible benefits for the Soviet peoples. It would be important to describe, citing the evolution of the Soviet Constitutions, the fundamental rights enjoyed by Soviet citizens—the right to work, leisure, housing, education, free medical care, maintenance in old age, etc. Data on our long-standing and strong cultural contacts would, in our view, likewise help towards closer understanding between our two countries.

The latest history books published in the FRG allow for the conclusion that their contents are often in contradiction with the clauses of cultural cooperation agreement and are not in keeping with the spirit of the Helsinki declaration.[13]

In the United States, too, the situation in this respect is deplorable. History books usually contrast Russia to the West (although right up to the founding of NATO, history knew of no political reality called the "West"), though no contrast is drawn with other countries. Russian history, furthermore, is treated as the product of the activities of tsars and of the autocracy.[14] There is no analysis of the socio-economic and socio-political structure of ancient Rus, Greater Russia and Russia, and its evolution over the centuries. But there is the contention that Russia has no traditions of liberating, revolutionary, cultural-creative activity, and that all her achievements are the result of the Westernisation begun by Peter the Great.[15] These allegations are part of a master aim, namely, to prove that the Soviet period is the result of a revolution carried out by communist fanatics, a revolution that forced the country's various peoples to serve the state and, at the cost of incredible suffering and hardship, achieve industrialisation, collectivisation and the triumph of authoritarianism and totalitarianism.[16] It need hardly be said that American history books are silent on the role of the people in Russia's national liberation wars, nor do they draw any distinction between the reunification of Russia's ancient lands captured by other countries and tsarist expansion beyond the country's boundaries.[17]

The result is that one history book, for instance, contains a chapter titled: "Upheaval in Russia: From Tsarist Autocracy to Communist Dictatorship" and the last paragraph is headed: "Soviet Communism as a Continuation of Tsarist Autocracy."[18]

The authors of these history books are, in this case, evidently, interested not so much in the history of Russia (not to mention the history of the Soviet peoples, their relations, tradition of joint liberating struggle against tsarism, their cultural ties, etc.—all that is conspicuous by its absence), as in inculcating distrust of the USSR. In explaining the origins of the communist victory in terms of the traditional "modernisation" concept,[19] the authors proceed from the proposition that socially, economically and politically, Russia is an "underdeveloped state",[20] and, by way of illustration, 19th-century Russia is contrasted to 19th-century North America. Yet it is well known that Russia's backwardness was not absolute and that she belonged to the medium-developed countries.

Instead of contrasting Russia to America it would have been wiser and fairer to recount the history of their relations, using, for example, the research done by Academician Bolkhovitinov,[21] whose book has been published in the United States. It would be right to recall that George Washington welcomed Russia's neutrality, that the United States hailed Russia's victory in the Patriotic War of 1812 (in one history book it is not mentioned at all,[22] in another it is mentioned in passing,[23] and in another still the pupil is told that Napoleon was defeated by the Russian frosts,[24] though most of his Grand Army was destroyed before winter set in). It would be proper to recall progressive Russians popularising the experience of the American Revolution; the high regard American scientists have for the achievements of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and lastly, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and North America. Of course, such an objective picture of the past would require a complete revision of some text-books to replace fiction by fact. US history teachers should, in our view, display more responsibility in expounding the history of the USSR, for anti-Sovietism[25] and amazing naiveness in dealing with the intricate problems of the history of such a great power as Russia can have a bad effect on the orientation of young Americans in a world in which Soviet-American relations are such a decisive factor.

There is a good deal of prejudice also in the history books of some European countries. At the suggestion of Prof. Maes of Antwerp University, the Belgian Ministry of Education in 1972 set up in Ghent a pedagogical centre on historical education. It made a study of school books, documents and research reports on bias and prejudice in the teaching of history, collected after the war by UNESCO experts, the European Council, Atlantic Information Center for Teaching, the International Schoolbook Institute in Braunschweig and also reports on various international discussions on the subject. The result was a list of what the Center regarded as the 120 most important prejudices, which should be deleted

from future text-books. The list was examined by experts of the European Council of 18 countries, approved and published.[26]

Prof. Maes is unhappy about the results of his investigations, for, he says, despite all the technical progress, "we are still in the Stone Age as regards human relationships".[27] But the valuable material accumulated by Prof. Maes is proof, first and foremost, of the low scientific level of school instruction and also of its dependence on the false ideological and political doctrines of Eurocentrism and Pan-Americanism, with their chauvinist, racist and anti-communist overtones. Prof. Maes's findings also indicate the need to increase the influence of academic science on school education.

Monuments of the past strongly influence the formation of historical views. This applies to architecture and sculpture, those mementos of man's progress, literature, which can be described as artistic historiography, the cinema and the mass media, particularly television.[28] Great monuments of the past are inseparable from the historical destinies of the peoples that created them. They continue to live with the people; they are symbols of its history engraved on people's minds, especially the younger generation. Their educational value is immense and manifold. For they symbolise the victories and hopes of nations and of the whole of mankind. One need only point to Red Square in Moscow, with the Lenin Mausoleum; the statue designed by Soviet sculptor Vuchetich, "They Shall Beat Their Swords Into Ploughshares...", at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, symbolising man's great dream of eternal peace. Advances in science, too, have found expression in statuary—the monuments to Copernicus in Warsaw, Galileo in Florence, Tsiolkovsky in Kaluga and the Conquerors of Outer Space in Moscow. Monuments stained with the blood of freedom fighters shot down by the suppressors of freedom—the Wall of the Communards at Père Lachaise in Paris, the Field of Martyrs of the Revolution in Leningrad,

With the triumph of construction over destruction, peace over war, freedom over despotism there appeared new monuments, and old ones acquired a different meaning, a different social, often also national, significance. Palace Square of St. Petersburg has retained its importance as an artistic ensemble, but from a symbol of tsarist despotism it has become a symbol of the Great October Revolution. The site of the destroyed Bastille has become the site of festivals of the people of Paris. Red Fort in Delhi, once the symbol of British imperialism's strength, now symbolises its collapse.

Monuments of the past are mute witnesses of great physical and spiritual battles. Their significance and influence were appreciated in ancient times, at the dawn of our recorded history.

The triumph of class society and of Christianity over pre-class heathenism brought the end of idols and idolatory and the rise of temples: Peroun and Stribog, idols of heathen Slavonic tribes, gave way to the Cathedrals of Sophia ("The Divine Wisdom") in Kiev and Novgorod; the process is symbolised also by the gargoyles of Notre Dame, and the high reliefs on the walls of the St. Maria Church in Inowroçlaw.

But the new gods did not bring peace: religion only consecrated the struggle of kings and empires for dominion over peoples, countries and continents. The Syrian Krak des Chevaliers and the Palestinian Krak de Montréal, the Dom and the Vishgorod Citadel in Riga and Tallinn have much to tell the historian about the Crusades against the Arab and Baltic-Slav worlds. The visitor to the Bosphorus stands in admiration of the St. Sophia Cathedral surrounded by rocket-like minarets, monuments to the triumph of Moslem Porte over the weakened Byzántine Empire.

Monuments should help to educate the young generation and serve cultural development, not the cult of mediaeval gods or the secular idols of our own time. Some twenty years ago a German historian, Hardt, published a rather curious book called *Die Beine der Hohenzollern.*[29] It is a series of compositions by pupils of the Berlin Joachimstal School (1901) on the theme: "The Placement of the Legs of Monuments on Sieges Allee", and in the position of the legs of German kings and emperors schoolchildren were expected to discern the majestic conquering German spirit. Thus was inculcated the Prussian military cult, later taken over by Hitler. However, we know that the promotion of genuine patriotism is inseparable from respect of monuments of the past glorifying the great sons of the people and free of all chauvinistic associations. This was especially keenly felt by the Soviet people in the grim years of the Second World War. And the nazis were fully aware of the immense patriotic appeal of these monuments. That is why they destroyed monuments of the country's glorious past. Our people's grief was symbolised in the ruins of the mediaeval Novgorod churches, the remains of the Leningrad palaces, the desecrated homes of Pushkin, Chaikovsky, Tolstoy.... This should provide food for thought to people like Jacoby who, living hundreds of miles from the battlefields, wonder why Soviet classrooms are hung with portraits of war heroes and over them the inscription: "They also studied here".[30] Yes, they learned to defend their country and liberate other peoples of Europe and Asia from fascism. And their example helps the school to educate patriots and internationalists, and not invaders and chauvinists.

Soviet monuments, those remainders of the emancipatory struggle and the labour heroism of our peoples, are carefully

preserved,[31] and there is a constant search for more relics of the country's past. The law on the protection of historical and cultural monuments (1977) has stimulated the mass movement. Organised by the All-Russia Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture, founded some 15 years ago, it has a membership of 13 million, plus thousands of collective members. There are similar societies in the other Union Republics. Their membership includes many school pupils who, under the direction of their teachers, have accomplished much in discovering, restoring and studying various monuments of history and culture. They continue to bring to the knowledge of the people the names of many war heroes. Thousands of Soviet schools have memorials, historico-biographical and thematic museums, most of the exhibits collected by schoolchildren in expeditions to historic sites or through correspondence, much of it with children in other countries. The museums are a valuable aid in the teaching of history and in educating the children in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

Russia has a long-standing tradition of cooperation of poetry and history. Our first work of history, *Povest vremennykh let* (a 12th-century chronicle), is a remarkable example of this. And one of the pioneers of scientific historiography was the poet and enlightener Lomonosov (18th century). The writer Karamzin (19th century) is considered the author of the best Russian history written from the standpoint of the nobility. Another writer-historian was Klyuchevsky (19th century). Tolstoy did much to promote the science of pedagogics. Gorky was a passionate champion of the union of history, poetry and pedagogics, and he strongly influenced the work of the well-known Soviet writer and didactic, Makarenko, author of *The Road to Life.*

Soviet historians have remained true to this tradition. They recall Pushkin's words, said in jest, that the history of a people belongs to the poet: poetry can "bring home" the lessons of history. Or this comparison by the Soviet poet Vinokurov: "Literature is as precise and essential as science, but the two employ different methods: science when it goes hunting kills its prey, literature takes it alive."[32] No matter how lucidly the teacher may tell the story of the battles of Poltava or Borodino, the pupil will acquire a much clearer picture from the novels by Alexei Tolstoy and Lev Tolstoy, because in childhood feeling is stronger than thought. Soviet historians periodically examine novels on historical themes to establish how close they come to the results of their own work.[33]

The Writers' Union of the Russian Federation has a special commission on historical literature, made up of writers, historians and teachers. Lev Tolstoy once said that the writer associated with

any particular branch of science must closely follow its development, and never hesitate to correct his work accordingly. The mention of Tolstoy in this connection is not accidental. For Soviet historians, with their high appreciation of Russian classical literature, have made in-depth studies of the sources and essence of historicism in the writings of the titans of Russian literature, from Pushkin to Blok.[34] (The problem of the interconnection of Russian history and literature was discussed at the 13th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Vienna.[35])

Soviet historians have constantly stressed the natural development in Russian literature of the historico-patriotic theme, originating in Ancient Rus and determined by internal sociopolitical factors. And Soviet historians polemicise with those (Schamschula, Harder and others), who seek to reduce the genesis and progress of Russian literature to "imported factors", regarding Russian literature merely as a replacement of "Byzantinism" by "Europeism". Soviet literature scholars (Likhachev, Alexeyev, and others) have long since exposed the fallacy of that theory.[36] However, some writers (S. E. Roberts, J. Rühle, B. Thomson, G. Struve, et al.,) still abide by it and are inclined to regard emigre rather than Soviet literature (which, they allege, like the October Revolution, has no historical roots) as the continuator of the European tradition of the Russian classics. That is far from the truth. For the historical genre in Soviet literature (as Andreyev has convincingly proved) is the direct successor to what is best in Russian culture. The assertion of socialist realism, in its different forms, has gone hand in hand with ever deeper penetration of the essence of the historic sources and their scientific interpretation.[37] And that is understandable, for by its very definition, socialist realism demands of the writer "historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development".[38] Our historical genre recreates the antecedents of the October Revolution, the magnificence of the struggle for national liberation, the life and work of the great representatives of the people. It treats of the problems of the various peoples and of the new historical community, the Soviet people. Cooperation between history teachers and writers has proved mutually beneficial. We fully appreciate literature's independent part in the alliance, but we do not share Dr. Carr's apprehension that history will become literature, i.e., the story of history and legends deprived of aims and significance.[39] We are confirmed in our view by the *Children's Encyclopaedia*[40] which sets out the history of all countries, and by the best volumes of the "Great Lives" series.

The cinema and television have added to the work and concerns of teachers and have added to the specific problems of the historian. The mass media, which draw on scientific and

artistic historiography, bring to millions ideas hidden in scholarly treatises and school books and therefore accessible to relatively small groups. Now these ideas are broadcast from the screen and have an emotional impact on vast audiences, evoking either admiration or condemnation.

The Soviet historical cinema was born with Eisenstein's "Battleship Potyomkin", which experts consider the best film of all time. In reflecting our country's past, the Soviet cinema is guided by the same ideas as the historiographer. Mention should be made in this context of such outstanding productions as "Alexander Nevsky", "Peter the First", "War and Peace", "And Quiet Flows the Don", "Liberation", cinema portraits of the leaders of the Revolution, Lenin and his close associates, etc. The school, the work of the teacher have become the subject of many films, two of which "The Village Teacher" and "The First Teacher", have probably been seen by every adult. We have no films glorifying immorality, violence or aggression. Our films on historical subjects are permeated with the ideas of progress and friendship of the peoples. Such films are shown on television along with educational programmes, usually conducted by well-known scientists. Many of these programmes are filmed in research institutes, schools and museums, ancient castles and other historical sites, archaeological expeditions, etc. One example of cooperation of historians and film makers is the television serial "Our Biography".

The Soviet Union went through the terrible ordeal of Hitler aggression. A film that met with wide response was "Ordinary Fascism", produced by Mikhail Romm, but we would reject J. Fest's film "The Career of Hitler"; in the land of Stalingrad, which bore the burden of the Second World War, no one would understand the film "The Longest Day" which belittles the Soviet contribution to victory over fascism; in the land of the October Revolution there could be no approval of "Nicholas and Alexandra", that piece of fictionised vulgarity. There are many such films. They are not calculated to instil dignity, produce a personality worthy of our age. That is fully realised by thinking people the world over. And it is no accident that the film "The Career of Hitler" brought to mind the results of a questionnaire among FRG school children arranged by one Dr. Bossmann; it established that the average school child has a very vague and distorted idea of fascism.[41] A good example of international cooperation is the Soviet-American television serial "The Unknown War".

In short, the most popular art, and one so important for assimilating the history of one's country, cannot be left to the discretion of producers and directors.

It is gratifying to know that the problem of teaching history in school is to be discussed at the International Congress of Historical

Sciences. And one can only hope that it will be taken up at future congresses, too, bringing out what is best in the teaching of history in the different countries. In this context, it should be said that the proposal of Prof. Maes to regard Marxist dialectics as a method, as a working hypothesis, alongside Anglo-Saxon ideological methods, alongside the interdisciplinary method suggested in the journals *Annales* and *Past and Present*—in short, side by side with the classical positivist doctrines and regarding them "merely as many parallel ways to the disclosure of historical reality",[42] seems to us fruitful only in its practical aspects, above all, in reciprocal verification of the authenticity of the facts. As for their conceptualised interpretation, there can be no question of a convergence of mutually opposed ideas; there can be only conscientious selection of ideas based on the experience in practical research.

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Manpower in the USSR: Development and Utilisation Trends

EVGENI KAPUSTIN

The use of manpower in the USSR has a number of basic distinctive aims stemming primarily from the socialist mode of production. They are as follows:

1) to guarantee, on the basis of planned development of the national economy, full employment of the able-bodied population, because every member of society is a joint (collective) owner of the means of production, which are public property, and has the inalienable and real right to work;

2) to attain high growth rates of productivity of social labour on the basis of scientific and technological advancement and perfection of the organisation of production, which is an objective requisite for releasing as much manpower as possible from currently operating industries and employing it in new and rapidly developing industries which determine technological progress in industry, as well as in construction and in the productive and social infrastructure;

3) to ensure growing efficiency in the utilisation of manpower by means of planned distribution of productive forces and comprehensive development of all regions; by increasing the regional mobility of labour; improving the vocational system of training of the youth; by means of systematic training of personnel and use of material and moral incentives to attract workers to industrial branches and regions where development rates are the highest;

4) to use scientific and technological achievements for the purpose of lightening labour and making it creative as far as possible, and effecting allround improvement of working conditions;

5) to promote the skills and retraining of personnel with a view to keeping up with the demands of scientific and technological advancement;

6) to prevent any kind of discrimination on grounds of nationality, sex or age in regard to the utilisation of manpower, with strict observance of the scientifically substantiated demarcation lines in the employment of the labour of women and young people;

7) to pursue an active demographic policy designed to increase the birth-rate.

The task of effecting a vigorous intensification of the economy and thereby raising the efficiency of social production, which is being tackled today in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, has focused universal attention on the problem of manpower resources. On the one hand, it is this problem that has in a large measure highlighted the urgent necessity of putting the national economy on a predominantly intensive path of development. The rate of employment of the population reached an optimal degree already in the late 1960s. In 1967, the proportion of the population engaged in social production and of full-time students who were of working age was 89 per cent of the total able-bodied population, as against 66 per cent in 1940.[1]

On the other hand, economy of labour under socialism is of utmost importance because it enables a working person to have more time for his comprehensive development. The average working week in industry was 58.5 hours in 1913, 47.8 hours in 1955, and 40.6 hours in 1978.

The present period is characterised by an urgent need to increase the efficiency of utilisation of manpower available to Soviet society, and to further improve the forms and methods of supervising this principal productive force. This is predetermined by the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, by the growing intensification of production, by the rising level of education of people and improvement of their material well-being; and by the present level of employment and the current demographic situation in the country.

The solution to the problem of increasing the efficiency of utilisation of manpower under mature socialism lies primarily in accelerating scientific and technological progress. New and increasingly progressive machinery and technology are the main means of raising labour productivity and fulfilling production programmes with a smaller number of employees and with the preserva-

tion of healthy work intensity. Moreover, the solution of this problem cannot be confined to the economising of live labour alone. Equally important is the economy of embodied labour, i.e., raw and other materials and energy; more rational utilisation of the fixed production assets; scientifically sound distribution of productive forces; ending of irrational transportation; augmentation of output and improvement of its quality. The solution to the problem of manpower is therefore connected with a whole complex of measures to speed up scientific and technological progress and promote more efficient use of scientific and technological achievements in the national economy.

In recent years the Soviet economy has made headway in this direction. More and more enterprises are carrying out bigger production programmes with the same or even a smaller number of employees. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period (1976-1980), the output of mechanisation equipment for labour-intensive and arduous manual work was doubled. Towards the end of that period the organisation of the production of more than 20,000 types of machinery, equipment and apparatus was completed. Works are being put up for the production of automated equipment of large unit capacity for power stations, and also for the chemical, petrochemical and oil-refining industries, and for industries that turn out building materials, etc.

This is particularly important for branches where arduous physical work prevails. For instance, as a result of the application of labour-saving equipment and production processes over the Ninth Five-Year Plan period alone (1971-1975), the coal industry of the USSR was able to increase its output and eliminate 120,000 arduous mining jobs. Working conditions are known to be very hard in the timber industry, especially in view of the severe climate in the northern regions of the USSR. In this branch, where over 40 per cent of the employees are manual workers, systems of machinery for further mechanisation of the whole cycle of operations are being constructed and used. By 1981, the volume of comprehensive mechanisation in timber-making is to be brought to 21 per cent, including mechanical felling to 27 per cent as against 0.4 per cent in 1975, mechanical dressing to 20 per cent as against 5.5 per cent, and so on.

Special attention is paid to the mechanisation of loading and unloading operations. New models of transport and lifting equipment are being developed and used to make it possible to eliminate many arduous jobs in the lifting, transferring and ware-housing of goods.

However, the potentialities for applying the achievements of science and technology in all branches of the national economy on the basis of the socialist state's unified technical policy are by no

means being used to the full. Neither the rate at which manual labour (including arduous and unskilled) is being reduced, nor the present situation regarding the mechanisation of manual operations is satisfactory. Between 1966 and 1975, the proportion of manual labour in the national economy dropped by no more than six per cent—from 40.4 to 33.6 per cent. So there is an objective and urgent need for a national integrated target-oriented comprehensive programme for the mechanisation and automation of manual, especially hard physical work. Such a programme would make it possible to concentrate the necessary funds for the solution of this complex problem within an optimal time-limit.

A characteristic feature of the current five-year plan period is the close connection between investment and employment policies. Under the plan, state capital investments in industrial construction will go up by approximately one-third, and the increase of funds for the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of industrial enterprises will amount to 67 per cent (nearly 80 per cent in the engineering and metal-working industries—the leading branches which promote scientific and technological progress). The need to boost production by means of reconstruction and technical re-equipment is particularly great in the old industrial centres of the country, in labour-intensive branches, and above all in auxiliary sectors of production. It should also be emphasised that the comprehensive programme for scientific and technological advancement and its social consequences for the period ending in the year 2000 attaches primary importance to the solution of this problem. And it pays a great deal of attention to the tasks of creating labour-saving equipment and the economic conditions for speeding up its application. For example, the application of scientific and technological achievements will raise the level of mechanisation and automation of main processes in the manufacturing of tractors and farm machinery from 85 per cent in 1975 to 94 per cent in 1990; accordingly, the proportion of manual labour will drop from 15 to 5.5 per cent. The number of employees accounting for one million rubles' worth of production of rolled stock, transport and lifting equipment will decrease over the next 15 years by 60-67 per cent and 33-50 per cent respectively. The deepening of specialisation in power engineering, the introduction of new technological processes and fuller automation of production will lead to a considerable reduction in labour intensity. Thus, the number of employees in the production of equipment for atomic power stations will be reduced, in terms of the same volume of output, by 47.4 per cent; in the production of all other types of power-engineering equipment—by 9.1 to 37.5 per cent.

Many types of new equipment, however, do not always ensure a considerable reduction of labour expended on the products and

on the servicing of that equipment. It is particularly necessary, in our view, to have complete systems of labour-saving equipment, since the main processes of production fitted out with the latest equipment sometimes coexist with rather technically obsolete auxiliary operations. There are many shortcomings in the servicing sphere as well, and there is much room for improvement in repair facilities.

The trend of scientific and technological advancement that involves the creation of new technological processes and equipment which eliminate monotonous and non-creative work deserves the special attention of scientists and designers. The youth of today, who have a high level of education and culture, make increasingly high demands on the content of labour and seek satisfaction in work which enables them to develop and apply their abilities. Satisfaction with work is of exceptional social importance for the socialist countries, where the new man and the socialist way of life are taking shape at a rapid pace. The question of work giving satisfaction is also relevant to the efficiency of utilisation of manpower, for one of the main causes of the unjustified fluctuation of manpower observed in different branches of the national economy is that the employee is not entirely satisfied with his job.

The difficulty in solving this problem is that the content of labour must be changed and the creative elements in it intensified simultaneously with promotion of the growth of labour productivity. This is not a simple matter, especially if assembly conveyors and monotonous operations are concerned. Here in some cases we need a genuine technological revolution so as to bring about fundamentally new aspects of technical progress.

Certain successes in this direction have already been achieved, especially in the sphere of employing robots and other automatic devices which carry out monotonous operations on production lines, etc. But we would like to see greater attention being paid to the development of equipment and production processes, which help to make work more interesting and intensify its creative aspects, thereby ensuring a far greater satisfaction in work. My opinion is that economists and sociologists in all countries are not yet paying sufficient attention to this key problem.

The task of achieving maximum efficiency in utilising manpower involves the saving of not only live labour in a given production process, but, more often than not, of raw and other materials, energy, etc. This is due to the fact that expenditure on raw and other materials in the majority of processing industries makes up the biggest part of the cost of production. The sum economised on materials is, as a rule, greater than the additional

expenses on labour that this economy involves; what is more, thrifty expenditure of raw and other materials can ensure far greater economy of labour than what is usually possible through the saving of manpower in the process of production. In view of this circumstance, the Soviet Union is effecting a re-orientation of economic strategy towards the preservation and the most efficient utilisation of the material values already produced. This not only makes for an augmentation of the output-to-assets ratio, but reduces unfulfilled demands for additional labour.

Besides advanced technology itself, considerable potentialities for the economy of manpower are inherent in the re-organisation of production and labour that it requires. Unless this re-organisation is carried out, the advanced technological level of labour organisation is incapable of ensuring optimal results. This is why the Soviet Union attaches such great importance to research and practical measures aimed at perfecting the machinery of economic management and the organisation of production and labour at all levels of the economy—from the production section to the national economy as a whole.

A great deal has been done towards this end in the course of the economic reform. However, economic practice and research have shown that due attention was not paid to making production collectives interested in increasing output with a minimum number of employees. This was responsible for employing surplus personnel at some enterprises. The number of employees envisaged in their plans was sometimes greater than the number estimated by the State Planning Committee of the USSR. This inadequacy of the economic machinery in the present socio-demographic conditions in which manpower is reproduced aggravated the problem of shortage of labour, for there has sometimes been a lack of labour on the macro-level despite the availability of reserves on the micro-level.

In view of this a transfer is being made to a new normative system of planning the wages bill of production associations and individual enterprises. Stable norms have been set for expending the wages bill in terms of a ruble's worth of product. The sum economised on the wages bill by means of a more efficient utilisation of the enterprise's labour will be used for rewarding the workers, engineers and technicians for carrying out operations with a smaller numerical strength, for doing several jobs simultaneously, expanding the servicing sphere, and for their high professional skill. These and other measures, including the transition in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985) to a predominantly team form of organisation of, and remuneration for, work (already tested experimentally) are bound to promote higher efficiency in the utilisation of manpower.

In a longer term, the rate at which labour force is released outside the factories will be considerably increased. This is why our country attaches ever greater importance to the study of the production collectives' interest in releasing personnel for other sectors of social production, and to increasing material incentives for the employees released, who become the object of sectoral and territorial redistribution. More extensive research is also being made into the way the organisation of labour, especially the fixing of output and time norms, of various forms of work cooperation, and of working conditions, influences the utilisation of manpower.

Recent years have seen an exhaustive study of the influence of working conditions on labour productivity; a classification has been made of the factors which affect the working conditions so as to increase the efficiency of management. Yet there is a need to further study the problems arising in connection with the introduction of comprehensive mechanisation and automation, which, on the one hand, eliminate arduous physical labour, but, on the other, often cause more noise and vibration and make greater demands on man's nervous system. That is why not only the economic, but also the social effect of new technology is considered in the Soviet Union to be a matter of prime importance. We try to tackle it already at the stage of designing of new enterprises, production processes, and equipment, and to organise research with this problem in mind, on the basis of, among other things, the comprehensive programme for long-term scientific and technological progress.

Under socialism, socialist emulation among individuals and among production collectives is of great importance to the task of raising the efficiency of manpower utilisation. Tangible results have been achieved in the matter of incorporating socialist emulation (as the most vivid manifestation of the masses' initiative and as the most effective method of the working people's participation in economic management) into the system of planned management of the national economy. It should also be noted that the fusion of emulation with the relevant plan creates more favourable conditions for balanced economic growth and for providing a real base for fulfilling socialist obligations.

A better use of the work force and a higher efficiency through the intensification of production processes are important factors in the economy of manpower. But the intensified production does not rule out an extensive economic growth because it presupposes the development of new branches and types of production which accelerate scientific and technological progress. The demand for personnel on the part of new economic branches and types of production, of enterprises and construction projects, and the further expansion of the non-productive sphere act as factors in

the extensive development of employment. But unlike the case in the past years, these processes are taking place on a fundamentally new basis—on the basis of the intensification of production and, as a result of it, the increased role of redistribution of manpower. And it is already obvious that both agriculture and industry can supply labour for the national economy.

In view of this it is interesting to note changes in the distribution of the population (not counting students) by branches of the national economy (in percentage).

Table 1

	1965	1970	1975	1977	1978
Total employed in the national economy	100	100	100	100	100
In industry and construction	36	38	38	38	39
In agriculture and the timber industry (including personal subsidiary plots)	31	25	23	22	21
In trade, public catering, supply of materials and machinery, marketing and procurement	6	7	8	8	8
In the public health service, social security and physical culture; in public education, culture and art; in science and research services	14	16	16	17	17
In the state administration bodies, management bodies of cooperative and other non-government organisations; in the credit system and state insurance	2	2	2	2	2
In other branches of the national economy (housing, public utilities, welfare)	3	4	4	4	4

Sources: *The Economy of the USSR in 1977*, Moscow, 1978, p. 375; *The USSR in Figures for 1978*, Moscow, 1979, p. 175 (both in Russian).

In the last few years, notwithstanding the considerable growth of industrial production and capital construction, the proportion of the working population engaged in the major branches, as can be seen from the Table above, became practically stable. Moreover, the absolute growth of the employment figure takes place far more slowly compared with the expansion of output in

the respective industries. For instance, over 1940-1977, total industrial output increased by 18.8 times, capital investments by 19 times, while the number of employees in industry rose by 2.7 times, in construction by 5.5 times,[2] which is the result of growing labour productivity mainly due to technological advance.

The proportion employed in the administrative apparatus and some other areas remained unchanged.

The part of the working population engaged in agriculture has continued to decrease, though at a slower rate than in the previous period; in this case it is not only the proportion, but the absolute number of people that is decreasing. Thus, the average annual number of workers in agriculture (including collective farms) dropped from 31.8 million in 1940 to 27 million in 1970, and to 26.5 million in 1977.[3]

The absolute and relative reduction in the number of people engaged in agriculture is the result of the growth of labour productivity, of the development of agro-industrial integration, and of the transfer to industry and other branches of certain functions formerly carried out by the farms (processing, storing, transportation and marketing of agricultural produce, production of feed and fertilisers, etc.).

Table 2

	1960	1965	1970	1975	Absolute increment
Number of people engaged in material production (in millions)	73.4	81.7	87.3	91.3	+17.9
including: non-agricultural branches	41.4	50.2	58.9	64.3	+22.9
agriculture	32.0	31.5	28.4	27.0	−5.0

Calculated from figures available in *The Economy of the USSR in 1970*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 404, 510, 511; and *The Economy of the USSR in 1975*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 440, 532 (both in Russian).

The release of labour from agriculture and its redistribution among other branches of the economy make for a reduction of material production's demand for additional manpower.

The scale of the flow of labour from agriculture to non-agricultural branches can be seen from data on the migration of rural dwellers to the towns. According to the census of 1970, from

rural areas 4.4 million people came to the towns, the bulk of them being able-bodied men and women. Only 1.7 million people moved from the towns to the countryside.[4]

In the last few years the outflow of people from the countryside has dropped; the reduction of the absolute number of agricultural workers has slowed down. However, the increased investments being made in agriculture and consistent implementation of the policy of speeding up the mechanisation, chemicalisation, specialisation and concentration of agricultural production are bound to broaden the possibilities of redistributing manpower.

The number of workers employed in the non-productive sphere (public health, education, science) has increased in both relative and absolute terms. One can therefore clearly see that the change in the correlation in the distribution of employees in material production and in the non-productive sphere is in favour of the latter.

The efficient utilisation of scientific and technological achievements has called for a considerable increase of skilled labour, for a higher proportion of specialists with a higher and specialised secondary education, and also for more skilled workers.

Table 3

	1965	1970	1975	1977
		(thousand persons)		
Number of graduates of higher educational establishments	403.9	630.8	713.4	751.9
Number of graduates of specialised secondary educational institutions	621.5	1,033.3	1,157.0	1,186.0
Number of graduates of general educational schools				
a) graduates with a complete secondary education	1,340	2,581	3,564	4,101
b) graduates with an incomplete secondary education	4,270	4,661	5,201	4,874
Number of skilled workers who graduated from vocational schools	1,100	1,638	2,094	2,217

Source: *The Economy of the USSR in 1977*, pp. 397, 490, 502.

It should be noted that already in 1977, more than 98 per cent of eight-form graduates continued their studies in secondary schools or in other educational establishments which offer a

complete secondary education. Owing to this, the number of workers in the sphere of education (secondary, specialised and higher) has also been increasing. This process was speeded up by the transition to compulsory general secondary education. The medical service has likewise been considerably developed. On the whole, the number of employees in the spheres of education, public health, social security, science, culture and art rose by 21 per cent between 1965 and 1978.[5]

There is a very high proportion of women in the total number of factory and office workers in the country (51 per cent in 1970-1977).[6] This is due not only to improved working conditions in industry, but also to the development of the network of children's institutions and services, which, to a certain extent, facilitated the recruitment of the majority of women in the sphere of material production. It can apparently be said that at present the employment of women's labour in this sphere is stable.

One of the major means of increasing the efficiency of manpower utilisation is the rational distribution of the productive forces. In solving this problem we assign a major role to optimal creation and territorial-sectoral distribution of jobs in the national economy with a view to erasing regional disproportions. This requires a series of measures to expand the production base in areas with a high demographic potential and low mobility of manpower (Central Asia and Transcaucasia), to bring manpower to areas where there is a shortage of it, and to induce settlers to stay there. These measures make for fuller and more efficient use of live and embodied labour, that is, for higher productivity of social labour.

In this connection the Tenth Five-Year Plan pays great attention to the spheres of capital investment with reference to job creation and improvement of working conditions. In regions which badly need manpower new investments must help to make production less labour-intensive, whereas in regions where there is surplus labour they must help to broaden the sphere for the employment of labour, create new efficient jobs, develop more labour-intensive industries and agricultural crops, and also to cope with the task of increasing the socio-economic and territorial mobility of manpower, redistributing labour, improving its occupational qualifications, and so on.

The structure of employment by Soviet republics quite reliably reflects, first, the process of levelling out economic development in the former national borderlands, and, secondly, the accelerated development of regions which were sparsely populated in the past but which are perspective today by many indicators, particularly with regard to energy and minerals.

In the USSR as a whole the average annual number of factory and office workers increased from 76.9 million in 1965 to 106.4 million in 1977 (i.e., by 138 per cent), whereas in some Soviet republics the speedy growth of their number characteristic of the prewar and first postwar years continued. For instance, in Uzbekistan the increase over the same period was 72.5 per cent, in Azerbaijan, 56.4 per cent, in Armenia, 69.4 per cent, in Turkmenia, 58.2 per cent, whereas in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics the growth rate of the number of factory and office workers is closer to that of the country as a whole.[7]

The accelerated industrial development of the sparsely populated eastern regions of the USSR, which are extremely rich in mineral, energy and timber resources, would have been impossible without an intensive inflow of manpower from other parts of the country.

Soviet economists have carefully studied the factors which determine the scale and trends of manpower movements (in general and in particular forms). This was necessary for making rational choice of forms and methods of regulating such movements and optimising the scale and trends of manpower distribution.

The question of the methods of studying and of the criteria for evaluating various aspects of manpower mobility is most fully elaborated in the Soviet Union with reference to analysis of migration of the population. Methodological recommendations for studying the processes of migration of the population in regions, territories and autonomous republics have already been put out; methods of calculating migration indices and the principles of questioning migrants to clarify the motives of their movements and study the qualitative composition of migratory flows have been elaborated in detail. So have the methods of studying the causes and laws governing the fluctuation of personnel—methods of collecting initial information, the methodological principles of analysing it, and possibilities of using mathematical methods. Questions pertaining to the methodology of studying the sectoral regrouping of manpower, intra-plant movements, and changes in the occupational movements of personnel have been elucidated.

Literature on questions relating to manpower movement and to the sectoral and territorial redistribution of labour shows that in recent years research on this subject has reached a new stage. If the majority of studies of the 1960s dealt mainly with individual aspects of the problem of manpower movement and its regularities (migration, fluctuation, release, occupational and social mobility), or with a number of these issues within a local framework (on the level of a region, a socio-demographic group, etc.), today it is

more typical to find studies on all these questions and on various aspects of the subject on the level of the national economy as a whole. This is because the aim is to determine the place of the movement of manpower and personnel within the structure of the national economic ties, to find ways of optimising that movement, and consider the possibilities of improving the supervision of this process on a countrywide scale as well as at the lower levels in the structure of the organisation of production.

Apart from the main source of labour for the national economy (young people of working age), it is worthwhile examining additional sources. One more means of obtaining manpower is to involve in social production all able-bodied people, including those who have reached pension age but can still work.

Mothers with many children or infants and persons of pension age can be engaged in social production by allowing them to work for part of the working day or part of the working week. We attach great importance to further encouraging "part-time employment" as a flexible form of the rational use of labour, mostly that of women having children, elderly people, students, and also people who are unable to work at full capacity.

In conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, the problem of extended reproduction of skilled labour is of utmost importance to the national economy. A proper solution of this problem in many respects would determine the efficiency of manpower utilisation, and help to compensate for the quantitative shortage of labour by improving its quality. The solution of the problem is greatly facilitated by further improvement of the whole system of vocational training and retraining of personnel.

The vocational training of the youth is a major subject of economic and philosophical research in the Soviet Union. But although we have obtained certain positive results we still have to achieve full and effective regulation of the occupational structure of labour as required by demands for it. The mass trades are still not popular enough among school children. So we have set the task of speeding up research to work out scientifically supported recommendations aimed at overcoming the lack of conformity between the socio-vocational orientation of the youth towards certain professions and the demand of the national economy for labour. For a number of objective reasons it is too early as yet to shift full responsibility for occupational training to the system of vocational-technical education, although it is widely developed in the Soviet Union. It is therefore an urgent task to improve the training of workers at factories and plants (primarily by considerably expanding short-term training), where there are favourable conditions for organising instructional and educational process on a high level.

We also continue to improve the system of vocational-technical education and broaden its material base. We believe this should be done by expanding the network of vocational-technical schools which provide, in addition to occupational training, a complete secondary education; and by effecting optimal territorial distribution of such schools.

The effectiveness of demographic policy under socialism depends largely on how comprehensive it is; on how correctly it combines the use of economic, legal, and moral stimuli; on how fully it embraces the whole system of material and non-material relations. In the research works by demographers and economists there are still many unclarified questions concerning the methods of implementing this policy. One of the foremost aims of the state's demographic policy should be the elaboration and enforcement of effective practical measures to protect the health and life of Soviet citizens. The right to health protection in the Soviet Union, as is known, is constitutionally formalised, and medical care is free for everybody without exception and is financed by society. Demographic science faces a major task of bringing out the factors which affect longevity and facilitate minimisation of the death-rate. A knowledge of these factors would make it possible to eliminate a number of negative phenomena.

The principal task of Soviet demographers today is to elaborate a comprehensive and effective demographic policy, and the theory and practice of governing demographic processes. It is particularly important in this connection to study ways of determining the effectiveness of demographic policy and the social and economic consequences of the various measures to implement it.

Thus, by systematically modifying the structure of manpower, the socialist society is simultaneously coping with diverse tasks aimed at ensuring the efficient use of labour. Among these tasks are:

— job placement of workers released due to technological advancement;

— provision of the necessary retraining for a section of the workers released at the expense of the government, the workers being paid their average wage while undergoing retraining;

— planned training of skilled workers and specialists with due regard for imminent structural changes in social production;

— fostering of vocational orientation of the youth, and re-orientation of a section of public opinion with regard to the importance and prestige of certain trades and branches of social production;

— provision of material incentives to induce people to work in those branches and regions which are undergoing the most rapid development.

The mechanism for the planned distribution and redistribution of manpower is a component part of the overall machinery which makes for the balanced functioning of socialist economy. It ensures, on the one hand, painless overcoming of the consequences that scientific and technological advancement entails for working people, a gradual elimination of the social distinctions between them as to the nature and types of labour activities, and, on the other, stimulates a redistribution of labour in favour of new highly productive branches and perspective regions of economic development.

The key links in this mechanism are the planning, stimulation and the system of interrelated organisational forms of manpower redistribution. With their help the socialist state regulates the movement of workers between branches of the economy, on the entire territory of the country and within enterprises, thereby securing a progressive structure of the national economy and ensuring the growing efficiency of manpower utilisation in the interests of society as a whole.

NOTES

[1] *Labour in the USSR. A Collection of Statistics,* Moscow, 1968, p. 5 (in Russian).
[2] *The Economy of the USSR in 1977,* Moscow, 1978, p. 376 (in Russian).
[3] Ibidem.
[4] *Results of the All-Union Census of 1970,* Moscow, 1972, Vol. 7, p. 8 (in Russian).
[5] Calculated from: *The USSR in Figures for 1978,* Moscow, 1979, p. 177.
[6] *The Economy of the USSR in 1977,* p. 382; *Vestnik statistiki,* No. 1, 1978, p. 86.
[7] *The USSR in Figures for 1978,* p. 380.

Engels as Lenin Saw Him

(To the 160th Birth Anniversary of Engels)

NIKITA KOLPINSKY

Every student of Lenin the historian is amazed by his profound knowledge, especially of the history of Marxism. This is because Lenin's works on history and his contribution to the scientific elaboration of the biographies of Marx and Engels were closely interwoven with his activity as a theoretician and practician of Marxism.

A broadminded approach and thorough study of the history of Marxism in its relation to the development of social thought and the revolutionary process constitute one of the most important features of Lenin's works. Lenin had a deep knowledge of all the works of Marx and Engels available to him in those days. One needs only to look at the Index to the latest edition of his *Complete Works*[1] to be convinced that he knew literally all the works of Engels available in his days. (It should be noted that the Index includes only works which are quoted or specifically mentioned, while in a number of cases, especially when dealing with articles in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* Lenin spoke in a general way about the conclusions of Marx and Engels, about their tactics, etc., basing himself on their works for the period concerned.)

When after the transference of the Soviet Government to Moscow in 1918 Lenin was able to build a library of his own, he paid special attention to the works of Marx and Engels, collected all editions of their works and literature on their life and activities. His library contained 167 copies of works by the founders of Marxism, including 62 editions of works by Engels and more than 100 books on Marx and Engels.[2]

Without claiming to give an exhaustive account of what Lenin's works offer to Engels' biographers, we shall dwell upon the methodological value of Lenin's works for the study of Engels' contribution to the development of Marxism, and show Lenin's approach to his works.

* * *

"It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels."[3]

This sentence most vividly describes Lenin's attitude towards one of the founders of Marxism. The thesis that Engels, side by side with Marx, was an outstanding theoretician of Marxism Lenin regarded as one of the most important methodological principles in elaborating the biography of Engels. In one of his first articles dealing with the life of Engels (1895), Lenin wrote: "After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat..."[4] Later on he wrote that "Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism."[5]

Lenin drew these precise conclusions after making a detailed analysis of Engels' legacy in many of his works. One need mention only *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, The State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* in order to draw the reader's attention to the importance of Engels' works for the further development of Marxist theory in Lenin's famous publications. Lenin was better able than even F. Mehring, one of the most erudite and best informed historians of Marxism, to reveal and explain the theoretical significance and urgency of such of Engels' works as *The Condition of the Working Class in England, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (Lenin, like everyone else in his day, thought this was a work by Marx), *The Peasant War in Germany, On Authority, The Bakuninists at Work, The Housing Question, Anti-Dühring,* Engels' letters, and his introductions to Marx's works.

Lenin expounded the contribution of Engels the theoretician to all the components of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific communism, and to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's liberation struggle.

In so doing he paid primary attention to the scientific and philosophical substantiation of the new doctrine, or, to be more exact, to the problem of dialectics and to how it was worked out and interpreted by Engels. He often repeated Engels' words to the effect that Marxism was not a dogma, that it "is not a materialism

which has stopped at the ABC. Marxism goes further."[6] In the article "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism" Lenin wrote: "Our doctrine—said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend—is not a dogma, but a guide to action. This classical statement stresses with remarkable force and expressiveness that aspect of Marxism which is very often lost sight of."[7]

Repeatedly referring to this proposition, Lenin saw in it a methodological basis for all his activity, and believed, like Engels, that the working class needed materialistic dialectics as its theoretical weapon. And like Engels Lenin said that to be a dialectician means to look at events objectively, to try to comprehend them in their development, in all the totality of their diverse relationships, to grasp the interdependence and cause-and-effect connection of any event, of every aspect of any phenomenon. A good illustration of this is his attitude towards Engels' application of dialectics in working out the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement. One may recall that he described the substance of the correspondence between Marx and Engels as dialectics in action ("The focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, ...that word would be *dialectics.*")[8]

In a number of works and articles Lenin explains this conclusion in detail by studying the tactics of Marx and Engels in the revolution of 1848-1849, their elaboration of the national and the agrarian questions, their fight against reformism and sectarianism, their advice to socialist parties, etc. When bringing out the historic significance of Engels' works and letters connected with one situation or another, he points to the scientific way by which he approached and resolved the problems concerned, he often used this phrase: "*The way* Marx and Engels posed the question." This emphasis—*how* the founders of Marxism put the problem, *how* they approached its solution—is characteristic of his works. Let us take the article "On the Attitude of the Workers' Party Towards Religion" (1909) as an example of Lenin's analysis of the inner dialectics of Engels' works.

In that article he discusses in detail those places in Engels' works *Anti-Dühring* and *The Housing Question,* and in Engels' remarks on the Erfurt Programme, which deal with the problem of attitude towards religion, and he points to the connection of Engels' propositions (which sometimes contradict one another) with concrete situations and with the level of development of the working-class movement. Lenin shows that only "to people with a slapdash attitude towards Marxism, to people who cannot or will not think, this history (i.e., various aspects of the working-class party's attitude towards religion.—*N.K.*) is a skein of meaningless Marxist contradictions and waverings";[9] he notes that it is

anarchist phrasemongers who are inclined to search for such "contradictions". The perplexity of these phrasemongers over the alleged contradictions of Marxism in Engels' works Lenin poses against the thesis that these contradictions are a direct inference from dialectical materialism, which believes that everything is in a state of continuous change and constantly passes from a lower to a higher stage, "in this question, too, the political line of Marxism is inseparably bound up with its philosophical principles".[10] Winding up the discussion Lenin says that this kind of contradiction "is a real contradiction in real life, i.e., a dialectical contradiction, and not a verbal or invented one",[11] and that it requires careful study.

In that article Lenin explicitly formulates what he saw when analysing many works by Marx and Engels: their tactics during the revolution of 1848-1849, their attitude towards wars, and their different advice to the working-class movement in America, Britain and Germany, i.e., their analytical attitude to the problems of the dialectic of social processes in general.

There is another notable example in which Lenin brings out the methodological significance of Engels' remark on utopian socialism to the effect that "what formally may be economically incorrect, may all the same be correct from the point of view of world history".[12] Having examined the context in which Engels drew this conclusion, Lenin emphasises in the article "Two Utopias" that "Engels' profound thesis must be borne in mind when appraising the present-day Narodnik or Trudovik utopia in Russia (perhaps not only in Russia but in a number of Asiatic countries going through bourgeois revolutions in the twentieth century)".[13] Lenin's observation brings Engels' thesis closer to us and makes it more urgent in our time.

In the article "Guerrilla Warfare" (1906), which is entirely based on the works of Marx and especially of Engels though their titles are not specifically mentioned, Lenin elucidates the evolution of their assessments, but this time on the question of the forms of struggle, and examines the circumstances which influenced the development of their views. His conclusions, based on an analysis of these views, that Marxism does not bind "the movement to any one particular form of struggle", and that "Marxism *learns*...from mass practice.... Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle",[14] again demonstrates to us the approach and method of Marx and Engels, and shows its applicability to new situation, to the solution of new problems.

Many similar examples could be cited. But something else is important. As already noted, Lenin always strove to gain an objective and thorough knowledge of all of Engels' thoughts on one question or another, to show that they were the results of

dialectico-materialistic comprehension of concrete subjects. What interested Lenin was the efficacy of Marxist scientific methodology, and he made this clear on every occasion. "We have deliberately quoted the direct statements of Marx and Engels at rather great length in order that the reader may study them *as a whole,*" he wrote in the article "Imperialism and the Split of Socialism". "And they should be studied, they are worth carefully pondering over."[15] "But just think how Engels put the question"[16]—this characteristic appeal to the reader reveals Lenin's own method of work, the essence of his creative activity.

We stress once again that this approach to the works of Engels enabled Lenin in new historical conditions to reveal the topical scientific and political significance of a particular work or thesis by him. To quote Lenin again. In June 1918, he wrote the article "Prophetic Words", in which he discussed Engels' "Preface to a Pamphlet by Sigismund Borkheim, 'In Memory of the German Arch-Patriots of 1806-1807'", dealing with possible consequences of a world war. Lenin wrote: "Frederick Engels had occasion in 1887 to write of the coming world war...

"What genius is displayed in this prophecy! And how infinitely rich in ideas is every sentence of this exact, clear, brief and scientific class analysis! How much could be learnt from it by those who are now shamefully succumbing to lack of faith, despondency and despair, if...if people who are accustomed to kowtow to the bourgeoisie, or who allow themselves to be frightened by it, could but think, were but capable of thinking!

"Some of Engels' predictions have turned out differently.... But what is most astonishing is that so many of Engels' predictions are turning out 'to the letter'. For Engels gave a perfectly exact class analysis, and classes and the relations between them have remained unchanged."[17]

This excerpt shows how Lenin valued Engels and his works. Against all manner of falsifiers and downright opponents of Marxism Lenin fought not only with the conviction of a scholar, but with all the ardour of a combatant. This irreconciliation with distortion of Marxism threads its way right through all his works.

Lenin's works also provide a basis for evaluating Engels' contribution to the creation of working-class political economy.[18] Having in mind such works of Engels as *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and *The Condition of the Working Class in England,* Lenin wrote: "Contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy."[19] Here Lenin states the fact that Engels was the first to study the problems of the political economy of capitalism, the first to apply the method of dialectical materialism to this science, the first to give an analysis of the consequences of the industrial revolution.

Lenin considered Engels' work over the second and third volumes of *Capital* to be a colossal *scientific* achievement. Recalling M. Adler's words to the effect that by publishing these volumes Engels had erected to his great friend a magnificent monument on which he unwittingly inscribed his own name, Lenin added: "Indeed these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels." [20]

Lenin showed that new phenomena of social life and tendencies of their development made Engels pay attention to the emergence of industrial associations (trusts, cartels) which somewhat changed the face of the capitalist economic system; Engels pointed to the role of the monopolies, to the "competition of conquest", to the appearance of a working-class aristocracy, to the possibility of a world war of unprecedented horror breaking out. But what Lenin valued most was Engels' absolute confidence in the eventual triumph of socialist revolution, which turned into reality owing to the activities of Lenin himself; it was Lenin who made a brilliant analysis of new phenomena and created the theory of imperialism—the pivot of his teaching.

In one of his early articles Lenin remarked that "Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class",[21] but that it is capable of liberating itself and mankind. That is, Engels was the first to formulate the basic postulate of scientific communism on the historic mission of the working class. Lenin gave a high assessment of Engels' elaboration of the problems of the state, the proletarian revolution, and the theory of the class struggle. His analysis clearly shows the difference between his approach to Engels' heritage from that of preceding historians of Marxism and biographers of Engels. In our view, Lenin convincingly expounded the general theoretical significance and the urgency of that aspect of Engels' works which showed, to paraphrase his words, "how to make and how not to make a revolution".

* * *

Lenin did not dwell in particular on the attempts made in his days to oppose Engels to Marx. In this connection one can only point to that section of *The State and Revolution* in which he discusses the alleged contradiction between the stands of the two founders of Marxism on the future of the state after socialist revolution.[22] Analysis of the relevant documents (Marx's letter of May 5, 1875, to Brucke and Engels' letter of March 28, 1875, to Bebel), Lenin said, testify that Marx and Engels *complemented* each other by drawing attention to different aspects of *the problem* of

the state; that in their totality their thoughts represented an integral solution worked out on the basis of single, general theoretical premises. We find this conception of the unity of activity of Marx and Engels in many of Lenin's works, above all in his exposition of the philosophical principles of Marxism, scientific communism, the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's liberation struggle, the lessons of the ideological struggle, etc. (See *Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Correspondence Between Marx and Engels, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, Letters on Tactics, Marxism and Insurrection, Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* etc.) Sometimes he laid special emphasis on their joint activity. For example, he wrote that Engels' *Anti-Dühring* was "in full conformity with this materialist philosophy of Marx's, and expounding it..."; [23] about the book *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy:* "In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—which expounded his own and Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy...".[24]

In fact Lenin's exposition of the theoretical significance of Engels' works, which we have already indicated above, was his response to the attempts to falsify them. He maintained that "to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's teaching and work for the development of the contemporary working-class movement".[25] This is an important methodological principle for students of the biography of Engels.

Lenin completed his idea with these words: "That is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker." [26] He attached paramount importance to the identity of views of Marx and Engels, to Engels' contribution to the integral theory of Marxism.

* * *

Lenin's works contain many important and interesting propositions and assessments that help to understand the various areas and aspects of the practical revolutionary activity of Engels; they deal with such problems in Engels' biography as the formation of his proletarian views, the value of his first works, his activity during the revolution of 1848-1849 and its significance. Let us see how Lenin elucidates Engels' activity in the years of the First International, since this is one of the controversial issues.

The new element that Lenin contributed to the elaboration of the history of the First International [27] and of the activity of Marx and Engels in it is most closely connected with his contribution to the development of Marxism. We emphasise: without reviving and

developing theory of the proletarian party, and of the teaching on its strategy and tactics, without carrying forward the doctrine of the class struggle and its forms, without elucidating the importance of scientific theory, without theoretical exposition of the process of combining theory with the mass working-class movement, without a more profound analysis of the class and epistemological roots of Right and "Left" opportunism—without doing all this it would have been impossible to clarify the true meaning of the activity of Marx and Engels in the International and assess its historic significance.

To grasp the contribution of Engels to the First International one must appreciate Lenin's determination of the historical role of the International Working Men's Association. Lack of historicism in studying the International led (and sometimes leads today) to incorrect conclusions that it was futile and collapsed. The inevitable consequence is a distorted notion of the activity of Marx and Engels in it. Like the founders of Marxism, Lenin continued to regard the First International as a particular stage in the development of the proletarian struggle. And while Marx and Engels proceeded from a scientific forecast of the course of that development, Lenin made his assessment of the basis of an analysis of that stage in the history of the working-class movement as a whole.

Lenin's definition of the historic role of the First International was based on the specific features of the situation in which it had emerged, on the historic tasks then facing the working-class movement; he proceeded from a periodisation of contemporary history and of the revolutionary process, and showed how the tendencies inherent in the First International were realised in the onward march of the working-class movement.

Already in 1894 Lenin came out, in his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats?*, against the assertions of N. Mikhailovsky that the efforts of the International were futile (the case concerned attempts to put an end to national strife between working people). Lenin's method became manifest immediately. He showed that the point was not that the First International had failed to end national hostility, and that the problem could be solved only by following the path indicated by the International, only by uniting the oppressed, by setting up national proletarian organisations and uniting them into one international army to combat international capital.[28] Lenin said that the First International had proved the feasibility of achieving such international unity of the working class; that herein lay the current and historical significance of its experience.[29] And later on he repeatedly spoke of the role of the International precisely from

the viewpoint of the need to realise the tendencies inherent in it, and of the possibility of doing so.[30]

Particularly important in this respect are such works of Lenin's as *Under a False Flag, The Third Communist International,* and *The Third International and Its Place in History.* Lenin's periodisation of contemporary history from the point of view of the world revolutionary process and its pattern for the first time created a basis for determining the historical tasks of the working class at every stage, and, consequently, the tasks of the First International as well. Its emergence was, according to that periodisation, a logical result of the class struggle. The fact that the International arose between two epochs accounts for its specific ideological and organisational features.

On the other hand, having shown that the revolutionary process was undergoing qualitative changes and passing through a number of stages, Lenin revealed its unity on the historical plane and the continuity of its various stages. The creation of mass proletarian parties on a national scale was therefore the continuation of the cause of the First International in new conditions, and not a break with its traditions.

Lenin's method requires examining the history of the International in the light of the tendencies which it had initiated and which were developed later on. In other words, the International Working Men's Association appears not merely as a historically conditioned form of unification that we have already gone through and finished with, but as the starting point of today's working-class movement, as something living that has come down to us. Lenin said: "The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital."[31] He affirmed that the communist movement is a continuation of the cause of the First International, that it has taken over its banner.

Lenin was the first to make a comprehensive analysis (especially in *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx*) of the affinity of the history of the working-class movement with the history of development and spread of Marxism as of two aspects of one single process. This affinity is today the starting point of all Marxist studies of the history of the First International and of the activity of Engels as one of its leaders and organisers. Lenin's thesis explicitly showed the general direction of the activities of the founders of Marxism in the International Working Men's Association—from the organisation of joint actions, through ideological struggles and elimination of the influence of pre-Marxist socialism to ideological unity of the working-class movement, to a uniform tactics of struggle for socialism.

Lenin's evaluation of the ideological struggle in the International on the national question promotes understanding of Engels' activity in that body. Before Lenin this aspect of the struggle of Marx and Engels was either neglected or distorted. In *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1914) Lenin showed the theoretical and practical significance of Marx's and Engels' elaboration of the Polish and Irish questions in the years of the International, underlining the proletarian internationalist character of their tactics.[32] This fundamentally new proposition could be formulated only in connection with the further development of Marxist theory on the national question, and with an assessment of national liberation movements as a component part of revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, as a potential ally of the proletariat. Lenin also clarified the purport of the ideological struggle within the working-class movement. And he went deeper into the problem than did the Left-wing German Social-Democracy. Special emphasis should be laid on his thesis that anarchism is not revolutionary in comparison with Marxism. With reference to Engels' article "On Authority" Lenin wrote: "Social-Democrats, claiming to be disciples of Engels, have argued on this subject against the anarchists millions of times since 1873, but they have *not* argued as Marxists could and should. The anarchist idea of the abolition of the state is muddled and *non-revolutionary*—that is how Engels put it."[33]

In describing the epoch in which "the First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope*, and *mass* socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed",[34] Lenin gave a precise characterisation of the activities of Marx and Engels in those years. He wrote: "...*In those days*, after the defeat of the Paris Commune, history made slow organisational and educational work the task of the day. Nothing else was possible.

"Marx and Engels gauged the times accurately; they understood the international situation; they understood that the approach to the beginning of the social revolution must be *slow*."[35]

This definition of the nature of the new era in the development of Marxism and the working-class movement, which Lenin supplemented with the remark that the growth of Marxism proceeded *"in scope"*, "at the cost of...a temporary strengthening of opportunism",[36] helps us to grasp the essence of Engels' activity in the 1870s-1890s and reveals its *objective* basis. The spread of Marxism led to its triumph over all forms of utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism and to its consolidation in the working-

class movement as a dominant ideology. Moreover, the role of Marx and Engels and their activities became the key factor in the development of the working-class movement. The importance of the founders of Marxism "as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew continuously, because the movement itself grew uninterruptedly",[37] Lenin wrote. Engels played a particularly great role after the death of Marx, when he "continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German socialists, whose strength, despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age."[38] This passage vividly and accurately describes Engels' role in general—his role as "counsellor and leader", his tremendous and diversified work, his contacts with the international working-class movement as a whole. It should be noted that to Lenin the working-class movement was an integral whole, and that he regarded Engels' activity as a guide for the international working-class movement, and not as a sum-total of separate and unconnected actions in relation to this or that national contingent of the proletariat (this fact is of major importance to researchers). This thesis of Lenin's on the dialectic of the international and the national constitutes the starting point for gaining a proper understanding of Engels' activity in the last years of his life. It helps us to appreciate the fact that even after the dissolution of the First International, the international unity of the working-class movement did not disappear, that the theoretical and practical work of Marx and Engels, and that of Engels' alone after the death of Marx, was decisive in attaining that unity.

Lenin paid greater attention to two trends in the activity of Engels in those years—to his theoretical work and his ideological struggle (he studied the organising role of Engels less because many documents, including letters addressed to Engels, were unavailable at the time).

Lenin studied most carefully all documents that threw light on Engels' ideological struggle with reformism and opportunism, as well as with "Left" sectarianism. He showed that the destiny of the working-class movement was greatly affected by Engels' struggle against the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, against the penetration of anti-working-class views in the socialist movement, whatever forms they assumed.

Lenin always admired Engels' energetic and tireless participation in the working-class movement. "Engels...flung himself into

the fight with the ardour of youth,"[39] he wrote of his activity in the period of preparations for the International Congress of 1889.

* * *

Lenin was always attracted by Engels the scholar and fighter, by his lucid mind, enormous range of knowledge, inexhaustible energy and warm heart. In Engels' works and experience of revolutionary struggle Lenin sought and found ideas for the further development of theory, and for struggle for its implementation. This is why till this day Lenin's legacy provides material (which is exceptionally important in depth of ideas and accuracy of analysis) for elaborating all aspects of the life and works of Engels, one of the great founders of scientific socialism.

NOTES

1 *An Index of the Complete Works of Lenin,* Part 2, Moscow, 1970, pp. 339-356 (works by Engels—pp. 349-356) (in Russian).
2 *Lenin's Library in the Kremlin. A Catalogue,* Moscow, 1961, pp. 33-66, 111-120 (in Russian).
3 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 91.
4 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 19.
5 Ibid., Vol. 19, p. 558.
6 Ibid., Vol. 15, p. 405.
7 Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 39.
8 Ibid., Vol. 19, p. 554.
9 Ibid., Vol. 15, p. 404
10 Ibid., p. 405.
11 Ibid., p. 406.
12 Ibid., Vol. 18, p. 357.
13 Ibid., p. 358.
14 Ibid., Vol. 11, pp. 213, 214.
15 Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 113.
16 Ibid., p. 119.
17 Ibid., Vol. 27, pp. 494, 495.
18 For details, see L. A. Leontiev, *Engels and the Economic Doctrine of Marxism,* Moscow, 1965; A. I. Malysh, *F. Engels and Proletarian Political Economy,* Moscow, 1970 (both in Russian).
19 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 2, p. 24.
20 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
21 Ibid., p. 22.
22 Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 456 and further.

23 Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 51.
24 Ibidem.
25 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 19.
26 Ibid., p. 20.
27 See P. N. Pospelov, "V. I. Lenin on the Historic Significance of the First International", *Voprosy istorii KPSS,* 1964, No. 4; *The First International in Historical Science,* Moscow, 1968, pp. 77-89, 97-102; R. Sh. Tagirov, *Russian and Soviet Historiography of the First International,* Part I, Kazan, 1968 (both in Russian).
28 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 155.
29 Ibid., p. 156.
30 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 176; Vol. 6, p. 37; Vol. 13, p. 82.
31 Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 306.
32 Ibid., Vol. 20, p. 442.
33 Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 438.
34 Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 49.
35 Ibid., Vol. 24, p. 87.
36 Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 306.
37 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 26.
38 Ibidem.
39 Ibid., Vol. 12, p. 369.

The Origins of the Crisis in Western Philosophico-Aesthetic Consciousness

KONSTANTIN DOLGOV

In this article I am going to continue the analysis of the relation between existentialism and phenomenology begun some ten years ago,[1] aiming at a deeper penetration into the causes of the crisis in modern Western aesthetics.

In our view, phenomenology and existentialism have brought out with particular clarity the critical state of bourgeois philosophico-aesthetic consciousness in the 20th century. The very emphasis on the role and function of art and aesthetics in both of these trends is, we believe, a kind of symptom of this critical condition. Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, who set himself the task of reviving the humanist content of philosophy and exorcising the positivist obsession and vacuous system-building, initiated a powerful trend in philosophy marked by a clearly realised desire for a rigorous science. In his opinion, phenomenology inherited such a rigorous science, while existentialism, on the contrary, mounted sharp attacks on scientific philosophy. Nevertheless the development of both of these trends ultimately brought about similar results—their general crisis.

Half a century of the development of phenomenology and existentialism has shown that the impressive phenomenological studies and the strikingly non-traditional writings of the existentialists were essentially guided by a single methodological principle and strove for the same kind of content.

It has become clear in historical prospect that existentialism is neither phenomenology gone bad, as Husserl believed, nor a distortion of it, but rather its self-exposure. It is a result of the development of the fundamental Husserlian premises in the

posthumous publications of Husserl himself and in the sum-total of the activities of his followers and disciples. Phenomenology had prepared by degrees, as it were, the coming break with the scientific tradition, while existentialism inherited those of its features that determined their rapprochement and common historical destiny.

Thus, if it is a question of incorporating them into some school of theoretical thought, we ought to refer them, despite the feelings of the adepts themselves, to the school of idealistic aesthetics opposing the trend of realism.

In existentialism, this tendency is on the surface, made clear by the open rejection of scientific philosophy and the hostile attitude to the sovereignty of scientific thinking. The deviation from and, indeed, radical opposition to, the philosophical tradition is sufficiently clear from the self-determination of existentialism with regard to it. This is patently obvious in Martin Heidegger's etymological game with the concepts of ancient Greek philosophy, in his quest for predecessors. He was more artful than the Pied Piper of Hamelin, engaging in debate the great Western philosophers as well as the Greek symposion with a single aim in view—to show that philosophy is defective in its very origins, having only a tenuous bond with man whom it has been unable to discard for more than two millennia.

The range of problems in existentialism is akin to the eternal themes of art: human existence, the meaning of life, responsibility, freedom, etc. It would therefore be easy to show that existentialism is primarily oriented towards the aesthetic rather than the scientific consciousness. There is another essential point here. Existentialism acquired the status of a philosophical doctrine precisely through phenomenology and not by its own efforts. It therefore seems more worthwhile here to ask the question: in what way did it obtain this philosophical sanction? How did it come about that Husserl's titanic attempt to revive the scientific prestige of philosophy came to naught and was transformed into a re-orientation towards unscientific consciousness at the hand of the existentialists? What features of phenomenology facilitated the formation of defiantly anti-scientific mental attitudes and the appearance on the philosophical scene of "a generation steeped in prejudice and driven by psychoses, which wants to see and hear nothing of scientific philosophy"?[2]

* * *

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), a mathematician and later an enthusiastic psychologist and epistemologist, levelled shattering criticism at all contemporary philosophical trends from the rather

unexpected position of objective truth. In his search for Truth, however, there is more than the epistemologist's obsession. If it were merely the lack of theoretical clarity on the meaning of the 'realities' discovered by the sciences of nature and spirit that worried us, he mused. But, no: our need is vital and acute, enveloping the whole of our life.[3]

In an atmosphere of stagnation, when philosophical positivism naively and enthusiastically extrapolated its scientific results in specific fields to the spiritual domain, when psychologism and empiriocriticism exaggerated the relativity of experimental knowledge, while idealist philosophers propounded arbitrary theoretical schemas, Husserl set the task of constructing a genuinely scientific philosophy. He believed that its scientific content should be revealed in the ability to formulate its problems independently and to develop a specific methodology corresponding to the essential nature of these problems. He wanted to make possible a life governed by the pure norms of reason[4] and have scientific philosophy discard unintelligible learning borrowed from natural-scientific "physicalist" knowledge and avoid the following of pseudoscientific models. And this is exactly what phenomenology is. Starting from the lowest level of clearly perceived things, it was called upon, according to Husserl, to open up the horizons for the development of mankind by liberating itself from the obliquely symbolising and mathematising methods. Having grasped the meaning of the principles underlying the structure of cognising consciousness, phenomenology would give a sort of instructions to history.

Husserl's belief in the exceptional mission of phenomenology remained unshaken throughout the first three decades of the 20th century, with all their ideological and social cataclysms. He naively believed that a delay in his theoretical work facilitated the explosive historical catastrophe, which he viewed as a crisis of rationalism gone astray. To convince oneself of that, one need only compare two of his works—*Philosophy as a Strict Science,* a kind of phenomenological manifesto, summing up the findings of his earlier, large work *Logical Investigations* and revealing its meaning, and *The Crisis of European Sciences.* This latter work was the acme of *Husserliana* as a world outlook, revealing the author's belief, unshaken by the tragic conflicts of the age, that it was possible to make erring humanity see reason, provided phenomenological philosophy was able to disclose the real face of humanity and the appropriate direction of historical development.

In building the edifice of phenomenology in a period of acute cultural crisis, Husserl drew on the stock of ideas accumulated through the ages by European thought. He intended phenomenology to be the development of the basic themes of ancient and

Cartesian philosophies and made a particularly careful study of Plato, Leibnitz, Descartes, Kant, assimilating the life-giving *motifs* of their philosophies which stimulated independent creation.

While feeling quite free in his choice of predecessors, Husserl reserved the right of phenomenology to be completely independent of any other philosophical system: impulses for research should come from objects and problems rather than from philosophy, he wrote.[5]

Despite his wide-ranging interests, Husserl was, in the very spirit of his philosophising, primarily an adept of the ideas of two great minds—Descartes and Kant. His own philosophical "faith", like his methodology, was largely formed by assimilating the intersecting elements of Cartesianism and Kantian transcendental idealism.

Husserl personally preferred Descartes. "No philosopher of the past," he wrote, "had such a decisive influence on the development of phenomenology as France's greatest thinker René Descartes. It must honour him as its true precursor."[6]

We shall not question the indubitable kinship of Cartesian philosophy and phenomenology as regards the problems they cover and their methodology. This is perfectly obvious in their mutual tireless search for unified and clear foundations of philosophical knowledge. We see radical Cartesian methodological doubt in phenomenological reduction, in the *epochē* operation ensuring unbiased philosophical consideration. The principle of clarity, truly an obsession with Husserl, is also borrowed from Descartes, who insisted that things which we apprehend quite clearly and distinctly are true.[7] Like Descartes, the only authentic reality that Husserl recognises is the content of our consciousness.

There is a difference, however: Cartesian omnipotent reason finds the prototype of the real world in the content of consciousness, the mind's certitudes acting like "levers" in the assimilation of reality by reason, while Husserl erases or cuts off the predicate of mental operations.

"In the seventeenth century, metaphysics (cf. Descartes, Leibnitz, and others) still contained a *positive,* secular element", wrote Marx and Engels. "It made discoveries in mathematics, physics and other exact sciences which seemed to come within its scope. This semblance was done away with as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. The positive sciences broke away from metaphysics and marked out their own independent fields. The whole wealth of metaphysics now consisted only of beings of thought and heavenly things, at the very time when real beings and earthly things began to be the centre of all interest."[8] We can observe something similar in the 20th century, too.

Having no interest in heavenly things, Husserl nevertheless

reduced the content of Cartesian philosophy to beings of thought. In substantiating the intentionality of consciousness, he looks towards the products of consciousness as a basis for genuine philosophising, ruling out any idea of reality, of being. It is only the directly perceptible reflection of being in consciousness that is within the province of philosophical consideration, he remarked. All investigation should be directed at the scientific cognition of the essence of consciousness, and at the existence of consciousness in all its diverse structures.[9]

"As far as cognition is concerned, it is necessary to take into consideration two things alone: ourselves as those who know things and the things themselves that must be known," [10] asserts Descartes. His *corpus cogitans* doubts, understands, asserts, negates, feels, etc., signifying the coming of the era of great discoveries. Husserl, on the other hand, encloses knowledge within certain limits, as it were. Classical rationalism is oriented at reality, while phenomenology turns cognition to "pure consciousness", to out-and-out subjectivity, in its search for a solid foundation of philosophy. Such was the result of Husserlian elaboration of classical rationalism.

Giving the Cartesian *motifs* in phenomenology their due, we should, however, bear in mind that only an analysis of the links between phenomenology and Kantian philosophy will solve the riddle of the destructive transformations of classical rationalism in it, which resulted in a reshaping of Western philosophy along aesthetic lines.

Descartes was a great help in the quest for a unified basis of knowledge, found in the content of consciousness, whereas the teleological structure of the transcendental subject's cognising consciousness along with his humanist orientation of cognitive practical activity, Husserl borrowed from Kant. It appears, however, that Husserl neglected the most important contribution of Kant's *Critiques* to the new historical stage in the development of rationalism. He repeats the operation of the subjective idealist elaboration of philosophical heritage, which in Cartesian philosophy left intact the types of reflexive activity of consciousness. With Husserl, however, it completely annihilates the rationalist aspect of Kantianism, rejecting the very essence of Kant's "Copernican revolution" in cognition.

We should recall that the significance of this revolution lay in changing the standpoint, in stopping the metaphysical trend of thought by a sober self-evaluation of epistemological idealism, and in treating the work of consciousness and its principles as something heuristic, facilitating the knowledge of reality which by no means is identical with it in its structure. Kant's conscientiousness and a rigorously scientific attitude compelled him to recognise

that intellectual cognitive schemes had no ontological weight, nor were they suitable for cognising the essence of man, whom Kant, in opposition to Descartes, placed outside the natural domain. These schemes, developed in application to the natural sciences, were worthless when applied to a domain within the competence of reason. Reason sets the goals of intellectual activity from a position of higher humanist values, and the scientific task of philosophy, according to Kant, lies in clarifying the properly human goals and the meaning of all cognitive object domains: "In this respect, philosophy is the science of the relation of all knowledge to the essential goals of human reason *(teleologia rationis humanae)*." [11] However, the supremacy of reason (and this should be stressed) was interpreted by Kant as having only a subjective practical reality. Objectively, the teleological structure of being was conceived hypothetically.

It would be wrong to say that Kant or consistent Kantians emphasised the significance of some ontological form or other. Usually Kant infected the scholar with a kind of methodological inertia, compelling him to reproduce Kant's progress within the framework of his critique of consciousness. But, if one overcomes this inertia and, using the totality of oblique references and evidence, reconstructs the general picture of his thinking, abstracting its ontological projection, one will see that he was not satisfied by the "negative ontology" of the thing in itself. In Kant, critical reflexion is attended and anticipated by its ontological model linked with the aesthetic capacity for judgement.

Art, in its hypostasis of being rather than in relation to the soul's capacities, is viewed by Kant as the only ontological field in which the rationalist conception of the world is modelled. The teleological and cause-and-effect explanations of the world, which have a merely regulative significance for the subject's cognitive activity, are endowed by him in the sphere of art with constitutive principles, that is, real ontological characteristics.

* * *

Neo-Kantians, following the letter of Kantian philosophy, have been active mostly in the sphere of epistemological formalism, while phenomenologists, beginning with Husserl himself, attempted to rationalise the latent premises of critical philosophy. Ignoring "the thing in itself" as an entirely gratuitous element of the idealist system, they were literally infected with the Kantian idea of humanist control and regulation of cognitive activity, aspiring to make Kant's transcendentalism the basis for a

philosophical analysis of the ultimate principles of man's being—man's essence and the meaning of existence.

Discarding as an anachronism certain confusing mythical concepts of intellect and reason, which were so thoroughly worked out and differentiated by Kant, Husserl painstakingly reproduces his schema of the transcendental subject. This schema is to be observed in every man's individual consciousness (any psychological subject, according to Husserl, is a carrier of the pure form of the transcendental subject); every act of consciousness proceeds according to this schema and all fields of social practice are constituted on its basis. Indeed, history itself turns out to be a realisation of the imperative of transcendental consciousness.

Such is the phenomenological basis, the unshakeable foundation of the genuine, rigorously scientific philosophy.

Husserl stated with satisfaction that phenomenology had grown into a universal ontology, a certain unity of all *a priori* conceivable sciences, realised and improved on the basis of the phenomenological method. He called phenomenology a universal eidetic ontology embracing all spheres of human knowledge. In his view, it brought out the interconnections between the transcendental "source" and any objects whatsoever. The potential range of phenomenology included metaphysical, teleological, ethical, logical, historico-philosophical—that is to say, all possible problems.

The founder of phenomenology considered that all spiritual structures were rooted in it and patterned according to it, and could only be understood rationally in the light of the transcendental "ego".

In his early period, Husserl turned to the structure of transcendental consciousness to ensure the scientific character of philosophy, and save it from positivist and relativist degeneration. Later Husserl appealed to it as an unshakeable foundation of mankind's historical destiny, the last sensible argument to which a defender of rational culture might resort in the face of the crisis within the bourgeois world. In the shadow of an imminent world catastrophe, old Prospero urgently chants incantations, appealing to reason which has gone astray: "The 'crisis of European existence'... is not an obscure fate, an impenetrable destiny; rather, it becomes understandable and transparent against the background of the *teleology of European history* than can be discovered philosophically. ...In order to be able to comprehend the disarray of the present 'crisis', we had to work out the *concept of Europe as the historical teleology of the infinite goals of reason*... The 'crisis' could then become distinguishable as the *apparent failure of rationalism.* The reason for the failure of a rational culture, however, ...lies not in the essence of rationalism itself but solely in its being rendered superficial, in its entanglement in 'naturalism' and 'objectivism'." [12]

Now, in what way was the transcendental subject's teleological structure transformed into the constitutive principle of ontology?

Annoyed at the failure of the public to understand his *Critique of Pure Reason,* Kant reverted to its problems in his *Critique of Judgment,* and in the *Prolegomena to Every Future Metaphysic* he took particularly great pains to make clear the meaning of his "Copernican revolution". With the aid of graphic examples accompanying each thesis, he tried to explain even to readers unaccustomed to meditation the idea of the limits of teleological conceptions, which have absolute ontological value only in works of art, the creation of which is preceded by setting the goal (we might recall here Kant's concept of genius). In art, the justification for correlating the object with the subject's notion, experience, emotion, or opinion is not questioned, for in this exceptional case the object is deduced from subjectivity. However, the "*foundations of aesthetics... cannot embrace all things* (italics mine.— *K. D.*), for in that case all things would become mere appearances".[13]

Husserl pays no heed to Kant's explanations and his interpretations on many occasions run counter to the Königsberg thinker's world outlook. While assimilating the transcendental subject's teleological structure, he ignores its premise and changes its modality with regard to reality. Kant's tentative correspondence between consciousness and being (with the exception of art, as was pointed out) turns, in Husserl's system, into identification of the structures of being and consciousness, the foundations of aesthetics becoming accordingly the constitutive principle of ontology.

Fundamental ontology thus finds a platform on which may be built a mythical picture of the cultural-historical process that could compete with similar pictures of romantic philosophy. What logic prompted Husserl to extrapolate the Kantian model of subjectivity to history? Given Kant's aversion to daydreaming idealism, it is certain that he would have regarded the idea of mankind's innate teleology as an absurd prejudice.

One will hardly be misled by the terminological similarity between the idea of mankind's innate teleology and Kant's notion of mankind endowed with the ability to set goals. In this case Husserl actually disregards Kant's socio-cultural concepts. According to Kant, *culture* as applied to the individual is "the emergence of a reasonable being's ability to set any goals in general".[14] In an individual subject, culture develops the freedom of goal-setting creation, but the socio-cultural process escapes the control of the goal-setting subject: certain blind forces of social mechanics come into play here. Kant outlines the dialectics of the socio-cultural process: the division of labour, inequality and oppression bring about the development of individual culture; the gap between mental and physical labour ensures the development of the arts

and sciences. In their turn, "the fine arts and sciences... prepare... man for the kind of dominance where reason alone will have power".[15] To them is allotted the function of education, of influencing the individual, whose efforts are the only means of consolidating rational goal-setting in real history.

Persistently endowing subjectivity with the kind of general significance which it has in art alone, where our conceptions of what is due are freely realised in the structure of being, Husserl thrusts the goal-setting reason on history itself, distorting and shattering the rationalist tradition.

Both the old and new philosophies have always been and are naively objectivist, he wrote.[16] The ontological constants deduced by traditional philosophy are in no way related to man's essence. Dead results of cognitive activity are raised to an absolute and opposed to the living life of consciousness. Husserl was confused by the powerful effect of the object under study on cognising consciousness, which resulted in the "spirit" adopting doubtful methods of self-formation. This is fraught with the danger of the naturalisation of reason, the disappearance of meaning and the naturalisation of ideas and, along with these, of all absolute ideals and norms; it gives birth to a false ideal of culture which is fundamentally alien to man and, as a consequence, the crisis of man's existence.

Mutually contradictory images of the world disorient the individual who is left by philosophy to the mercy of fate. He is surrounded by the phantoms of loneliness and the senselessness of being.

> *We must be going mad in this confusion*
> *Of artificial reasons, spaces, times...*

These lines, written by Alexander Blok in 1912, the year after the phenomenological manifesto was written, are singularly in harmony with Husserl's uneasy and critical attitude, which remained characteristic of him throughout his scholarly activity.

We should do justice to the steadfastness and courage of the philosopher, who upheld the humanist ideal of Reason at a time of inflation of spiritual values, when there was only one alternative left for Western philosophy—scientism or irrationalism.

Husserl's sophisticated methodological innovations present certain difficulties in the assimilation of his ideas. However, this goes hand in hand with the missionary-like enthusiasm of his appeals to reason. "Unreason, blind day-to-day existence in dark, lazy passivity, neglecting any preoccupation with genuine knowledge of the beautiful and the good—these are the things that make man unhappy, urging him to pursue worthless goals," [17] that was his unending complaint.

Husserl appealed to every man not to succumb to the temptation of the hackneyed ready-made forms stocked by consciousness, to overcome the inertia of intellectual clichés and intentions which escape the control of reason and threaten to turn into blind forces making inroads into the cultural process. These appeals are also the special task of phenomenological reflexion. The philosopher must "always devote himself to mastering the true and full sense of philosophy, the totality of its horizons of infinity".[18] He must throw light into the dark corners of life, taking account of and introducing into our field of vision the whole of the deep pre-history of the present in order to be able to pass on to the future an undistorted image of the genuinely human sense, for "the development of the *future* is the *preoccupation of the living...*".[19]

The awesome symptoms of the crisis of bourgeois culture compelled Husserl, as we have pointed out, to revise all of its foundations, that is, according to the ontological model of phenomenology, to critically analyse philosophical thought, which has lost its humanist dimension because of its orientation at the object.

All of Husserl's excursions into history had the goal of determining the limits of reflexion unobscured by the distortions of impulses coming from the object. His objective was to discover the primordial life of consciousness, to reveal the genuinely scientific basis of philosophy (in this sense he calls phenomenology, with every justification, philosophical archaeology).

However, we may now judge more definitely the results of Husserl's "archaeological researches". Their meaning, which was apparently not clear to Husserl himself, was brought out into the open in the form of a parody, as it were,—in particular in Heidegger. Treading the same path as his teacher, Heidegger aims at a general reorientation of philosophy at prescientific and extrascientific thought, at art. We believe, however, that Husserl was the first to cross, unawares, the line that separates philosophy from non-philosophical thinking in his pursuit of the vanishing horizon of pure human essence.

* * *

In so far as phenomenological concerns are primarily focused on the concept of subjectivity, let us take a closer look at the changes wrought in transcendental subjectivity, whose teleological schema is so widely applied in phenomenology.

First of all, as we have indicated, Husserl does away with the transcendental subject's naive objectivism.

The Kantian subject is introduced as having a double support, as it were. On the one hand, it is supported by the senses and intellect linked with empirical reality, and on the other, by reason, perceiving man's higher objectives, contemplating God, so to speak.

Husserl's transcendental subject no longer has any of these archaic features, and at the same time he is deprived of links with reality. Phenomenological procedures create gaps that cannot be filled in. The subject of phenomenology is an ontological homunculus separated from reality by the conditions of his birth and locked in an imaginary intelligible time and space whose coordinates are not correlated with real space and historical time.

The category of intentionality, which Husserl intended as a means for neutralising the reverse effect of the object on the consciousness which is concerned with it, introduces disarray into consciousness itself, though it does eliminate the danger of any distortion of subjectivity. Being always, by its very nature, a "consciousness-of", it turns out to be aimed at itself alone, entirely absorbed in the technique of realisation. In Kant, the *a priori* structure of consciousness is characterised primarily by the formal element (concepts are logical functions, lending form to empirical data), while in Husserl both the formation of content and the content of consciousness itself are inherent in its structure.

Husserl's transcendental subject has no analogues in the philosophical tradition, either in structure or the nature of his activity. This activity or, to be more precise, the intentional life of consciousness, is not to be reduced to categorial deduction nor can it be defined in concepts. "It is part of the peculiarity of consciousness generally to be continually fluctuating in different dimensions, so that there can be no talk of fixing any eidetic concreta or any of the phases which enter immediately into their constitution with conceptual exactness,"[20] Husserl pointed out.

In other words, "conceptual exactness" apart, the founder of phenomenology reproduces Kant's description of the living movement of spiritual forces which accompanies experiencing an aesthetic idea in the shape of a visionary image.

Husserl sees the task of phenomenology as that of freeing the creative potential from the influence of epistemological formalism. However, the logic of rejecting objectively determined cognitive activity leads him to the limits of aesthetic reflection, so that instead of a newly discovered form of philosophy he seems to be discovering the familiar characteristic types of aesthetic judgment elaborated by Kant, in which 'definition of the subject and his feelings rather than of the object is meant".[21]

Husserl opposed the traditional reduction of human knowledge to scientific objective cognition, eliminating the rich spectrum of

sensual cognition, of direct subjective perception. In order to set higher goals, in Kant's terms, for intellectual activity and to confine its positivist tendency, he attempted to reunite the senses and the intellect, subjective experience and conception, in an integral, sense-forming whole. Thus he chooses quite an unexpected path towards correlating the activity of consciousness with human essence.

All this took place, as has been noted, against a background of acute dehumanisation of European culture and science. This real and menacing situation made Husserl literally fearful of any abstraction and differentiation. He strove to retain at any cost the integral meaning of human life, to grasp it in the concreteness of subjective experience, drawing emotional and volitional characteristics into the cognitive act as the guarantee of genuine and humanist philosophical consideration. This intention remained unavailing, however.

As a result, phenomenology is merely lost in a thicket of concepts that are virtually untranslatable into the language of traditional philosophy.

We have intentionally selected certain points of contiguity between phenomenology and traditional philosophy to bring out more clearly the essence of the transformations which Husserl used as instruments for preventing the edifice of Western philosophy from collapsing. It seems at first striking, indeed, unheard-of in scientific philosophy, to include into its subject matter emotional characteristics, the conditions under which things conceived are experienced at the moment of thinking and the integral intellectual-emotional process. We have been at pains to show that this is not so much the task of philosophy as the traditional prerogative of art, of a historically determined domain of artistic consciousness, theoretically substantiated in aesthetics.

In other words, in joining the philosophical tradition, Husserl became an aesthetician rather than a philosopher. Reuniting subjective experience and conception, the sensual and the rational, he brought together the objects of philosophical concern and artistic images, the latter indeed being endowed with the general validity of concepts and the integral structure of subjective experience. It appears that the unrealised ideal of philosophical consideration, according to Husserl, is artistic thought, art in general. That is the root, in our view, of his respect for everybody consciousness and the sphere of the immediately obvious, which Husserl postulates as something supreme, a carrier of the humanist values.

Husserl endowed subjectivity with a general validity which it only has in art. That was the outcome of his sustained effort of many years to provide a rigorously scientific philosophical

substantiation for the meaning of human life. The living world, "I-myself, with all of my actual and possible knowing life and, ultimately, my concrete life in general"[22]—that is the source of his "scientific" philosophy, which he called upon to save the world from destruction. And that is precisely the point where phenomenology is obviously crossing into neighbouring territory. But the unified basis of culture discovered by phenomenology and intended to eliminate the contradiction between the disjointed links of humanitarian and natural scientific knowledge, the basis that was to become the focus of the totality of spiritual and cultural values, apparently lies outside the competence of scientific philosophy. At the end of his life, Husserl himself wrote of "the poetry of the history of philosophy" *(Dichtung der Philosophiegeschichte).*

Husserl's unconscious conversion to artistic and aesthetic positions was supported and developed by his numerous disciples and followers. It was variously interpreted in different ideological and spiritual situations of existentialism; in Heidegger, for instance, it became the starting point of his destructive critique of the humanist tradition, and in Jaspers, on the contrary, the source of new hopes for reinterpreting philosophy in the spirit of "axial time".

The model of culture substantiated through art is widely current in phenomenological conceptions. In some cases art is regarded as the living picture of socio-cultural practice, as the generator of meaning for the whole of modern culture; in others, a return is postulated to the primordial genuineness of art, and so on. In other words, the betrayal of traditional philosophy brought together, as it were, phenomenology and existentialism. This rapprochement was so close that one may even speak of creative cooperation between these two trends, manifested in the middle of the 20th century in the noticeable re-orientation of thinking at artistic consciousness, art, epistemology modelled after artistic thought, at aesthetics generating ontology.

It appeared that philosophy and aesthetics could at last quench their thirst for reality. However, "non-traditional" philosophy is dominated by a fully traditional idealistic aesthetics, which conceptually rejects reflection of reality. Phenomenology and existentialism, which raise certain characteristics of art to an absolute and hypostatise them, create in our view a disorienting ontology leaving no hope for reality. Because of their inability to orient themselves in the real socio-political and historical situation, and despite their indubitable humanist tendencies, phenomenology and existentialism are carriers of a dangerous and essentially antihuman message.

It was not by chance that the phenomenological ideas of reactivating history and of a humanist transformation of culture degenerated into conceptions of permanent upheaval, constant return, counter-culture, new sensuality, etc.

These and the numerous similar models of culture now current in the West are evidence of obvious confusion of bourgeois thought in the face of the new problems of reality.

The problems of the humanisation of culture and the assimilation of cultural heritage, which are beyond the powers of bourgeois philosophico-aesthetical consciousness, find a genuinely scientific solution in Marxist-Leninist theory and in the practice of socialist and communist construction.

NOTES

1 See, in particular, our article "The Social Nature of Art in the Phenomenological Aesthetics of M. Dufrenne and G. Morpurgo-Taliabue", *Art and Society,* Moscow, 1972, pp. 95-147 (in Russian).

2 *Husserliana,* Vols. 1-8, The Hague, 1950-1959, Vol. 1, p. XXVII.

3 E. Husserl, *Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft,* Frankfort on the Main, 1965, p. 65.

4 Ibid., p. 7.

5 Ibid., p. 71.

6 *Husserliana,* Vol. 1, p. 3.

7 René Descartes, *Oeuvres et lettres,* 1952, Bruges, p. 284.

8 K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Holy Family", *Collected Works,* Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, p. 126.

9 E. Husserl, *Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft,* p. 21.

10 René Descartes, *Oeuvres et lettres,* p. 75.

11 I. Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft,* Leipzig, 1971, p. 845.

12 E. Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology. An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy,* Evanston, 1970, p. 299.

13 I. Kant, *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik,* Leipzig, 1979, p. 69.

14 I. Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* Leipzig, 1948, p. 300.

15 Ibid., p. 303.

16 E. Husserl, *Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft.*

17 *Husserliana,* Vol. VII, "Erste Philosophie", p. 10.

18 Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences...* p. 291.

19 *Husserliana,* Vol. VI, p. 489.

20 E. Husserl, *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology,* London, 1931, p. 209.

21 *Immanuel Kants Werke,* Vol. V, Berlin, 1914, p. 203.

22 *Husserliana,* Vol. VI, p. 101.

Soviet Germanic Studies: Achievements and Plans

VICTORIA YARTSEVA,
NATALIA SEMENYUK

Germanic studies in the USSR became an independent branch of linguistics after the October Revolution of 1917. At the beginning of the century, the only serious research was being done at the University of St. Petersburg, where Fyodor Braun founded the first chair of Germanic philology in Russia. However, both the research work and the lectures were oriented towards historical and philological aspects and not strictly linguistic one.

The position of Germanic studies with relation to other branches of linguistics changed drastically in the mid-1930s. In 1935, a special study group was organised at the Language and Thought Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, to carry out research in Romance and Germanic languages. Several Soviet specialists in Germanic and general linguistics such as M. Gukhman, A. Desnitskaya, S. Katsnelson, V. Yartseva began their academic careers here under V. Zhirmunsky and V. Shishmarev. At that time the range of Germanic languages under study was gradually extended, as was the range of problems involved in the study of these languages. Germanic studies thus became a major branch of Soviet linguistics.

Research in the Germanic languages is at present being done not only in Moscow and Leningrad but in other large cities of the Soviet Union too. The need for well-trained teachers necessitated the founding of Chairs of Germanic Philology at universities and the foreign languages departments of teacher training institutes.

To meet the needs of higher educational establishments, a whole system of textbooks on the theory and history of separate

Germanic languages was compiled. These were written by major specialists on the Germanic languages who were active at the higher educational establishments and at the Academy. Publications of this kind are generally oriented towards modern theoretical achievements in general and Germanic linguistics, in particular, towards research findings by Soviet linguists which have been published in monographs and articles. Of considerable significance in this respect are the numerous works by specialists in the Germanic languages from the Institute of Linguistics, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Germanic linguistics received independent organisational status in 1950, when a special Sector of Germanic Languages was established at the Institute of Linguistics in Moscow, and Germanic specialists in Leningrad were included in the Indo-European Languages Department. Working at present at the Institute are specialists on various Germanic languages—English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, and Danish, as well as Afrikaans. Apart from modern languages, all of the old Germanic languages (particularly Gothic and Old Icelandic) are being studied at the Institute. Many specialists in Germanic languages also work in the field of general linguistics.

Marxist-Leninist methodology is the theoretical basis for research work in linguistics. A concrete manifestation of this in philological studies is the interpretation of the factual data of the individual languages on the basis of the general conception of language as the most important means of communication in society, and as, in Marx words, "the immediate actuality of thought". The dialectics of language development compels the linguistic researcher to distinguish the general laws of transformation of the language system which lie behind individual linguistic changes; that is precisely why the work of specialists on Germanic languages is intimately linked with general linguistic studies. In its turn, the general advancement of linguistics contributes to the successful development of Germanic studies.

The existence of a centre specialising in the Germanic languages made it possible for collectives of scholars to undertake fundamental academic projects and to concentrate on the particularly complex problems of historical linguistics.

Specialists in Germanic languages from the Institute of Linguistics and from various higher educational establishments are conducting historical studies in various aspects—the comparative-historical and historical-typological aspects of the work, and research into the history of standard Germanic languages.

Contacts between research organisations and the departments of Germanic philology at higher educational establishments are maintained largely through All-Union Sessions on Germanic

Linguistics which are organised once every three or four years by the Institute of Linguistics. The first session was held in 1956 to discuss the prospectus of the *Comparative Grammar.* Seven such sessions have taken place so far and the subjects discussed are always linked with the most important directions of investigation in the Germanic languages conducted at the Institute.

* * *

A major comparative-historical study of the Germanic languages is the four-volume *Comparative Grammar of the Germanic Languages* (Moscow, 1962-1966) edited by M. Gukhman, V. Zhirmunsky, E. Makayev, and V. Yartseva. Apart from the editors, the authors' collective included S. Katsnelson, E. Kubryakova, S. Mironov, O. Moskalskaya, M. Steblin-Kamensky, N. Chemodanov and G. Shchur.

In the Preface to Volume 1 of the *Comparative Grammar,* the authors pointed out the need for a fundamental work incorporating the latest findings of comparative-historical studies of the Germanic languages, as there was a considerable gap between present-day research work in this field and the survey-type publications that had appeared within the last few decades. The *Comparative Grammar* was thus intended and took shape as a survey of Indo-European comparative linguistics of the 1950s and 1960s. It contained reference materials as well as original interpretations of the most debatable problems in the field of the comparative grammar of the Germanic languages.

In determining Germanic archetypes, the authors attempted to single out phenomena belonging to different periods of the existence of the Germanic language community, distinguishing between the structural patterns and processes characteristic of the epoch when the Germanic language community was being established, and the later phenomena and processes involved in the gradual isolation of the individual Germanic dialects. Special consideration was also given to the development trends which were apparent in the initial stages of the history of separate Germanic languages, such as the various types of mutation, reduction of final syllables, incipient disintegration of the old types of declension, etc. The sound-structure of the Germanic languages was described in terms of a combination of phonetic and phonological principles; accentology was treated in a special chapter (Vol. 2). The treatment of morphology (Vols. 3 and 4) included not only accidence but also a detailed characterisation of verbal and nominal word-formation—a major contribution to the work. In the first volume, a whole chapter was devoted to

vocabulary insofar as it had a bearing on the regional characteristics of the Germanic languages and their position among other Indo-European languages. However, this work differed from previous efforts not only in the greater volume of material but also in the principles of interpreting it. Both the system of language resources and certain features of their functioning were taken into account, particularly with regard to morphology.

It should also be pointed out that, on the whole, the work draws on information from all the old Germanic languages, including the language of runic inscriptions.

The latter had been thoroughly described in E. Makayev's monograph *The Language of the Most Ancient Runic Inscriptions* (Moscow, 1965). V. Zhirmunsky's *The Introduction into Comparative Historical Studies of the Germanic Languages* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964) and S. Katsnelson's *Comparative Accentology of the Germanic Languages* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), were published at the same time as the *Comparative Grammar* and later, in the early 1970s, appeared E. Makayev's monograph *Word-Structure in the Indo-European and Germanic Languages* (Moscow, 1970).

These works, taken together, completed, at a definite stage in the development of comparative-historical linguistics, the cycle of Germanic studies at the Institute of Linguistics.

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A major scholarly project undertaken by the Germanic Languages Sector of the Institute of Linguistics in the field of language history was *An Historical Typological Morphology of the Germanic Languages,* in three volumes (1977-1978); it was edited by M. Gukhman, E. Makayev and V. Yartseva and the other authors were E. Kubryakova, S. Mironov, V. Admoni, L. Yermolayeva, O. Moskalskaya and O. Smirnitskaya.

As work on the comparative grammar proceeded, it became clear that there was a need to investigate the typology of processes leading to the formation of morphological systems of the individual Germanic languages. This emphasised the importance not only of retrospective comparative studies, but also of perspective ones. It should be noted, however, that by that time various articles, dissertations, and monographs had already been published on the subject.

Determining the goals of the work, the editors wrote in the introduction to Volume 1: "...as distinct from a comparative-historical grammar, in which the focus is on the reconstruction of archetypes and basic patterns at various levels while the study of their changes in the oldest written records is viewed as something

derivative and even secondary, historical-typological studies of cognate languages are aimed at the results of development and transformation, at revealing the inner springs and mechanisms conditioning the processes themselves". Thus the goal is to show the general tendencies in the transformation and development of separate categories and certain microsystems, to establish thereby certain diachronic constants, and to determine the correlation between the general and the specific both in the direction of development and in the degree of intensity of change.

Archetypes borrowed "ready-made" from comparative grammar may serve as base material or alternatively, when explicit use of reconstructed types is impossible, the system of the language which is supposedly the carrier of the most archaic or even primordial features may serve as the frame of reference. The principal object of study is here the typology of processes determining the major shifts in the morphological paradigms of the Germanic languages. In this work, development is traced up to the 17th and 18th centuries. Not only do the processes of disintegration of old paradigms prove to be typologically significant, so does the formation of new paradigms—a feature particularly characteristic of the verb. This process is based on qualitative changes in the functional and systematic status of combinations of notional and auxiliary verbs.

A characteristic feature of the methods of analysis is the consistent application of the opposition principle combined with a functional analysis of the structural units included in a certain microsystem. One of the postulates here is the determining role of grammatical semantics, the latter being clearly manifested in the formation of new oppositions through units of different levels being included in paradigms.

The methods applied here have shown that the determining factors of changes in the morphological paradigms of the Germanic languages were transformations in the means and forms of realisation of grammatical meanings and, over and above that, changes in the principles of their division, which determined the composition and types of oppositions in different areas of the morphological system.

The principal part of the work is a series of chapters on the grammatical categories of the noun and the verb. These are preceded by two introductory chapters treating phonomorphological processes and typological formations in the structure of paradigms. The latter of these considers general changes in the structure of word-forms, in the correlation of the root and inflexional morphs, in the structure of grammatical markers, the degree of generality in the modes of marking grammatical meanings, etc. An original aspect of this study is the treatment, in

a special section (Vol. 3) of the problem of monoflexion in the Germanic languages. The history of non-finite forms of the Germanic verb is also treated here in a generalised form, from a typological point of view.

Analysis of this extensive material revealed typological shifts that were marked by common structural tendencies even in materially different entities. Examples of this are the German Conditional and the English constructions with *should* and *would* in their correlation with future tense forms, as well as the Gothic verbs in *-nan* and Scandinavian ones in *-s*, which became part of the voice oppositions in the process of their development. The correlation between general tendencies and specific features is therefore established in this work not only with regard to genetically identical entities (e.g., nominal declension classes or the system of finite verb endings) but also with regard to grammatical categories whose formal expression in various Germanic languages is different but the content oppositions of which are the same, as is the case in the formation of the new paradigms of mood or voice (passive). At the same time structurally identical formations are often found in quite different positions in the system of each language. That was the case with the combinations of the verbs *werden* and *sein* with Participle II in German, English, and Dutch not to mention the complexities of their history in the Scandinavian group of languages, where they were absorbed in the subsystem of forms in *-s*.

These tasks were accomplished through linguistic analysis of numerous prose and poetry texts of all the Germanic languages, beginning with Gothic and the language of the runic inscriptions and ending with scripts from the 16th and 17th centuries. This material served as the source for establishing the relative chronology and the degree of intensity of the diachronic processes in separate Germanic languages; it was also instrumental in determining the measure of productivity of the new categories, which frequently varied from one genre of scripts to another in one and the same language and throughout the same period.

The additional factors affecting the processes under study were thus the genre of the text and whether it was an original or a translation.

It should be stressed that historical themes figure prominently not only in the work of the Institute of Linguistics but also in the lecture courses, particularly at universities. The history of individual Germanic languages is therefore covered by a whole system of publications differing in their nature and purpose, including a series of monographs and textbooks. Surveys of the history of German have been written by V. Zhirmunsky and O. Moskalskaya; historical syntax is surveyed in a work by V. Admoni, historical

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morphology, by L. Zinder and T. Stroyeva. Textbooks on the history of English have been written by B. Ilyish, V. Arakin, and I. Ivanova (jointly with L. Chekhoyan).

At more advanced stages of instruction, use is made of Yartseva's monographs on historical morphology (1960) and syntax (1961) tracing the laws of the transformation of the morphological and syntactical subsystems of the English language. Extensive historical materials on substantival morphology have been gathered in S. Mironov's monograph (1973). M. Steblin-Kamensky is the author of a historical survey of the Scandinavian languages (1953). There are also special manuals on Gothic by M. Gukhman and B. Zadorozhny (in Ukrainian); on Old Icelandic, by M. Steblin-Kamensky; on Old English, by A. Smirnitsky. Germanic verbal word-formation is thoroughly analysed, with illustrations from Gothic, in I. Sizova's monograph (1978). Wide use is made, in teaching, of the anthologies in the history of German by N. Chemodanov and of those in the history of English by A. Smirnitsky. N. Filicheva has compiled and published a university course of lectures in the history of German (1959).

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In the 1950s, work began at the Sector of Germanic Languages on problems of the history and theory of the standard Germanic languages.

The work of Soviet Germanic linguists, just as that of all Soviet linguists concerned with the history of standard languages, is marked by a tendency to view the separate phenomena in the historical changes of the language against the background of, and in connection with, the general laws of language development. This involves deep-rooted historism in assessing separate linguistic phenomena, as similar language features and identical structures may have different functional values at different periods in the development of the given language. There is also a desire to establish the functional features of language phenomena in connection with the social role of the language in a specific linguistic community.

In 1955-1959, M. Gukhman's two-volume monograph *From the Language of the German Nationality to the National German Language* appeared, which raised a number of most important theoretical problems pertaining to the characteristics of standard German at various stages in its development. The author was primarily concerned with revealing the differences between the standard language of the pre-national and the national periods. This was the first Soviet study on the history of German based on the

researcher's independent analysis of a vast amount of factual data. Particularly noteworthy was the use of incunabula and manuscripts.

Germanic materials were also represented in Volume X of *Transactions of the Institute of Linguistics* (Moscow, 1960) in the articles by V. Yartseva, S. Mironov and M. Gukhman. These works on the history of standard languages had as their primary goal the establishment of the relationship between the standard language and its dialects at different periods in its history; they were also marked by a rejection of the traditional simplistic interpretation of the correlation between processes in oral communication and those in various written traditions. There was also another aspect to the attempts at determining the dialectal basis of the various Germanic languages, that is, at establishing the genetic dependencies of the standard language on dialects—the scholars were concerned with the separation of the standard language from its dialectal basis and the development of the "supra-dialectal" features of the standard language.

In the second half of the 1960s and the early 1970s, several books on standard languages appeared—V. Admoni's *(The Development of Sentence-Structure at the Time of the Formation of the German National Language,* Moscow-Leningrad, 1966) and N. Semenyuk's *(Problem of the Formation of the Norms of Standard German in the First Half of the 18th Century,* Moscow, 1967), to be followed by the works of V. Yartseva *(The Development of the National Standard English Language,* Moscow, 1969), M. Gukhman *(The Language of German Political Literature of the Reformation and the Peasant War,* Moscow, 1970), N. Semenyuk *(From the History of the Functional Stylistic Differentiation of Standard German,* Moscow, 1972), and S. Mironov *(The Formation of the Literary Norm of Modern Dutch,* Moscow, 1973).

A characteristic feature of these studies was the use of extensive textual materials representing various types and genres of written documents. One should note in particular the use of sources hitherto practically unstudied. Thus the works of N. Semenyuk on 17th- and 18th-century German are based on the language of periodicals, while M. Gukhman's monograph is devoted to the language of leaflets from the time of the Reformation and the Peasant War. The common feature of these works is the use of unexplored popular forms of literature from the 16th-18th centuries.

Various Germanic languages provide material for the study of the relatively recent stages in the history of standard languages directly preceding their modern state. Considerable importance is therefore attached to problems of the norm and the characteristics of various forms of the process of codification which, in its turn,

leads to a number of new theoretical and practical aspects of the study of standard Germanic languages. Problems arise of the constant and variable elements of the literary norm, of the prestige of certain features of the language system as assessed by society in the process of their codification, etc. The focus is now noticeably shifted from the study of territorial differentiation and "dialect basis" to the consideration of the nature and correlations between different types of variation of the standard language—social, functional-stylistic, and territorial.

The intensive study of these problems, with special reference to the German language is motivated by the long-standing academic cooperation between the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Institute for the German Language and Literature, later the Central Institute of Linguistics of the GDR Academy of Sciences.

Soviet works in Germanic linguistics have mostly appeared in a series especially designed to promote cooperation—*Bausteine zur Sprachgeschichte des Neuhochdeutschen,* ed. by G. Feudel (Berlin).

At present there are two more works in print that are part of the coordination project: M. Gukhman's and N. Semenyuk's study on ways of formation of grammatical norms in the verb system, based on manuscripts of different genres of the 15th-18th centuries, and V. Admoni's work on the formation of the complex sentences in German, based on business prose of the 16th-18th centuries. In this latter work the author develops his ideas on the historical syntax of German and raises the problem of the specificity of syntactic norms.

Constant extension of the scope of data and of the chronological range, as well as of the problems considered, entails the possibility of a transition from the study of separate periods in the history of standard Germanic languages to an integral treatment of processes observed throughout their history. The realisation of this task is more feasible in the case of those languages for which there is already a body of preliminary research. That is the situation with English, German and Dutch; their history has been expounded in a unified series on the basis of certain general principles. The essential features of these works are in keeping with the traditions of linguistics in this country. Firstly, there is the delimitation of the history of the standard language from other historical-linguistic disciplines, in particular, from historical grammar, lexicology, and dialectology—in other words, the specification of the subject-matter. Secondly, of particular significance is the orientation, in principle, towards the study of the history of standard Germanic languages in the context of the political, economic, and cultural history of the country concerned, that is, viewing the genesis of a standard language as an essential

component of the entire range of historical and, in particular, cultural-historical processes. The perspectives of this direction include a gradual extension of the range of Germanic languages analysed from this point of view.

Standard languages are also studied in their modern forms. Particular attention is devoted to the variations in standard Germanic languages as used in different areas and states. P. Domashnev, for instance, considers the distinctive features of the Austrian variant of the standard German language at various levels of its system. Structural differences between the British and the American variants of standard English are the subject of a number of publications by A. Shweitser. G. Shchur, on the other hand, concentrates on grammatical variations within the English language over an extremely large area (including Ireland, India, Australia, etc.).

The sociological aspect and development of the English language in the USA are the subject of a work by A. Shweitser now in preparation—*The Social Differentiation of English in the USA.* It poses the important theoretical problem of the mobility of socially marked elements of the language system. We thus observe a further development, at a new level and against a new background, of the sociological approach to the Germanic languages initiated some time ago in the works of V. Zhirmunsky.

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One may formulate the following general principles which are common to most Germanic studies in the field of grammatical theory: a more or less consistent delimitation of language and speech units or, correspondingly, of system and its realisation in texts; the tendency to study both the formal and the semantic aspects of language units; the elaboration of certain principles of singling out grammatical categories, in particular, correlating grammatical categories with the concept of paradigm, etc. Among the most important general theoretical problems is that of revealing the correlation between the formal aspects of grammatical phenomena, their semantic aspects, and categories of thought.

The theory of the modern Germanic languages is expounded in a number of original monographs, like V. Admoni's *Syntax of Modern German* (1973). One should also mention here M. Steblin-Kamensky's *The Grammar of Norwegian* (1957), G. Torsuyev's works on the phonetic structure of the word and modern English accentology (1960 and 1962), E. Kubryakova's *Fundamentals of Morphological Analysis (with Special Reference to Germanic Languages)*

(1974), and V. Pavlov's monograph on modern German compound words published in German (Munich, 1972).

Grammatical problems are also treated in a number of papers published in special collections of articles and journals.

However, it is not always possible to draw a distinct line between historical and modern synchronic studies on the theoretical plane, either, for theoretical concepts are often evolved against both kinds of background. This is true of morphology, problems of syntax, and features of Germanic word-formation, the latter being distinguished, according to the linguistic tradition in this country, as a special field of linguistic research, differing from both morphology and lexicology.

It should be noted however at the same time that the very concepts of grammatical category, field, inflexional form, morph, grammeme, and others, are variously interpreted by different scholars and the role of the formal and the semantic aspects of language units is taken into account in varying degrees. There are also differing interpretations of the logico-semantic aspect of the sentence in the syntax of modern Germanic languages—a particularly fast-growing field. There are currently varying interpretations of the valency theory, so widely used in syntactic theory and to some extent in the theory of word-formation (see M. Stepanova, G. Helbig, *Parts of Speech and the Valency Problem in Modern German,* Moscow, 1978). Of the syntactical studies now in preparation at the Sector of the Germanic Languages of the Institute of Linguistics, mention should be made of N. Slyusareva's work *Problems of the Functional Grammar of English* and S. Kuznetsov's *Theoretical Syntax of Danish.*

Grammatical theory is developed not only in separate monographs and articles but also in works intended as college texts. Such works as V. Admoni's *Der deutsche Sprachbau* (1972) or O. Moskalskaya's *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartsprache* (1975) offer both an exposition of the debatable views of various problems of morphology and syntax and the authors' own ideas. Original research findings are also presented in L. Barkhudarov's *The Structure of the Sentence in Modern English* (Moscow, 1966), N. Filicheva's *On Word-Combinations in Modern German* (Moscow, 1969), E. Shendels' *Polysemy and Synonymy in Grammar* (Moscow, 1970), E. Gulyga's *Theory of the Complex Sentence in Modern German* (Moscow, 1971), and B. Abramov's *Typology of the Elementary Sentence in Modern German* (Moscow, 1972).

The situation is much the same in the other fields of Germanic studies. *English Stylistics* by I. Galperin and *German Stylistics* by E. Riesel, as well as E. Riesel's and E. Shendels' joint work on stylistics (Moscow, 1975) are original independent works, so that the boundary between the textbook and the theoretical monograph is essentially obliterated. The last of the above-mentioned works considers problems of grammatical stylistics as well as those of text organisation. Of the earlier works on grammatical stylistics, see T. Silman's *Problems of Syntactical Stylistics* (Leningrad, 1967). In recent years problems of text linguistics (its stylistic and grammatical aspects, primarily) have also gained the attention of researchers in the Germanic languages, in English and German in particular. Among the most significant publications on this theme are works by I. Galperin and O. Moskalskaya.

Lexical and lexico-semantic studies based on the Germanic languages are also in progress.

Recently, there has been considerable activity in the most complicated problems of lexical semantics in the Germanic languages. Studies in this direction are dominated by synchronic research in modern languages (particularly English), although historical materials have also been adduced [cf. A. Ufimtseva, *An Essay in the Study of Vocabulary as a System (with Special Reference to English),* Moscow, 1962].

A general characterisation of the lexico-semantic system of the language (see A. Ufimtseva, *The Word in the Lexico-Semantic System of Language,* Moscow, 1968) is complemented by a semantic analysis of separate groups of words based on the description of various components of word meaning singled out for the purpose (see O. Seliverstova, *Componential Analysis of Polysemantic Words,* Moscow, 1975).

In the works of A. Ufimtseva, mentioned above, a fundamental distinction is made between lexical and lexico-semantic levels in the study of vocabulary. The word is viewed, on the one hand, as a nominative unit and paradigmatic relations between words are established at this stage. On the other hand, syntagmatic connections arising in the functioning (use) of words are also traced. The vocabulary of English is widely used as material for this study.

Works on componential analysis fall into two groups: (a) studies in which meaning components are singled out on the basis of dictionary definitions, the purpose of which is largely the systematisation of dictionary data, and (b) works whose main purpose is the verification of dictionary definitions and the establishment of meaning components not recorded in dictionary definitions. In works of the latter type, analysis of textual material is supplemented by experimental studies (work with informants and diagnostic tests). Application of these methods has yielded certain semantic groupings of English verbs (see works by O. Seliverstova).

Amongst lexicological works in the proper sense, one should note, in particular, studies in the phraseology of German and English (see I. Chernysheva, *The Phraseology of Modern German,*

Moscow, 1970; A. Kunin, *English Phraseology,* Moscow, 1970). This trend, largely based on the theoretical achievements of linguistics in this country, constitutes an original development in Soviet Germanic lexicology.

Research studies and textbooks in lexicology and semantics are complemented by a great number of lexicographic works linked with the publication of bilingual dictionaries in all of the principal Germanic languages, including Icelandic (V. Berkov, 1962), Norwegian (V. Arakin, 1963), Swedish (V. Maximov, 1964; D. Milanova, 1973) and Danish (A. Novakovich, 1975). Mention should also be made of *New German-Russian Dictionary* (edited by O. Moskalskaya, 1969) the first edition of which contained about 165 thousand words. At present, a supplement to this edition has been prepared which has brought the number of lexical entries to 200,000. The third edition of *New English-Russian Dictionary,* edited by I. Galperin, has appeared (Moscow, 1979). *A Danish-Russian Dictionary* has also been published, and the third edition of the *Dutch-Russian Dictionary* is now in preparation. *A German-Russian Phraseological Dictionary,* compiled by L. Binovich and N. Grishin (2nd ed., 1975), and A. Kunin's *English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary* (1967) have also appeared. An original lexicographic work has been carried out under M. Stepanova's general direction (see *The Dictionary of Word-Formations in German,* Moscow, 1979).

We may thus say that the themes of study in the Germanic languages are comprehensive and varied. There are numerous fundamental surveys, monographs on more specialised topics covering particular domains of language material, and works intended for instruction. However, the characteristic feature of all these works is the tendency to link up Germanic studies with general linguistic problems. This feature was also inherent in the earlier studies in historical and comparative-historical grammar as well as in works analysing the laws of the functioning and development of Germanic national and standard languages. It is also a feature of the later works in historical typology, the history of standard languages, theoretical grammar, word-formation, lexicology, and semantics. It should be pointed out in this respect that many conclusions reached in Germanic studies were later used in works on other languages, becoming a feature of various fields of theoretical linguistics. We have been at pains to show that Soviet Germanic studies are in many respects based on the traditions of Russian and Soviet linguistics. On the other hand, this influence is not one-sided: Germanic studies, we believe, have made a considerable contribution to the development of Soviet linguistics in general.

In conclusion, a few words on the perspectives and goals of Germanic studies in the near future. The next task is the preparation of a series of academic historical grammars of the individual Germanic languages according to a unified plan.

The need for such a work is due to the fact that fresh linguistic data have been accumulated within recent decades, and both the methods of their study and their interpretation have undergone considerable revision. This apart, the lexico-semantic studies in Germanic languages will certainly be extended. It is also assumed that diverse linguistic data will be drawn into theoretical research, in particular of the less explored Germanic languages.

The development of Germanic studies in these directions certainly does not exclude other aspects of research in the Germanic languages—aspects that have been touched upon in this article and the possibilities of which have by no means been exhausted.

The Changing Image of Antiquity

SERGEI AVERINTSEV

More than two centuries separate us from the 1760s when Winckelmann epitomised the essence of Hellenic culture as "noble simplicity and tranquil majesty", and studied that culture's aesthetic qualities down to the smallest details of everyday life of the time; he did not hesitate to describe as "majestic"[1] the way of thinking of all people in ancient Greece. These words will not be repeated by anyone today, for his view of classical antiquity seems naive to us; and indeed it is. However, this *view* possesses an indisputable advantage: it possesses integrity, consistency and logic: it is not an amalgam of mutually exclusive fragmentary sketches, as it was seen by later, more informed and far less naive interpreters of those distant times. It is "ideal" because it is marked by an "idea". It is an ideal, not in the threadbare, irresponsibly emotional and sentimental meaning in which it is often used but in its initial strict and full sense. What stands behind it is not a mood or idle admiration but belief—a belief, inherent in the Enlightenment, in the possibilities of a culture that is in full accord with Nature and a Nature that is in full accord with Reason. It was Goethe who compared Winckelmann with Columbus:[2] indeed Winckelmann revealed to an entire epoch an ideal image of antiquity: the Weimar classicism of Goethe, Schiller and Voss, as well as the German classical idealism of Schelling and Hegel stem from Winckelmann's initial idea.

Hellenic culture was again and again considered similar to Nature, and, indeed, was identified with it. To Goethe, Homer was Nature itself.[3] But what was the "Nature" spoken of in this connection? There was a Nature, it was thought, that was merely "actual nature", which, Schiller demanded, should be "with the

greatest care made distinct from true Nature as the subject of naive poetry".[4]

Actual Nature is fortuitous, it was thought, while true Nature is a necessity; the former may be low in level, while the latter cannot be. In other words, true Nature is Nature as an ideal, and an ideal just as Nature is. With Homer, Schiller asserted, "everything is ideal even given the most sensual truth".[5] According to Hegel, Greek culture as another form of existence of Nature was indeed the "actual existence *(Dasein)* of the classical ideal".[6] It was classical, i.e., as normal as Nature and as normative as an ideal. Its classicality was so self-evident that it called for no discussion, and was so inexplicable that it proved a mysterious gift. "As for the historical realisation of the classical ideal, there is hardly any need to note that we must seek for it with the Greeks. Classical beauty, in all the infinite volume of content, material and form, was a gift received by the Greek people."[7]

This image of antiquity both as "Nature" and an "ideal" possesses a property that was then attributed both to Nature and the ideal, i.e., "eternalness". Man wanders along the ambiguous and unquiet paths of history, but he has a *home* which never fails to await the return of the Prodigal Son: the indisputable and calm beauty of Nature, which is given once and for all time, the beauty of an ideal, of antiquity. To the times, the images of antiquity as those of Nature were contrasted with the "vanity" of history. "We are free, while they are necessary; we change but they remain."[8] They are as unalterable as the succession of day and night; they are alien to the sphere of human choice, risk and struggle.

It was in such a light that an entire epoch saw Hellenistic classicism, which can be conventionally dated as beginning in 1764 or 1766 (i.e., the publication of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* and Lessing's *Laokoon* respectively), and may be considered as an end in 1831 or 1832 (the years of the deaths of Hegel and Goethe). An interpretation of antiquity was then placed in unique conditions determined *inter alia* by the alignment of forces between the scientific fact-description and philosopho-aesthetic generalisation. The advances of the concrete scientific disciplines were comparatively modest, while the ability of the German *Bürger* and the European bourgeois to harbour high ideas on the upbuilding of life remained high for the time being. But the situation was soon to change, for while the facts kept accumulating, ideas did not always keep pace with them. The decadence in philosophy which was to take the place of classical idealism revealed opposing extremes that were in sharp dissonance but at the same time were somehow mysteriously interlinked: at one extreme stood the unprepossessing "soberness" of positivism

and vulgar materialism, and, at the other, the "intoxication" of irrationalism.

The traditional attitude towards antiquity as an ideal did not vanish at the conclusion of the first third of the 19th century. That most characteristic representative of positivist ecclecticism, a man who proved so much to the taste of the European educated public and exerted an influence out of all proportion to his significance as a thinker, to wit Ernest Renan, worshipped the Pallas Athene, in his rhetorical effusions, as the eternal lawgiver of Beauty and Reason: "Le monde ne sera sauvé qu'en revenant à toi, en répudiant ses attaches barbares."[9] Echoes of such thinking can be seen in Anatole France already in his *La Révolte des Anges* (1914), and also subsequently. A certain emotional reaction towards the monuments of classical antiquity has remained almost automatic with the West European vector of the antique culture. "Athens? I have been there," Thomas Mann wrote in summing up his travel impressions of 1925. "...but it is also difficult to put into words, for they are all so familiar to us, so spiritually elegant and so youthfully European—all these divine remnants after the forms of culture on the banks of the Nile. Cast off all your bookish sentimentality; these are not trifles: from the Hill look downwards and into the distance, towards Salamis, and the Sacred Road. After all, it is here that all of us began; here lies the truly heroic land of our youth. We have separated ourselves from the stifling Orient; our spirit has become gay and genial, it is here that the image of man was born, which often drooped but invariably re-emerged towards the sun. From where I stood, one can feel that only he is a genuine son of Europe who, in his finest hours, is capable of returning in heart to Hellenism. As you stand there, you passionately desire that the Persians, no matter what dress they may return in, should be defeated again and again."[10]

It is not without a dash of irony that Mann summarises features common to all neoclassicist enthusiasm. We shall not be surprised when this Goetheian, the future author of *Lotte in Weimar* recalls Goethe's words from *Iphigenie auf Tauris:* "Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchend." However, the similarity produces a living sense of difference. To Winckelmann, Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, Ancient Greece was the mystery of humanity, of mankind, an expression of humanity's Nature and humanity's essence as something that has returned to itself. To Thomas Mann's generation, it went without saying that Greece was at best a secret of Europe (or the Occident—*des Abendlandes*) and an expression of the West European "essence". What was once the "childhood of mankind", had become the youth of Europe, a remarkable but small part of the world; Mann's generation had heard of the "twilight of Europe" from O. Spengler. Universalism

had yielded place to localism. Unlike many of his contemporaries (for instance Gottfried Benn), Mann linked the concept of Europe with mental, not racial categories. His Europe meant a tradition of liberal humanism which regarded democratic Athens as its original home. Freedom-loving Greece, which stood opposed to the "stifling" Orient, the despotism of Persia, that symbol could, if for a time, regain an intimate link with our times.

Mann, who in 1925 had welcomed the defeat of all and any "Persians", saw those very Persians sixteen years later in the soldiers of the Third Reich. Speaking on the BBC in May 1941 and recalling, among other things, the resistance offered by the Greeks of the day to the German invaders, he addressed his fellow-countrymen in the following words: "Do you like the role the play of history has forced you to assume today, when the world-scale symbol of Thermopylae is being repeated at the very same place? Again, these are the Greeks, but who are you? Your rulers have convinced you that freedom is so much outdated rubbish. Believe me: despite all the empty talk of the pseudo-philosophers and all the caprices of the history of the mind, freedom will always be what it was over 2,000 years ago—the light and soul of Europe."[11]

Confronted by a grave historical situation, the writer spoke confidently of the humanistic nature of the Hellenist ideal of freedom, but hastened to link it exclusively with Europe, assuring his readers that the Hellenist ideal would always be the "light and soul of Europe". However, Europe is nothing more than Europe, merely a geographical notion, *pars pro toto.* In an article written in 1936, Mann contraposed two ways of understanding the heritage of antiquity: one represented by Winckelmann, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schiller, Goethe and Hegel, and the other by Jakob Burckhardt and Nietzsche. "To the former, Hellenism was a law and a norm, something standing outside of time, and eternal; to the latter, it was an historical phenomenon, something transitory."[12] Yearning for the times of Goethe but remaining a man of his own times, Thomas Mann felt obliged to side with the latter, who had "an historical vision that is more real, acute, intense and gloomy".[13]

The latter epithet is most revealing. Between the Weimar classicism and its later successor stood generations of *Bürger* intellectuals to whom the concepts of the real and the gloomy had drawn very close together. *Truth must always be gloomy*—that was a view strangely shared by the "scientific" Büchner, Moleschott, Strauss and the "non-scientific" Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Eduard von Hartmann.

A period that had produced naturalism in artistic creativity could not be different. As pointed out by a personage in Thomas

Mann's writings, "in the naturalist point of view on history... vulgarity is strangely intertwined with melancholy; ... such a blend is a symbol of the times, of the 19th century which is prone to vulgar gloominess".[14] Of course, the reference here is exclusively to the middle and the end of the 19th century—not to its opening years. In other respects, this characteristic is epigrammatically pointed and, of course, epigrammatically one-sided, but it has understood its own aspect of the matter very precisely. It was from his own experience that Thomas Mann had a first-hand knowledge both of the school of naturalistic "returns to soberness" and of the Schopenhauer-Nietzscheian "raptures"...

* * *

We see the culture of antiquity as having possessed a developed and reflective self-awareness but lacking a genuine awareness of the reality of other cultural traditions.

While in no way being "superior" to the culture of neighbouring peoples, and with its own weaknesses, dangers and impasses, Greek culture first arrived at a self-awareness and a level of reflection that enabled it to see itself as a special kind of phenomenon, one irreducible to any kind of cult, tradition, or mere practical wisdom.

It is obvious today that, even prior to the Greeks, people had given thought to the arrangement of the world and what man had to do in that world, i.e., possessed what is called a cosmology, an ontology, an ethic. However, there was a philosophical discipline, namely epistemology, which did not and could not exist before then, because it was only their mode of thinking (we are not at present referring to the Orient) that addressed itself to itself, thereby transforming everything else into philosophy: cosmology, ontology and ethics.

Other peoples also possessed alphabets and literature, but it was only with the Greeks that the structure of literary genres took shape extraneously of everyday or cult situations (as, for instance, the "kinah" or lamentations of the Old Testament associated with some woeful event) and proceeded from their own formal genre features (in the same way as the elegy, which corresponded to "kinah", was marked by a rigorous measure and by paired hexameter and pentameter alternations).

The Greeks also knew that other peoples also possessed "wisdom" but no philosophy; there existed customs but no paideia; literature, but not in the genuine sense of the term, i.e., in the way the Greeks understood it. Their conviction that they alone possessed culture can be seen in their total disregard of the

existence of Oriental literature (this despite the Bible have been translated by Jews into Greek in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.), as well as another and even more surprising fact: they were sure that no Roman literature ever existed. Plutarch would consult Horace to find some information for his own historical writing but it never occurred to him to read Horace as a poet. He wrote a biography of Cicero but refused to speak of Cicero as an orator and stylist. This concept of the uniqueness of Greek culture will not seem so very absurd if we realise that they were able to impose it, not only on the Romans (who considered themselves as "rivals" of Greek culture and endeavoured to forget everything that had been created before they gained a knowledge of Hellenic standards) but also on the cultural upper crust of the Middle Ages and then of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe, who so easily eschewed the "barbarism" of the mediaeval cathedrals and chivalrous poetry.

This state of civilisation was regarded as the only possible, just as immutable as the arrangement of the Universe and the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres. If history ever spoke of other conditions, then that stemmed from barbarism, which had to be done away with so that a new culture might be erected. It was in approximately such a light that Vasari in the 16th century wrote his history of Renaissance painting: everything had begun with Giotto, prior to whom there had been nothing but barbarism, which ended with the renascence of the antique tradition of painting. And though this was not quite true in respect of painting, since no exact knowledge of the ancient tradition of painting was then existent, Vasari could not think otherwise, for he based himself on a concept of culture that went back to antiquity, one in which everything was cultivated, smooth and transparent; it was the only dwelling in the world, one that could not be placed on a level with similar dwellings for the spirit, could not be disputed by them, and had been chosen for all time, so that no rivalry could ever threaten it.

During the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and later, contacts with the heritage of antiquity were so intimate and immediate that no integral, self-contained and complete "image of antique culture" could exist, in just the same way as a man who is within a house cannot see it from outside. For the question of any characteristic of antiquity as something integral to arise, prerequisites were essential for a multiple view on the history of culture as the history of cultural traditions. It is characteristic that the first image of antiquity, one that was idealised and still preserved the imprint of its "exclusiveness"—although contemporary with the first efforts to question that exclusiveness—hinged on the idea of Greek art and Greek sculpture.

Fundamental changes in the basic spiritual views of cultured mankind burgeon but gradually and do not take shape immediately, so that any dating can only be conventional. Nevertheless, one cannot but attach tremendous importance to the 1760s, which saw the appearance of Rousseau's most important writings, when there first appeared a thirst for primitive and barbaric beauty, as distinct from the Hellenic standards—a thirst that was so eagerly slaked by the forgery committed by James Macpherson, which became known to all Europe and was entitled by him *The Writings of Ossian, Son of Fingal, Translated From the Gaelic or Erse Language.* When Thomas Gray, author of *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,* (twice translated into Russian by Zhukovsky), began to take a serious interest in Celtic and Scandinavian mythology, and his friend Horace Walpole took up depictions of mediaeval motifs (the *Castle of Otranto,* 1765), and finally when Johann Winckelmann brought out his celebrated *History of the Art of Antiquity,* 1763, in which, for the first time the collecting of antiquarian information about statues and coins of antique times and scholarship of the Renaissance type, which had existed practically unchanged until the 18th century, yielded place to an approach to antique art grounded in aesthetic principles and art studies.

The erosion of the Winckelmannian concepts of classical antique beauty as an "ideal" and as "Nature" proceeded from decade to decade under the impact of two forces that stood in grotesque contrast to each other but were able to enter into a complex interaction.

One of these forces consisted, in an accumulation of scientific facts, a differentiation of scientific methods; a development of specialisation and a striving to embrace "reality" in its entirety, no matter how "coarse", "dull", or "prosaic"; higher demands to objectivity in research; the preponderance of induction over deduction and of analysis over synthesis, and, finally, the influence of views on life grounded in natural science and inevitably preponderant in the times of Darwin and Haeckel.

The second force consisted in an urge on the part of philosophical irrationalism and aesthetic decadence towards the murky preclassical "abysses" of the archaic, a preference for chthonian "night" over Olympian "daylight", an unfair shifting of accents from Apollonian orderliness to the mysteries of Dionysian rapture (Nietzsche), or the "maternal" mystic of the soil as the residence of the grave and the source of rebirth (Bachofen).

Thus the classical ideal found itself between the Scylla of rationalism and the Charybdis of neo-Romanticism.

Let us begin with the former danger. The 19th century placed an extraordinary emphasis on the very word *fact:* any observed and provable fact acquired, simply because of its actuality, a lawful

place among all other facts. It could be more or less interesting, more or less demonstrable and more or less significant, but, in principle, it possessed the plenitude of rights of a fact. This "democratic" equality possessed by all facts as of necessity presupposed by the spirit of science was incompatible with the "aristocratic" and hierarchical principle in the selection of facts, without which no ideal canon could be built or preserved.

Winckelmann and thinkers of the Weimar epoch distinguished between "true" antique classicism and the empirism of historical facts. When, for instance, they praised the civilisation of Ancient Greece as the triumph of human dignity, they were not ignorant of the humiliation of slaves, helots and the like, which was the price paid for the dignity of the full citizen. It cannot be said that such authors turned a blind eye to unpleasant facts, which they simply regarded as pertaining, not to the sphere of the "true" but to that of the "actual". However, to any contemporary of the 19th century "physiological" literary genre, the drab everyday features of distant times proved of interest in their own right. That was why, in one of his moments of relaxed imaginings, Flaubert wrote: "J'ai été batelier sur le Nil, *leno* à Rome du temps des guerres puniques, puis rhéteur grec dans Suburre, où j'étais dévoré de punaises." [15] Previously a nostalgia for classical antiquity had never been created by such images; of course, an unvarnished image of the world was ever more decisively becoming an imperative both of aesthetic and scientific cognition.

It may be well said that the reality of slavery was the foundation of antique civilisation, an underground structure concealed from the eye. Beginning with the middle of the last century, students of classical antiquity made an ever closer study of this phenomenon, an interest which grew ever greater, even beyond the bounds of science. It is another matter that the ideological foundations of that interest could be highly diversified and even in diametrical opposition. No special explanations are required, for instance, for the fact of writers and thinkers in sympathy with the unprecedented emergence of the masses towards historical activity being acutely aware of the silent presence in past history of the "man of the masses", who "paid for the smashed crockery". Suffice it to recall Brecht's *Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters.*

"Wer baute das siebentorige Theben?...
Das grosse Rom
Ist voll von Triumphbögen? Wer errichtete sie?...
Der junge Alexander eroberte Indien.
Er allein?
Cäsar schlug die Gallier.
Hatte er nicht wenigstens einen Koch bei sich?..." [16]

When Nietzsche once insisted emphatically on the role of slavery in antique civilisation, he did so with a diametrically opposite aim, i.e., to show that slavery was a condition for the existence of culture. In 1934, his successor Gottfried Benn wrote the following: "Die antike Gesellschaft ruhte auf den Knochen der Sklaven, die schleifte sie ab, oben blühte die Stadt. Oben die weißen Viergespanne und die Gutgewachsenen mit den Namen der Halbgötter: Sieg und Gewalt und Zwang und den Namen der großen See, unten klirrte es: Ketten. Sklaven, das waren die Nachkommen der Ureinwohner, Kriegsgefangene, Geraubte und Gekaufte, sie wohnten in Ställen, zusammengepfercht, viele in Eisen. Niemand dachte über sie nach, Platon und Aristoteles sehen in ihnen tiefstehende Wesen, nackten Tatbestand. Starker Import aus Asien, am letzten Monatstag war Markt, die Kadaver standen im Ring zur Besichtigung. Der Preis war zwei bis zehn Minen, immerhin hundert bis sechshundert Mark." [17]

This text produces a strange impression. The express concreteness and the prosaic nature of the statistical data and prices may be fleetingly reminiscent of the selfsame Brecht (this as a mark of the generation and the general school of expressionist flamboyancy) but one can easily see that the author is pursuing a quite different aim. The things spoken of in the above excerpt may seem prosaic, but the overall tone is not prosaic at all, and it is the tone that, so they say, sets the music. The intentionally dry and sharp words are innately transformed by the elevated and pathetic intonation, and the pedestrian businesslike expressions ("starker Import", "Markt" and the like) cheek by jowl with "lofty" expressions ("die weißen Viergespanne und die Gutgewachsenen", "Sieg und Gewalt und Zwang und der Namen der großen See") created a vibrant rhythm which gave unity to the whole. Here human brutality proved merely correlated to a non-human pretence of beauty, its other face.

Very few people in the previous century could have spoken in the terse wording employed in 1876 by Engels: "Without slavery, no Greek state, no Greek art and science." [18] But while, for Brecht it followed thence that antique culture was a problem and an object of criticism, the conclusion drawn by Benn was diametrically opposite: no moral judgement whatever is possible, not only of antique culture but antique slavery in particular.

Extremes of positivism and anti-positivism converge and meet in the consciousness of the latter-day bourgeois. The worship of factology as inculcated in the 19th century has been used to toll the knell of the outmoded axiological hierarchy on which a multitude of trammelling traditions rested. "Actuality" had to cancel out "truth", so as then to lose its property of reality by becoming transformed into a myth.

It was Nietzsche, that arch-mystagogue of irrationalism and gainsayer of "scientificality", who gave final shape to this two-level and essentially ambiguous device, in which "facts", "critique", and "scientificality" are first momentarily provided with boundless rights in performing the dirty work of smashing the traditional system of values, and are then immediately stripped, not only of these newly acquired rights but also of those previously enjoyed (including the right to existence); the "warlike onslaught" (Benn) moves into reverse with amazing ease.

This juggling, so characteristic of nihilistic metamorphoses, has not petered out. The frame of mind of the "New Left" quite recently travelled the same well-trodden path from the "Neue Aufklärung" of the sociologising Frankfurt school and from the absolutised criticism in Theodor Adorno's "negative dialectic", through Herbert Marcuse's "great rejection", to an apologia for ecstasy, the practical irrationalism of group "happenings" (say at the Sorbonne in 1968) and other things, which have long had nothing in common with rationalism, up to and including the "psychodelic revolution". Here is an example: Harvard Professor Harvey Cox, that fashionable theologian of the "New Left", a man who does his utmost to keep in step with the times—not a very profound thinker but an excellent barometer—was a sober rationalist as recently as 1965, when it was a question of secularisation and urbanisation, social and technological activism, an inexorable critique that crushed all illusions, and other attributes in the "adulthood of mankind".[19] A mere four years sufficed for a complete volte-face: Cox developed into a Dionysian: a feast of fools, a carnival, ecstasy now proved the programme of the day.[20] There takes place a dual but essentially single act of what Sartres frankly calls "neantisation", i.e., the destruction of values for the sake of an absolute critique, this to be followed by the destruction of that critique in the name of the ecstatic principle; this is repeated over and over again. Its structure must be kept clearly in view in any examination of the relationship between positivist and neoromantic trends in Western thinking.

The reader may well be puzzled by our placing an interpretation of antiquity in such a perspective while mentioning, in that context, matters that are of such importance today. In explanation, we shall permit ourselves a slight digression. Karl Kerényi, that professional of classical philology (1897-1971), has written an article entitled "Papyri und das Wesen der alexandrinischen Kultur" [21], which, though somewhat sketchy, has given a fairly reasoned description of the specifically "oral" nature of the classical Greek culture as contrasted with the Oriental book cult which gained fresh life in Hellenistic Alexandria, in Egypt. The

author is referring to a highly topical culturological problem, but when he reaches the end of his article his extra-evaluational statements suddenly yield place to quite definite appraisals. The conclusion drawn is that Hellenic culture was an improvement of a culture that rested on a reverence for books whether in the tradition of the Old and New Testaments or in that of the neo-European humanism. As Kerényi saw it, history is something like a fable with a moral, the latter declaring that we men of the 20th century should cast off the tyranny of books so as ourselves to become Hellenised. In the 1940s and the 1950s, this European philosophising philologist was still free to understand such calls in a highly abstract and respectable way, without compromising them by linkages with the facts of a technological age. But not so long afterwards, the Canadian Marshall McLuhan, an ideologist of "neo-archaism" and a most influential inspirer of "counter-culture", announced nothing less than the approaching advent of the Utopia: the end of the "Gutenbergian Galaxy", the triumph of the spoken word over the printed, the complete elimination of the book cult, the return of living myths, and an efflorescence of the original pagan sensualism and the ancient forgetfulness of self in a unity with the collective soul. But what will all these gifts bring in their wake? According to the old fashioned notions in this area, the reply is rather a scandalous one, for it points at television and other mass media![22] Quite possibly Kerényi himself would have undergone something like a shock had he lived to see such a metamorphosis of his cherished aspirations. This however in no way removes the objective fact that his interpretation of antiquity follows the line of a culturological thinking leading direct to McLuhan himself, a stone's throw from an idealised Hellenism to matters far from ideal.

* * *

Friedrich Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik,* which came out in 1872, is fairly well known, so we shall not touch upon the theme. However, we shall take note of two points that are just as characteristic of the state of affairs after Nietzsche as they are alien to pre-Nietzschean times. In the first place, the author makes so bold, from the very outset, as to reject some very important component of the Greek classical heritage, ostentatiously excise it from the whole body, and condemn it as a manifestation of "non-genuine" classicism. That is the way Nietzsche deals with Socrates. To this day, the panorama of Attic classicism has presented itself to the imagination as a single whole (one will recall the mural compositions on historical themes produced by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, who was still alive in 1872). In those days, one could speak pejoratively only of the despised

antiquity of the later period. A postulate being advanced now claimed that it was not after the classical period but in the times of classical Athens that there took place a kind of fall from grace, so that what had to be returned to was the archaic, not the classical. With all the force at the disposal of his tendentious prejudices, Nietzsche took sides with the "tragic wisdom" of the Dionysian myth in contrast with the Attic intellectualism. The Socratic theme in world history had to be reviewed: again and again we meet, in the writings of the later followers of Nietzsche, aspirations much in the same vein.

In the second place, the old-fashioned serenity of the romantic revivers of myths (Schelling, Kreutzer and Bachofen) yielded place to Nietzsche's much more nervous and inner need to achieve far more extremes tomorrow than today. One of his most sincere verses declares that "He who has lost what you are losing will never settle for anything". A frame of mind that follows the Nietzsche model becomes aware of itself only as a hyperbolised "self" in a process of continuous escalation. A colourful example of such escalation will be seen in a well-publicised but now forgotten instance of Nietzsche himself being censured as a secret humanist, rationalist and follower of Socrates. This happened in 1926, and the attack came from Alfred Baeumler, a fairly influential representative of "life philosophy", who later joined the ranks of the apologists of the Hitler regime, but in the 1920s operated as an historian of German philosophy.

In a very lengthy (almost 300 pages) introduction to a selection from Bachofen, Baeumler set forth the history of the various approaches to the problem of ancient myths, from Winckelmann to the end of the 19th century. Here is what we read: "A profundity which endows life with the gravity of death is absent in Nietzsche's concept of life"; "Nietzsche was lacking in a symbolical view. He discerned not a speck of the immeasurable reality of the Greek cult"; "in keeping with present-day subjectivism, Nietzsche speaks of the Greek as an individual" and so on.[23]

This is a situation full of the unconscious humour of history: Baeumler re-addressing to Nietzsche reproaches that the latter had himself addressed to Socrates. As Baeumler saw it, there was still too much light even in the thinking of Nietzsche, who had appealed to Dionysius, the god of night: "Everything is in the foreground, distinct and clear," he says with a frown, calling such clarity "pedestrian". Apart from anything else, what we have here is an act of ingratitude: it was from Nietzsche that Baeumler learned everything, including his skill in censuring Nietzsche. However, berating of the fathers for their inconclusiveness and inconsistency is called for by the logic of any intellectual extremism.

Again: the stakes have to be increased all the time, for Nietzsche's successors are united in thinking that history has to be revised, the problem being the establishment of the particular moment when everything went awry. The more radical decisions would shift that moment further and further into the recesses of history. A typical example is provided by Martin Heidegger, the recently deceased head of German existentialism, who saw the foe in "metaphysics", by which he meant the intellectualistic and anthropocentric approach to being. However, in an earlier work *Sein und Zeit* he still linked the turn towards metaphysics with Descartes' philosophical initiative on the threshold of the modern age, contraposing to him the excellent example set by Greek classicism (Aristotle). Twenty years later, in 1947, he found that Plato's writings revealed a fall from grace. It remains for us to hope that at least the pre-Socratics (whom Heidegger held in the highest esteem) are still in a state of "innocence": the rot has not yet set in. Alas, that is not the case: the blame is placed squarely on Parmenides, and then on the more archaic thinkers, the matter ending with the moment of the downfall of philosophy simply coinciding with the moment of its birth. "The logic of his own concept led him to the idea that 'being has not yet been thought up by anybody'."[24] The present-day nihilistic consciousness, which has fled from classical to archaic Hellenism, again and again sees its own face as though in a frightful dream.

Theodor Adorno, who would seem to be the philosophical and political antipode of Heidegger, has discerned the hateful syndrome of bourgeois rationalism in—Homer's Odysseus, i.e., on the very threshold of antiquity.[25]

Classical antiquity has been compromised as an object of "bourgeois" veneration, the "academic" cult. It is excessively rationalistic, excessively moralising and humanist, and excessively decorous and measured. In other words, its fault lies in its being classical. When, in 1884, Engels called for the Ancient Greek to be seen as "savage and Iroquois" this was least of all something commonplace for the 19th century. However, the 20th century has brought with itself an extreme psychological stand inducing one to dart towards that "savage" through the ancient Greek, even bypassing him, without a keen sense of his Hellenism and without experiencing in him anything but his Iroquois nature.

A distinction has to be drawn here. Of and by itself, the discovery of the autonomous aesthetic value of the primitive, whether exemplified in a Negro cult mask or an Aegean idol, enhances our receptivity and is an unquestionable cultural achievement. However, it cannot be denied that the adherent of post-Nietzschean nihilism, who is irresistibly drawn to the depths of the archaic and closer to the ritual of human sacrifices and

orgiastic rites, one who immerses himself in the world of vague, shapeless and featureless *Uhr*-forms in the hope that his ecstasy will endow him with the experience of a living myth, is a grotesque and deeply ambiguous phenomenon. Apart from everything else, this is a phenomenon of hopeless vanity, since the "primordial" or the "genuine" which is so sought wholly escapes the grasp.

* * *

When it comes to summing up the operation of heterogeneous causes which question and erode the traditional image of classical antiquity, one cannot but mention, albeit in a most general form, the factor of internal transformation within science. Today, the new, unutilised, and therefore attractive opportunities for analysis are linked with research at the level of "macro-" and "micro-structures". In respect of the humanities, this means that we have, at one extreme, the elaboration and application of "global" schemes, and, at the other, the identification of the most simple and minimal units of a value that is being realised. It may be said that neither of these extremes has yet become achieved reality in the practice of the humanities, but it is already present on its fringes, affecting its self-awareness and, so to speak, condition, and revising its make-up. Because of the former trend, every fact in antique culture should be extracted from the context where it enjoyed the privilege of "uniqueness" and concrete self-identity, and should be included in other series on the principle of "typological" comparability with phenomena that stand at similar stages in other civilisations. The very terms denoting local and singular phenomena are systematically subjected to a universalising rethinking, thereby turning into generic names of entire classes of phenomena. Because of the second trend, the former textual units (compositions or subjects) which are still correlatable with the integrity of the simplest image cease from being perceived as indivisible atoms, and split into further components. Also pertaining here are all the modes of the microscopic examination of a text, i.e., from so close a distance that no reader or viewer can take it in; all the devices of "slow reading" are slowed down to such an extent that there is no longer any reading, for it has emerged from the framework of "natural" human reactions. Of course the roads of science as such are justified by its own inner necessity: the winnowing and implementation of emergent working possibilities—a process that cannot and should not be stopped. Science can do very much, but there is something it cannot do, i.e., again go over ground that has already been travelled. However, these notes deal with the theme, not of science

"as such" but of the trends that surround science, the trends of the times; such trends may be excised from "absolute science", from Science with a capital letter, but science in its empirical manifestation, i.e., the actual intellectual activities of actual scientists—people of flesh and blood—is highly sensitive to such trends.

"The indifferent space of cultural abstraction" (A. Mikhailov) is not a chimera but an actual threat to our times, one akin to the ecological crisis. No inner attitude towards the ideal of culture is possible in that space.

We have attempted to examine the mechanism of the joint operation of forces which have been working to destroy the "classicist" stand towards antiquity, on the sole basis of which an inner and intimate attitude towards the ideal of classical antiquity is possible. At the same time, the history of the 20th century has seen many attempts to instill fresh life into the classical ideal, give it new meaning and substantiation, and provide it with a definite place within the framework of the new system. However, such attempts must be dealt with elsewhere.

* * *

And so, the classical ideal is questioned and threatened. The advance of highly diverse but interlinked and even interconditioned forces threaten it from all sides and are most distinctly to be seen in the area which we have examined above: the conflicts and contacts of irrationalist and positivist varieties of nihilism in the West, from Nietzsche down to our days. It is, however, quite clear that their impact is not limited to the area we have considered.

It is not for us to offer plans for the "salvation" of the classical ideal. The future is full of hopes and dangers, opportunities and risks, so that guarantees are impossible and out of place. However, if the classical ideal is to enjoy some new life, that will be linked with a keener sense of its being arguable, fragile and threatened: a certain "and yet—" reservation.

In the times of Winckelmann and Schiller, antique beauty was often compared with the beauty of Nature. But today Nature is no longer the everlasting, unfading and all-powerful world seen by the readers of Rousseau: it is a fragile treasure entrusted to our clumsy hands and evoking a sense of anxiety for nature that catches at the heartstrings. It is the same with the cultural traditions of distant times. They have been entrusted to us, and we can protect its defencelessness with our devotion, yet we can easily become its betrayers. To us, ancient Greece is not some massive

reality which once used to take up so many pages in the textbooks. We see it as something very small, and to us its diminutiveness (in space and also in time: did the classical efflorescence last very long?) is linked with its majesty. As Chesterton once said, the tiny city-states of Hellas brought forth a broad philosophy which was too vast to fit into the expanses of the Persian Empire. Indeed, nothing can guarantee the survival of the classical ideal, which is why it is becoming even more precious than when it was beyond dispute.

NOTES

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Industrialisation in the Developing Countries

MAI VOLKOV

The achievement of political independence by the former colonies created an objective need for a national industry. The young states are carrying out their industrialisation programmes in specific conditions which differ from those of capitalist industrialisation in Western Europe, North America and Japan, as well as from the conditions of socialist industrialisation in the USSR. The industrial revolution in Asia and Latin America has been taking place simultaneously with the worldwide scientific and technological revolution. In these countries industries are being created before the corresponding mode of production has been formed. In the multistructural society of the young states capitalism exists as only one of the economic structures and has not so far developed into a prevalent socio-economic formation. In socialist-oriented countries, industry is being developed on the basis of the state sector, which is non-capitalist in content but nevertheless does not represent a socialist mode of production. The young states are greatly dependent on their external economic ties for building up their industries.

The industrialisation of the developing countries is taking place in a world where two opposing socio-economic systems coexist and compete, and there are countries at various stages of transition from the capitalist to the communist formation. The global confrontation between the old and the new social systems affects the forms and the course of industrialisation in the newly-independent countries and turns this process into an arena of economic, social and ideological struggle. This struggle involves all aspects of the industrialisation process—from the need of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to build a national

industry to the feasibility of their utilising the experience of socialist industrialisation. The differences in the forms and methods of industrialisation between countries following the capitalist path of development and those with a socialist orientation have been intensifying, and the socio-economic consequences in the two groups of countries are becoming increasingly divergent.

Since gaining their independence, the developing countries have had major successes as well as setbacks on the road of industrialisation. The economic problems of industrialisation are today acquiring new features because these countries have entered a new phase in their struggle for economic independence, their main goal being to secure a new international economic order. The determination of the developing nations to remove the obstacles to industrialisation caused by their unequal status in the world capitalist economy was reaffirmed at the Fifth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Manila, May 1979).

* * *

The objective need for industrialisation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is due to three groups of interrelated factors: the task of overcoming economic backwardness inherited from their colonial past; their desire to achieve economic independence and rid themselves of imperialist exploitation; and the urgent necessity to solve socio-economic problems—to wipe out hunger, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, epidemic diseases, etc. Without an industrial revolution no developing country can become economically independent.

Large countries, as we know, are able to build a diversified industry that embraces practically all modern types of production. Smaller nations, however, are unable to do so; nor is it necessary for them to build all branches of industry on their own territory. The modernisation of the economy in certain small countries may not require building heavy industry and can be confined to bringing up to date such branches of the economy as agriculture, the service industries, transport, etc. But no matter what kind of specialisation individual countries may undertake, the industrialisation of the developing nations as a whole is determined by the extent and technological level of their industry, above all in the processing sectors.

In recent years, attention has been drawn to the widening economic gap between the industrialised and the developing countries, which is one of the legacies of colonialism. In 1950, the

per capita gross domestic product of the industrialised capitalist countries was 11.2 times that of the developing nations (1,570 and 140 dollars respectively), in 1977, it was 12.5 times (3,500 and 280 dollars). Even more striking is the gap in the per capita output of the manufacturing industries.

Per Capita Net Industrial Product
(at 1970 prices and official exchange rates)

	1950	1977
Industrialised capitalist countries	455	1,160
Developing countries including:	22	74
those of Latin America	81	218
those of South and South-East Asia	8	27

In 1950, the per capita net industrial product of the industrialised capitalist countries exceeded that of the developing nations by 433 dollars and in 1977 by 1,086 dollars. Nor is the ratio of qualitative indicators, especially those denoting the level of technology and labour productivity, favourable to the developing nations. These nations, which account for three-quarters of the population of the capitalist world, possess only about one per cent of its scientific and technological potential (estimated by the number of registered patents).

No wonder the programme to establish a new international economic order includes, at the request of the developing nations, a proposal to accelerate their industrialisation so that by the year 2000 their share in world industrial production may be increased from 7 to at least 25 per cent. To attain this goal, the average annual growth rate of industrial production must be increased to not less than 11 per cent. Owing to the limited domestic markets of the young states, their industrial exports have to be increased by, according to some estimates, as much as 18 per cent annually. In this connection, two circumstances should be noted. First, the very fact that these bold tasks have been set demonstrates that the young states attach great importance to the industrialisation of their economies. Secondly, the programme has emerged on the basis of what has already been achieved by the developing

countries in the course of industrialisation and reflects the established trend towards industrial construction.

Between 1950 and 1970, the industrial output of all the developing countries increased four times. In the 1970s, its annual growth rate averaged about seven per cent, and the output of the processing industries increased by eight per cent. In 1978, overall industrial production went up by six per cent and the output of the processing industries by 11 per cent.[1] New industrial centres and regions have grown up in Asia, Latin America and Africa, such as Bombay in India (electrotechnical, petrochemical and textile industries, and a nuclear research centre); São Paulo and Volta Redonda in Brazil (mechanical engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical and light industries); Helwân in the ARE (ferrous metallurgy and mechanical engineering); Monterrey in Mexico (iron-and-steel, metal-working and petrochemical industries), and so on. The developing countries' industrial output in 1977 was 1.5 times the total amount produced in 1950 by the capitalist countries of Western Europe taken together. These young national industries have also contributed to the technological modernisation of agriculture, as a result of which some countries have seen a sharp increase in agricultural produce.

Industrialisation has mainly affected the production of consumer goods however. In recent years only a few of the larger countries have begun to develop intensively the production of industrial equipment, a substantial part of which is meant for export. India, for example, supplies the world market with steam boilers, electric motors, equipment for textile, tea and sugar factories, diesel engines, and refrigerators. Indian-made machine-tools are purchased by industrialised countries, such as Britain, the United States, Holland and Austria. In the 1970s, metallurgical products, including steel and cast-iron pipes, constituted India's major export. These are purchased by France, Britain, Japan and Australia, not to mention many developing countries. A major buyer of Indian industrial products in recent years has been the USSR, which imports from India not only cotton and woollen fabrics, but also machinery and equipment (including electrotechnical and garage equipment), metal goods and chemicals.

Industrialisation brings about important socio-economic transformations in the developing countries, above all the growth of the state sector. In India, the state sector accounts for about 16 per cent of the gross national product; moreover, 129 state-owned industrial plants are the leading producers of 50 major items, which guarantees the state an important position in the national economy. The emergence of a national industry entails the formation of social classes that are new to many developing countries. The developing world has more than 60 million

industrial workers, which is three times the number in the United States and 1.5 times the number in Western Europe. The national industrial bourgeoisie has also been growing. Industrialisation is responsible for the fact that despite the sharp rise in the rate of growth of the population in the developing countries, the average per capita national income has increased significantly. At the same time, however, the unevenness in distribution of the national income in capitalist-oriented countries has intensified.

As industrialisation proceeds, with the help of the socialist states, the former colonies are increasingly able to build industrial plants using their own resources. For instance, in the first section of the iron-and-steel works in Bhilai, only 10 per cent of the equipment installed was Indian-made; the rest came from the USSR. However, in the second section 20 per cent of the equipment was Indian-made. In the first section of the Bokaro plant as much as 65 per cent of the equipment was made in India.

Industrialisation in the developing countries has been an extremely uneven process, as a result of which differences between individual nations have been growing. For example, per capita industrial production in Latin America is now three times the average level in the developing world as a whole and eight times that of South and South-East Asia. Industrialisation in the developing countries which have chosen the capitalist path tends towards the formation of national monopoly associations. They cannot approach the giant industrial corporations of the Western powers in size but they manifest the desire inherent in all private monopolies to secure dominance in the market and augment their profits by artificially restricting competition. Such associations regard neighbouring countries which are industrially less developed as their own agrarian periphery, as a market for their industrial products and as a sphere for the export of capital. As a result, a new form of relations that can be termed "sub-imperialist" is growing up.

Since the developing countries form part of the world capitalist economy, their industrialisation leads to an aggravation of the contradictions inherent in that economy: competition within it becomes more fierce, and the conflicting nature of the relations between the developing and the industrialised capitalist countries becomes more manifest. The course of industrialisation in the young states is influenced by the laws governing the capitalist cycle and by the policies of international monopoly capital. While solving some problems, industrialisation creates others. In countries following a capitalist path, social inequalities intensify, and favourable conditions are created for the growth of the contradictions inherent in bourgeois society—unemployment, inflation, lack of material security, etc.

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The developing countries have embarked upon industrialisation at a time when the world already had an enormous industrial potential and tremendous material and financial resources, when the scientific and technological revolution was underway, and when the historical experience of the two different approaches (capitalist and socialist) to industrialisation was widely known. All this, in theory, should have significantly promoted and speeded up the industrialisation of the young states, and brought it about with the least possible outlay by the public. But unfortunately the capitalist nature of international economic relations, to which the developing countries are tied, has been a serious hindrance to their industrialisation. The monopolisation of science and technology in the capitalist world by the large private corporations, and the subordination of the whole system of international economic relations to their interests, not only hamper the very process of industrialisation in the developing countries, but also distort it.

Industrial development in these countries is regarded by the multinational corporations as a source of extra profit and as a means of imposing new forms of dependence on the young states. The unequal status of the majority of the developing countries in the world capitalist economy, and their growing exploitation by the multinationals, deprive them of a substantial part of their accumulation funds, which could otherwise be used to finance industrial development and the modernisation of some branches of the economy. According to some estimates, from 50,000 million to 100,000 million dollars flow out of the developing countries to the West every year.[2] The growth of accumulation funds in the developing countries is hampered by their multistructural economies and the persistence of subsistence farming and precapitalist forms of exploitation. It often happens that part of the funds mobilised through the state credit system to promote industrialisation ends up in the sphere of precapitalist forms of exploitation, including usury, which bring an income far exceeding industrial profits.

Another paradoxical phenomenon is the increased outflow of capital from the developing countries at a time when their industrialisation is being hampered by lack of finances. Yet another hindrance is the shortage of skilled personnel in industry.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are known to have enormous mineral deposits and supply of raw materials to the major imperialist powers. At the same time, the industrialisation of the young states is somewhat limited by a shortage of certain raw materials and energy supplies. This situation is due to the fact that only a small number of these states possesses mineral deposits

known to be suitable for development. Another important factor is that the developing countries which export raw materials lack processing facilities. As a result, while they export non-ferrous metal ores and crude oil the newly independent countries are compelled to import finished metal products and many types of petrochemical goods.

The inadequate development of the economic and social infrastructure, the import of machinery, equipment and certain building materials, the purchase of licenses and the employment of foreign specialists increase the foreign exchange expenditure on building industrial enterprises and reduces the efficiency of capital investments. Under these circumstances industrialisation entails a rapid growth of the developing nations' foreign debts which in the last decade have been increasing at an average annual rate of 16 per cent and today exceeds 250,000 million dollars (including commercial debts).

The limited domestic markets of the young states have predetermined two important features in the development of their industries. First of all, there is a high degree of concentration of production, even total monopolisation at the initial stages of industrialisation. It frequently happens that a comparatively small industrial enterprise in a small developing country becomes the sole manufacturer of a certain product as soon as it comes into operation. The monopoly of such an enterprise is strengthened by customs protectionism. If the enterprise is privately-owned, all the negative features of a private capitalist monopoly soon become fully manifest. Its activities aggravate the country's socio-economic contradictions and discredit the very idea of industrialisation. The second feature is the constant and considerable undercapacity of industrial production, which lessens the efficiency of industrial investments and raises the costs of production. The state often has to resort to different ways of subsidising such enterprises directly or indirectly, and the prices of their products turn out to be unjustifiably high.

Industrialisation and its rational direction could be promoted by the economic integration of the developing countries. However, integration measures have so far failed to bring about broad industrial cooperation. Only a small part of the industrial products of the young states is mutually traded and they more often compete with one another than cooperate in solving common problems. The reasons for this are the political tensions that often exist between countries of the same region, increasing differentiations in socio-economic and political orientations, the desire of the industrially more developed partners in economic unions to dominate the others, and the activities of the transnational

corporations which play off corporate production ties against interstate integration.

The participation of the developing countries in economic unions with industrialised capitalist countries, such as the association of 57 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific with the European Economic Community on the basis of a new agreement signed on October 31, 1979, in Lome (Togo), does not promote their national industrial development. Nor does it provide for the development of industrial cooperation between them. Its overall effect is to enable the capitalist monopolies to make use of the industrialisation of the newly liberated countries to increase the degree of their exploitation. Under these circumstances the young states are finding it useful to study more closely the kind of industrial cooperation and specialisation practised by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), whose activities are based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

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In the early period of independent development of the former colonies, international monopoly capital went out of its way to hamper their industrialisation, and Western economists insisted that there was no need for industrial development in the young states. With the passage of time, it became clear that these states, despite the policies of imperialism, were firm in their determination to carry out industrialisation, and that scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist countries would help them in this endeavour. Moreover, the capitalist monopolies realised that the technological and economic backwardness of the developing countries was making their exploitation by means of modern methods and machinery increasingly difficult. Today the industrialisation of the developing countries is regarded as a new and highly profitable sphere of activity for the transnational corporations. In an attempt to bring the industrialisation process in the newly free countries under their control and to derive maximum benefit from it, these corporations are increasing their investments in the processing industries there. As a result, two trends are evident in the industrialisation of the developing countries—national and neocolonialist.

The national trend involves the construction of industrial enterprises in accordance with national economic development plans. In this case, the state normally acts both as an organising force and as an entrepreneur by creating and expanding the public sector. The shift of the centre of gravity in industrial

development to the public sector has been, as was noted at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, one of the principal trends in many of the young independent countries in recent years.[3] The national trend in industrialisation also involves using industrial progress to bring about a technological reconstruction of agriculture and other branches of the economy, and implies an ever wider integration of the national economy as a whole. Foreign capital investments are allowed in the projects included in the economic plans but only under state control and on acceptable terms. This trend is characteristic of the countries which have chosen a socialist orientation.

The neocolonialist trend manifests itself mostly in the creation of subsidiaries of multinational and transnational corporations on the territory of developing nations. These subsidiaries enjoy a certain amount of autonomy and are not subordinated to national economic bodies—they are actually foreign enclaves, having little connection with the country's economy. These industries are part of the productive machinery of world capitalism, which are using the territory of the young state concerned as their economic base and exploiting its manpower resources. This trend of industrialisation can be regarded as a form of neocolonialism, with its own organisational structures and is characteristic of a number of countries taking the capitalist road of development.

The industrialisation of the developing states, in conditions of the world capitalist economy where modern science and technology are monopolised by the major private corporations, can lead—and in some cases does lead—to the emergence of new forms of dependence, particularly to the technological dependence of the newly independent countries on the world centres of imperialism. This dependence serves as the material basis of the neocolonialist trend of industrialisation. The monopolies seek to set up a system of relations under which a developing country cannot gain access to modern equipment and technology unless it grants foreign capital various privileges, freedom of action and favourable investment terms. If the developing nation concerned does not take appropriate measures, technological dependence assumes increased dimensions, and the neocolonialist trend of industrialisation becomes predominant. That is why the struggle against technological dependence is an important component of the national industrialisation trend.

The international monopolies are resorting to new methods of profiteering. One of their main methods is to force the recipient countries to pay exorbitant prices for modern equipment, technology and expertise. Direct payments for patents, licenses, expertise, the use of trade marks and the services of foreign engineers

amount to more than half the total of all annual direct foreign investments in the developing countries, and they are growing at an annual rate of approximately 20 per cent. In some cases the salary of a foreign technician is 50 times higher than of a local technician doing the same work. And the direct payments, as the Indian economist S. Patel notes, are only the tip of the iceberg. Invisible, indirect payments make up a far greater amount, and their main sources are: the artificially inflated prices of equipment, materials and services provided by Western firms to their subsidiaries in developing countries; the artificially reduced prices of products delivered by these subsidiaries to the "mother" companies; the increased costs of technical expertise, etc.

According to Patel, the total sum of direct and indirect payments made by the developing nations for foreign technology in the early 1970s reached 12,000 million dollars.[4] On top of this, the capitalist monopolies have entangled the industries of the young states in a web of restrictions, prohibitions and obligations (prohibition of the use of specified equipment and technology by the recipient country for the production of goods for export; the obligation to use only imported materials, semi-finished products and spare parts; restriction of research in certain fields; constant use of the technical services of foreign firms, etc.).

Lenin characterised the economic aspects of imperialism in the following way: "To the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, i.e., for spheres of profitable deals, concessions, monopoly profits and so on, economic territory in general."[5] Neocolonialist trends of industrialisation in developing countries represent a form of the use of "economic territory" in Asia, Africa and Latin America by capitalist monopolies. Capitalist industry needs this territory, because there are a number of conditions which must be fulfilled if investments are to be highly profitable. The primary conditions are: the availability of mineral and other natural resources, sources of energy and fresh water, cheap manpower, and a sufficiently high demand among the population for the goods produced locally.

Multinational and transnational corporations are investing in the industries of the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the sake of their own interests which often run counter to the tasks of economic development in those countries. The industries that tend to be transferred to developing countries are labour-intensive, require great quantities of raw materials and fresh water, and pollute the environment. US firms have some 700 industrial enterprises in Mexico, where wages are much lower than

in the United States. The giant monopolies of Western Europe and Japan also have enterprises abroad. In this endeavour they are encouraged by the policies of the imperialist states, whose customs and non-tariff barriers for industrial goods imported from developing countries do not apply to the products of subsidiaries of monopoly associations situated on the territory of those countries.

The young states are aware of the danger presented by foreign monopolies which use science and technology as the basic weapon of neocolonialism. The economic declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries emphasised that industrialisation is a highly dynamic instrument for promoting social and economic progress in the developing countries, but noted that the technological monopoly of the developed countries has given rise to some negative phenomena that call for the immediate adoption of significant organisational measures.

Large private national corporations often act in collaboration with foreign capital. For example, 43 per cent of fixed capital in Indian industry belongs to 91 major enterprises employing over 5,000 people each. In late 1977, there were 740 branches and subsidiaries of various transnational corporations operating in India, whose total assets were estimated at 30,000 million rupees (as compared with 3,200 million rupees in 1948). Although foreign firms operating in India have been required to reduce their shares in any particular company to 40 per cent, they still retain control over their investments. In early 1978, foreign firms began a large-scale issue of new shares and distributed them on the Indian stock market, strictly limiting the number of shares that could be acquired by any one person. In this way the foreign firm can retain control, even though its own share in joint-stock capital is reduced to 40 per cent.[6] The monetary funds obtained from issuing new shares are used by these subsidiaries of foreign companies to increase their assets.

In a number of developing countries, foreign firms cooperate with the public sector in order to retain their positions. The number of mixed companies, with foreign private firms and the national state as partners has been increasing. Such companies are a form of compromise which, on the one hand, ensures the inflow of foreign equipment, technology and funds to the developing country concerned, and guarantees their use in conformity with national development plans whilst, on the other hand, enabling foreign capital to make an acceptable amount of profit, i.e., to gain access to the material and manpower resources of that country.

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The capitalist powers account for the bulk of foreign economic ties with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America but the process of industrialisation in these countries is also being significantly influenced by world socialism. The socialist countries, having carried out their own industrialisation policy which differs basically from the capitalist version, have shown by their experience that the enormous efforts expended on the building of a modern industry can yield fruit to society as a whole provided exploitation has been abolished. They have demonstrated that industrialisation can be carried out without detriment to the working people and without aggravating social contradictions. In fact, they have shown that even a relatively backward country can industrialise on the basis of its own domestic resources without having to sell itself into the bondage of the industrialised capitalist states. The Marxist-Leninist tenet that the building of a socialist society necessarily presupposes socialist industrialisation and the transfer of all branches of the national economy to an industrial basis has been borne out in practice.

Under the impact of the historic experience of socialism, more and more countries which have cast off the colonialist yoke are choosing the non-capitalist path of development whose programme gives a prominent place to industrialisation. Although the young independent countries which have chosen a non-capitalist road have been developing for a relatively short time, they have already built some large modern industrial enterprises. A working class has been formed and is growing in these countries and agriculture is being switched to collective production with the use of machinery and scientific methods of farming. One of the decisive factors in the success of their industrialisation processes is their economic cooperation with the socialist countries.

Soviet researchers have pointed to certain common features between industrialisation in the Soviet Union and that in the majority of developing countries. These features exist despite the fact that industrialisation in the Soviet Union took place on the basis of the socialist mode of production.[7] There are a number of areas in which the Soviet experience is relevant today. In the first place, the young states are confronted with the task of securing economic independence from imperialism—the same task that the Soviet Republic faced after the October Revolution of 1917. It was the type of industrialisation established in the USSR that made it possible to fulfil this task successfully. Secondly, the success of industrialisation in the USSR is connected with the advantages of national economic planning. The Soviet Union started economic planning long before the conclusive victory of socialism, when it

still had a multistructural economy, and planning was an indispensable requisite for the successful accomplishment of socialist industrialisation. So it is natural that the developing nations should be interested in the Soviet experience in planning and wish to make use of it in drawing up their own national economic plans. As a matter of fact, in their endeavours to achieve nationwide industrialisation, the developing countries are using elements of planning, a feature distinguishing their industrialisation process from the classical capitalist variety with its inherent spontaneity, anarchy and fierce competition. Thirdly, it is necessary for the developing nations to defend their young national industry from the adverse influences of the world capitalist market; indicative in this respect is the proclamation by the Soviet state in April 1918 of a state monopoly on foreign trade. Socialist industrialisation was thereby reliably protected from outside attempts to disrupt it. Fourthly, the developing nations have to bring about a socio-economic reorganisation and technical modernisation of agriculture. From the outset, socialist industrialisation in the USSR was the basis for transforming the country's inefficient small-peasant farms, which almost exclusively used manual labour and obsolete methods of cultivation, into a highly efficient large-scale mechanised system of agriculture, opening the way to a new life in the countryside. This is why the Soviet experience in combining industrialisation with the socio-economic reorganisation of agriculture is also of interest to the young states. Finally, most developing nations do not accept those sources of accumulation by means of which the industry of the capitalist West was built up—impoverishment, dispossessing peasants of their land, intensified exploitation of the working people in all branches of the economy, plunder of colonial peoples, war booty, and onerous loans. The experience of the Soviet Union, which relied on domestic accumulations and used external sources (to a very limited extent) in the process of socialist industrialisation, has much in common with the problems confronting the developing countries which have embarked on the process of industrialisation.

Today, in addition to that of the USSR, the young states have access to the experience of socialist industrialisation in other countries, including those with small populations and those which were until recently backward colonial countries.

Industrial, scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist states is of paramount importance to the developing nations in their industrialisation efforts. In the key industrial branches of those young states which are significantly ahead of the others on the road of national industrialisation, a high proportion of enterprises were built with the help of socialist countries. These enterprises form the backbone of the public sector in industry,

and this lends the process of industrialisation an anti-imperialist edge. Their level of self-sufficiency has also been rising so that these states are becoming capable of building new industrial enterprises on their own. The socialist states retain no right of ownership to the enterprises built with their assistance; nor do they lay claim to any part of their profits or seek to participate in their management.

The role of world socialism in the process of industrialisation in developing countries is not confined to assistance in building industrial enterprises. It is of utmost importance to a young state's industry to have access to the markets of the socialist countries, especially at a time when the West is putting up formidable barriers against industrial exports from the former colonies. Back in 1964, the USSR unilaterally abolished all import duties on industrial goods from developing countries. Long-term trade agreements guarantee stable (i.e., not subject to cyclical fluctuations) markets in the socialist countries for industrial products from the developing nations. Moreover, the very possibility that the developing countries might expand their cooperation with the world socialist community compels the industrialised capitalist states and the multinational monopolies to make certain compromises. They are forced to provide assistance in building industrial enterprises on terms which the developing countries would have been unable to secure if they had remained in the orbit of imperialism.

Despite the contradictory and complex socio-economic problems connected with industrialisation in the developing countries, this process is bringing about significant progressive changes in the system of international economic relations and a restructuring of the international division of labour. It is thus enabling these countries to play a greater role in world affairs.

NOTES

1 *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics,* February 1979, p. XVIII.

2 *Reshaping the International Order. A Report of the Club of Rome,* New York, 1976, p. 16.

3 *The 25th Congress of the CPSU,* Moscow, 1976, pp. 15-16.

4 *Mainstream,* 11 Annual Number 1973, pp. 85-89.

5 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 22, p. 299.

6 *New Age,* New Delhi, March 19, 1978.

7 L. Reisner, G. Shirokov, "The Experience of Industrialisation in the USSR and Its Significance for the Countries of the East", *Aziya i Afrika segodnya,* No. 10, 1977.

DIALOGUE

School and the Moulding of the Personality

VASILI DAVYDOV

From the Editors: What role does the school play in a child's upbringing in conditions of rapid development of social production? What is the role of the study of literature in this process? What is meant by "development of the personality" and how is this task combined in practice with another, no less important, task, that of the assimilation by the pupil of a certain body of knowledge? What new contributions do pedagogics and educational psychology have to offer in the study of literature in school?
These were the questions that Pereverzev, correspondent of the journal *Literaturnoye obozreniye* (Literary Review), put to the Director of the Institute of General and Educational Psychology, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Vasili Davydov.
Below we reprint the interview.

Question: The study of literature in school is, of course, nothing new, but the context in which school in general is being considered is changing substantially prompted by deep, rapid and multi-faceted changes in contemporary life as a whole. The Soviet Government's decision (December 1977) on the further improvement of the instruction and education in schools and the preparation of schoolchildren for work states that, despite the considerable successes achieved in the content, methods and means of education over the past ten years, the state of affairs in this field still does not measure up to the increased demands of social production and scientific and technological progress.

To overcome this shortfall schools must evidently not only move in step with the times but even outpace them in order to prepare children today for the problems they will encounter tomorrow. Apparently what is needed is a system of teaching which is not only flexible and responsive to the requirements of the times, but which is capable of furthering the pupil's self-development ahead of the times.

In recent years there has been much talk about new ways of approaching physics and mathematics, biology and chemistry in schools. Some of these ideas have been elaborated by the institute of which you are the head. They are presently being tried out in experimental schools and will evidently be introduced into ordinary schools in the near future.

Unfortunately one hears much less about "new trends" in the study of the humanities, especially literature. We know, of course, that much is being done in this direction too, that the efforts of educationalists—theoreticians and practicians—are meeting with a certain amount of success. Nevertheless, the impression is that these subjects continue to be regarded as of secondary importance in schools. The approach is still that if a person knows and appreciates literature and art so much the better, but the main criterion should nevertheless be how efficient he is in his work.

It appears that when speaking of the study of literature in schools, it is necessary to speak not simply about the process of instruction, but of its influence on the pupil's personality. Concerning the development of the personality...

Answer: You seem to be making a distinction between "instruction" and "development of the personality"? I believe that is a wrong approach. Let us recall exactly when pedagogics and psychology first started talking about "development". It was precisely when the narrowness of the notion "instruction" as the simple coaching of the pupil with the help of verbal empirical information was fully realised. That is when it was decided that it was necessary to separate and oppose to each other specialised instruction (primarily, scientific and technical), on the one hand, and "development of the psychological structures of the personality", on the other. In "personality development", the arts and humanities were, of course, to play the leading role.

However, such a premise is basically incorrect, in my view. At any rate it does not resolve the problems of the "traditional school" either in theory or in practice. (I mean here not some specific school or educational theory, but rather the practice which orients itself mainly on former experience without noticing that this experience has already become outdated in many respects.) Far more productive are the notions of pedagogics and educational psychology that have their roots in the fundamental works of the distinguished Russian psychologist Vygotsky and were developed in the writings of his followers Leontyev, Zankov, Galperin, Elkonin and others, where the notions of "instruction" and "personality development" are not contrasted but are considered with all their interconnections and constant interactions.

Unfortunately this principle is not always implemented in school practice. It is not a matter of the number of hours allotted for subjects in the natural sciences and humanities, but of their content. The curricula and textbooks are often overloaded with unnecessary detail, while the most important thing for the pupil during his school years is to acquire the foundations of knowledge and habits of work, and prepare for mastering the various professions needed by the national economy.

Q.: Then how can the needs of society and the national economy best be served by the study of literature, and aesthetic education in general in schools?

A.: I deliberately used the words "prepare for mastering professions", and not "master" because the school gives the pupil an education meeting specific requirements—both in the realm of precise knowledge and practical skills and from the point of view of general culture. The actual mastering of a profession comes later. The school only lays the foundation. Some pupils, after leaving school, will go on to a higher educational institutions—either technical or humanitarian, but most of them will start work. The role of literature in moulding the pupil's personality should not, in my view, be considered in isolation from the influence exerted by other subjects, just as aesthetic education as a whole should not be considered in isolation from, let us say, ideological and moral education. Only in their sum total can they mould a personality measuring up to the requirements of society.

In approaching the question from this point of view we must take into account two factors. First of all, modern production is continually being inundated with sophisticated technological innovations. The creation and utilisation of such technology calls for highly skilled workers whose professional training must be based on a wide range of *systematised scientific knowledge* and on a correspondingly high level of *intellectual development.* In other words, production practice these days requires personnel, who, on the basis of their knowledge and practical experience, can consciously analyse and generalise vast amounts of diverse information, that is, people who are able to *think creatively.*

Secondly, production is a socialised, collective activity. That is to say, besides a definite attitude to the objects and implements of labour it also involves *relations between people.* There is hardly any need to recall the well-known thesis of Marxist philosophy that it is precisely in such a concrete social situation that moral and civic consciousness further develops. Training for any kind of production activity presupposes mastering the means of establishing the best relations with other people.

Q.: What do you mean when speaking of means?

A.: To begin with, such social relations do not arise of themselves. They can be established only on the basis of certain *habits of culture* which in this case act as means. It would be a great oversimplification to think that they can be done without, that it is enough to be sociable, even tempered, emotionally responsive, etc. Such qualities are insufficient to solve problems whose complexity is increasing along with the complexity of social production. Here it is essential to be in possession of a whole range of special intellectual abilities and resources, to master, in the words of Saint-Exupery, the art of human communication.

Q.: We could probably say that, to this end, it is necessary to be "spiritually" well developed, to possess a distinct personality...

A.: But what do you mean by possessing a personality? It is generally considered that development of the personality is, purely and simply, a continuous assimilation of all the material and intellectual culture accumulated by mankind. Such assimilation is possible only if a person works hard at self-improvement.

But the forms of such activity are not present at birth, they do not spring from a spontaneous impulse, but are developed in the child by adults who themselves are following definite patterns. Development is not a passive process, it is based on the versatile spontaneous activity of the individual, but again, such activity does not come naturally to the child—it has to be stimulated with the help of special methods of instruction. And it is precisely this that should constitute the primary task of the school of today, in the sphere of literature and the humanities as well as all other subjects.

Q.: So what, after all, must the school teach?

A.: First and foremost, the school must teach the child to think! To think in order to be able to act. Subjects should therefore be taught in a way that makes for creative thinking.

What knowledge and abilities will be expected of the school-leaver in the year 2000? It is impossible to tell exactly although attempts are already being made to forecast the probable range of tasks that might arise. But in all cases we must organise instruction which would correspond to the entire range of the potentialities of an allround developed person and would shape a broad spectrum of the pupil's own abilities.

Q.: Including, I assume, also aesthetic abilities?

A.: Precisely, that is why we do not consider the aesthetic education of the pupil as something that can and should be given separately and independently of his intellectual or moral educa-

tion. In short, the purpose of education, as we see it, is to make a significant impression, both aesthetically and morally, on the consciousness of the child.

Q.: What place do you allot to literature in this scheme?

A.: No less important a place than mathematics, physics or biology. The organisation of the intellect, mentioned earlier, includes shaping the ability to cognise and analyse the nature of human relations. And not only to cognise them, but to constantly and creatively develop and enrich them with new contacts, new elements, and new types of human communication and interactions.

A literary work is a concentration, a crystallisation of human relations. When interpreting and analysing—especially analysing—a literary text, the pupil not only identifies various types and aspects of human emotions, ties and relationships; he also subjectively experiences them which leads him to a deeper understanding of their essence.

In other words, the study of literature is one of the most effective ways of drawing on the true wealth of human culture, and, *ipso facto,* on moulding an allround developed personality.

Q.: That is true, but the question of method arises—how can literature best be studied to achieve this goal?

A.: If we are speaking not of specific methods but of a general approach I should like to note the following. In most schools the pupil has to tackle every subject singlehanded, so to speak. This often gives rise to a feeling of uncertainty and, in general, does not awaken a love of the subject.

Let us see how literature lessons are often conducted according to a schema that, although long since censured, tenaciously persists in our schools.

First of all, the teacher "reveals the content" and "analyses the form" of the literary work supposedly read beforehand (and often only cursorily) by the pupils, retells its plot and enumerates the main genre-stylistic characteristics. The pupils (with the exception of those who cram) listen absentmindedly and somehow try to remember what has been said. If afterwards they are able more or less coherently to regurgitate the content of the previous lesson they get a passable mark.

But what has penetrated beyond the formally correct responses? Has the pupil been truly moved by the work, has it left any lasting trace in his heart or shaped any new ideas or values? A straightforward answer to this question is not possible, special psychological studies suggest that the educational results obtained by this method are meagre.

There is however another possible, group approach, where the children are immediately drawn into discussion of the subject being studied. Here the teacher should create a situation in which the pupils begin to perceive a particular literary work, the genre as a whole, and art in general, as a focal point for the acute problems concerning or capable of concerning every individual.

Q.: What kind of problems are you talking about in this case?

A.: About moral, aesthetic, cognitive, recreational problems and any other you care to mention. The important thing is that these problems are already, in one way or another, confronting the pupils, if not in everyday experience then, at any rate, in their spiritual life. And once these problems have become apparent the pupils should be encouraged to speak of them among themselves and with the teacher.

Only when the pupil *himself* asks a question regarding this or that literary character, a situation described in the novel, or the artistic method used by the writer; only when he himself expresses a desire to discuss this question with his schoolmates; only when he sees the teacher not as an examiner but as an expert who is able to help him overcome his bewilderment—only then is the pupil beginning to study literature in a way which will achieve the goals facing our school today.

Q.: The form of educational activity which you have so vividly described presupposes, it seems to me, a very high level of pupil's consciousness. Such a level of consciousness would have to be developed in some way.

A.: You are right, but it is developed best of all precisely in the way I have described, selecting the material and complexity of the problems according to the age of the pupils. Our studies have shown that even quite young schoolchildren on encountering an appropriate work of literature in such a situation immediately establish mutual contact. Moreover, they often begin to build their relations with each other on the basis of the relations existing between the characters in the given work.

Q.: You mean the children imitate the literary heroes? But youngsters have always done this.

A.: Not quite. I have in mind something like an educational experimental play in which each participant mentally tries on, in a manner of speaking, the roles of all the characters, successively puts himself in their position and sees what is happening through "their eyes", etc. The participants then compare the results of this "trying on", and on the basis of these results reconstruct an overall and generalised picture of reality. The end result is that

each participant emotionally "experiences" a broad gamut of human feelings and the complex peripetia of personal and social relations. At the same time, he is given an opportunity to see and comprehend them through the artistic prism rather than that of everyday life.

Q.: This reminds me of the famous conception of "alienation" in certain of Bertold Brecht's plays. There the audience is required not only to "experience keenly", but also to be conscious—and critically so—of everything they see on the stage. But why do you call this a group approach? Surely it can be applied individually too.

A.: It can, but group discussion of a literary work generally brings out a greater depth of feeling and awareness among its participants.

The perception of art is a very complex form of intellectual activity, and what is more, an activity which is social in nature. Even when we read an absorbing novel on our own we often carry on an inner dialogue with various imaginary interlocutors—argue with them, appeal to their authority, look to them for support of our opinions, and so on. And we are always eager to share our opinion of a new book with our friends or people of like mind and also to discuss it with those who do not agree with us! It very often happens that, as a result of such an exchange of ideas our understanding of what we have read changes considerably, not because we have been swayed by somebody else's opinion, but because we have unexpectedly become aware of another or even several other possible points of view, and of different interpretations, evaluations and attitudes to the same subject. As a result, our own conclusions become more substantiated and assured. We not only follow the unfolding of the plot and "suffer" together with the characters but we begin to understand the very intricate interlacing of social, psychological and artistic reality embodied in works of literature.

Q.: But would not this be overtaxing the child's perceptive ability?

A.: Does anybody know the limits of such ability? In our institute, at any rate, we have already come to the conclusion that school, at present, narrows them impermissibly. That is why we consider the study of literature to be a way of developing higher, more perfect forms of thinking.

Q.: What do you mean when you speak of higher forms of thinking?

A.: To put it in a nutshell: in his work and his social and personal life a person encounters all kinds of situations and problems, some of these can be resolved strictly logically, the answer being simply "yes" or "no". But in other cases formal logic is inadequate and there is always more than one possible answer. This is the case in moral assessments, ethical choices, and in general the entire range of so-called humanitarian problems. In such cases we must resort to dialectics.

The first kind of strictly logical problems can be resolved either individually or collectively. But in cases where the problem does not lend itself to a single solution, where a dialectical approach is required, there in my view instruction should definitely be conducted collectively. Only in conditions of many-sided social communication can the maximum number of possible attitudes and characteristics be elicited. Each individual position, viewpoint or evaluation—no matter how indisputable and convincing it would appear—should be compared with the standpoint of another person who in this instance is not a debater or opponent, but a partner in the quest for the truth.

Q.: What you are saying fully coincides with Bakhtin's theory about the inherent "dialogism" of literature.

A.: Well, it is not only gratifying, but also symptomatic of the fact that the branch of educational psychology to which I subscribe should be in agreement with such a prominent figure of modern literary criticism as Bakhtin. But the idea of dialogue as the first condition of dialectics is an ancient form of philosophical investigation. And until comparatively recent times this form was also widely used in scientific writings, for instance, those of Galileo, Leibnitz, etc.

Q.: Naturally, the didactic significance of the dialogue is most important, but here (since we are speaking of the school), we are also necessarily concerned with practical aspects—how to verify the pupil's knowledge and progress in literature. The examinations the school-leaver is expected to take do not at all call for a dialogue; they are essentially monologic. Even the oral examinations are, in most cases, based on questions to which there is a single correct response. The pupil is not expected to search for the truth or demonstrate his ability to do so. And if the "dialogue" approach is taken here, then how should performances be evaluated and how should marks be allotted?

A.: So far as traditional criteria of evaluation of progress in literature, or for that matter, in all other subjects is concerned I would put it even more bluntly: they often correspond neither to the goals nor the methods of modern instruction. I do not reject

the idea of marks as such, but we at the institute believe that pupil's motivation, the awakening of interest in the subject, a passion for research and an awareness of healthy competition can and must originate in the actual subject during the process of collective instruction. The experience of our experimental schools bears out the correctness of this approach.

In our institute we keep double entry mark books, so to speak: we give marks of the conventional type but at the same time use a comprehensively devised and differentiated system of complex tests which, incidentally, are generally in the form of a dialogue. Such tests help to bring out latent abilities in the pupil which the former school never suspected. Knowing just what prevents a pupil from understanding some particular problem, the teacher can help him to perceive it himself and overcome the difficulty, thus giving the pupil greater confidence in his own abilities. I consider that the future lies in this kind of approach, and we hope eventually to make our method of evaluation accessible to all educationalists.

Q.: A continuous dialogue between teacher and pupil... One thought keeps recurring—*the dramatisation of instruction!* Dramatisation as a deliberate way of showing up contradictions, bringing them into conflict and finally resolving them. And then the corresponding thought that instruction is by its very nature dramatic.

A.: This is quite true, and even more so today. That is why the school is able to offer so many themes, types and characters for artistic productions. Look how readily scenario writers turn to the school themes. Have you noticed that the most acute and intense moral, intellectual and aesthetic collisions and conflicts in such films arise most often in literature lessons?

Q.: By the way, you yourself have led me to my last question. Given that the starting point in pedagogics is choosing the right goals and the theories and methods appropriate to them, I would nevertheless like to ask what role the personality of the teacher plays in its ultimate success?

A.: This kind of question is often asked, but it is all too indefinite and vague. I personally suspect that it usually conceals the following unvoiced conviction: "It is all a matter of the teacher's abilities. Methods are only methods, but what good are they if the teacher is mediocre and below standard?"

Well, if we are to assume that it is not a question of methods but of teachers then, for goodness' sake, give us competent people or show us where we can find them. That would settle the matter. But we cannot wait for miracles, teachers have to be trained, that

is, instructed in teaching methods. What kind of teaching methods? Probably not only traditional ones but modern ones corresponding to the new conditions. That squares the circle. Where is the way out? Clearly, in training the teacher. But this, of course, is another question altogether.

Q.: But where do you find teachers for your experimental schools?

A.: Among the graduates of pedagogical institutes. They learn to teach in new ways as new methods are devised, mastered, tested and perfected.

Q.: Some people might accuse you of using pupils as guinea-pigs.

A.: Nonsense! Our pupils are not objects of experimentation. They are full and equal participants (to the extent of their abilities, of course) and they are well aware of this. In our classes the pupils often help the teacher conduct the lesson and the teachers discuss the plans and programme for further studies with them.

Q.: It would appear then that you, too, have something like mutual collective instruction?

A.: To a certain extent, yes. You know, we can all learn from one another.

CRITICAL STUDIES AND COMMENT

The Myth About the Death of Philosophy

THEODOR OIZERMAN

The necessity, validity and justification of philosophy has been subjected to doubt, even to negation ever since its emergence. The Belgian philosopher A. de Waelhens writes that it "exists for 20 centuries but its right to existence has never ceased to be questioned".[1] Even the sceptics of antiquity who considered themselves outside of philosophy inasmuch as they refrained from positive theoretical pronouncements, alleged that philosophy was a pointless occupation, since all philosophers disagree with each other on all questions. The sceptics of our times follow, in this respect, the example of their predecessors. P. Bayle held that philosophy was similar to the medication which erodes not only the sick flesh but the healthy body to the very marrow.[2]

However, not only the sceptics expressed doubts regarding the capabilities of philosophy. F. Bacon contrasted it with "natural philosophy", i.e., natural science. In his teaching about the spectres which obscure human conscience by misconceptions and prejudices, he characterises philosophical teachings as *idola theatri*. R. Descartes who sought to erect the edifice of science on a foundation of his own rationalistic metaphysics, i.e., who highly valued the part that philosophy is to play in the system of sciences stated that "it is impossible to imagine anything, however strange and improbable, that has not been already suggested by some philosopher".[3] Like Bacon, Descartes meant, in the main, scholastic philosophy. Precisely in this connection he stated that those who had never indulged in philosophy, more often than not are wiser than hired philosophers. It should be emphasised that these

doubts far from hindering, on the contrary, facilitated fruitful development of philosophy. Signal achievements of pre-Marxian teachings offered the theoretical conditions for the creation of the dialectical and historical materialism. The revolution worked by Marxism in philosophy is an all important stage in mankind's philosophical progress. The contradiction between metaphysical materialism and dialectical idealism—the two most salient achievements of pre-Marxian philosophy—gained its positive, creative resolution in the philosophy of Marxism. The emergence of dialectical materialism meant the end of philosophy in the old meaning of the word. Describing dialectical materialism as the philosophy of a new type, Engels wrote, "It is no longer a philosophy at all, but simply a world outlook..." and went on to say, "Philosophy is therefore 'sublated' here, that is 'both overcome and preserved'; overcome as regards its form and preserved as regards its real content."[4]

The emergence of Marxism is a radical transformation of the historico-philosophical process. The antithesis of materialism and idealism, of dialectics and the metaphysical mode of thinking, which in the conditions of entrenched capitalism existed within the framework of one and the same bourgeois ideology, henceforth is a philosophical expression of the opposition between the revolutionary working class and the capitalist social relations. It is not accidental, therefore, that historically the emergence of Marxism coincides with the commencement of the intellectual crisis of the capitalist society. Cultural developments in this society henceforth take the descending course. It is therefore natural that the doubts regarding the status of philosophy which in the past facilitated its advancement turn into symptoms of ideological degradation, factors which are intensifying this process. "Over recent 150 years," writes the outstanding Soviet scholar P. Fedoseyev, "bourgeois theoreticians had more than once declared the end of philosophy, its 'death' in the course of the development of the scientific knowledge of the world. The idea has not been always stated in the form of an overt, 'old-positivist' negation of philosophy as such, reducing philosophical knowledge to a mere compendium of conclusions made in specific sciences. A more refined form of negating philosophy is, in the final count, the stand which, while recognising the specifics of philosophical thinking and of its right to existence, proceeds from the absolute, abstract contrasting of it to scientific thinking."[5]

Thus, we find in the realm of modern philosophy the Marxist, positive, dialectico-materialistic rejection of preceding philosophy, on the one hand, and philosophical negativism by a considerable part of contemporary Western philosophers, on the other hand.

While disavowing the progressive ideological legacy, the Western scholars declare that philosophy has lost its *raison d'être.*

The Marxist negation of philosophy in the old meaning of the word is a negation of the historically obsolete opposition of philosophising to non-philosophical—both scientific and practical—activities. Philosophy, as it follows from the history of Marxism, becomes radically transformed; thanks to its organic association with the progress of scientific knowledge and foremost social practice it develops into a scientific-philosophical world outlook. Bourgeois philosophy, however, is incapable of surmounting the alienated perception of reality which is immanent in its social nature. This finds its impressive reflection in the myth about philosophy's death which puts on record its real break-up and, mystifying this historically real process, lends it an absolutely universal interpretation.

Thus, the process which is specifically a characteristic of idealistic philosophy is extrapolated to a fundamentally different philosophy, that of Marxism. Dialectical materialism is interpreted not as the negation of traditional philosophising but as the rejection of philosophy in general. This interpretation of facts is an illusionary ideological self-consciousness which perceives the degradation of modern bourgeois philosophemes as a total self-destruction of philosophy. A critical analysis of this illusion brings to light not only the hostility of bourgeois philosophy to dialectical materialism but its inability to comprehend the social sources of its own impotence.

A proper comprehension of the myth about philosophy's death is only possible if this myth is taken not in isolation but jointly with other similar mystified realities of present-day bourgeois consciousness. The theology of the "dead God" or the anthropology of the "mortified man" basically are ideological phenomena of the same type. God is dead, F. Nietzsche used to say, expressing through this metaphore an empirically observed reality—the degradation of traditional religious consciousness of a thoughtless, unweakened by doubts, faith in the inconceivable. The pagans who took the sun and stars for Gods, naturally, did not doubt the existence of the latter. Since the emergence of monotheism, however, with its transcendental God transformed into an abstraction, there appeared also the "proof" of the existence of God. The theology of the "dead God" is a forced admission of the fact that socio-economic and scientific-technological progress entail not only secularisation but also the downfall of religious consciousness. The believer of our days is increasingly becoming a spontaneous atheist, i.e., he is a believer inasmuch as he is not a conscious atheist. God is dead, since the believer is not finding him in his consciousness.

Many Western philosophers are directly associating the "death of philosophy" with the spread of religious indifferentism. Thus, G. Picht, one of their ilk, states: "With the disappearance of God from philosophy, philosophy itself faced degradation."[6] Picht, definitely, means the degradation of idealism but he speaks about philosophy as a whole. He is confident that religion is the source of philosophy, that essentially philosophical problems are religious, theological. Philosophy is dying, since the question about truth and the question about God have been separated and, moreover, they have been contrasted to each other. "He who is asking about truth," Picht laments, "is not asking about God; he who thinks of God, does not seek truth."[7] The statement that scientific knowledge and religious consciousness are incompatible is most emphatic specifically because the philosopher of a religious type laments the historical situation engendered by social progress.

The anthropology of the "mortified man", just as the theology of "dead God" resorts to metaphores to describe Western realities. Present-day abstract humanism which characterises the capitalist system irrespective of capitalism and the proletariat, ignores its fundamental antagonism. More than a century ago Marx made a scientific study of the functioning and development of the capitalist mode of production and showed that exploitation of the proletarians takes place even when they are given wages, equal to the cost of the labour power sold by them. Capitalist production, Marx explained, is most intensive when there is a formally free worker who becomes a hired slave of capital because under capitalism he has no other alternative. Capitalism, as is known, alienates the producer's product from his work, alienates thereby man's essential forces from the environment. Capitalist application of machinery transforms the worker into an appendage of the machine while capitalist division of labour renders him a partial worker.

Humanism, however, which appears under the banner of the anthropology of the "mortified man", while indirectly recognising these indubitable truths, discusses man in general, the scientific and technological progress in general terms, abstracting from its specific historical social form. E. Fromm, who adheres to the positions of a pseudo-scientific theory of a single industrial society, states that in the nearest decades "man ceases to be human and becomes transformed into an unthinking and unfeeling machine".[8] This emasculation of the real historical, class content of the alienation problem simply disavows the task of destroying the antagonistic social relations. Since mankind cannot renounce material production, scientific and technological progress (it cannot but, naturally, should change their social form), Fromm's conclusions are outright pessimistic—a mechanised and automat-

ised man, as he becomes an element of the latest scientific and technological system, loses his specific human properties, no longer exists as a personality or an individual. "In the 19th century," Fromm writes, "the problem was that *God is dead*; in the 20th century the problem is that *man is dead*. In the 19th century inhumanity meant cruelty; in the 20th century it means schizoid self-alienation. The danger of the past was that men became slaves. The danger of the future is that men may become robots." [9]

Existentialism transformed the concept of death into an ontological definition of consciousness and of the entire human existence. Adhering to these positions, existentialists are substantiating the irrationalist variant of the myth of philosophy's death. M. Heidegger, for instance, states that philosophy is dying because it is essentially alien to modern society. Philosophy, he writes, "is essentially Greek".[10] This, according to Heidegger, means that the independent historical foundation of philosophical culture of new times is out of question. Only thinking of Greek philosophy you can comprehend what philosophy is. Only the Greek language authentically expresses the substance of philosophy, only that language penetrates the root of things. "A Greek word, inasmuch as we perceive it, brings us directly to the thing itself, not merely to the meaning of the word." [11] Consequently, it is not merely a statement of the word "philosophy" being of Greek origin—philosophy by its substance is interpreted as an old Greek phenomenon.

Greeks, according to Heidegger, perceived the substance of language as logos. "We, however, can neither ever return to that substance of language, nor merely comprehend it." [12] This means that the supreme achievements of philosophy belong to its Greek past. Philosophy is metaphysics which, in the main, was developed already by Plato. Therefore, all subsequent philosophy is the history of Platonism (this point of view has been repeatedly expressed long before Heidegger). Thus, A. Gilyarov, the Russian idealist of the end of last century, wrote: "In Plato's system the genius of philosophy attained the highest summit beyond which it was impossible to reach" (A. N. Gilyarov, *The Importance of Philosophy*, Kiev, 1888, p. 19, in Russian). Gilyarov said that Plato's system "was at one and the same time the culmination of the entire preceding philosophical thought and the foundation for the development of the subsequent intellectual life of nations..." (Ibid., p. 13). These statements clearly illustrate Lenin's well-known thesis that idealists are supporters of Plato, while materialists are defenders of Democritus. In his article "The End of Philosophy and the Task of Thinking", Heidegger provides his arguments for the idea of the "end of philosophy", seeking to prove that most

differing, contrasting, mutually excluding philosophical teachings are, essentially, only variations of Platonism. "Throughout the history of philosophy," he writes, "Plato's thinking preserves in its transformations the importance of the standard. Metaphysics is Platonism. Nietzsche characterises his philosophy as overturned Platonism. Philosophy reached its limit when Karl Marx carried out the overturning of metaphysics. Philosophy comes to its end. Since, however, philosophical thinking continues to bend its efforts, it only attains feeble imitations of renaissances and their varieties." [13]

Heidegger's historico-philosophical concept, therefore, is a teaching about the descending line of philosophy which allegedly commenced as far back as classical antiquity. From this point of view the decline of philosophy is unavoidable owing to its continued and increasing withdrawal from its original source. In his opinion, there is another source of the inevitable degeneration of philosophy. This is the permanent progress of science and engineering which creates absolutely new conditions of mankind's existence, within the framework of which there is no longer any place for philosophical contemplation of being as being. Scientific achievements are essentially technical, instrumental, measured by their effectiveness in controlling the world of objects. What philosophy has engaged in becomes a matter of scientific study which, however, deprives philosophical problems of the specific, substantial content. The scientific and technological revolution, the supreme stage of which is cybernetisation of knowledge and technology, creates its own new, specifically technical, "unnatural" language which is alienated from *das Sein des Seienden* and is infinitely remote from the language of philosophy. "The end of philosophy," Heidegger notes melancholically, "appears as the triumph of the controlled structure of a scientific-technological world and its corresponding social order." [14]

The meaning of these speculations is clear: the author wants to say that science is a knowledge which instructs in skill, rather than in truth. Practical effectiveness and truthfulness are not in the necessary balance. Heidegger, naturally, does not recognise practice as the yardstick of truth, the foundation of knowledge. The unity of theory and practice seems to him as the ignoring of *das Sein des Seienden* which we can approach only through pure meditation disinterested in practical effect.

Heidegger brings to the extreme the traditional, characteristic of idealist philosophy, opposition of philosophy to the diversity of scientific knowledge. He alleges that sciences engage but in the existing, (ontic, to use Heidegger's terminology), while philosophy deals with *das Sein des Seienden*, finds its subject in the metaphysical. Heidegger believes that "there are of necessity two main

alternatives of science: there are ontic sciences and ontological science, philosophy." [15] Science written with a capital S is opposed to sciences about nature and society, the diversity of which is an indefinite plurality devoid of real, substantial, being-ward orientation. Sciences, Heidegger asserts, owing to their inherent attitudes to whatever is practically attainable and useful, owing to the progressing specialisation are becoming increasingly remote from *das Sein des Seienden* and this fatal "doom" of scientific knowledge stands for the insurmountability of misconceptions concerning the meaning and importance of its ultimate results. The truth is beyond instrumental measuring and experimental testing. Sciences seek not the truth but only what they call truth and what, as is shown by philosophical consideration, turns out to be but immediate effectiveness, the consequences of which are lost in the darkness of the future which determines the present. That what is called to be scientific, according to Heidegger, is only of operational, formal character. Theology, within the framework of methodological yardsticks of the scientific, is also science.

While adducing arguments for the thesis about the intentional superfluousness of scientific knowledge, Heidegger states that science light-mindedly excludes nothingness from the sphere of its interests. "Science," he writes, "discards and ridicules nothingness as naught... To science nothingness can be nothing but something repugnant and fictitious. Whether science is right or not, one thing is clear—science does not wish to know anything about nothingness. This, in the final count, is the strictly scientific understanding of nothingness. We know what it is if we do not wish to know anything about it—about nothingness." [16]

In this way, Heidegger accuses science of arrogantly ignoring non-existence. Meanwhile, non-existence, nothingness, according to him, is much more essential than the motley of the phenomenal, for the mere reason that non-existence is essentially its negation. Nothingness, consequently, is closer to being. Accordingly, science by negating non-existence departs even farther from the *das Sein des Seienden.* From this point of view, the end of philosophy is the disregard of the real definitiveness of human existence which carries with it a potential threat to the existence of mankind as a whole.

One can easily see that Heidegger's concept of the end of philosophy incorporates a mystified reflection of antagonistic contradictions of capitalist progress which leave their imprint on the scientific and technological revolution, the ecological situation of mankind, etc. Heidegger puts on record the existing and mutually exclusive ideological orientations of the modern world and depicts the contradictions between them as an obvious expression of the developing and mounting chaos allegedly

produced by the prospering civilisation. "Doubts and desperation, on the one hand, blind obsession with untested truths, on the other hand, oppose each other. Fear and fright intermingle with hope and confidence." [17]

Commenting on the existentialist concept of the death of philosophy, the historiographer of existentialism (and the author of the very name of this trend) F. Heinemann believes that the philosophy of antiquity was nourished by faith in outer space; the philosophy of Middle Ages—by faith in God; the philosophy of new times—by faith in man. Meanwhile, the man of the 20th century "has no faith in anything and therefore is prepared to believe anything".[18] The substance of the matter, thereby, is not the loss of religious faith. In other words, this ideologist sees universal disillusionment in the values of the bourgeois society. He believes that lack of faith is the source of the multitude of all sorts of philosophies which do not significantly differ from one another. Some of the philosophical theories represent an escape into pseudo-faith, into speculative fancies and rhetoric, others reject informative knowledge, limiting the tasks of philosophy to methodological problems. However, both avenues have no prospect whatsoever.

There was a time, Heinemann states, when philosophy and science formed a single whole. In our time, however, owing to the differentiation of sciences which progresses in all directions, all primary problems, i.e., philosophical problems, turned into the problems belonging to specific sciences losing thereby their philosophical content. "Now it seems that not a single primary problem of rich content has remained. Laymen assume that all knowledge of any value can be found in sciences. The philosophies of our century can only be understood as attempts of ensuring oneself, in this menacing situation (and notwithstanding it) one's own field." [19] Heinemann believes that there are proper philosophical problems, primarily ontological ones, that there are specific philosophical methods of study—phenomenological, hermeneutical, linguistic analysis, etc. Philosophy, however, lacks the essential: faith in its own dedication. The contemporary man, Heinemann believes, recognises the spiritual and believes in it only as a means ensuring him supremacy over nature. Philosophy cannot and does not want to be such a means; this precisely is the undoing of philosophy.

Heinemann thereby perceives the deadly menace to the existence of philosophy in the differentiation of scientific knowledge, in the emergence of new scientific disciplines which draw into the field of specific studies formerly unknown fields of the phenomenal. He, consequently, fails to see that precisely thanks to the increase in scientific disciplines and the discovery of new

objects, the field of philosophical research is constantly extending. Thus, for instance, the fact that man in our days is studied by many sciences, formulates in a new manner the philosophical problem of man, the solution of which now presupposes theoretical integration of diversified scientific data about man. This, as a matter of fact, is only possible through interdisciplinary studies, in which philosophers are equal participants.

This truth is recognised to a certain extent by those modern philosophers who deal with philosophical problems of specific sciences. H. Lenk, for instance, writes: "The most interesting problems increasingly surface between philosophy and specific sciences." And further: "Philosophical problems cannot be subjected, in principle, to discussion and, in principle, cannot be resolved in the atmosphere of isolationist independence from scientific knowledge and real practice." He even arrives at the conclusion which is made by a number of Soviet philosophers who deal with methodological problems of natural science. "Whoever engages in a philosophical study should also positively study specific scientific fields, at least one of them, to be one's main speciality."[20] It is hardly possible, however, to agree with Lenk that real "philosophy of technology" can be created by an engineer alone.

If existentialist speculations on the "death of philosophy" are permeated with *Weltschmertz* and resemble something like a dirge, the neopositivist philosophising resembles rather a deliberate attempt to do away with philosophy once and for all. The neopositivist interprets his task in a negativist way, as the task of destruction of philosophical thinking and of discrediting allegedly illusionary beliefs of philosophers that a real study is also possible in the sphere of their theoretical interests. Noteworthy in this respect is the statement of the French neopositivist J. Durant: "There is no need to mortify what is dead."[21]

Lenk who did not share Durant's beliefs also refers to K. Löwith who is alien to neopositivism and who in one of his interviews gave the following description of the status of philosophy: "The whole department is still called the department of philosophy but, essentially speaking, there is no philosophy any longer." In this connection Lenk remarks: "The word 'philosophy' is becoming obsolete; such is the public opinion and the opinion of educated people, including many philosophers."[22] Lenk, for instance, mentions G. Bachelard who considered himself to be not a philosopher but an epistemologist, and also indicates that a large number of philosophers referred to themselves as logicians, methodologists, theorists of science. Essentially speaking, Lenk places himself with the theorists of science, just as some other representatives of "critical rationalism" do.

Neopositivist statements that philosophy no longer exists clearly contradict their own theoretical activity, since they are nevertheless philosophising. This philosophising represents in itself polemics with philosophy which is thereby recognised not only as existing, but essentially ineradicable. We can, therefore, understand the statement of the British analyst C. D. Broad that the only occupation of philosophers, by their own admission, should be treating the disease with which they themselves infect one another and their pupils.[23] To solve the philosophical problem, from this original point of view, means simply to forget about it. In this connection, E. Gellner points out that analysts conceive their own activity as "mortification of philosophy", and also as a preventive measure against the recurrent danger of philosophising. Gellner writes: "...Linguistic philosophy by demolishing reason makes room—not only for faith, but also for religious faith. It demolishes reason in philosophy by depriving sustained reasoning not merely of any ontological, but also of all informative, critic and evaluative functions."[24]

Another well-known representative of British linguistic philosophy, J. Wisdom, opened his report at the 14th International Congress of Philosophy with a categoric statement: "It is almost a commonplace that philosophers do not know what philosophy is about."[25] However, Wisdom's subsequent deliberations led him to a belief that the situation was absolutely the same in every science. Scientists are at a predicament of identifying the subject-matter of their science, and the problems which they encounter in doing this are far from being accidental. The sphere of application of science beyond the confines of that is empirically established is also open to debate. Science incorporates theoretical provisions which in principle cannot be reduced to empirical data and statements. Wisdom, in the final count, arrives at a conclusion that science presupposes different postulates and, more than that, different philosophical beliefs. The establishment of a connection between science and certain philosophical provisions, essentially provides a sort of an answer to the question which Wisdom had formulated in the opening part of his report: what is philosophy for? Wisdom, however, avoids giving the self-evident answer. A neopositivist opposition of science to philosophy warrants only one conclusion: science should be delivered of philosophical premises. It should be noted, by the way, that Wisdom does not make this conclusion either, showing thereby the invalidity of philosophical negativism.

The neopositivist "annihilation" of philosophy, notwithstanding that it puts on record real insolvency of metaphysical philosophical systems which claim superscientific perception of a mythical supernatural reality is far from science-adequate development of the philosophical world outlook expressing the real content and

trends of scientific development. The neopositivist "philosophy of science" simply rejects the necessity and the possibility of this world outlook. Therefore, neopositivism has nothing but subjectively agnostic epistemology to oppose rationalist metaphysics with. This epistemology proves to be an eclectic mishmash of idealistic empirism and epistemological dogmas which are akin to apriorism (or conventionalism).

The unpromising character of neopositivist criticism of philosophy is most evident in the case of its particularly active adepts who are engaged in publicism. The better known among them is most likely J. F. Revel, a French pamphleteer, the author of an extravagant essay "What Are Philosophers For?" Revel himself can hardly be called a philosopher, though he did write several books on the history of philosophy. In each of them he alleges that philosophy exists as the result of prejudices, misunderstandings, snobbery and ignorance.

Revel says that in our time philosophy is a substitute for religion. He has in mind not idealism but philosophy in general. Revel rejects the self-evident delineations of materialism and idealism, theism and atheism. The logic of his reasoning is approximately like this: he who believes in God and he who doesn't believe in the existence of God hardly differ. Revel believes that the delimitation of the material and ideal, of the subjective and objective does not correspond to any scientifically established facts. Philosophical problems are primarily pseudoproblems provided unless they are found to belong to the subject of specific sciences. Modern philosophy, the French pamphleteer states, represents but a desperate attempt to prove its own existence. "Never before throughout its history, did philosophy, which is now feeling the chill of death, claim with such determination its independence of all other forms of spiritual activity...." [26]

While admitting the real gap between idealistic speculations and scientific studies, Revel says nothing not only about dialectical materialism, but also about the fact that within bourgeois philosophy proper there are teachings attempting concrete comprehension and summarisation of scientific achievements and appropriate philosophical conclusions. Suffice it to mention even the French neorationalism, whose outstanding representative Bachelard was developing the philosophy of "rational materialism" on the basis of the latest achievements of physics and chemistry. British and American "scientific materialists" should neither be neglected, since despite their naturalistic limitations, they are successfully struggling against the idealistic interpretation of natural science and provide it with arguments for the solution of a psychophysical problem.

Revel accuses philosophy of every sin and primarily of claiming

to know everything, of knowing the absolute truth in the final instance. There are no unsolved problems, as he maintains, in philosophy. Philosophers are incapable of waiting, when the solution of a problem becomes possible thanks to the accumulation of factual data. Unlike real scholars philosophers always have the answers for any questions—the answers are naturally an expression of ignorance. Revel clearly overlooks that present-day philosophical trends which fly the flag of absolute relativism, pluralism, agnosticism are far from claiming absolute truth in the final instance. Truth, to them, is nothing but a psychologically (or methodologically) justified assumption, conviction or attitude.

It is rather comical that Revel contrasts philosophy with a statement by Lévi-Strauss, who goes on to say that a scientist is not the person who delivers true answers. Rather, he is the person who correctly formulates questions. It does not occur to our pamphleteer that if we check the "identity" of that declaration, it will transpire that the leader of structuralism has only paraphrased Heidegger's words that philosophy should "by formulating questions leave the research open".[27]

Naturally, this poises a question why would Revel, this rabid ideologist of imperialist bourgeoisie, attack even that philosophy which is upholding the capitalist *modus vivendi*? The crux of the matter is that Revel who opposes, in the spirit of neopositivism, specific sciences to philosophy, retains nevertheless a hackneyed belief that the scientific and technological revolution fully settles, without social reforms, the vital problems of our times. According to Revel, the existence of philosophy was justified in the remote times when there were no sciences. However, since the emergence of natural sciences of New Times, with their experimental studies and instrumental observation, philosophy, according to Revel, turns into something like alchemy or astrology.[28]

Revel appraises philosophy in the spirit of those obscurantists who believe that its usefulness is doubtful, but harm—possible. It turns out that philosophy which is fully based on the capitalist status quo cannot discard its critical attitude to the most glaring ulcers of present-day Western society. Thus, it puts on record the negative consequences of the scientific and technological revolution whose immediate connection with capitalist relations is evident even on the level of ordinary consciousness; it indicates the danger of the ecological crisis; points out the dehumanising influence of capitalist rationalisation. In short, this type of philosophy, inasmuch as it is an expression of the crisis of the capitalist system, is bound to question some of the stereotypes of thinking and behaviour which are inherent in that system. And yet the excessively straightforward Revel accuses it of... ignorance. This, by the way, is his formulation of the verdict: "The normal

regimen of philosophy—*ignoratio elenchi*—ignorance beyond denial."[29] Since Revel describes philosophy as excessive pretentiousness verging on obsession and evident inability of considering obvious facts, the destructive characteristics should also be applied to this philosophising adversary of philosophy.

Hence, the dying of bourgeois philosophy is interpreted as a comatose state of philosophy in general. The thesis about its death directs its spearhead against the scientific-philosophical world outlook of Marxism. In real fact it is precisely this teaching that the enemies of Marxism are seeking to mortify. Some of them assert that dialectical materialism does not essentially, in any way, differ from the historically outmoded metaphysical materialism. Others allege that Marxist philosophy possibly corresponded to the level of science in the 19th century but allegedly it is clearly out of line with modern scientific data. In doing this, they, naturally, completely ignore one essential circumstance that dialectical materialism unlike other philosophical teachings is a developing system. These critics do not recognise Marxism-Leninism, the Leninist stage in Marxist philosophy. Still further, however, go those critics of Marxist philosophy who vainly attempt to prove that there is no such philosophy in general. This group of critics includes the theorists of the Frankfurt school of social studies who are flying the flag of "authentic" interpretation of Marxism. They allege that dialectical materialists break away from the real spirit of Marxism, since its founders have done away with philosophy once and for all.

It would be naive to believe that the conclusion about the hostility of Marxism to every other philosophy was made as the result of an oversimplified interpretation of the above-mentioned statements of the founders of Marxism. The substance of the matter is much deeper and is therefore worthy of closer consideration. H. Marcuse alleged that the development of philosophy, inasmuch as its main category is the concept of reason, necessarily culminates in self-negation. Let us try trace his train of thought. He said that philosophy had always heralded and substantiated the task of a reasonable reorganisation of the world and that this presupposed the recognition of its, at least potential, rationality. Marcuse wrote: "Philosophy has associated with the word 'reason' the idea of a certain being which unites all irreconcilable opposites (subject and object, substance and appearance, thinking and being). This idea has been associated with the belief that though the existing is not immediately reasonable, it should be made reasonable."[30]

Marcuse reduced philosophy to one of its main ideas and thereby tried to substantiate its global characteristic, which turns out to be an oversimplification of both the notion of philosophy

and this absolutely important idea. This, however, is not the methodological oversimplification that a researcher has to resort to in search of a regularity. On the contrary, this is the outright ignoring of a discovered regularity of philosophical development, since the mentioned formulation completely precludes the antithesis of the materialistic and idealistic understanding of a reasonable remaking of reality. The matter, however, is not the deficiencies of the formulation which, as it usually happens in a serious study, are rectified by the subsequent explanation of the matter at issue. Here we are dealing with a cardinal defect of Marcuse's entire concept which puts into brackets the alternative relationship of the main philosophical trends.

Naturally, a general definition of philosophy should be put into a form to encompass both materialism and idealism. The meaning of Marcuse's thesis, however, is absolutely different. He wished to prove that philosophy in its entirety, inasmuch as it provided arguments for the possibility (and the necessity) of a reasonable remaking of the world, was essentially idealistic. "Philosophy," Marcuse summarised his reasoning, "is thereby idealism; it subordinates being to thinking."[31] Since Marx broke away with idealism, he thereby, according to Marcuse, broke away with philosophy. "The theory of society," Marcuse wrote, having in mind Marxism, "is an economic, rather than a philosophical system."[32] Marx, however, as is known, called his teaching materialist, criticised the philosophy of Hegel and other idealists from the position of a materialist conception of history. Marcuse, naturally, did not reject these facts; instead of rejection he used "interpretation", according to which the term "materialism" did not carry a philosophical meaning for Marx. He alleged that Marx had not recognised any philosophy, slighted philosophy as an ideological logomachy, etc.

Marx and Engels brought the construction of materialism "up to the top", extended it to the comprehension of social phenomena, created a qualitatively new form of materialism. Naturally, this was a negation (however, it was definitely a dialectical negation) of the entire preceding philosophy, including the preceding materialism. However, contrary to the allegations of Frankfurt theorists, this was not a negation of philosophy in general. It is necessary to distinguish the specific, dialectical negation from abstract, metaphysical negation.

However, let us make a reservation. We are not inclined to ascribe to a thinker like Marcuse the inability of distinguishing a dialectical negation from metaphysical. On the contrary, we wish to uncover the grounds which in this case forced Marcuse to ignore this essential delimitation. It is, therefore, necessary to go directly to the elucidation of intentional grounds of the conception

which, contrary to historical facts, declares Marxism a non-philosophical teaching.

The matter at issue is that Marcuse,while claiming the denial of "conventional", oversimplified interpretation of Marxism, declared as essentially necessary the "delivery" of Marxism from the alien "idealistic" orientation towards a reasonable reorganisation of society, which, allegedly, is more than dangerous—it is catastrophic. Just as other "critical theorists" Marcuse was not in the least embarrassed by the fact that philosophical irrationalism slights reason as the cause of all historical misfortunes of mankind. Opposing the "extremes" of irrationalism, they, just as all philosophers of the eclectic trend, are continually infected by the same teachings which they themselves subject to criticism. In particular, the Frankfurt "critical" concept of reason and progress is associated with this.

The adepts of the "critical theory" are attacking the non-critical understanding of reason. They contend that the reason, the development and realisation of which was the great hope of classical philosophy, is simply non-existent and has never existed. Owing to the real division of labour in society there are but specialised, functional varieties of reason, adjusted to the implementation of specific tasks which, far from being coordinated with universal humanitarian ideals, directly contradict the latter. There is an instrumental (both practical and theoretical) reason, technical and even bureaucratic reason, but the integral, comprehensively developing reason, the image of which has been created by classical philosophy, is but a myth, self-illusion, fraught with a world-wide historical catastrophy.

Marcuse alleged that a reasonable remaking of society had been already implemented through the scientific and technological progress. Bourgeois rationalisation of production was described by him as reasonable in itself regardless of historical conditions. Hence the conclusion that the realisation of reason has nothing in common with the humanisation of the conditions of man's existence and of man himself. All reason, in accordance with which social reality is remade, is instrumental, technical, bureaucratic reason. Therefore a society built on the principle of reason is a manipulated society in which the depersonalisation and alienation of the individual attain such proportions that his very existence becomes increasingly problematic.

Thus, the great philosophical idea of a reasonable remaking of the world proved to be, in keeping with the "critical theory" of the Frankfurt school, a utopia, and a utopia of a type which has been realised and continues to be realised. Consequently, humanism, if it can exist in the world of total alienation, should become an anti-philosophy, an anti-utopia. Accordingly, Marcuse proc-

laimed: "If reason,—precisely as a reasonable organisation of mankind—is in fact realised, philosophy thereby becomes pointless. Indeed, philosophy, inasmuch as it represents something greater than business or a profession within the existing division of labour, exists only until reason has not become reality." [33]

It is not difficult to understand that the "critical" concept of philosophy's death rejects the idea of a reasonable remaking of social and natural conditions of human life, since the reason which they are criticising is nothing but a historically confined, antagonistic rationality of capitalist management. Production management at every capitalist enterprise is planned and rational within the limits of capitalist profitability. The system of capitalist enterprise, the capitalist system, however, represents anarchy of social production, the unavoidable consequences of which are not only an economic crisis, alienation of human activity and its objectivisation but also the increasing destruction of the natural conditions of mankind's existence. Since this contradiction in between the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation is in the field of vision of "critical theorists", they interpret it as irrationality. Every attempt at organising society on reasonable principles proves to be, from this point of view, functional, technical and bureaucratic, leaving the foundation of the social entity intact. Hence the "indubitable" conclusion: philosophy, if we have in mind its humanistic dedication and do not merely ponder about some general questions which are not the subject-matter of specific sciences, is not only impossible but is absolutely unwanted. To uphold philosophy, to develop philosophical problems, to philosophically justify the ways of human emancipation, means to cultivate illusions, to entrench misconceptions, to aggravate social evil. To follow this logic forced upon the reader by Marcuse, one has to discard philosophy and even more than that, one has to abolish it as the most refined variety of the social evil against which it allegedly acts.

The main illusion of Frankfurt philosophers (they definitely are philosophers though they negate philosophy) is that they regard the capitalist mode of production and the scientific and technological progress as two sides of one medal. In other words, contrary to obvious facts, they do not admit the existence of scientific and technological progress outside its capitalist, antagonistic social form. Therefore, the accelerated development of socialist production is viewed by these petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism as evidence of socialism following the capitalist road and, in the final count, becoming supercapitalism. The radical opposition of the socialist mode of production to the capitalist mode disappears from the field of vision of these representatives of philosophical-sociological romanticism... The only thing that

exists for them is the "modern industrial society", or "technical civilisation", which profanes both the external and internal human nature. The scientific and technological progress is, therefore, depicted as the main source of social evil in its modern historical form. Inasmuch as the process of production is characterised as basically technological, independent of any social form, the conclusion drawn is unequivocally pessimistic: no social reforms can avert the fatal catastrophic prospects.

* * *

Let us draw some conclusions. The myth about philosophy's death is a reflection, mystification of a historically definite social reality. Philosophical negativism, just as any nihilistic mood in any sphere of social consciousness represents an authentic expression of the spiritual crisis of capitalist society. The causes of degradation of Western philosophy are rooted not in philosophy proper, but in its socio-economic foundation. The critics of philosophy, however, while admitting its actual degradation look for its sources in the specifics of philosophical thinking rather than in its class limitations and idealistic insolvency. These critics, in principle, refuse to distinguish bourgeois and non-bourgeois philosophy. In other words, the sociological characteristic of philosophical teachings is regarded by them as absolutely out of place. This proves that modern bourgeois philosophy, despite the fact that by its criticism of philosophising it delivers its own verdict, is actually incapable of genuine, sober-minded self-criticism. Therefore, the myth about philosophy's death corroborates this conclusion without fail.

The emergence of philosophy is rightly described by many researchers as the transition from myth to logos, to a reasonable comprehension of reality. However, inasmuch as philosophy remains a world outlook of the propertied, the exploiting classes, it has never succeeded in doing away with mythology which is continually revived in the new forms of idealistic philosophising in line with the changed conditions. Modern bourgeois philosophy develops not from a myth to reason but from reason to mythology. Accordingly, the concept of philosophy's death, though it does reflect quite definite facts, remains a myth which is convincingly refuted by the creative development of dialectical materialism.

NOTES

[1] A. de Waelhens, "Philosophie et non-philosophie", *Revue philosophique de Louvain*, 1959, Vol. 57, p. 5.

[2] P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Paris, 1820, Vol. 1, p. 191.

[3] R. Descartes, *Discours de la méthode*, Paris, 1969, p. 45.

[4] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 166.

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MAN AND NATURE

Keep the Sky, Land and Water Clean!

From the Editors: In 1978, the Soviet Government formed the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. In 1979, the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers published a Decision "On Additional Measures to Intensify Nature Protection and Improve the Use of Natural Resources". Why this was done is discussed in an interview given to A. Udaltsov, a correspondent of *Literaturnaya gazeta*, by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yuri Izrael, Chairman of the Committee.

Question: You were in charge of the Weather Service Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers and are now Chairman of the newly established USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. You retain the same office housed in the same building, Pavlik Morozov Street in Moscow, and supervise the same staff. What basically new tasks are set before your Committee?

Answer: I should like first to emphasise that although the Weather Service is no longer in existence, providing hydrometeorological information to the national economy constitutes one of the main tasks facing our new Committee. As before, we are to obtain all possible data about the natural state of the environment and issue warnings about unfavourable changes in this state or, on the contrary, promote its utilisation when it is conducive to national economic development.

Our job is thus primarily concerned with problems of hydrometeorology that arise from natural changes in the state of the environment—changes in temperature, pressure, the amount of precipitation and cloudiness. We must be aware of all these changes and give timely relevant warnings to the population and the national economic bodies.

Recent years—in the Soviet Union as well as in the rest of the world—have brought noticeable changes in the state of the

environment which spring from human activity. A case in point is pollution and the resulting hazards. I could name the destruction of the soil layer in the process of mineral mining which requires recultivation and other instances of man's negative impact on the environment. A fundamentally new orientation in the functioning of our Committee is control over the state of the environment in the broad sense of the word, above all, pollution control.

Q: But if you want to take appropriate steps you have to know the state of the environment. Do you have necessary information?

A.: A special nationwide environmental observation and pollution control service has been at work in the Soviet Union for several years already. On the basis of our data Party and state agencies, various ministries and departments adopt preventive measures geared to reduce pollution and improve the natural environment. But in major industrial centres, industrial discharges get mixed so rapidly that it is difficult to identify their sources and those responsible and it is one of the new tasks of our Committee. At present, jointly with other agencies, we are engaged in hygienic rating, primarily of discharges into the air.

The scheme is already under way. State All-Union standards for establishing and calculating permissible discharges into the air have been discussed and adopted. Now, together with the agencies concerned, we are to set rates of discharges into the air for enterprises in various regions.

In doing this we are to be guided by the need to preserve a high-quality environment and consider the technical facilities of industrial enterprises and other possible sources of pollution.

Q.: Won't these rates be identical for all districts, cities and industrial enterprises?

A.: No, because much depends on weather conditions, local relief, the type of discharge and pollution in specific areas. The enterprises that go up in developed areas, which are already partially polluted, naturally, must have much more rigid rates than those in comparatively clean areas. This policy helps preserve an even load on the environment within the limits of its ecological potential.

Our Committee is also to supervise the observation of permissible rates of discharge.

Q.: It was our great satisfaction to read the Decision of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Additional Measures to Intensify Nature Protection and Improve the Use of Natural Resources". Could you offer a brief comment on the extremely timely Decision citing cases of unsatisfactory nature protection situation in individual industries?

A.: Most important, the document represents a direct sequel to a Decision "On Intensifying Nature Protection and Improving the Use of Natural Resources", which was issued by the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers in 1972. Continuity between these two documents consists in the fact that the past six years have brought new information and new research findings making it possible to specify some provisions of the previous document.

A crucial section of the new Decision discusses the protection of atmospheric air. With a view to ensuring it, for instance, officials of our Committee have had it made their responsibility to supervise industrial enterprises and, when necessary, apply appropriate sanctions.

A major theme of this new decision is monitoring the state of the air basin, including planning the location of industrial enterprises with an eye to the quality of natural environment and the interests of the ministries and departments concerned. Our Committee can actively interfere because one of its jobs now is to conduct ecological investigations to be in a position to decide whether the given enterprise can function in the given area and at the given technological level.

As regards environmental pollution I will single out three problems which arouse particular concern.

First, the cleanness of the air in big cities, with their constantly growing number of transportation means. Our traffic arteries, especially in rush hours, are not only overloaded physically, as it were, but also polluted with noxious fumes. At street crossings, where the engines are idling, the level of pollution rises, and rises substantially, presenting a serious problem.

Second, rivers where waters contaminated with toxic chemicals from farm fields still find their way.

Third, the seas and the World Ocean, which has no frontiers. The hazardous substances which are dumped from the territories of various countries and from aboard ships can trigger off tense situations for the ocean as a whole and, still more, for landlocked seas.

Q.: Could you give examples?

A.: The worst influence on the environment is exercised by enterprises of the USSR ministries of non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical and petrochemical industries.

A "notable contribution"—about 60 per cent—to the pollution of the air in the cities by sulphur dioxide is made by enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Electric Power Development and Electrification.

Far from all problems of effluent purification are resolved by several ministries. The Severny Donets, the Irtysh and some rivers of the Kola Peninsula are still being fouled by their enterprises.

Q.: How can this adverse situation be eliminated? What powers are given to your Committee and how can the public help in this noble endeavour?

A.: We have already touched on the control system. The complete elimination of such phenomena can be achieved by instituting a reliable system of monitoring. As regards the sanctionary authority of our Committee, it is to adopt various decisions on monitoring the quality of the environment, in other words, extensively carry on the already mentioned ecological investigations. Now the realisation of any project requires our consent. Currently, a standard routine is being worked out. We are developing hygienic rates for the enterprises of each particular ministry or department. When they endorse those rates their enterprises whose functioning involves pollution will have it made bound on them to observe the established rates and in the case of violation rigid sanctions, up to halting production, will be applied.

Now what help can we expect of the public or, more broadly, the entire Soviet people? Nature conservation is everybody's concern. The public and its organisations play a major role here but the important thing is that each worker, from the machine operator to the plant manager, especially the one whose enterprise has an impact on, and possibly even pollutes, the environment, take a responsible attitude to the question realising that his job consists in more than turning out appropriate products. In our days it is *everybody's* duty to protect the environment which extends far beyond the bounds of any factory, plant or power station. Any worker, whatever job he does and whatever post he holds, should bear in mind this vital necessity and intensively join in protecting the natural environment.

Q.: *Literaturnaya gazeta* has done a lot of writing about environmental protection in the cities. It has discussed noise abatement and is now debating the relationship between the engine and the environment as well as integral problems of urban ecology. What in your opinion are the main tasks and the main difficulties in these fields? What is the contribution of your Committee?

A.: I will say first that the problem of environmental protection in the cities holds, and will continue to hold, a place of prominence in our work. It has many aspects but air pollution is the main thing here. In major cities the problem presents particularly great difficulties. If all people are to enjoy clean air it is to be purified within the bounds of a city or an industrial area. This creates substantial difficulties.

We constantly intensify control over the state of the atmospheric air monitoring its pollution in 350 Soviet cities. Besides, we are setting up automated monitoring systems in Moscow, Leningrad and several other large cities and conducting an integral experiment as part of a detailed study of the quality of atmospheric air in the capital.

Q.: When will this project become completely operational?

A.: The task is to make measurements of ingredients more and more efficient. This is what we are striving to attain. It is therefore difficult to say when the project will be realised. In Leningrad and Moscow it is already at the test stage. In Moscow, a number of checks have clearly revealed which parts of the city are exposed to pollution worst and where the most vigorous measures should be adopted. Incidentally, more than 300 industrial enterprises have been moved out of Moscow.

Serious steps are being taken with a view to combating traffic pollution. Underground pedestrian passages are being built in order to secure pedestrian safety and facilitate traffic as well as in order to reduce the idle run of engines thus enhancing the purity of the air.

Regrettably, noise abatement has not yet gained adequate attention. True, the law on atmospheric air covers this problem.

Q.: There is no discounting the significance of urban problems, of course, but in recent times townspeople have been exhibiting a mounting urge for communion with nature. Readers of *Literaturnaya gazeta* complain about the slow pace of setting up national parks in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the Decision devotes much space to sanctuary schemes. What is your view of the situation?

A.: The Soviet Union now has more than 100 reserves, which claim a total area of almost 10 million hectares, and will expand. However, I assume that the question of national parks is an important one.

To my mind, this form of conservation and popularisation of nature's values is extremely promising and vital. At present some Union republics, for example Lithuania, are taking steps towards opening national parks. This initiative deserves every possible support.

Q.: Whose responsibility is it to create national parks? Perhaps it will be assigned to your Committee?

A.: I am positive that the supervision and handling of all nature conservation projects should not be commissioned to one agency,

even if specialised. I would make it a job of the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Committee for Forestry, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and several other agencies.

Our Committee will carry out intensified integral research on the basis of biosphere reserves with a view to obtaining complete information about the background state of the environment in areas uninfluenced by man. Such reserves have been, or are being, instituted in Byelorussia, the Caucasus, Soviet Central Asia, the Soviet Far East, and several other areas. The appropriate findings will reveal the extent of change in the background (fundamental) state of the natural environment because the level of pollution in some "hot spots" alone does not reflect the general state of nature.

Q.: The very title of the Decision suggests that its aim is nature protection as well as a better use of natural resources. In my opinion, the most significant problem in this field is that of energy resources. To date, it is common knowledge that the reserves of coal, oil and gas are not unlimited. Besides, there is some bias against atomic power engineering. Apprehensions as to its harmful impact on the environment are being expressed in the West. What is your view of the question?

A.: Of course, it is vital to take a master-like attitude to natural, especial energy, resources. It follows that the question of developing atomic power engineering really warrants careful consideration. In our country it develops very rapidly. As a conservationist I can say with authority that an atomic power station pollutes the air less than a thermal one, per unit of energy generated. In other words, a thermal electric power station requires much more clean air for thinning pollutions into completely safe concentrations than an atomic one. The question of combating the "thermal pollution" of the environment by atomic power stations is being successfully handled. Another imperative is to develop solar and wind energy.

Q.: Have any practical results been achieved in this field?

A.: Yes. In Turkmenia, for example, serious efforts in the use of solar energy have been launched. The question has been discussed in the Soviet Union, in other countries, and in the World Meteorological Organisation, and interesting recommendations have been issued.

The problem of rational utilisation of natural resources is closely related to that of nature conservation. Valuable products are frequently dumped into the air and other media. The combustion of ordinary fuel is accompanied by the losses of large amounts of

sulphur, valuable heavy metals and other products which are also dangerous pollutants. This is what makes the problem of protecting air and water from pollution closely connected with that of thrifty use of natural resources. At present large quantities of necessary elements and materials, which could well be used in the national economy, run to waste.

Q.: What are the international aspects of the problem?

A.: In surveying environmental questions it is difficult to confine oneself to national bounds. For instance, sulphur dioxide which spreads with the air across vast expanses and national frontiers, substantially damages the environment. The problem has already become pressing in Europe: many of its countries (Scandinavian, in particular) now suffer mostly from the pollution which comes from other countries.

Q.: Bourgeois propagandists stubbornly emphasise that the problems in hand are identical no matter where they arise, in socialist or in capitalist society. They claim that the socialist and capitalist worlds face similar troubles, that dust and dirt in both worlds are the same and so are the ways of their removal. However, the differences between the two social systems suggest a different approach to these problems. What do both systems have in common in this field? What can we learn from each other? And what is the basic distinction of the nature protection policy of the socialist world?

A.: Dust and dirt are really identical in both worlds but there is a fundamental difference of approach to environmental conservation: while in the socialist countries there are no substantial contradictions between the interests of society and those of an individual, in the capitalist countries they are to be found in plenty. Private entrepreneurs, in their drive for profit, disregard the interests of society. All efforts in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are directed at meeting the interests of all society.

However, whether the two systems can learn something from each other is a good question: they really can. Because of this, international cooperation is wanted, not only in preventing pollution of the environment (for instance, atmospheric air), which knows no frontiers, but also, in resolving purely scientific and engineering problems. Such integration of efforts is beneficial to both the Soviet Union and other countries.

In this field the Soviet Union maintains extensive fruitful relations (bilateral and multilateral) with other socialist countries as

well as bilateral contacts with the United States, Britain, France and some other capitalist countries.

A large number of joint technical and engineering projects are being carried out. Joint research into combating sulphur dioxide and other harmful discharges into the air is under way. American experts are enthusiastically studying the Soviet methods of conservation of wild plants and animals and the organisation of Soviet nature reserves. On the other hand, national parks, which we have mentioned above, are extensively developed in the United States. In this field the Soviet Union is learning from America. Joint fundamental research is also in progress. For example, Soviet scientists cooperate with their American counterparts in the study of man's impact on the earth's climate, in forecasting earthquakes and genetic consequences of pollution.

I believe that such cooperation warrants development.

Q.: My last question. What international organisations for environmental conservation have extended membership to the Soviet Union and how does it observe its international commitments?

A.: In addition to the multilateral and bilateral forms of cooperation I have named, the Soviet Union shares in the efforts of several international organisations which directly or indirectly promote environmental protection projects.

Pride of place belongs to the UNEP—the United Nations Environment Programme—within the framework of which a number of interesting projects, including a global monitoring system, are being carried out with Soviet participation.

UNESCO is another major contributor to these projects. Currently, it is implementing the "Man and the Biosphere" Programme. Supporting its activity, the Soviet Union has advanced and substantiated a project known as "The Study of Environmental Pollution and Its Influence on the Biosphere".

Besides, our country is an active member of the World Meteorological Organisation. At the first World Climate Conference, which was held under its auspices early in 1979, 24 experts read papers on the impact of human society on the climate and the possible influence of climatic changes on human activity—agriculture, fisheries, etc. Some papers were devoted to modelling the climate and forecasting its possible changes and fluctuations. Four Soviet papers aroused an intense interest and the conference as a whole was a success.

It adopted a declaration which stressed the importance of a wide range of research into possible changes and fluctuations of the climate (including those caused by man) and into the influence of such changes on man's economic activity. It also emphasised that a

climate conducive to man's life can be preserved only if there is peace.

Incidentally, the Soviet Union took the initiative in signing a Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Other Hostile Uses of the Environmental Modification Techniques. After the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water came into force the amount of radioactive fallout has been substantially reduced all over the world.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state give constant attention to the vital problem of environmental conservation. Part of this policy was a proposal, made in 1975 by Leonid Brezhnev, on holding a top-level all-European conference on cooperation in environment protection.

Such a conference was held in Geneva in November 1979. It was attended by almost all European countries, the United States, Canada and some 10 international organisations and has become a major practical step towards the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The all-European Conference on cooperation in environment protection adopted a Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution, an appropriate resolution and a Declaration on Low and Non-Waste Technology.

Most important, the above Convention, designed to limit air pollution due to long-range (transboundary) transfer of pollutants, was signed by 34 countries already during the Conference.

This opens the way for broad international cooperation in reducing air pollution and reveals the desire to relax tensions in Europe and in the rest of the world.

YOUTH AND SOCIETY

Romantic Consciousness in the Western Youth Counter-Culture

KSENIA MYALO

The decline in youth activity and the subsiding of the student movement following the turbulent 1960s have in many ways altered the socio-psychological situation in the industrial capitalist countries. Vehement expressionism has given way to moderation, the share of radicals among the students has decreased and the influence of traditional conservative sentiments increased.

Changing economic conditions in the mid-1970s were largely responsible for this decline of protest sentiments and devaluation of the ideals of the 1960s. The energy crisis, economic recession and the spectre of a repetition of the Great Depression have relegated to the background the key problems of the 1960s: the "quality of life", criticism of consumerism, mean, one-dimensional existence, etc.

The Yankelovich and other polls of the early 1970s revealed that, as distinct from the 1960s when the "affluence psychology" surfaced, a substantially smaller number regard a high material level as something taken for granted.[1]

However, the changed economic picture is not the only cause of the youth's change towards more moderation, pragmatism, and protective tendencies. The rise of the radical movement coincided with the rise of a widespread counter-movement. It relied on the support of the ordinary citizen, i.e., the much denigrated one-dimensional philistine of the 1960s, and rejected the political and cultural ideas worked out by youth movements.

The sociologist and economist F. E. Ambruster finds that at the close of the 1960s the youth culture publicity boom gave way to a contemptuous silence about the values of ordinary Americans.

But a calmer and unbiased analysis of public opinion polls will reveal that though there has been a certain radicalisation of the masses, it should not be overestimated.[2]

A Gallup poll in the autumn of 1970 showed that youth, and particularly student, radicalism, was grossly exaggerated. Commenting on the poll, *Newsweek* magazine said that a substantial majority of the students accepted puritan ethics as the most suitable way of life. The situation is much the same in other Western countries.

Youth opinion, as a rule, is to the right of the student movement and basically coincides with the prevailing majority attitude, with its ingrained hostility even to the idea of student unrest and youth revolt.

In this context, it is interesting, both theoretically and ideologically, to highlight the core of the youth counter-culture of the 1960s, its underlying ideas, which have generated hostility in the society, and on a number of questions pushed public opinion to the right. Interesting, too, is how these ideas developed in the 1970s.

* * *

A feature of youth movements in the 1960s was their effort to resolve the spiritual crisis of modern bourgeois society by securing mass acceptance of some of the fundamental propositions of the romantic mentality. This applies to a totality of ideas and images that ascribe a special role to intuition, imagination and free self-revelation of the individual as a continuous process of search and venture. The Jena school has described all this in the single word "romanticism".

The Jena scholars interpreted the term very broadly, not only as a trend in art, but first and foremost as a world outlook and corresponding way of life, distinguished by its open attitude to the world. This interpretation of romanticism, i.e., as a definite *Weltanschauung,* is addressed both to the past, in which it looks for its origins, and to the future. The romanticists were near to the ideas of the ancient *Natürphilosophie* and German mysticism. By bringing to the fore an understanding of what exists, but has not yet taken shape and form, not even always visible, they anticipated Nietzsche, the "philosophy of life", and the aesthetic theory of surrealism with its accent on the second, veiled pattern of being.

In treating the spiritual searches of the 1960s in the context of historical and cultural traditions, we are inclined to see this "mode of sensitivity" as a latter-day modification of romanticism in the sense given above, i.e., as a movement directed at bringing out in

the human mind what does not find expression within the framework of reality. There can also be seen a direct continuity in the use of certain themes outlined by the Jena romanticists: unconscious infatuation and instincts, illness as an equal form of being, uncontrolled psychical conditions.

This complex of problems clearly stands out even in a terse description of the external features of the counter-culture made by an ideologist of the movement, Th. Roszack. He writes: "...interests of our college-age and adolescent young in the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs and communitarian experiments comprise a cultural constellation that radically diverges from values and assumptions that have been in the mainstream of our society at least since the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century."[3] It was this revolution, the counter-culture ideologists believe, that laid the foundations of the one-dimensional, technicist philosophy and technocratic organisation of society.

Campus polls conducted in the 1970s showed that the principle "everything natural is good, everything artificial, bad",[4] exerts a very strong influence. But they also revealed at least 18 interpretations of the natural. Essentially, they can be reduced to three central contrasts which, I think, are expressive of the very spirit of the counter-culture as an alternative culture:

1. Intuitive knowledge, instantaneous enlightenment as opposed to analytical-discursive knowledge, usually rejected as Newtonian.

2. The principle of living intercourse within an organic community, as a counterweight to traditional Western individualism. And such intercourse was to be promoted by the pop festivals, which began in the mid-1960s, and communitarian experiments.

3. The East as counterposed to the West in the traditional, though somewhat modified, romantic symbolism as light opposed to darkness, spirituality to materiality, land of my birth to land of my exile.

Allen Ginsberg, the American poet who was a central figure of the beat and hip culture, interprets counter-culture as a desire to break out of conventional reason and individual self-understanding and realise in full one's psycho-physical potentialities, perform a veritable "anthropological" leap equal in its implications to the emergence of *Homo sapiens.*

The whole problem of individual self-assertion at the emotional-instinctive level in the sphere in which deformation of the psyche caused by the hypotrophic rationality of contemporary bourgeois civilisation is most keenly felt, became a major factor of the youth counter-culture and youth movements of the 1960s. To quote Roszack: "The counter-culture is... that healthy instinct

which refuses both at the personal and political level to practise such a cold-blooded rape of our human sensibility."[5] The counter-culture programme is determined, above all, by its negation of the dominant criterion of rationality and effectiveness that weighs so heavily on the individual. "In order," Roszack writes, "to root out these distortive assumptions, nothing less is required than the subversion of the scientific world view, with its entrenched commitment to an egocentric and cerebral mode of consciousness."[6]

The French sociologist G. Ellul, whose attitude towards the youth revolt and counter-culture is anything but one-dimensional, likewise believes that the revolt is, essentially, the action of spontaneous forces of life, the rising of the spirit of creativity against the domination of rationalism. It is in this that he sees the in-depth content of the identification crisis and of the young generation's failure to acquire an integral individuality within the framework of the prevailing value judgements. At present, Ellul argues, the most pressing problem is how to socialise the "savage", a term which, he says, applies, to one or another degree, to every young person (in the sense that he is nearer to the primordial, natural sensitivity layers of the human personality).

The gap between these layers and the thoroughly technicist civilisation of present-day bourgeois society is too wide for this socialisation—or, to use Ellul's term, "acculturation"—to be achieved without great upheavals. The child's superficial adaptation to the world of science and technology at the level of technical toys, the automobile and television, has changed nothing in the depths of the soul where much more complex and uncontrollable forces require satisfaction. In a bourgeois society the youth "revolts not against a definite structure, nor against the more or less obvious form of social oppression... but against the global orientation, against the very spirit of the given civilisation."[7]

An analysis of the youth revolt suggests that it is expressive of the long-maturing protests against the life style created by bourgeois society and, consequently, against the culture in which it has taken root. Culture implies everything that is alienated; the only thing that is not alienated is spontaneous self-expression in which thought plays a minor role, a sort of vital eruption.

The categorical way in which this contraposition is formulated, the passionate desire to denigrate culture as something dead and alien to human nature testify to the deep roots of the counter-culture in Western cultural tradition. And despite the efforts of the counter-culture to begin from zero, this connection is revealed in the form of purely negative dependencies. Thus, even invective is a reaction to euphemisms; the cult of nakedness is a reaction to the puritanical fear of nakedness; the "unisex" ideal is a protest

against the hard line of division between the male and female roles and springs from a panic fear of homosexualism; demonstrative disregard for cleanliness is a protest against an obsession with hygiene; communitarism is a protest against traditional individualism; play is a protest against "seriousness"; mysticism is a protest against imperative mundane Protestant ethics.[8]

However, behind these external dependencies there is a much more common and integral aim; while rejecting one set of ideas of modern times, in particular the basic postulates of imperative ethics and the Newtonian analytic science, they take up a culture based on the mystical romantic ideals of intuition, unity, four-dimensional vision of the world and figurative and integral conception of the world.

It should be observed that even a superficial examination of the "protest ideology", that mosaic of bits of existentialism, surrealism, Marxism, elements of Western and Eastern mysticism, etc., will reveal a desire, at mass level, to counterpose to the bourgeois-progressist vision of the world an irrational conception of life and to complacent consciousness, the consciousness of misery. The integral nature of the protest ideology of the 1960s was neither logical nor systemic but rather an integral basic spiritual impulse, the criterion for selecting and combining in more or less eclectic schemes the elements of widely different theories.

E. Mounier wrote that philosophy of the abyss is a happy antipode to various shades of bourgeois thought, to its dull optimism, its specific idealism and positivist depreciation of reality. The dizziness of standing at the abyss, and everyone has his own abyss, is a very strong antidote to bourgeois complacency.[9]

Without exaggerating the depth of the abyss that opens to the misery consciousness of the masses, it has to be said that one of the more conspicuous features of the youth protest of the 1960s, especially among young people of bourgeois origin, was elitist criticism of society from the standpoint of its inability to cope with the deep-seated needs of human nature. The very substance of the counter-culture was non-acceptance of the ethos of capitalism, not its partial manifestations. In the final analysis it was not a matter of the youth jettisoning the ideal of money or success. To the extent that these could be regarded as social values, they were regarded as ordinary, vulgarised expressions of a much more deep-seated ethic of modern times, the ethic of "achievement" as an aspect of faith in cumulative progress. The increasing secularisation of bourgeois society gradually obliterated the direct transcendant content of the mundane, day-to-day activity that is part of the Protestant ethic. Gradually built up and vividly expressed in the youth revolt against bourgeois values, the feeling

of disenchantment in the unchallenged benefits of science, the loss of faith in the power of reason were the basic factors in the rapid collapse of all other values based on this faith.

The crisis of the socialisation of the individual, inevitable in these conditions, assumed the form of an anti-technicism and anti-rational revolt, in its way a revolt against reason and this was bound to lead to a radical review of the path traversed by European civilisation over the past centuries.

* * *

When the most general and abstract problems of the spirit and of civilisation become catalysts of social movements, this often indicates that the masses find themselves compelled to grapple with these problems in their day-to-day life. The crisis of traditional bourgeois values has penetrated the minds of ordinary folk as a result of anomia (a term introduced by Dürkheim to denote loss of value judgements) of the affluent society.

In the mid-19th century de Toqueville described the symptoms of this, now a widespread malady of bourgeois democracy: instilling in the ordinary man the ideal of prosperity as the main value of his life and work, and at the same time fostering in the individual a feeling of uncertainty, unsettlement, of something lacking in life. "It was these reasons," de Toqueville wrote, "that accounted for the strange melancholy one so often encounters among people in democratic countries surrounded as they are by abundance, and the feeling of detestation of life that intrudes into their calm and comfortable existence." [10]

It has become common to describe contemporary capitalist society as a "society without ideals". "One cannot fall in love with an indicator of industrial growth," read one of the May graffiti on the walls of the Sorbonne. Apparently that becomes clear when there is a complete collapse of the philosophical systems within which the "indicator of industrial growth" appealed not only to the mind but also to the heart. Indeed, one bourgeois researcher suggests that the means at the command of our society are gigantic but its aims are indistinguishable.[11]

Obviously a movement thus guided is a movement of inertia rather than a goal-oriented one, and it implies even more technicisation, automation, "robotisation" on a scale that only widens the gap between society and natural human qualities.

The tragedy of present-day Western society is the collapse of an integral social ideal, the ideal of happiness as a personal feeling of the fullness of life in a world of steady scientific and technical progress. "The great adventure into which we were inveigled

about two centuries ago has left us with a feeling of bitterness rather than of triumph", writes Ellul. "Everyone feels this in his own way, whether it concerns the uselessness of the jobs we have to perform, the mediocrity of our recreations and pleasures and the instability of our values and our way of life. More than anyone else Western man feels that he is wasting his life... The current demands for participation in responsibility and decision-making, the demands for self-management are but small change in this general and overall lack of meaning..." [12]

The feeling that science and technology are receding further and further from purely human problems; the high degree of scientific specialisation and the specific language it uses which prevent many from understanding it; lastly, the increasingly growing share of the national product swallowed by scientific and technical progress, and the threat this creates of destroying all life on Earth—this is a far from complete list of the factors that widen the gap between the Western protesting youth and the ideals of technical optimism. The very word "progress" has largely lost its original meaning. It is no longer the illusion of progress but disillusionment in progress that dominates the new thinking. And there is an obvious tendency if not to reverse dependence between technico-scientific and moral progress, then at any rate to a dangerous slowing down of the latter.

The relatively mass spread of disillusionment in progress has led to a break not only with the positivist ideal of the 19th century but also with the euphoric "renaissance" perception of science as a force capable, at one and the same time, of liberating man and of giving him a stable place in the Universe. In a certain sense there has emerged from the spiritual atmosphere of the West a closer link with the philosophy of the Baroque with its prevalent motives of chaos in a precarious Universe, of doubts and concerns. This more acute suspicion of reason tends to increase the role of myths and symbols in interpreting reality which does not lend itself to direct understanding.

The acuteness and comparative mass spread of the crisis of bourgeois progressivism have given the protest movements developing on its basis a peculiar pseudo-religious colouring. The desire within the counter-culture to devise new, non-rational forms of consciousness and new types of social ties founded on direct, emotional, erotic contacts between individuals acquires its real meaning and scale only within the framework of a definite tradition. It could be described as a secularised variant of the myth of rebirth, and in its genesis is linked with religious utopianism of the Reformation and pre-Reformation periods, with its accent on existential, direct human intercourse and hostility to all institutions and institutionalised ties between individuals. It is

within the framework of this tradition that the noble transforming expectations, once addressed to reason and its creations—science and technology—have been transferred to the unconscious natural-sensual factor in man. In practice this means above all revival of the original versions of the romantic perception of the world, notably Rousseauism and Fourierism in France and transcendentalism in America. The link between romanticism and mystical and perfectionist ideas can be more saliently seen in the work of W. Blake in which Roszack discovered the principle of the new, sensory intensified and mystically coloured individualistic experience. J. Passmore, pointing to the kinship between Aldous Huxley's "psychedelic mysticism" which exerted such a strong influence on the hippie culture and Blake's work with its attacks on Newtonian science and abstract thinking, with his glorification of the infantile soul, notes that Blake reminds us how much of what is being preached by the "romantic rebels" lies within the mainstream of a long tradition.[13]

The revival of romantic sentiments as a means of resisting the pressure of reality is not something fortuitous. It stems from the anti-rationalist and anti-industrial orientation of romanticism from its genesis, and also from its close genetic link with religious and mystical trends in European thought. Besides, as distinct from the purely philosophical irrational systems, romanticism not only asserts the need for another being, but also creates the illusion that we are already in this other being. Far from representing one more cultural style, Roszack writes, romanticism is the first strong antidote produced by the organism of our society in response to the prevailing one-dimensional vision. It holds a very special, model place among the precursors of the counter-culture. Hence, in our days the breakaway youth instinctively gravitates towards romantic forms and submits to the magic of drink and dreams, childhood and licence, occultism and mysticism.[14]

Gary Snyder, a prominent personality of the beat generation and one of the precursors of the counter-culture, defined the characteristic features of this subculture as a counter-weight to the prevailing culture of bourgeois society, as tribalism, deep respect for nature and a vision of God in a spirit of the mystical tradition as immanent to all nature. This culture subtly developed in Zen Buddhism and Taoism. Today, Snyder says, the kids of San Francisco and in other parts of the West are taking to this type of tribalism, and all these elements are interconnected. In the view of Snyder, Cook says, this attitude comes very close to the American Indians.[15]

Roszack argues in the same vein: "...Western society has, over the past two centuries, incorporated a number of minorities whose antagonism toward the scientific world view has been irreconcilable... Theosophists and Fundamentalists, spiritualists and flat-earthers, occultists and satanists... It is nothing new that there should exist anti-rationalist elements in our midst. What is new is that a radical rejection of science and technological values should appear so close to the center of our society, rather than on the negligible margins."[16]

* * *

The prominence the problem of freedom held in the Renaissance as the right to individual self-expression and self-realisation was largely a reaction to mediaeval theocracy, the dominance of a collective—and to a great extent sublimated—conscience over the individual conscience. At the same time this era posed in all its sharpness the problem of the limits of such self-realisation, the boundary between freedom and licence, and also the problem of the foundations of freedom in human nature.

The tendency to separate sensitivity and reason and also set definite moral and legal norms regulating the life of the individual were always part of the Western culture, and they were "repressive", to use the word that carries such an emotional impact in youth radicalism today.

In the rationalist teachings of modern times man's dignity and freedom rests on reasonableness. And in this period, too, there is a greater effort to base freedom on the sensual nature of man. In other words, freedom is described either as an attribute of the individual, interpreted as the spiritual and in that sense as transcending the individual and natural in man, or as an attribute of the individual in his direct empirical wholeness as a natural-sensual being.

The traditional conflict between these two standpoints was aggravated above all by the progressive secularisation of society and the disintegration of the mediaeval system of social ties. This deprived all limitations of individual freedom of their meaning. This is how restrictions imposed by society came to be understood. But that is not the whole problem. The more successfully man counters the pressure of society, the sharper he feels his ultimate non-freedom and inhibitions as a natural, mortal being ruled by the natural force of events. The development of a free individual consciousness signifies the development of a "misery", fragmentated consciousness aware of its finity and thirsting for infinity. And implicit in this type of consciousness is the tendency to cast off the oppressive burden of individuality, of isolated existence, the burden of his own freedom.

The humanistic Renaissance philosophy and the German pantheistic mysticism brought back from antiquity the natural

philosophy associated with the theory of emanation, with the vision of the Absolute as a constantly self-alienating being which creates a multiplicity beyond itself only to swallow it, dilute it and enrich itself in the process. The emanation theory is the foundation of two externally contradictory positions which, however, stem from a common existential premise: the desire to cognise the Absolute through multiplicity and diversity of the natural world to the complete loss of one's own "I", "dissolved" in this world; and the desire to understand God through mystical passive contemplation likewise accompanied by the annihilation of one's own individuality *(Ypseitas, Selbstheit)* to use the terms of the mystics. Everlasting total unity is the embodiment of all conceivable good and reunification with it is the only and natural aim of any existence divorced from it.

This complex of problems associated with the development of religious subjectivism and the emergence of the individual's consciousness in the years of the Renaissance and the Reformation was assimilated to a large extent—in its anthropological and psychological aspects—by romanticism to become the nerve centre of all its modifications, from the earliest to the latest. Also associated with these problems is the triple destructiveness of romanticism:

— destructive attitude to society which, according to the romanticists, exercises the most gross and acutely felt pressure on the individual;

— destructive attitude to nature because through its chain of causal necessities it inhibits the unrestricted will;

— destructive attitude to individual consciousness as the source of pain, and especially to moral consciousness as the chief obstacle to the multiformity of self-realisation.

These questions were central to the two main ethical systems (which are antinomian at the same time) of the bourgeois era elaborated at the turn of the 18th century: the imperative morality of Kant and the natural morality of Rousseau.

Endeavouring to base morality and human freedom on natural feeling, Rousseau formulated the idea of a natural-sensitive factor inherent in man. He thus laid the foundations of romantic regression to the precultural forms of existence as a means of the individual's psychological defense against the pressure of the historical cultural society. It was Rousseau who elaborated the overall scheme of the individual's "dropping out" (the term that gained currency in the 1960s) from the ruling socio-cultural system. The significance of countering the rational and emotional-sensitive attitude to reality is valid to this day. One example is the credo of the American beatniks: "I feel, consequently I exist". And it is probably no exaggeration to say that all the central

concepts of all counter-culture ideologies were outlined by Rousseau.

Bringing out the latent power of the human being, the achievement of new parameters in man's existence is seen by the romantic ideology of counter-culture as the result of the absolute unfettering of man's instinctive-sensual nature and, more, as liberation from the bounds of individual existence. Thus, the American psychologist and psychiatrist Gutmann argues that inasmuch as the hard and fast boundaries of the "ego" are an obstacle to the "dissolution" of the individual in the collective or cosmic superconsciousness, hatred of the "ego" finds expression, frankly and intensively, in the counter-culture usually in the form of distrust of rational thinking. The youth cult of "madness" rests on a naive Rousseauism transferred to the sphere of one's life, in the belief that in the depths of one's self there lie, readymade, the power, perfection and integrity awaiting liberation. In this psycho-drama the "ego" is the villain who cuts the individual off from the superpersonal centres of love and fullness of life and blocks the path to the inherent treasure-trove of creative spontaneity and harmony.[17]

A similar tendency has been noted by other investigators of the religious and mystical aspects of the youth counter-culture. A. Kopkind, for example, studied the intertwining of the political and religious-mystical in the "New Left" and established that current among them was the belief in the close approach of a vast evolutionary change in the development of mankind—a qualitative leap to the other side of what we today understand by the term "humanity"—into a new and unexplored condition of a higher level of existence.[18]

The meaning of this higher existence, which comes close to what has been described by A. Ginsberg, is explained by R. Davis, a former activist of the "New Left". According to him, the present *Homo sapiens* is the "missing link" between mankind's past and its very near future. And the image of this *Homo nuovo,* Davis believes, will have nothing in common with the individual of today but will represent an "integral man", an "integral existence".[19]

The metaphysics of the counter-culture are, in spirit and implications, close to the energy variant of the emanation theory, hence all the attention devoted to rhythm and pulsation which acquire the importance of ritualistic religion. This desire to record the "rhythm" of cosmic vibration is probably best expressed in beat music. These metaphysics are characteristic of the two most instrumental aspects of the youth counter-culture—orgiastic and psychedelic. This has found further development in many mystical youth sects.

In developing the basic metaphysical postulates of the counter-culture of the 1960s regarding a single energy substream of the Universe and the fallacy of all differentiation of being, adherents of many non-conformist sects have adopted as their thesis that all energy and all matter of the Universe are infinite and indifferentiable; they are differentiated only in our minds. This vision of the world, independent of any ethical, aesthetic or logical differentiation of being has as its natural consequence unrestricted moral licence.

On the other hand, at this stage of development the romantic counter-culture retains its characteristic elements of the theatrical, play-acting to the detriment of an in-depth study of the spiritual problems of mankind.

In particular, Evans, a close student of pseudo-religions, and notably of the Western infatuation with Eastern cults translated into European pop language, notes that in most cases there is a very selfish motive. Adherents of Western cults do not always seek the truth, but something more tangible, stimulation of their abilities, psycho-therapeutic effect, nervous release and, lastly, power over other people or belonging to one or another elite group dedicated to a refined type of spiritual life. Highly indicative in this respect is the fate of the Yogi which in the West is no more than a system of physical training and certainly not a means of spiritual perfection.[20]

Seen in this light, the new life style has no advantages over the average member of the consumer society and should be seen rather as its imitation, promoting sensitive-sensual requirements and forms of their satisfaction. To the extent that the new aesthetic-erotic attitude of the ideologists of the youth protest is an ethical attitude (and the element of ethical self-exaltation is very strong in the counter-culture) and is a means of destroying the present hierarchy of values, it is difficult to foresee its consequences.

The revival of conservative, protective tendencies, characteristic of part of the Western youth in the 1970s, is largely linked with the sense of the dangers inherent in the slogan "self-realisation through self-destruction". And this feeling also stimulates attempts to find a synthesis of the real achievements of bourgeois ethics with the romantic ideals of the counter-culture.

NOTES

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[2] F. E. Ambruster, *The Forgotten Americans: a Survey of Values, Beliefs and Concerns of the Majority,* New York, 1972.

[3] Th. Roszack, *The Making of a Counter-Culture. Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition,* London, 1968, p. XII.

[4] *The Changing Views on Campus.*

[5] Th. Roszack, Op. cit., p. 47.

[6] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[7] G. Ellul, *De la révolution aux révoltes,* Paris, 1970, p. 43.

[8] J. Passmore, "Paradise Now. The Logic of the New Mysticism", *Encounter,* London, 1970, Vol. XXXV, No. 5, pp. 3-21.

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[10] A. de Toqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique,* London, 1961, p. 139.

[11] J. Elgozy, *Les damnés de l'opulence,* Paris, 1979, p. 9.

[12] G. Ellul, *Atopsie de la Révolution,* Paris, 1969, pp. 281-282.

[13] J. Passmore, Op. cit.

[14] Th. Roszack, *Where the Wasteland Ends,* New York, 1973, p. 257.

[15] B. Cook, *The Beat Generation,* New York, 1971, p. 36.

[16] Th. Roszack, *The Making of a Counter-Culture,* p. 51.

[17] D. Gutmann, "The Premature Gerontocracy. Themes of Aging and Death in the Youth Culture", *Social Research,* 1972, Vol. 39, p. 430.

[18] A. Kopkind, "Mystic, Politics. Refugees from the New Left", *Ramparts,* Berkeley, July 1973, p. 48.

[19] Ibid., p. 49.

[20] R. Evans, *Cults of Unreason,* New York, 1973.

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

GENERAL MEETING OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Academy's General Meeting held in Moscow (December 13-14, 1979) was devoted to the new tasks of fundamental science in boosting labour productivity and accelerating scientific and technological progress in the light of the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Enhancing Production Efficiency and Work Quality".

Taking part in the meeting were CPSU Central Committee Secretaries Vladimir Dolgikh and Mikhail Zimyanin, high ranking officials from the USSR State Planning Committee (GOSPLAN), ministries and departments, as well as outstanding Soviet scientists.

In his opening speech Academician Anatoly Alexandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out that the solution of major economic and social problems in the next few years largely depends upon how effectively the achievements of science and technology will help accelerate the growth of labour productivity.

In his report to the meeting Nikolai Baibakov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee, dwelt on the tasks faced by the country's research institutions in improving planning and economic management. He said that Soviet scientists have every possibility to further contribute to the progress of science and technology. During the past eight years alone the number of research workers in the USSR has grown almost 1.5 times and now exceeds 1.3 million. In that same period, the state expenditures for scientific research have risen by 65 per cent and now amount to 4.7 per cent of the country's gross national income.

Nonetheless the efficacy with which the powerful material force of science is used, Nikolai Baibakov pointed out, still fails to meet the ever-growing needs of the national economy. The elaboration and, in particular, the introduction of the latest technology and equipment substantially lag behind the requirements of various branches of the economy. Many research centres misuse their funds and work on secondary problems which are not in the mainstream of technological progress. Thus, many USSR ministries fail to fulfil state plans for the development of science and technology and do not ensure the necessary reserves for designing new types of machinery and equipment, more sophisticated and economical technological processes.

The speaker also gave examples of how the best scientific developments, once introduced in production, become a mighty lever for the qualitative retooling of whole branches of the national economy.

Nikolai Baibakov dwelt in detail on the elaboration of the long-term comprehensive programme for developing the transportation system which was discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in November 1979. The speaker also paid particular attention to the reserves available to Soviet science for expanding the production and improving the quality of farm produce as well as decreasing crop losses.

Academician Pyotr Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted his report to theoretical problems of current socio-economic development. The question of the proportions and rates of socialist production, he underscored, was central to economic and social progress. At every stage of socialist construction questions of structural policy have commanded the attention of the Party and government. The rates of economic growth and the possibilities for accumulation necessary to boost the economy and improve the well-being of the people have largely depended on the solution of these questions.

The speaker singled out, in particular, the theoretical aspects of planning and managing the economy. Socialist planning has always been target-oriented, solved far-reaching tasks and provided for such large-scale projects as the plan for the country's electrification, the creation of heavy industry, the cultivation of the virgin lands, the transformation of the central non-black earth zone and the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway. Now that the national economy has reached colossal size and the scope of management has greatly expanded, the promotion of target-oriented planning methods is of vital necessity.

Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Vladimir Kotelnikov reported on the work of Soviet scientists concerned with the comprehensive programme for the country's scientific and technological development over the next 20 years.

In his report Academician Guri Marchuk, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Head of its Siberian Division, dwelt in detail on the part played by Siberian scientists in the target-oriented planning of the economy. Each large national economic project in Siberia, he said, presents a huge complex of new tasks for science and technology, since the objective conditions connected with opening up the Northern areas require basically new approaches and solutions. The Long-Term Programme "Siberia" aimed at scientific substantiation of the comprehensive exploitation of this territory's natural resources will occupy a pivotal position in the activity of the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences during the 11th and 12th Five-Year-Plan periods.

The report by President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Academician Boris Paton, entitled "Science and Production", contained an appeal to scientists to

step up their work in elaborating basically new methods for producing and processing metals.

Academician Sergei Vonsovski, Chairman of the Presidium of the Urals Scientific Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted his speech to the comprehensive development of the Ural's productive forces.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Alexander Zhuchenko, President of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, spoke about the participation of Moldavian scientists in the development of agrarian-industrial complexes.

The discussion held shows that the country's leading research centres are beginning more actively to tackle the cardinal problems of scientific and technological progress.

The General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences ended with the adoption of a resolution which reflects the tasks of fundamental science in solving topical problems connected with the development of the national economy and outlines a broad programme of participation by all researchers in the scientific forecasting of the country's development for the next decades.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union unites historians of the research institutions under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of higher educational establishments and also individual scholars working in the field of history. Its main purposes include general coordination of the international contacts maintained by Soviet historians and the strengthening of the cooperation with national committees of historians in other countries; dissemination abroad of materials on the development of the historical sciences in the USSR; Soviet participation in international congresses and conferences on the historical sciences, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis; promotion of the exchange of books and bibliography between Soviet and foreign historians; information about the activities of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) and of the national committees of the USSR and other countries.

In the period between the 14th and 15th ICHS Congresses, the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union continued its work along three main lines.

The development of the cooperation with historians of the socialist countries is one of them. The leading role here belongs to the Soviet sections under the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union and in the bilateral commissions of historians of the USSR and other states of the socialist community, which meet annually. Both sides in each commission outline plans of scientific cooperation for a year or a longer period providing for a wide range of events, and particularly conferences and symposiums with due account of the specifics of the development of historical science in each particular country. In the period under review almost all the

commissions held four meetings each. In 1977, for instance, they were devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They were held in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and in Moscow with historians from Hungary.

The work of coordinating cooperation and choosing the themes for the meetings show some common tendencies characterising the state and orientation of historical science in the socialist countries.

Thus these activities have clearly revealed the high methodological and theoretical level of historical studies in Hungary, the GDR and Poland; Bulgarian achievements in the study of the national liberation movement in South-East Europe and in the Balkans; the particular interest of Czechoslovak scholars in international and political developments in Central Europe.

The commission of historians of the USSR and the GDR has held a number of conferences to discuss the question of activising the struggle against bourgeois ideology and against neo-fascist theories and concepts. Its 22nd Conference, held in September 1978 in Kiev, discussed the problem "Fascism and Neo-Fascism. History and Our Time". The commission focussed on contemporary history. Several meetings were devoted to the role of the GDR in current world developments and the historical contacts between the working classes of the two countries. Also in 1978, the materials of the commission were published under the title *The Great October Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process.*

The commission of historians of the USSR and Poland works according to a five-year plan adopted by both sides in 1975. It paid a great deal of attention to the typology of feudal relations and peasant wars, the place of towns in the historical development of the two countries in the epoch of feudalism; the revolutionary traditions of the peoples of Poland and Russia in the 19th century. A special session discussed the role of the working class at the present stage of socialist construction. The Commission is also preparing for publication its papers on the social and cultural ties between the peoples of the two countries at the turn of the century, on the changes in the structure of the working classes in the USSR and Poland in the course of the building of socialism and communism, as well as a collection *Russia, Poland and the Black Sea Area in the 15th-18th Centuries.*

The commission of historians of the USSR and Hungary, besides centring attention on such topics as the historical links between the liberation movements in the two countries, discussed the tasks of historians in studying methodology, and the role of environment and geography in the historical process. It held a conference at which it discussed the crisis of the social and political systems of the countries of Central and South-East Europe between the two world wars. In 1978, a joint work was published under the title *Hungarian Internationalists in the Struggle for the Establishment and Consolidation of Soviet Government in Siberia and the Far East, 1917-1922.*

The commission of historians of the USSR and Czechoslovakia concentrated on the historical developments in Central Europe in the 1920s and 1930s and on the causes of the Second World War. It has also considered the ethnogenesis of

the Slavs and the role of archaeological science in working out problems of Slavic literature and culture. The commission is assisting in the publication of the many-volumed series *Soviet-Czechoslovak Relations*. Volume 3 of the series appeared in 1978.

The commission of historians of the USSR and Bulgaria focused its attention on the theory and history of the national liberation movement in the Balkans, on the role of Russia in liberating the Balkan peoples from the Ottoman yoke, etc. The conference to mark the centenary of Bulgaria's liberation became a major scientific event. In 1979, a symposium was held on the theme "Patriotism and Internationalism as Historical Categories". The commission is preparing for print a collection *The Contribution of Mediaeval Bulgaria and Kievan Rus to the Development of Material and Spiritual Culture* and also a collection devoted to the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov.

The commission of historians of the USSR and Rumania studied the contacts between the peoples of the two countries at various stages of their historical development, focusing particularly on the revolutionary struggle in the early 20th century and the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the revolutionary movement in Rumania. One of its sessions was devoted to the topic "Progressive Thought in Russia and Rumania in the Latter Half of the 19th and the Early 20th Century as an Important Factor in Bringing the Two Peoples Closer Together".

The National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union pays a great deal of attention to expanding bilateral scientific cooperation with historians of Finland, Sweden, the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, Great Britain, Italy.

In the period under review, Soviet and Finnish historians held four meetings: the 4th and 5th Symposiums on Comparative Socio-Economic History, and the 7th and 8th Sessions of the Symposium of Soviet and Finnish Historians. They discussed the history of trades and of the development of the domestic markets and agriculture of the two countries. The symposium of 1977 highlighted the role of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Finland obtaining its independence. Also discussed at these meetings were various stages in the history of the cultural ties between the peoples of the USSR and Finland.

The dialogue between Soviet and Swedish scholars is developing fruitfully, too. Two Soviet-Swedish symposiums were held between the two congresses of the ICHS.

At their meetings Soviet and American historians touch upon a wide range of problems. Besides discussing (1978 saw the third such conference in Moscow) questions of the social, economic and historical development of the two countries in the 19th and 20th centuries, historians of the USSR and the USA cooperate fruitfully in applying quantitative analysis methods in historical research. In August 1979, the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union sent a delegation to the first conference on "Russian America" in Sitka, which became an outstanding event in the study of Russian-American relations. A joint monograph is to be published in 1980 on the basis of the papers presented at the conference.

Discussion of theoretical problems of the historical processes are characteristic of the colloquiums of historians of the USSR and Japan and of the USSR and the FRG. Each colloquium held two such meetings during the period 1977-1979, and 1976-1978, respectively. The Communique of the 3rd Colloquium of Soviet and West German Historians emphasised the importance of the cooperation between historians of the Soviet Union and the FRG.

The regular conferences of historians of the USSR and France produce papers of a high scientific standard. The 8th Conference in 1978 was no exception. In the context of a comparative analysis it discussed the development of the village commune in Russia and agrarian France in the 19th and 20th centuries, and also the influence of the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau on social thought in the two countries.

The cooperation of Soviet historians with their colleagues in Great Britain and Italy has also been developing successfully. There have been joint discussions of problems of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the Second World War, problems that are of interest to scholars in many countries.

In recent years Soviet historians attended two major international congresses sponsored by the ICHS: the 7th Congress on Economic History held in 1978 in Edinburgh, and the 4th Congress on South-East European Studies held in 1979 in Ankara. They also attend the annual meetings in Prato (Italy) on problems of the socio-economic history of the Middle Ages.

The National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union pays considerable attention to questions connected with Soviet participation in the numerous international associations and commissions affiliated with the ICHS.

Soviet scholars, for instance, are very active in the International Association of Byzantine Studies, of which Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Z. Udaltsova is a Vice-President. The international meeting held in May 1979 in Tbilisi to discuss the history of Byzantine culture was a great success.

Soviet historians are also active in the International Association of Economic History, the International Association for South-East European Studies, the European Association of Contemporary History, the International Centre of Information on the Sources of Balkan History, and also in the International Committee of ICHS on the History of the Second World War, and in the International Commissions of ICHS for the History of State Assemblies, Slavic studies, comparative military history, and for the history of social movements and social structures.

The National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union makes a worthy contribution to the development and consolidation of the cooperation between historians.

A. Martynov,
Learned Secretary
of the National Committee
of Historians of the Soviet Union

Congresses • Conferences • Symposiums

THE 11TH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (IPSA)

The 11th World Congress of the IPSA was held in Moscow from August 12 to 18, 1979. It was attended by over 1,500 scholars from 60 countries. In his message of greeting to the Congress Leonid Brezhnev underscored the particular responsibility resting with this branch of scientific knowledge which analyses political institutions and structures, processes and phenomena, everything that is connected with the activities of states and their relations in the world arena (*Pravda,* August 13, 1979).

Scholars adhering to Marxist and non-Marxist viewpoints, representing various schools and trends of political thought and having at times, diametrically opposed conceptual approaches considered about 600 papers delivered at the Congress and discussed a wide range of problems concerned with the vital interests of the present and future generations. As the IPSA President Karl W. Deutsch pointed out, the Congress was held in a creative and businesslike atmosphere of goodwill, mutual respect and trust. The participants aimed their work at the quest for truth, mutual understanding and constructive solutions of the problems common to all mankind.

The major discussions, which were of a genuinely academic nature, were held by 28 panels according to the following three themes: "Politics of Peace", "Politics of Development and System Change" and "Cumulative Growth in Political Knowledge since 1949". In their papers and communications the scholars from the socialist countries: G. Arbatov, E. Primakov, A. Rumyantsev, A. Gromyko, V. Zhurkin, V. Gantman, F. Burlatsky, M. Lazarev, N. Ushakov and other scholars from the USSR; W. Weichelt and P. Klein from the GDR; K. Opalek and L. Pastusiak from Poland; M. Soukup and J. Čap from Czechoslovakia; A. Todorov and M. Mikhailov from Bulgaria; and S. Floria and I. Pascu from Rumania analysed the conditions and factors facilitating or impeding the limitation of the arms race, settlement of acute conflict situations, promotion of international cooperation with the aim of lessening the danger of a new war, and the transition to a policy of planning peace and creating more favourable conditions for solving the global problems of mankind. They stressed the necessity of taking fresh steps in this field.

The humanism of the theme "Politics of Peace" determined the convergence of viewpoints of many scholars standing on different ideological platforms. For example, E. Jahn (FRG) tried to prove that only the recognition of the differences between the two social systems and repudiation of the use of the processes of social changes within each of them to impose one's own model of social structure can serve as a real foundation to the policy of detente.

The political scientists also exchanged ideas and the results of their research on global and European systems of detente and security, the ways and means of ensuring world and regional stability and the factors underlying conclusion of the SALT-2 treaty and its impact on international relations.

The discussions confirmed the high prestige of the Marxist-Leninist theory of peace and peaceful coexistence and the broad recognition of the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to detente.

In discussing the second theme, "Politics of Development and System Change", the scholars dwelt upon such problems acute for the developing countries as, for example, the avenues of most rapid socio-economic development, the interconnection of this process with changes in political systems, the possibility and forms of the "third world" countries' participation in such transformations, etc.

The great variety of concrete conditions in which these problems are tackled by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the transitory character of many of these countries' development, the acute ideological and political struggle within them and attempts to thrust alien patterns of development upon these countries from the outside—all this was brought out in the diversified themes of the papers and the contradictory nature of the assessments and conclusions arrived at in them.

Western political scientists proceeded mostly from the theories of "modernisation" or "political development" of the Third World countries. Hence, R. Sklar (USA) came to the conclusion that "a new ruling class", called ruling or bureaucratic bourgeoisie, is being formed in all the developing countries. This conclusion rests on the known anti-Marxist tenet that it is the possession of political power and not the relationship to the means of production that serves as the foundation for class formation in societies of this type. Another theory founded on disregard for class and socio-economic factors is the thesis on the primacy of national-ethnic, cultural and religious elements in the countries of Africa and Asia. These as well as regional elements are declared to be the main sources of conflicts in these countries (M. Heisler, USA) and determining factors in the process of modernisation and even revolutions (C. Young, USA).

The position of Marxist scholars (M. Rutkevich, N. Simonia, O. Zhidkov, O. Pechatnov, E. Tarabrin, E. Berger—USSR; V. Plevza, R. Richta — Czechoslovakia; J. Letowski — Poland; H. Faulwetter—GDR) consists not in negating these elements, but in refusing to recognise

their all-embracing character.

The participants in the Moscow Congress gave particular attention to the influence of the economy on political processes. The following problems applicable to the developing countries were considered: the connection of political stability or instability with economic development; the role of the non-alignment movement and the state in economic development; the nature of the state sector in the economy; the influence of technology transfer on the economic and socio-political development of recipient countries, etc. The Western political scholars often took a formal approach to these problems and displayed biased assessments. For example, taking into account the empirical fact of a high, as a rule, correlation between political stability and social and economic progress, a conclusion was drawn as to the adverse consequences of revolutionary socialist transformations in the countries of this region. The scientific groundlessness of such assertions was revealed by the Marxist scholars (A. Glinkin, L. Polonskaya, V. Chirkin, Yu. Yudin—USSR; M. Kossack—GDR; A. Minis—the Mongolian People's Republic; B. Gurmam, G. Carles—Cuba; I. Stoyanov—Bulgaria; S. Gebethner—Poland, etc.).

The participants involved in the discussion of the third theme dwelt upon general trends and law-governed patterns in the development of political science in the world over the past 30 years, as well as certain theoretical and methodological problems.

The creative development of historical materialism, scientific communism, juridical, historical and a number of other disciplines in the socialist countries during the past years has been accompanied by their integration, which has led to the formation of a uniform political science in a number of countries.

In many developing countries a non-Marxist approach exerts a noticeable influence on the formation of a national school of political science, with the result that, as N. Bose (India), B. Lamounier and F. Reiz (Brazil) and other scholars pointed out, political studies in these countries often fail to meet their national interests and sometimes serve as a channel for imposing upon them Western patterns alien to them. This is all the more unacceptable, the scholars underscored, since political science is capable of accelerating socio-political transformations and progress. Therefore, one of the major tasks facing the developing countries' political scientists is to enhance the autonomy of their science in the context of establishing national self-consciousness and statehood. Aspirations to such autonomy are also stimulated by crisis phenomena evident in modern capitalism and its political science.

Western political scientists are seeking a way out of this crisis situation by creating "radical", "value", "post-behaviouristic" and other variants of political science.

In the opinion of V. Semyonov (USSR), despite the contradictory nature of the development of the political sciences in the world, a number of common trends may still be outlined. First, in recent years, political knowledge has been ever more comprehensively aimed at in-depth study of actual political practice. Second, the importance of integral, systems theories has been growing in the political sciences as a result of the closer interconnection of the world's political processes. Third, comparative analysis of the processes occurring in countries with different social and political orientations and different social systems is acquiring increasing importance. Fourth, the classical traditions of political thought, the philosophical and political heritage of the past, are enriched and developed under the influence of new political conditions in the world and new political viewpoints. Fifth, the problems of forecasting the political situation in the world as a whole and in separate regions and, hence, the simulation of mankind's political future are becoming ever more topical.

A majority of the problems discussed at the meetings of the 17 research committees and 7 research groups of the IPSA and at over 40 special sessions were related to the third theme of the Congress. The scholars devoted much attention to the methodological problems of political science analysis. The Congress vividly demonstrated the effect of the interrelation between the theoretical and methodological instruments of the social sciences analysing political problems. A broad spectrum of methodologies and conceptual categorial data, from philosophical to economic and psychological, is adapted and developed in the framework of political science.

A number of meetings testified to the further expansion of the psychological approach in political science. This approach figured prominently in the discussions of political socialisation, the behaviour of the electorate, psychological aspects of mass movements, psychological simulation of conflicts and foreign policy negotiations, research on the personality of statesmen and their decision-making in crucial situations, etc.

In their papers and talks a number of the participants spoke about the extensive use of the methods of formal logic and mathematics in political science and their increasing role in the elaboration and conduct of foreign and home policy. This applies, first and foremost, to three groups of problems: the analysis and forecasting of the political-economic and military-strategic balance between the major participants (elements) in the system of international relations; the elaboration of "world models" to analyse global problems of our time; and the creation of automated information systems to meet the needs of home and foreign policy departments, including the elaboration of the structure whereby information is collected, an operational-information service is organised, and man-computer dialogue systems are designed to analyse complicated home and international political situations by experts.

In general, Western political science is ceasing to be a purely academic discipline as a result of its growing role as an applied discipline bordering on sociology. In addition, Western political scientists are taking an active part in the organisation and running of election and other political campaigns as well as in the work of government bodies. Informative (mostly empirical) research is on the upswing at the expense of purely methodological studies. This development is accompanied by a rebirth in Western political scientists' interest in analysing political institutions, the state and law.

Almost the entire spectrum of fields and trends in contemporary

political science was reflected in the papers and discussions at the Congress, including, for example, biology and politics, political geography, electoral geography, politics and ethnicity, etc.

A special meeting devoted to the theme "V. I. Lenin as a Political Thinker" recognised the importance of Lenin's contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism and vividly highlighted the revolutionary role of Marxism-Leninism in shaping a new world outlook and the political means used to attain it and in establishing a new organisation of human society. Forty-two papers were discussed, whose authors represented all the major regions of the world. In his summarising report V. Zagladin (USSR) pointed out that the essence of Lenin's life and work had been the organic unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice, the analysis of the objective prerequisites of the struggle for socialism and keen attention to the subjective factor of this struggle—the working class and its political party. The speaker singled out four basic problems characterising Lenin's contribution to the development of contemporary political thought, namely, theoretical, political and organisational preparation of the first step along the path of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, elaboration of the avenues of social progress for former colonial countries and, in particular, the question of a non-capitalist course of development; profound conclusions about the directions of socio-political struggle in the advanced capitalist countries and the prospects for struggle against monopolies; and the elaboration of the issues of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Congress participants elected a new IPSA Executive Committee. The prominent Brazilian scholar C. Mendes became the President of the Association, G. Shakhnazarov (USSR), its First Vice-President, and D. Frei (Switzerland), S. Hurtig (France), R. Merritt (USA), K. Mushakoji (Japan) and J. Wiatr (Poland), its Vice-Presidents.

During the seven days of its work the Congress discussed theoretical and practical problems and the achievements of political science over many a decade. The discussions helped not only formulate new guidelines and tasks facing political scientists, but also specify the tasks in individuals' practical political activities.

V. Smirnov

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION IN THE PACIFIC

Between August 20 and September 1, 1979, Khabarovsk was the venue of the 14th Pacific Science Congress which attracted more than 1,600 participants, among them some 500 scientists from 45 countries, including Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Poland, and Vietnam. The most representative were the delegations of the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, and Vietnam. More than 1,500 papers were discussed, about 300 of them pertaining to social sciences.

A message of greetings issued by the USSR Council of Ministers to the members of the Congress stressed that "as a Pacific power, the Soviet Union is interested in a broader research into the scientific problems presented by the Pacific Ocean and adjacent areas and a rise in the living standards of their peoples. Claiming almost 50 per cent of the world population, the Pacific region plays a major role in the destinies of our planet."

The inaugural address was made by Academician Alexander Sidorenko, President of the Pacific Science Association (PSA) and Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who also presented the main report on the Congress's theme: "Natural Resources of the Pacific Ocean—for the Benefit of Humanity". He emphasised that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems formed the basis of a successful international economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the region and for effective joint explorations of the Pacific Ocean and closer cultural relations between the peoples which live on the Pacific coasts and islands. Its incalculable mineral and biological wealth should serve all mankind, the purpose of progress and construction.

At the Plenary Session the Soviet Union was represented by four reports, which were made by Academician N. Shilo ("Problems of Scientific Investigations in the Pacific Region"), Academician I. Gerasimov ("Geographical Problems of the Pacific Region"), Academician E. Primakov ("Problems of Peace and Cooperation in the Pacific Region"), Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Izrael, A. Simonov and A. Tsyban ("Scientific Aspects of Complex Study of the Pacific Ocean Waters and Problems of Preventing Pollution"). Joint papers were read by G. Sidorenko, Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and D. Roll (USA) ("Medical Aspects of Environmental Protection in the Pacific Region . Countries"), V. Kort, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and K. Wyrtki (USA) ("The Main Problems of Hydrology in the Pacific Ocean") and P. Moiseyev (USSR), I. Fukuda (Japan), and D. Alversen (USA) ("Biological Resources of the Pacific Ocean"). The concluding report, "Energy Accounting in Aquaculture and Fisheries", was delivered by J. Bardach (USA).

The Plenary Session was followed by a General Symposium. Its subject was "Scientific Approach to Rational Use and Environmental Protection of the Pacific Region". The contributors were representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

Work then proceeded in 14 scientific committees and more than 100 symposiums, sections and subsections. The committees discussed the following topics: "Conservation and Environmental Protection", "Solid Earth Sciences", "Geography", "Pacific Island Ecosystems", "Marine Sciences", "Coral Reefs", "Botany", "Forestry", "Fresh Water Sciences", "Entomology", "Social Sciences and

Humanities", "Public Health and Medical Sciences", "Nutrition", and "Sciences Communication and Education".

Due to the special attention which was given to questions of interdisciplinary research, the role of the social factor in the utilisation of natural wealth for the benefit of mankind and the forecasting of international economic relations, a major interest was aroused by the proceedings of the "Social Sciences and Humanities" Committee, with its four sections: "Social and Political Aspects of Studies of the Pacific Countries", "Economic Problems of the Pacific Countries", "Ethno-Cultural Problems in the Pacific Research" and "Languages of the Pacific Region". The themes of the sections were discussed by 11 problem-oriented symposiums. Interest in the Committee proceedings is revealed by the fact that there were days when it drew up to one-third of all participants in the Congress.

The reports made by N. Shaskolsky, A. Mazerkin and A. Markov (USSR) proved convincingly that the Soviet Union, a substantial proportion of whose territory lies in Asia and which is deeply interested in complete normalisation of the situation in the Pacific region, advocates greater security of peoples, supports their efforts for national liberation and social progress, for prevention of aggressive wars and consistent implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

In his paper Pham Nŭ Kŭong (Vietnam) emphasised that the situation brought about by the victory of the peoples of Indochina over the aggressors had consolidated peace in the region, but the intrigues of the imperialists and other forces of aggression called for constant vigilance.

The Congress took a solid stand in favour of the principles of sovereignty and integrity of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and non-annexation of their territories and respect for the rights of each people to decide its own destiny noting that international disputes should be settled peacefully and the use or threat of force should be renounced.

During the discussion of economic problems facing the Pacific countries all speakers advocated trade and economic cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit without discrimination as promoting a better use of the region's natural riches. For example, American scientists J. Stephan, L. Alexander, etc., stating that they shared the view of the scientists of the socialist countries, pointed out the importance of the broadening of mutually advantageous trade between the Pacific countries, which they said would further the interests of peace and cooperation. Several scientists of Japan, Canada and Australia pointed to a mounting potential for the development of economic cooperation between the Pacific countries and the Soviet Union, especially in view of the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway.

The participants in the Symposium on problems of the international law of the sea—M. Lazarev and V. Mikhailov (USSR), K. Bruce (Guam), J. Logue (USA) and others—noted that to this day regulation of the maritime activity is not coordinated properly, the international legal regulations in force still failing to ensure the effective and rational use of the World Ocean resources.

An analysis of the complex demographic processes in the Pacific region was contained in papers presented by Ya. Guzevaty and L. Rybakovsky (USSR), R. Chaudhury (Bangladesh), K. Miro (Mexico), Z. Pavlik (Czechoslovakia), T. Kuroda (Japan), etc.

Ecological problems of the Pacific region were discussed in the reports made by, among others, L. Thompson (USA), M. Reay (Australia), B. Treide (GDR), who indicated the need for a continued fundamental research into the interaction between the social systems and the environment, between culture and ecology, as a basis for outlining an appropriate development policy.

The destinies of the smaller peoples of the Pacific region were surveyed in papers by D. Tumarkin (USSR), Ngo Dŭk Thinh (Vietnam), A. Chapelle (Papua New Guinea), H. Reynolds (Philippines), R. Crocombe (Fiji), etc. The speakers called for a broader guarantees of the rights of the smaller peoples indicating, in particular, the importance of preserving their languages, and for organising instruction in these tongues where it does not exist yet. Graphic evidence of the fruitfulness of the Leninist nationalities policy was furnished by two communications on the effect of the environment on the specific features of the culture of the indigenous population of the Pacific Coast in the USSR and the historical destinies of the smaller peoples of the Amur Region and Sakhalin, made by Soviet scholar Ch. Taksami, himself a member of one of the smaller Soviet Far-Eastern nationalities, the Nivkhs.

During their stay in Khabarovsk the Soviet and foreign researchers addressed audiences in 30 industrial enterprises and research institutions. With a view to gaining some first-hand knowledge of Soviet life members of the Congress made 14 trips to various parts of Siberia and the Soviet Far East—the Irkutsk, Magadan and Sakhalin regions, the Maritime Territory and the Yakut Autonomous Republic.

A unanimously adopted resolution pointed out that, in keeping with the aims of the PSA, the participants in the Congress strove to contribute their share to the enhancement of the prosperity and well-being of the Pacific peoples, to the greatest possible utilisation of the natural resources of their part of the world for the benefit of mankind, to peace between the Pacific nations and to solidarity between the scientists of the region.

The members of the Congress sent a reply message to the Soviet Government, in which they announced their complete adherence to the concepts of strengthening world peace and friendly relations between the peoples that were stressed in the message of greeting of the USSR Council of Ministers, and expressed cordial gratitude for hospitable reception.

For the 1979-1983 period the Congress elected J. Miles of New Zealand, President of the PSA. The subject of the next, 15th Pacific Science Congress, which is to be held in New Zealand in 1983, will discuss "Development, Conservation and Utilisation of the Resources of the Pacific".

I. Evgrafov

LOGIC, METHODOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

The Sixth International Congress of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science held in Hannover (the Federal Republic of Germany) in August, 1979 was sponsored by the Division of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science (DLMPS) of the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science.

The problem "The Role of Mathematics in Modern Science" was central to the programme of the Congress. Various aspects of this problem were discussed at two plenary sessions and at the sittings of the following 14 Sections of the Congress, namely: 1. Proof Theory and Foundations of Mathematics; 2. Model Theory and its Application; 3. Recursion Theory and the Theory of Computation; 4. Axiomatic Set Theory; 5. Philosophical Logic; 6. General Methodology of Science; 7. Foundations of Probability and Induction; 8. Foundations and Philosophy of the Physical Sciences; 9. Foundations and Philosophy of Biology; 10. Foundations and Philosophy of Psychology; 11. Foundations and Philosophy of Social Sciences; 12. Foundations and Philosophy of Linguistics; 13. History of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science; 14. Fundamental Principles of the Ethics of Science.

In addition to the hearings and discussions of various papers two symposiums were held in two sections: "The Role of Constructivity in Mathematics" (Section 1) and the other one devoted to the 100th anniversary of the publication of the fundamental book on mathematical logic—"Begriffsschrift" by G. Frege (Section 13).

About 600 scholars from almost 40 countries took part in the Congress. The Soviet delegation headed by Academician B. Kedrov was one of the most representative. Ninety-one papers out of 355 published prior to the Congress were presented by the Soviet scholars. The Congress heard about 300 papers, of which 40 were read by Soviet participants.

The Marxist papers submitted by scholars from the socialist and a number of capitalist countries reflected the progress in the development of the problems of mathematical logic and the foundations of mathematics, philosophical logic, general methodology of science and methodology of special sciences; as well as the fruitfulness of the dialectico-materialistic world-outlook for philosophical and methodological analysis of modern science.

Three papers generated particular interest at the plenary sessions. R. Thom, a French scholar, founder of a mathematical theory of catastrophe, evolved two main goals of science: the first, cognition of the world and man, and the second, the expansion of man's power over nature. He was of the opinion that there exists a complex interconnection between these goals and that specific mathematical means are required to attain each of them. R. Thom gave a high assessment, in particular, to the contribution made by the Soviet mathematical school to applied mathematics. The papers by W. Hildenbrand (FRG) and R. Fogel (USA) dealt with the methodological problems of the application of mathematics in economics and in historical studies.

The discussion of topical problems of mathematical logic and the foundations of mathematics in Sections 1 and 4 showed that such a purely theoretical science as mathematical logic has broad possibilities for practical application. The papers by N. Nepeivoda (USSR) and P. Martin-Löf (Sweden) revealed the significance of the proof theory and constructive mathematics for the elaboration of problems of programming. Also of great interest were the papers by E. Palyutin (USSR) on the model theory, V. Pratt (USA) on dynamic logic, A. Dyogtev (USSR) on the recursion theory and R. Solovay (USA) on the axiomatic set theory. Soviet mathematicians L. Maximova, I. Lavrov, R. Pliuskevicius, as well as L. Szczerba (Poland), H. Andréka and I. Nemeti (Hungary), S. Basarab (Rumania), S. Prešić (Yugoslavia), W. Marek (Poland) and others presented in their papers a number of novel valuable data vital for the further development of mathematical logic and the foundations of mathematics.

The papers discussed in Sections 5 and 7 dealt with various aspects of philosophical logic and, in particular, the problems of inductive logic and philosophical foundations of the probability theory. E. Voishvillo (USSR) presented the results of his research into relevant implicative relation for a series of propositional logical systems—classical, intuitional and certain modal logics. The paper by R. Wojcicki (Poland) was devoted to the semantic problems of propositional calculi. I. Niiniluoto (Finland) discussed major problems of the logical theory of truthlikeness, extensively developed by scholars from various countries over the past few years. The new methods of constructing modal logical calculi were covered in the papers by V. Smirnov (USSR), W. Heitsch (GDR), O. Serebryannikov (USSR) and a number of others. The major problems of logical semantics were analysed in the papers by E. Smirnova (USSR) and Ch. Parsons (USA), the problems of the logical theory of analogy—in the paper by Ch. Joja (Rumania), and operative understanding of the logical operation of negation—in the paper by M. Bezhanishvili (USSR). When the foundations of the probability theory were under discussion J. Łoś (Poland) drew attention to serious difficulties in this theory pertaining to the troubles with events for an invariant probability. L. J. Cohen (Britain) outlined a number of new additional arguments to support his previously submitted concept of the difference between the Baconianist and Bayesianist approaches to the probability theory.

Section 6 of the Congress, which discussed general problems of the methodology of science, was the most representative. Central to the discussion was the problem of the possibilities of realistic and materialistic approaches to the construction of the philosophy of science. Whereas R. Bhaskar (Britain) and J. Smart (Australia) who noted the difficulties of the methodology of realism in their papers, tried, nonetheless, to defend the basic principles of the realistic interpretation of science, V. Kostyuk (USSR) and P. Sztompka (Poland) convincingly showed the advantages of the dialectico-materialistic approach to the construction of methodology in science. Also of interest were the reports by American Marxist. R. Cohen concerning

the problems of a materialistic interpretation of scientific theories and a Danish Marxist H. Jensen on the theme "Marx, Mathematics and Materialism".

In keeping with the key theme of the Congress, the problems of mathematicisation of scientific knowledge were extensively discussed in Section 6. Various aspects of this problem were touched upon in the papers by V. Gott (USSR), I. Zapletal (Czechoslovakia), M. Popovich (USSR), E. McMullin (USA), L. Bazhenov (USSR) and others. In his paper I. Novik (USSR) analysed the epistemological possibilities of constructing models of global development and made an attempt to summarise the experience of Soviet scholars in the field of global modelling. The classical problems of methodology of science also commanded the attention of scholars at the sessions of Section 6, namely, the structure of scientific theories (B. Chendov, Bulgaria); methods of formalisation of scientific knowledge (V. Kurayev, USSR); forms of subject's activity when constructing scientific knowledge (G. Klimaszewsky, the GDR); methods of idealisation in scientific research (D. Gorsky, USSR); methods of interdisciplinary research (C. Mare, Rumania); problems of the synthesis of sciences (G. Kovács, Hungary) and others.

Sections 8 through 12 dealt with philosophical and methodological problems of a number of sciences. These Sections differed to a great extent from one another both in the number of papers read and in the depth of the problems touched upon. For instance, 30 papers were delivered in the Section on the Foundations and Philosophy of the Physical Sciences, whereas only 8 reports were made in the Section on Foundations and Philosophy of Biology which, of course, in no way meets the need existing in biology to elucidate its methodological foundations. The cardinal issues of the theory and methodology of contemporary physics, namely, the problem of irreversibility in theoretical physics, the use of the probability theory in classical and quantum physics and the interconnection of mathematics and theoretical physics were dealt with in the papers by A. Grecos (Belgium), Yu. Sachkov (USSR) and E. Bellone (Italy). During the discussion emphasis was made on current research in the field of quantum logic (R. Born, Austria; P. Mittelstaedt, FRG and others). I. Akchurin (USSR) put forward an interesting idea about a new type of complementarity in physics—the complementarity of topology and logic. In his paper D. Shapere (USA) summed up the discussion which had been going on in Western literature for nearly two decades about the structure of scientific revolutions. J. Pinkava (Czechoslovakia) touched upon the relation between the theoretical and empirical levels of research in physical chemistry. Of great interest among the papers about the philosophical foundations of biology were those by A. Woodfield (Britain) concerning the problems of teleological explanation in biology and by A. Lindenmayer and N. Simon (the Netherlands) which dealt with the possibility of genetics reduction to molecular biology.

The topical problems of cognitive psychology (B. Velichkovsky, USSR) and psychological criticism of behaviourism (D. Follesdal, Norway and N. Block, USA) figured prominently among the

philosophico-methodological problems of psychology discussed at the Congress. In his paper Academician B. Kedrov (USSR) put forward a model comprising three units in an analysis of scientific and technological creative work (psychology, history, logic). In the Section on the Foundations and Philosophy of the Social Sciences, the analysis of methodological principles of the construction of economic-mathematical models (E. Malinvaud, France; P. Hammond, Britain) deserved particular consideration. In their papers the Soviet scholars V. Kelle, E. Markaryan and A. Starchenko outlined the basic principles of a Marxist approach to the social sciences; specifically, they analysed the problem of the relationship between science and society, the problem of the local variety of cultures, and presented a model of a functional analysis of the category "conviction". The results of the elaboration of game-theoretical pragmatics presented at the Congress by the Finnish scholars J. Hintikka and E. Saarinen were among the most interesting topics raised at the Section on the Philosophical Foundations of Linguistics.

Section 13, like Section 6, was one of the most representative at the Congress. V. Lektorsky (USSR) showed in his paper the relationship between science and the epistemology of science as regards historical development. M. Finocchiaro (USA) tried to single out the range of methodological problems of the historiography of science. During the symposium on G. Frege, held within this Section, Ch. Thiel (FRG) gave an account of the development of mathematical logic from Leibniz to Frege, and I. Angelelli (USA) analysed Frege's notion "value". The paper read by V. Sadovsky (USSR) concerned with the methodological features of systems studies showed the long-term employment of the ideas of systems approach and the general theory of systems for the development of problems of scientific methodology. K. Berka (Czechoslovakia) made an interesting report "Bolzano's Lehre von den Wahrscheinlichkeitsschlüssen". A. Grigoryan and V. Kirsanov (USSR) analysed the role of mathematics in the evolution of classical mechanics. S. Surma (Poland), R. Dipert (USA), H. Barreau (France) and others presented a number of new findings on the development of the history of mathematical logic. The problems of the choice in the historiography of science were dealt with by L. Markova (USSR), and the role of the notion "images of science" for the philosophical study of science—by N. Yulina (USSR).

The paper by P. Suppes (USA) aroused great interest during the discussion of ethical problems of science in Section 14. P. Suppes put forward rational methods for the allocation of resources to scientific research. B. Yudin (USSR) outlined a Marxist approach to the analysis of ethical problems of science in his paper published in the *Congress Abstracts*. The paper by S. Stich (Britain) contained an analysis of the ethical aspects of genetic engineering.

At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Division of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science held during the Congress, J. Łoś (Poland) was elected President of the Division for 1979 to 1983. The Council of the Division included two more representatives from the socialist countries—

V. Smirnov (USSR) and K. Berka (Czechoslovakia).

Assessing the Congress as a whole and, first and foremost, its philosophical significance, we can say that it pointed to the profound crisis which the methodology of neo-positivism as well as the K. Popper's concept of the growth of scientific knowledge are currently undergoing. Most popular with Western scholars, as the Congress showed, are the ideas of "scientific realism", the historical school in the methodology of science, etc. The dialectico-materialistic theory seems to be the only consistent concept of logic and methodology of science outlined at the Congress. The problems of this theory were dealt with at each session and generated keen interest among the participants.

V. Sadovsky

CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTIONS OF LAW

From August 26 to September 2, 1979, Basel, Switzerland, was the venue of the 9th World Congress on Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy. The congress was devoted to the 70th anniversary of the International Association for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy (IVR) which sponsored the congress. It was attended by over 400 scholars from more than 40 countries of Europe, North and South America, Asia, Africa and Australia.

The general theme on the agenda "Contemporary Conceptions of Law" was divided into the following four sub-themes: I. Analytical Jurisprudence; II. Oriental Theories of Law; III. Marxist Theory of Law; IV. Natural Law.

The work of the congress was carried on at two general sessions (opening and closing), at plenary and special sessions on the four sub-themes, as well as at sessions of six work groups on overlapping themes (structure of the legal norm and the legal order and juridical argumentation; the law and social reality; standards preceding the law: moral, justice, human rights; present trends and individual points of view; the fundamental principles of law: philosophical aspects of particular problems of law). Altogether more than 150 papers were heard.

Speakers on Theme I (Analytical Jurisprudence) focused on the present state and prospects of development of the juridical-positivist approach to law, on the methods of investigating positive law and related tasks. The following problems were touched upon in this connection: analytical jurisprudence and its place in the system of modern doctrines of law; formalism of legal norms and juridical operationalism; methods of juridical experiment; paradigm (pattern, model) of legal dogma; analytical interpretation and its relation to the problem of values; standardisation and formalisation in law with a view to its automatised application.

During discussion of this theme Marxist scholars, while noting the usefulness of technico-legal investigations, of studying operating normative acts, legal logic and current legislation at the same time subjected to a principled criticism the positivist philosophical principles and ideological and political positions of Western analytical jurisprudence. They emphasised

the untenability of the separation of jurisprudence from analysis of a broad range of social, political and ideological problems. A number of analytical jurisprudence's initiatory ideas and conceptions were criticised also by representatives of natural law.

Besides, the papers of some of the Western scholars, who on the whole took a positive attitude to analytical jurisprudence, contained remarks levelled at legal positivism and neopositivism. Doubts were voiced regarding the possibility, ideologically, of a "neutral" analytical interpretation of the law, and the need was stressed to step beyond the narrow framework of legal dogma and turn to problems of socio-political reality, to study not only what is due but what is a fact in the context of legal phenomena. In this connection the view was expressed that it was essential to take account of the value features in law, traditionally rejected by adherents of juridical positivism as being a tribute to "metaphysics" and natural law.

Dissatisfaction with the existing state of analytical jurisprudence was also clearly manifested in the quest for a philosophical base for the new integral conception of law, designed to overcome the one-sidedness of the former premises of legal positivism.

The papers on Theme II (Oriental Theories of Law) centred attention on the role of traditions in the contemporary doctrines and legal sources of the Afro-Asian countries (in particular in China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan). A number of papers were devoted entirely to the influence of Islam and other religious-ethical trends on contemporary law and political life. The ensuing discussion underscored the significance of decolonisation and of the progressive socio-economic and political transformations for the development of law and jurisprudence.

A large number of problems were examined under theme IV (Natural Law). The papers on this subject were, on the one hand, polemically directed to some extent against a whole number of legal-positivist tenets and, on the other hand, showed a desire to somehow modernise the essence, aims, methodological, ideological and theoretical arsenal of traditional natural law. In the debates against the formalism of the "pure" doctrine of law and other positivist conceptions the proponents of natural law interpreted "natural law" as designating all non-positivist legal theories. They emphasised the importance of studying the actual phenomena of social and political life for understanding the evolution and operation of law, of supplementing rational-logical methods of legal positivism by universal moral values, the ideas of humaneness and justice with which operating positive law (legislation, legal precedents, common law, etc.), must accord.

Regarding the modernisation of the natural-law doctrine its proponents spoke of the functional conception of natural law, of normative falsification (i.e., special method of verifying the truth of norms) as a new "natural-law" method of jurisprudence, of the interpretation of natural law as historical law, of prognostication functions of the natural-law approach, etc. A number of papers reflected the tendency towards synthesising the ideas of analytical jurisprudence and natural law, and, accordingly, substantiating the

premises about overcoming the "natural law or legal positivism" dilemma, about the "bridge" linking these doctrines, about the new theoretico-methodological position "at the other side of natural and positive law", and so on.

Discussion of Theme III (Marxist Theory of Law) figured prominently in the work of the Congress. The main paper on this theme, "The Marxist Conception of the Essence of Law" was read by Vice-President of IVR, D. Kerimov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Describing in depth the main theoretico-methodological and sociopolitical aspects of the Marxist-Leninist conception, he showed the dialectico-materialist conception of class and state will as the principal category in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the essence of law and its role in the life of society.

In his paper "The Correlation Between Law and Legal Order: the History of Legal Doctrines and the Present" V. Nersesyants, D.Sc. (Law) of the USSR, noted that the Marxist conception of the correlation between law and legal order (legislation) includes knowledge of the mechanism of the objective conditionality of legal phenomena and the reasons for law-making. It is directed against voluntarism in the interpretation of legislation, against basically idealistic notions of legal positivism, metaphysical and antihistorical ideas of "eternal" and "immutable" natural law.

The Congress also heard the following papers by Soviet scholars: V. Tumanov—"Natural Law and Legal Positivism as Assessed by Marxism"; G. Maltsev—"The Historical Development of Law"; B. Topornin—"Soviet Constitutional Theory"; V. Laptev—"The Conception of Legal Regulation of the Economy in Developed Socialist Society"; V. Kazimirchuk—"Legal Sociology: Object, Structure and Functions"; L. Mamut—"Legal Relations as an Element of Legal Understanding".

Various aspects of the Marxist doctrine of law were comprehensively dealt with also in papers by scholars from the European socialist countries, among them: Professors V. Peschka (Hungary), A. Lopatka (Poland), W. Weichelt, H. Klenner, and K. Mollnau (all from the GDR), N. Ananiyeva (Bulgaria), K. Fabian (Czechoslovakia) and others.

Among the many delegates who took the floor in the debate on Theme III, were W. Maihofer, V. Peter, W. Schild, Ch. Schefold and W. Krawietz (all from the FRG), E. Kamenka (Australia), A. Utz (Switzerland), O. Weinberger (Austria), and R. George (USA).

In the course of the debate Marxist scholars subjected to well-reasoned criticism some distorted ideas expressed by delegates from the West regarding the Marxist-Leninist theory of law and socialist state-legal practice. In particular they showed the untenability of the theses voiced that Marxist legal theory is allegedly only a modification and a variant of natural law, and about the "idealistic" character of the Marxist approach to law and the "dogmatism" of current theoretical studies of law in the socialist countries, and much else in this vein.

In reply to the critical remarks made by some of the Western researchers the Marxist scholars elucidated the democratic character of socialist law and how it reflected the will and interests of the masses,

the variety of forms and ways in which the people participate in the drafting of legislative acts, the implementation of established norms and in the maintenance of law and order. The Soviet scholars dwelt particularly on the close interlinking of current theoretico-legal studies in the USSR with the tasks of putting into effect the provisions of the new Constitution of the USSR on the further strengthening of the legal foundation of public and state life in the country.

On the whole, the discussion on the congress' four themes demonstrated both the enhanced role of Marxist legal theory in the contemporary world and the heightened interest in it of scholars of various trends and schools.

The congress set up the IVR principal bodies. P. Trappe was elected the new President of IVR, A. Utz—Honorary President, P. Müller-Schmid—Secretary-General (all from Switzerland), D. Kerimov (USSR), G. Dorsey (USA), D. Raphael (Britain) and M. Reale (Brazil)—Vice-Presidents.

It was decided to hold the 10th Congress in 1981 in Mexico.

V. Nersesyants

A FORUM OF LITERARY COMPARATIVISTS

The 9th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) held in Innsbruck, Austria, in August 1979 was attended by some 500 scholars from 36 countries. A Soviet delegation of 13 literary scholars was headed by Pyotr Palievsky. In recent years the ICLA has become one of the most influential international associations of literary researchers, and its congresses have become forums at which many major problems of contemporary literary study are discussed. These forums mirror a tangible aspiration to broaden the possibilities for the comparative study of literatures by way of developing methods and techniques of analysis. This was vividly demonstrated at the 9th Congress of the ICLA as well.

After the inaugural ceremony R. Mortier of Belgium, the ICLA President, made a report at the plenary session, entitled: "An Age of Comparative Literary Study: Achievements and Perspectives". The Belgian scholar summed up the development of the comparative study of literatures and dwelt upon the possibilities of further expanding the sphere of comparative studies. The same session heard the reports "Literature and Literary" by R. Wellek (USA) and "Classical Literature, Classicism, 'Inhumane Classics' and Humanism" by H. Rüdiger (FRG). The main work was carried out by four panels each discussing one of the four themes of the Congress: "Literary Communication and Reception", "Classical Models in Literature", "Literature and Other Arts" and "The Evolution of the Novel". In addition the Congress had working groups dealing with the literatures of Asia, Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, comparative literary study and teaching, the theory of literary translation, and reviews for comparative literature as well as for students of comparative literature.

The Soviet scholars read 10 pap-

ers: *on the first panel*—"Translation as a Means of Literary Communication" by P. .Toper; *on the second panel*—"The Lasting Greek Heritage: Rhetorical Framework as Synthesis of Traditionalism and Reflexion" by S. Averintsev; "The General and the Specific in 'Classical' Tendencies of Armenian Literature" by E. Djrbashyan and "The Classical Norm in Arabic Poetry of the 8th to 10th Centuries" by A. Kudelin; *on the fourth panel*—"Analysis and Synthesis in Contemporary Prose" by Yu. Bogdanov; "From Oral to Written Literature (a case study of the literatures of the peoples of the USSR with recent systems of writing)" by B. Kirdan; "The Novel of the First and Second World Wars in Western Europe and the USA" by M. Koreneva; "Fairytale and Legendary Plot and the Contemporary Vietnamese Novel" by N. Nikulin; "A Drastic Turn in the Disputes about the Future of the Novel" by E. Trushchenko and "The Historical Novel in the Literatures of the Western and Southern Slavs" by S. Sherlaimova. The Chairman of this panel was Palievsky (USSR). There were no Soviet papers read on the third panel. The papers by the Soviet scholars evoked keen interest and, as a rule, caused animated discussion.

Many reports made by foreign participants featured an apt combination of the analysis of concrete historical and literary material with a broad theoretical approach. Somewhat discordant with them were the papers read by those participants who represented various structuralistic schools. Their reports were characterised, as a rule, by schematism with historical and literary factors buried in oblivion.

In the focus of attention on the first panel were the problems of literary contacts and the relationship of literatures, translation being considered as one of its major aspects. As is known, translation brings literary works within the reach of people speaking different languages, and this factor, as many scholars underscored, enhances its role in modern world. Theoretical aspects of perception were dealt with, in particular, in the paper delivered by M. Naumann (GDR) in which the author attributed a decisive role in the character of perception to historical and social factors. Also extensively discussed were the problem of perception of individual works, creative work of writers or the literature of whole nations in other countries as reflected in criticism, theatrical productions, etc. Emphasis was made on both national and international problems or those common to the entire world literary process as, for example, in the paper "Eugene O'Neill and the European Connection" by H. Frenz (USA) devoted to the productions of the American writer's plays on European stage in the 1920s and their evaluation by European critics.

The papers read on the second panel were devoted to the following themes: classical tradition and modern evolution, "classical" currents and tendencies, classicism and values, classical norms, comparative literature and stylistic research, etc. It seems to me that not all the questions discussed on this panel were properly solved. For example, the notion "classic literature" was not eventually elucidated. In a majority of reports it was actually understood "classicistically", i.e., as a synonym of the Greco-Roman tradition, as it were. Only a few speakers raised the question of autochthonal classical norm of Asian literatures. At the same time, in the final discussion a number of scholars attributed to the European classical literature such works essentially alien to any norm as the prose by Marquis de Sade. At times, the image of Greco-Roman literature was a pretext for rather arbitrary interpretations and deductions. Interesting observations were made during the discussion of the Greco-Roman tradition when attention was focused on clear-cut concrete problems of rhetorical characterology, as in the paper "The Notion of 'Character' and its Evolution after Theophrastus" by L. van Delft of Canada, or of rhetorical metaphorism as in the paper "The Use of Comparisons in Historical Baroque Poetry" by M. Beller of Italy, or of plot development and composition, as in the paper "A Consideration of 'The Golden Ass' as the Precursor to Modern Picaresque Literature" by J. Ricapito of the USA on the basis of a comparison with the early Spanish novel of this genre.

The paper by J. Dietrichson of Norway convincingly showed the role of an author's world-view as the decisive factor in embodying a fact of life in an artistic image based on the comparison of images created in literature over three centuries. On the whole, the work on this panel confirmed the fact that the problems of tradition, classical norm, perception and continuity are among the most topical ones. The task of the immediate future seems to be that of giving a consistent substantiated classification of the types of traditionalism not only on the basis of European but also Eastern material.

The work of the third panel was devoted to the interaction and relationship between literature and other arts—painting, music and cinema. The scholars were attracted not only by the opportunity to make concrete parallels linking literature with other arts, but also by raising theoretical questions defining the purposefulness of similar comparisons and helping to elucidate the place of literature among the other arts.

Particularly animated were the sittings of the fourth panel which discussed such major problems as the novel and history, aspects of narration, the novel and the myth, and the novel and mass culture. In this respect it is worth singling out the informative report "The Novel, Social Changes, the Culture of the Masses" by B. Köpeczi of Hungary in which he differentiated "the culture of the masses" from "culture for the masses" which is essential for understanding the processes taking place in contemporary literature and art. Drawing on rich material, the author convincingly showed the changes in the comprehension of literature (including classic literature) which are occurring in socialist society characterised by the upswing of social and cultural activity on the part of the working people. B. Rouse of the USA in his paper "Genesis, Mimesis and Clio: History and the Novel, the Novel as History" underscored the necessity of singling out three types of novels, namely, the historical novel (W. Scott, J. F. Cooper); the novel as history, mirroring the social life of its time (H. de Balzac, H. James); the novel as a cultural and historical event of its time—from *Tom Jones* by H. Fielding to some novels by L. Tolstoy and

F. Dostoyevsky, *Ulysses* by J. Joyce and *À la Recherche du temps perdu* by M. Proust.

Various aspects of the development of the 20th century novel were analysed on the example of concrete works of contemporary authors in the papers "The Genealogical Novel: a Genre of the 20th Century" by M. Halász (Hungary); "Fiction of the First World War and the Problem of Criticism" by H. Klein (Great Britain); "A New Way of Dealing with History in Fiction: Ernst von Salomon's *Der Fragebogen*" by S. Hoefert of Canada; "The Historicizing of Contemporaneity in the Novels by Hermann Kant and Christa Wolf" by E. Simons (GDR) and "The Historical Novel in Contemporary Literature of the Western Slavs" by H. Janaszek-Ivaničková (Poland).

Most of the participants were convinced of the need to combine meaningful and aesthetic criteria in literary analysis.

A new Bureau of the ICLA was elected at the final plenary session and E. Kushner of Canada became the new President of the ICLA, and Yu. Vipper, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, one of the Vice-Presidents. It was decided to convene the 10th Congress of the ICLA in 1982 in New York.

M. Koreneva

CHRONICLE

* The *11th Conference of the Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries* was held in Tallinn. Taking part were delegates of the Academies of Sciences of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR, of the National Scientific Research Centre and the Committee for the Social Sciences of Vietnam, and observers from the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the CMEA Secretariat.

The participants welcomed the National Scientific Research Centre and the Committee for the Social Sciences of Vietnam joining the Convention on Multilateral Scientific Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries of December 15, 1971, and expressed their confidence that participation of Vietnamese scholars in multilateral scientific cooperation would contribute to the development of science in Vietnam and the collaboration and friendship of the peoples of the socialist community.

The conference discussed and approved the results of the multilateral cooperation of the Academies in 1978-1979 and endorsed the programme of scientific collaboration for the period between 1981 and 1985. The delegates then debated the report on the activities of the International Information System for the Social Sciences (IISSS).

It was decided that the 12th Conference of the Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries would be held in 1981 in Czechoslovakia.

* At the regular *Meeting of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission for Cooperation in Social Sciences*, held in Moscow, the Soviet delegation was headed by Academician E. Primakov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Indian delegation by Professor R. Kothary, Chairman of the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

The participants reviewed the results of cooperation over the past two years, expressed their satisfaction with what had beed achieved and mapped out a comprehensive programme of cooperation for 1980-1981. The programme provides for exchange of published materials of mutual interest; exchange of publications specially prepared under the auspices of the commission; exchange of visits by scholars; joint research; organisation of symposiums, seminars and workshops groups.

The following symposiums and seminars will be held within the framework of the cooperation programme: "Problems of World Economic and Political Order", "Interface Between Literature and Society", "Marxism, Society and Social Change", "Problems of Migration in the Process of Urbanisation", "Socio-Economic Determinants of Agricultural Productivity", "Changes in the Structure of Rural Society in India and Russia in the 19th Century", "Ancient Civilisations in India and in the Territories of the USSR: Problems of Economic and Social Organisation of Society", "Man and Nature: Philosophical Implications", and others.

* An *enlarged session of the Central Council of Methodological Seminars under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences* was held in Moscow with the aim of discussing ways and means to improve work of the methodological (philosophical) seminars in the research centres and higher educational institutions in the light of the CC CPSU Decision "On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Educational Work".

In his opening speech, Academician P. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR AS, emphasised that these seminars are highly effective for developing the methodology of science, and for consolidating ties between philosophy and concrete sciences. The participants heard and discussed the report delivered by Academician Yu. Ovchinnikov, Vice-President of the USSR AS and Chairman of the Central Council. Taking part in the debate were Academicians N. Blokhin, J. Gvishiani, I. Glebov, other scholars and Party workers. Academician A. Alexandrov, President of the USSR AS, addressing the audience laid stress on the important role of the methodological seminars in tackling comprehensive problems of modern science.

* Nearly 400 scholars from more than 20 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR, attended the *13th International Hegel Congress* in Belgrade. Its theme was "Hegel's Concept of Identity, Difference and Contradiction".

The Soviet participants read the following papers: "The Marxist-Leninist Critique of Abstract Identity" (Academician M. Mitin); "Dialectical Identity and the Problem of Personality" (T. Oizerman, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS); and "From Difference to Dissonance" (Professor I. Narsky).

This review covers the events of August-October 1979.

The next Hegel Congress will be held in 1981 in Mexico City.

* Participating in the *International School of Logic and Scientific Methodology* held in Erice, Sicily, on the theme "The Category of Finality in Science" were about 50 scholars from the FRG, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the USSR.

A wide range of problems related to the history of teleological thinking and to the modern scientific interpretation of teleonomy, goal-oriented and purposeful behaviour. The Soviet scholar V. Sadovsky, D.Sc. (Philos.), gave a lecture on purposeful behaviour and teleological explanation in the general systems theory. He also attended 8th Congress of the International Association of Professors of Philosophy on "The Specific Task of Philosophy in Schools and Universities", held early in November in Venice.

* An *international conference on "Ethics, Social Cognition, Moral Behaviour"* was held in Varna, Bulgaria, with nearly 50 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Vietnam taking part.

The conference was opened by Academician S. Ganovsky, Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The main papers were read by St. Angelov (Bulgaria) and Z. Szawarski (Poland) on "Methodological Problems of Ethical Cognition", J. Lick (Hungary) on "The Personality as an Object of Ethical Study", R. Miller (GDR) on "Ethical Cognition and Social Practice" and L. Arkhangelsky (USSR) on "A Comprehensive Approach in Moral Education".

* Over 100 young scholars from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the USSR attended an *international philosophical seminar on "The Youth and Social Progress"* held in Kishinev, USSR, under the auspices of the Central Committee of the All-Union Young Communist League, and the Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS.

The following papers were delivered and discussed: "Social Progress and Problems of the Harmonious Development of the Youth Under Socialism" (L. Buyeva); "The Socialist Cultural Progress and the Tasks of Communist Education of the Youth" (A. Arnoldov); "Value Orientations of the Youth in the Socialist Society" (I. Levykin); "Internationalist and Patriotic Education of the Youth in the Socialist Community Countries" (A. Sertsova); "The Young People's Self-Assertion in Life: Problems of Research" (M. Titma); "Perfection of the Young People's Socialist Way of Life" (N. Blinov); "The Shaping of Progressive Trends in the International Youth Movement Today" (P. Reshetov) and "The Critique of Bourgeois and Revisionist Falsifications of the Problem of Continuity of Generations in the Socialist Society" (G. Karpov).

* Budapest was the venue of the *Soviet-Hungarian Symposium on Modal and Intensional Logic* sponsored by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and by the Department of Logic, Eötvös Loránd University.

The seminar was opened by speeches of L. Erdei, Head of the Department of Logic of the Eötvös Loránd University, J. Lukács, Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian AS, and D. Gorsky, head of the Soviet delegation.

Hungarian scholars read the following papers: "From Frege to Modern Intensional Logic" and "Formal Pragmatics from a Philosophical Point of View" (A. Madarasz), "A New Approach to Modal Logic" and "International Logic Without Intensional Variables" (I. Ruzsa); "Deontic Logic in Practice" (K. Solt); "Natural Language Modelling in the Works of R. Montague" (A. Szabolczi) and "A Modified Semantics for Modal Propositional Logic" (A. Bárd).

Soviet scholars presented papers: "New Operators in Tense Logic" (V. Smirnov) and "Relevant Logic Systems and Their Unclassical Extensions" (E. Sidorenko).

* An *All-Union School for Young Philosophers on "The Materialist Dialectics as the General Theory of Development"* was held in Gurzuf (Crimea, USSR) with 140 participants attending.

The following papers were read at the plenary session: "The Main Directions of the All-Union Young Communist League's Work with Young Scholars in the Humanities" (Yu. Sukharev); "Dialectics and the Development of Scientific World Outlook" (V. Shinkaruk); "The Problem of Development as an Integrated Problem" (Yu. Sachkov); and "The Conception of Development and the Problems of Dialectics in Modern Bourgeois Philosophy" (A. Bogomolov).

Then the work of the school proceeded in panels: "The Universal Laws and Forms of Development", "Dialectics of the Development of Knowledge", "The Problem of Development in Natural Science", "Dialectics of Social Development", "The Critique of Modern Idealistic Dialectics" and "Dialectics of the Creative Process" where about 20 papers of Soviet leading philosophers were submitted.

* An *All-Union Scientific Conference to Mark the 70th Anniversary of the Publication of V. I. Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism"* was held in Moscow under the auspices of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education, the Philosophical Society of the USSR and the Moscow State University. More than 150 papers and communications were presented on the topical problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

* A *scientific session on "The Origins of the Second World War"* sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow was opened by its Vice-President, Academician P. Fedoseyev.

The following main papers were submitted by Soviet scholars: "The Origin of the Second World War" (Academician E. Zhukov), "Fascism—Imperialism's Striking Force in the Unleashing of the Second World War" (Corresponding Member of the USSR AS P. Zhilin) and "The USSR in the Struggle to Avert the Second World War" (Corresponding Member of the USSR AS S. Tikhvinsky).

The participants heard 25 communications by Soviet and foreign historians including those by B. Aahslund (Sweden), R. Bourderon and F. Gambiez (France), M. Fătu and L. Loghin (Rumania),

O. Groehler and O. Marx (GDR), A. Hadri and V. Strugar (Yugoslavia), M. Lappalainen (Finland), C. Madajczyk (Poland), Nguyen Khanh Toan and Pham Cuan Nam (Vietnam), V. Peša (Czechoslovakia), B. Ramelson (United Kingdom), B. Shirendyb (Mongolia), V. Toshkova (Bulgaria). The results of the session's proceedings were summed up by Academician Yu. Bromley.

* An *international conference of the historians of the working-class movement* held in Linz, Austria, was attended by more than 120 scholars from 25 countries, including Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. "Social and Political Changes in the International Arena by the End of the First World War, and the Working-Class Movement (1917-1920, approximately)" and "Problems of the Critical Approach to Source Materials in Preparation for the Publication of Complete Works by Prominent Figures of the Working-Class Movement" were the keynote themes at the conference. Soviet scholars A. Malysh, I. Undasynov and K. Shirinya presented papers and communications on both themes.

* A *scientific session to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the German Democratic Republic* was organised in Moscow by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU. Participating in the session were scholars from the GDR.

Cooperation between the USSR and the GDR was emphasised as a major factor facilitating the development of the world socialist system, the creative use of Marxism-Leninism and the CPSU's experience in the activities of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the consolidation of the GDR's international positions.

The participants discussed the joint endeavour in the publication of the 100-volume collected works of K. Marx and F. Engels. Reports were made by Academician A. Rumyantsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS O. Bogomolov and Professor V. Fomin—of the Soviet Union, and Vice-President of the GDR AS, Academician W. Kalweit, Professor H. Hümmler and Professor H. Gemkov—of the German Democratic Republic.

* Societies of classical studies from 43 countries, including Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia, took part in the *7th Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies (FIEC).* Some 560 delegates and almost as many guests attended.

Sixty-two papers and 54 communications on various problems of history, literary science, linguistics, philosophy, archaeology and ancient art were delivered. Three sections—"Archaic Greece Between 650 and 550 B.C.", "The Mediterranean World in the Hellenistic Age" and "The End of the Roman Empire", as well as panels "Duty and Pleasure in Ancient Thought and Life", "Studia Mycenaea" and "Papyrological Novelties"—worked at the congress.

The Soviet delegation, headed by E. Golubtsova, D.Sc. (Hist.), consisted of 20 scholars specialising in ancient history and classical philology. They submitted the following papers: "The Right of Ownership and Right of Possession of Land in the Inscriptions of Hellenistic Asia Minor" (E. Golubtsova), "The End of Slavery in the Roman Empire" (E. Staerman), "Duty and Pleasure in Everyday Life According to Euripides and Menander" (V. Yarkho), "About the Greek Influence on Ancient Italic Script, the 7th-4th Centuries B.C." (B. Khodorkovskaya) and "On Aegean-Caucasian Relations in the Second Millennium B.C." (R. Gordeziani). The next, 8th Congress of the FIEC is scheduled to be held in 1984 in Helsinki.

* Nearly 350 delegates from 35 countries, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia among them, took part in the *9th International Numismatic Congress* in Bern.

Besides plenary sessions, where four main lectures were delivered by L. Robert (France), W. Metcalf (USA), R. Kiernowski (Poland) and H. Eichhorn (FRG), the work of the congress proceeded mainly in the following sections: primitive forms of money; coins in the history of their time; coins and art history (iconography); coins and art history (portraits); coins and economic history; money circulation; coin finds and coin hoards; minting technology and coin production; medals; new methods of research. Some 140 papers and communications were heard.

The Soviet researchers submitted papers "The Use of Coins in Ancient Rus. Economic and Ethnographic Aspects of the Problem" (V. Potin) and "Graffiti on Oriental Coins" (I. Dobrovolsky). Taking part in the congress was V. Yanin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS.

* The *2nd Methodological Conference of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR)* in Warsaw was sponsored by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Society for the Study of Religions. It was attended by scholars from 12 countries, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and the USSR included.

The participants concentrated on the following problems: the definition of the subject of research and the relation of the study of religions to other social sciences; the impact of social changes on the history of religions; sociological analysis of individual religious systems (Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism); the significance of literary sources on the history of religions.

The basic paper was delivered by Professor A. Nowicki, President of the Polish Society for the Study of Religions. The Soviet scholars presented the following papers: "The 'Rebellious Church' in Latin America at the Present Stage" (I. Grigulevich, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS), "Religious Traditions and the Problem of the Mobilisation of Popular Masses in the Developing Countries" (Professor L. Polonskaya) and "Religious Faith and Social Development" (Professor V. Garadzha).

Marxist methodology in the study of the history of religions was dealt with in the papers submitted by Polish scholars M. Nowaczyk, Z. Poniatowski and W. Tyloch. Of interest were communications by K. Adamus-Darczewska (Poland), V. Lanternari (Italy), J. Waarden-

burg (Netherlands), H. Penner (USA).

The discussion revealed various approaches to the study of the history of religions that are current in the West. Some scholars widely used the term "phenomenology of religion" and insisted on the autonomy of religion, on its being isolated from social, economic and political changes (e.g., U. Bianchi of Italy). This view was opposed by scholars from socialist countries who advanced the idea of the dependence of the history of religions on the socio-economic development and class differentiation of society.

The idea of the autonomy of religions and their indifference to politics was not supported by several Western scholars (Lanternari, Waardenburg and others). Some of the scholars argued that there were no difference in the formation of atheistic outlook in the socialist and capitalist countries. Some Western scholars displayed a vivid interest in the studies of religions in the USSR.

Concluding the conference, J. Kitagawa (USA), Vice-President of the IAHR, expressed satisfaction with the active participation of Soviet scholars who were attending for the first time the forum of this international association.

* Scholars from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR took part in the *international symposium of historians-Africanists of socialist countries on "The History of the National Liberation Movement in Africa: the Problem of Leadership (Approach to the Question and Concrete Studies)"* held in Leipzig.

The main papers—"Guidance of the National Liberation Movement in Africa: Some Problems" and "On the History of the National Liberation Movement in Africa: Problems of Leadership. Some Theoretical and Methodological as well as Historical Aspects"—were delivered by A. Pegushev of the USSR and Th. Büttner of the GDR, respectively. Three Soviet researchers submitted the following papers: "On the Role of Leaders in the History of the National Liberation Movement in Rhodesia. The End of the 19th Century—1965" (N. Ksenofontova), "Lamine Senghor, the Organiser of the Anticolonial Struggle" (A. Letnev) and "The Factor of Leadership in the National Liberation Movement as Exampled by the Protectorate of Uganda" (Yu. Lukonin). All in all, 20 papers were heard at the symposium.

* A *jubilee session of the Commission of the Historians of the USSR and the GDR to mark the 30th anniversary of the formation of the GDR* was held in Moscow jointly with the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR.

The following papers were read: "Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR and the GDR" by P. Zhilin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, "The Historic Significance of the Formation of the German Democratic Republic" by H. Bartel, Director of the Central Institute of the History of the GDR AS, and "Berlin After the Victory Over Fascism" by Major-General A. Kotikov, former Soviet Military Commandant of Berlin.

* Baltimore, USA, was the venue of the *American-Soviet conference on the use of quantitative methods and computers in historical research.*

The participants discussed the following papers submitted by Soviet scholars in which the methodological and theoretical principles of application of quantitative analysis in historical science were formulated: "Models in Historical Processes and Phenomena" (I. Kovalchenko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, head of the Soviet delegation); "Quantitative Methods in Research on Russian Agrarian History at the Turn of the 20th Century" (N. Selunskaya, I. Kovalchenko); "Quantitative Methods in Research on Soviet Pre-Collective Farm Peasantry" (Yu. Bokarev); "Quantitative Methods in Research on Soviet Working Class and Intelligentsia" (V. Drobizhev, E. Pivovar); "Quantitative Methods in Research on Socio-Cultural Processes in the USSR" (Yu. Arutyunyan); "Some Opportunities for Using Cartographical Analysis in Research on Socio-Economic Processes" (J. Kahk, M. Remmel).

The American side was represented by T. Rabb (head of the delegation), K. Konzen, P. David, C. Goldin, C. Griffin, M. Hammarberg, D. Lindstrom, D. Smith, R. Swierenga and M. Vinovskis. The American scholars noted that Soviet historiography had accumulated a positive experience in the elaboration of the theory of application of quantitative analysis in humanitarian research as well as in the improvement of processing mass historical data with the help of computer techniques.

After the conference, Soviet scholars visited a number of major research centres, including Indiana, Harvard and Columbia Universities, University of Pennsylvania, Michigan State University and University of Chicago, where historical and historico-demographical investigations were carried out with the use of quantitative methods and data machine-processing.

At the next meeting, which is to be held in the Soviet Union, American historians' papers will be discussed.

* Scholars from Canada, the USA and the USSR took part in the *Conference on Russian America* in Sitka, Alaska, sponsored by the American Historical Association and the Wilson Centre of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies.

The participants discussed six themes: little-known bibliographic and archival materials on Russian America; the Russian-American Company and the Imperial Government; economic foundations of Russian America; architecture and everyday life in Russian America; relations with the indigenous population; Russian America and international relations.

The Russian scholars submitted seven papers: "On the Peopling of North Asia and America and the Problem of Correlating the Monuments of the Late Palaeolithic Age" (A. Derevyanko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS); "Russian America and International Relations in the 18th-first half of the 19th Centuries" (N. Bolkhovitinov); "Relations of the Russian-American Company with the Indigenous Population" (R. Lyapunova); "Relations Between the Tsarist Government and the Russian-American Company in 1857-1867" (A. Martynov); "How the Russians Became Interested in the 'Unknown' Shores of the North-West of America: From the History of the Russian Geographical Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean in the 17th-18th Centuries"

(B. Polevoy); "Documents on Alaska and the Russian-American Company in G. V. Yudin's Collection" (A. Preobrazhensky); and "Russian America in the Private Archival Collections of the Russian-American Company's Officials" (S. Fyodorova).

* About 50 scholars met at a *Finnish-Soviet symposium of historians* held in Helsinki. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician E. Zhukov, the Finnish delegation was led by Professor T. Polvinen.

The participants discussed three themes: "Peasant Movements in Russia and Finland in the 16th-17th Centuries" (main speakers—V. Koretsky of the USSR and H. Julikangas of Finland), "Economic Ties between Russia and Finland, and the First World War" (main speakers—V. Bovykin of the USSR and E. Pihkala of Finland), "Cultural Ties Between Finland and Russia (the USSR) in the 20th Century" (main reporters—Academician M. Kim and L. Ingulskaya of the USSR and A. Reitala of Finland).

* A *conference on "The Grants Economy and Collective Consumption"* sponsored by the International Economic Association was held in Cambridge, England. Taking part in it were nearly 30 economists from Austria, Finland, France, the FRG, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, the UK and the USA, as well as from socialist countries—the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The People's Republic of China was represented by an observer.

The Soviet delegation was led by Academician T. Khachaturov, who spoke on the improvement of the methods of economic management in the USSR, and E. Kapustin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, who delivered a paper on "Paths and Methods of Development of Collective Consumption in Socialist Countries". All in all, 13 papers were heard at the conference.

* A *European meeting of the Econometric Society* in Athens was sponsored by the Athens School of Economics and Business Science. It was attended by scholars from many European countries, including the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR, as well as from Canada, Japan and the USA.

Over 170 papers on various aspects of econometrics were delivered at 50 sessions. The Soviet scholars submitted two papers: "Instruments for Planning Decisions Optimisation" (Academician N. Fedorenko) and "Economic Problems of Dynamic Optimisational Models for Industries" (V. Ioffe) which were discussed within the framework of the theme "Econometrics in Eastern European Economies".

J. Sargan of the United Kingdom was elected President of the Econometric Society for 1979-1980. The next World Econometric Congress will be held in Aix-en-Provence in August-September 1980.

* Scholars from Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, France, the FRG, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, the USSR, the United Kingdom, as well as representatives of several international organisations, took part in the *Round-Table Conference "Long Distance Transport"* held in Moscow under the auspices of the International Economic Association. The conference was opened by Academician T. Khachaturov of the USSR.

The agenda of the conference included five general themes: "Changes in Interrelations Between Modes of Transport at Present and Future", "Fuel Freight Transportation and Trunk Transportation in the Less Accessible Regions", "Problems of Optimal Correlation of Individual and Public Passenger Transport" and "Problems of Increasing Efficiency of Transport Modes (Railway, Air and Water Transport)" and "Transport and Production, Organisational Aspects of Transport Development".

Soviet scholars submitted papers "The Planning of Freight Traffic and Its Model Split in the USSR" (A. Mitaishvili), "Trunk Transportation in the Less Accessible Regions" (V. Burkhanov), and "Natural Gas Pipeline Transport in the USSR" (O. Ivantsov).

* An *international symposium on "Peace, Security and the Role of the Multinationals"* was held in Ahrenshoop, GDR. Its 50 participants from 18 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR, discussed the following problems: the place and role of multinational corporations in the world economy; economic relations of the developing and socialist countries with multinational corporations; multinational corporations and national sovereignty; the role of multinational corporations in the arms race and in the intensification of international tension; the efforts to contain dangerous effects of multinationals' activities on peace and security.

The main papers were delivered by Professor H. Heininger of the GDR and Professor K. Tudyka of the Netherlands. The Soviet Union was represented by A. Astapovich, senior researcher of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, the USSR AS.

* An *international seminar on "Problems of Planning in the Developing Countries"* was held in Moscow by the Institute of Africa of the USSR AS, under the auspices of the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Taking part in its work were 32 experts from Bangladesh, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guinea, Lebanon, Mali, Mauritius, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tunisia, Yemen, and Zaire. Denmark and the United States were represented by observers. The seminar was chaired by its director, G. Smirnov of the Soviet Union, and co-director, C. Moneta of the UNITAR. Academician A. Rumyantsev, Member of the Presidium of the USSR AS, made an introductory speech. The work of the seminar proceeded in Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi and Tashkent.

The participants heard and discussed 12 lectures on the organisation and methods of planning in the Soviet Union; comparative analysis of the specific features of planning in the socialist and developing countries; methods of planning the national economy; planning of the development of the public sector of economy; financial policy and national planning; planning of agriculture; economic reproduction and the

methodology of planning in the developing countries; the elaboration of short-term plans with the use of computer techniques; Soviet studies of the present-day problems of Africa; trends in, and prospects of, the development of science and technology, and their influence on the solution of contemporary global problems; planning of the national economy of the Georgian and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics. Lectures were delivered by scientific workers of the Institute of Africa and executives of the Soviet planning bodies.

In Georgia and Uzbekistan, the participants visited factories, collective farms, research centres, higher educational establishments; they met with representatives of the ministries of education, of higher and secondary specialised education, of culture, of health, and of social security.

* An *international scientific conference on "Problems of Reproduction in the Developing Countries"* was held in Moscow at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS, within the framework of the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation of the Socialist Countries' Academies of Sciences on "The Economy and Policy of the Developing Countries". Some 80 scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR attended.

The participants discussed topical aspects of the strategy of economic development of the young independent states and their efforts to revise the existing world economic order. The crisis of the capitalist economic structure in the developing countries received the most serious study.

Twenty-four papers were heard at the conference, including those delivered by A. Dinkevich, V. Sheinis, A. Shpirt and V. Yashkin (all from the USSR), J. Soltyn (Czechoslovakia), I. Nenov (Bulgaria), B. Rudowicz (Poland), H. Grönig and W. Schmidt (both from the GDR).

* Thirty scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR met at the *symposium "New Phenomena in the Economic Relations Between the Three Centres of Rivalry—the EEC, the USA and Japan"* in Berlin.

Delivered at the symposium were the following papers: "The Place of the United States in the World Economy in the 1970s-early 1980s" (A. Anikin, the USSR); "The Inner Contradictions in European Communities, and Their Influence on the Relations Between the Three Centres of Rivalry" (T. Palankai, Hungary); "Japan as One of the Three Centres of Imperialist Rivalry" (Ya. Pevzner, the USSR); "On the Correlation of Forces of the EEC and the USA" (S. Tikal, Czechoslovakia); "Inter-Imperialist Contradictions and Their Manifestations in the 1970s Under the Impact of the Changing Correlation of Forces of the USA, Western Europe and Japan" (R. Gündel and N. Lehmann, the GDR); "Protectionism in Relations Between the Three Centres of Rivalry—the USA, Western Europe and Japan, as an Expression of the Growing Contradictions in the International Division of Labour" (Z. Puslecki, Poland); and "Foreign Trade Contradictions Between the EEC, the USA and Japan, and the Attempts to Settle Them Internationally" (Hr. Nokov and T. Khubenova, Bulgaria).

A round-table conference within the framework of the symposium was held to discuss urgent problems of West European integration: the currency policy of the EEC, the energy and raw materials problems of the EEC, regional and social problems, the elections to the European Parliament, the Common Market's expansion, etc. Soviet delegates M. Bunkina and Yu. Yumashev took part in round-table discussions.

Simultaneously, a session of the working group for investigating the problems of economic integration under monopolistic capitalism was organised by the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation of the Socialist Countries' Academies of Sciences on "The Study of Present-Day Capitalism".

* A *"summer school" for young economists of the socialist countries on the theme "The Crisis of State-Monopolistic Regulation at the Present Stage"* was held in Jablonka, Poland. Specialists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR took part.

The school was organised as part of the activities scheduled by the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation of the Socialist Countries' Academies of Sciences on "The Study of Present-Day Capitalism". Three main problems were debated: "The Scientific and Technological Revolution, and Contradictions of State-Monopolistic Regulation", "Bourgeois Political Economy in the Conditions of the Crisis of State-Monopolistic Regulation", "The Impact of the Crisis of State-Monopolistic Regulation on the International and National Spheres of Capitalist Economy".

* Tashkent, USSR, was the venue of the *Indo-Soviet seminar on "Transfer of Technology, and National Self-Reliance"*. The participants discussed the problems of transfer of science and technology within the framework of different socio-political systems, establishment of a new international economic order, cooperation of the USSR with developing countries, transfer of science and technology in individual branches of industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union and India, the role of multinational corporations, etc. From the Soviet side, papers were submitted by G. Kotovsky, L. Zevin, V. Pavlov, A. Medvedev, A. Karagodin, S. Pavlov, R. Aminova and Kh. Umarov; from the Indian side, by D. Narula, S. Goyal, T. Papola, S. Hashim, G. Bhalla, M. Nadkarni and R. Sadananda.

* An *All-Union conference on "The Development and Crisis of Capitalism in the Latin American Countries"* in Moscow was sponsored by the Institute of Latin America of the USSR AS and the Editorial Board of the journal *Latinskaya Amerika*. More than 150 scholars attended.

Delivered at the plenary session were papers "Specific Features of the Development and Crisis of Latin American Capitalism" by V. Volsky, Director of the Institute of Latin America, and "The Correlation of External and Internal Factors in the Capitalist Development of the Latin American Countries" by I. Sheremetiev, and the speech by P. Saad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Some 20 papers and communications were heard and discussed at panel sessions: "The History of the Development of Capitalism in

Latin America", "Specific Features of the Development and Crisis of Capitalism in Latin America" and "The Dependence Problem, and the Critique of Bourgeois Theories of Latin American Capitalism".

* An *All-Union seminar on "Methods of Planning and Controlling Natural Resources (Planning and Controlling the Quality of the Environment)"* was held in Tsahkadzor, Armenia. It was sponsored by the Economic Section of the Scientific Council of the USSR AS on the Problems of the Biosphere, the Scientific Council of the USSR AS on the Complex Problem "Optimum Planning and Economic Management", the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the USSR AS, the Joint Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology on Economic Estimation of Natural Resources and Measures for Protection of the Environment, and the Armenian Branch of the Research Institute of Planning and Standards under the USSR State Planning Committee.

Delivered at the plenary sessions were the following papers: "Principles of Determining Economic Efficiency of Measures for Nature Protection" (K. Gofman); "Planning and Fixing of Expenditures for Protection of Nature in the Present Conditions of Science and Technology" (G. Khachatryan); "Problems of Long-Term Forecasting of Changes in the Environment Under the Impact of Economic Activity" (A. Gusev); "Problems of Economic Stimulation of Measures for Protection of Nature" (V. Shkatov); "Planning of Measures for Protection of the Environment" (V. Markov); "The Methods of Calculation of Economic Damage to National Economy Caused by Pollution of the Environment" (O. Balatsky), and others.

More than 30 papers were submitted at the panel discussions on "The General, Territorial and Industrial Problems of Controlling the Use of Nature", "Planning and Control over the Quality of Water Resources" and "Planning and Control over the Quality of Atmospheric Air".

Nearly 150 scholars took part in the seminar.

* About 4,000 delegates from 141 countries attended the *UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD)* in Vienna. Among the Soviet delegates were Academicians J. Gvishiani (head of the delegation), E. Velikhov, A. Ishlinsky, Corresponding Members of the USSR AS, S. Mikulinsky, T. Timofeyev, and others.

The conference was opened by Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, and greeted by Rudolf Kirchschläger, President of Austria. Messages of greeting were received from Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and from other heads of states and governments. The Soviet delegation circulated an extensive report, the main ideas of which were set forth by J. Gvishiani in his communication at the plenary session.

The action programme adopted by the conference supported the policy of detente, of equitable, mutually advantageous cooperation between states and discontinuation of the arms race; it denounced discrimination barriers which blocked the way to cooperation and condemned selfish practices of multinational corporations.

* Parallel to the UNCSTD, an *international forum of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on "Science and Technology for Development"* was held in Vienna. Taking part in it were nearly 1,400 representatives of 366 NGOs from 51 countries, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia included.

At the plenary session, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS T. Timofeyev, head of the Soviet delegation, delivered a paper on "Science and Technology for the Welfare of Mankind". Other Soviet scholars also read papers: Academician E. Velikhov, Vice-President of the USSR AS, spoke at three panels on various aspects of energy development; Academician N. Emanuel spoke at the panel on "Environment and Development"; Professor L. Klochkovsky, at the panel on "New International Economic Order, and Science and Technology for Development"; Ya. Lomko, at the panel "Arms Race and Development". The participants emphasised the necessity to rearrange the system of international economic relations along just and democratic lines and to establish a new economic order, and emphasised the close relationship between development and disarmament.

* An *international colloquium on "Science, Technology and Society"* in Vienna was attended by more than 300 scholars from 95 countries, including Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, Vietnam and Yugoslavia.

At the plenary session, a lecture on "Science and Technology: Their Interaction with Global Problems" was delivered by Academician J. Gvishiani, head of the Soviet delegation. Besides, Soviet scientists—Academicians E. Velikhov, R. Sagdeyev, M. Styrikovich, N. Emanuel and Professor D. Venediktov—took part in working groups of the colloquium.

* Moscow was the venue of the *International Scientific Seminar on Disarmament and Environment* sponsored by the World Peace Council. Taking part were prominent scholars and public figures from 23 countries, and representatives of 10 international governmental and non-governmental organisations. The seminar was opened by Academician E. Fyodorov, Vice-President of the WPC and Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

The major part of the seminar's work proceeded in panels: the arms race and protection of the environment; military activities and their effect on the environment; nuclear weapons, nuclear energy and the environment; pressing global problems and international cooperation for their solution.

* The *12th International Congress on Penal Law* held by the International Association of Penal Law (IAPL) in Hamburg was attended by representatives of more than 30 countries, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia among them.

The work of the congress proceeded in four sections: 1. Crimes of Carelessness. Prevention and Treatment of Offenders; 2. The Environmental Protection Through Penal Law; 3. The Protection of Human Rights in Criminal Proceedings; 4. Immunity, Exterritori-

ality and the Right of Asylum in International Penal Law.

In Section One, the general report was submitted by V. Klochkov of the USSR, Vice-President of the IAPL; in Section Two, by V. Gubinski of Poland; in Section Three, by S. Trechsel of Switzerland; and in Section Four by Th. Vogler of the FRG.

Soviet criminalists and criminologists submitted the following papers and communications:

Section One's theme—"La lutte contre la criminalité d'imprudence" (V. Klochkov, national paper), "Criminalisation of Actions Committed by Negligence" (V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS), "Responsibility for Careless Crimes as Part of Criminal Policy" (A. Yakovlev), "Problems of the Effectiveness of Criminal-Law Measures to Combat Careless Crimes" (M. Kovalev).

Section Two's theme—"Criminal Law and Protection of the Environment" (P. Dagel, national paper), "Wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution und die Bekämfung der ökologischen Kriminalität" (N. Kuznetsova), "Some Problems of Criminal-Law Protection of the Environment" (O. Dubovik).

Section Three's theme—"Protection of Personal Rights in Soviet Criminal Procedure" (V. Savitsky, national paper), "Die Garantien der Persönlichkeitsrechte bei Prüfung von Rechtmässigkeit und Begründetheit der Strafurtelle" (P. Lupinskaya).

Section Four's theme—"L'immunité, l'exterritorialité et le droit d'asile dans le droit pénal international" (V. Shupilov, national paper).

* Some 2,000 delegates from 65 countries attended the *4th International Congress of the International Association of Teachers of Russian Language and Literature (MAPRYAL)* in Berlin, the GDR. The theme of the congress was "The Theory and Practice of Teaching the Russian Language and Literature. The Role of the Instructor in the Process of Teaching". Academician M. Khrapchenko (USSR), President of the MAPRYAL, read a message of greetings from the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers. The congress was also welcomed by E. Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the GDR State Council.

The congress noted that during the past three years after the 3rd Congress, the specialists in Russian philology made a careful study of the role of instructor in the process of teaching; mapped out the ways of improving the instructor's training and continuous education; brought into proper correlation the theory and history of the language, general philological data, and specific knowledge and skills in connection with the nature of the audience; defined the harmonious combination of professional and educational tasks in the process of teaching.

The congress demonstrated that the learning of Russian promotes mutual understanding among peoples in the name of peace, friendship and progress. About 20 million people in 97 countries were studying the Russian language, and almost 500 million people had mastered it to a certain degree.

At the congress, for the first time, 16 specialists in Russian philology from 15 countries were awarded the A. S. Pushkin Medal "For Outstanding Services in Disseminating the Russian Language", instituted by the Soviet Government and presented by the decision of the MAPRYAL. The next Association's congress will be held in Prague in 1982.

* The *9th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences,* held in Copenhagen, was attended by nearly 600 scholars from about 40 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia.

At the plenary session, the main paper on the aims and tasks of phonetics was read by B. Lindblom of Sweden. The work of the congress proceeded in symposiums and panels where the following problems were dealt with: phonetic universals in phonological systems and their applications; perception of speech; acquisition of the phonological system of the mother tongue; temporal relations within speech units; motor control of speech gestures; perception of speech versus non-speech; relations between sentence prosody and word prosody; production of speech; acoustics of speech; phonology; prosody; applied phonetics; sociophonetics, etc. Soviet linguists submitted more than 30 papers and communications on the major problems discussed.

* Delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Vietnam took part in the *International Conference on "Artistic Culture and the Moulding of Man in the Socialist Countries"* held in Sofia within the framework of the Multilateral Commission of Socialist Countries on the Problems of the Theory of Culture, Literary Science and Art History.

At the plenary session, the participants heard a paper by a Soviet scholar, Yu. Lukin, on "The Leninist Ideas of the Popular Creative Activity and the Educational Potential of Culture Under Mature Socialism". In the "Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Aesthetic Education" panel, the Soviet delegates submitted the following communications: "Elite, Mass and Popular Culture, and Problems of Aesthetic Education" (V. Baskakov), "Problems of the Development of Socialist Artistic Culture, and Ideological and Aesthetic Education" (G. Berdnikov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS), "On the Interaction of Literature and Readers" (Yu. Kuzmenko). In the "Art, the Mass Media and the Moulding of the Personality" panel, the participants listened to papers "On the Educational Function of Literature and Art" (Academician M. Khrapchenko) and "Art and Aesthetic Education of the Soviet Man" (M. Kotovskaya). In the round-table discussion on "Education of the Young Artistic Intelligentsia in Socialist Society", M. Kotovskaya delivered a report on "Aspects of the Formation of a New Generation in Soviet Art".

Some 50 delegates took part in the conference, and more than 40 papers and communications were submitted.

* A *Soviet-American symposium on literary history* was held in Moscow at the Gorky Institute of World Literature. Its theme was "The Principles of Elaboration of the History of a National Literature". The symposium held within the framework of the Programme

of Scientific Cooperation Between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the American Council of Learned Societies was chaired by V. Shcherbina, Deputy Director of the Institute.

Soviet scholars delivered the following papers: "Theoretical Principles of Elaboration of the History of National Literatures in the *History of World Literature*" (Yu. Vipper); "Theoretical Foundations of Elaboration of the History of the Multinational Soviet Literature" (G. Lomidze); "Theoretical Principles of the Development of Soviet Literature" (A. Ovcharenko); "Comparative Characteristics of the Methodological Principles of the *Literary History of the United States* Published in the USA and the *History of American Literature* Published in the USSR" (Ya. Zasursky); "Methodological Principles of Elaboration of the History of Russian Literature (With Reference to the Russian Literature of the 19th Century)" (P. Paliyevsky).

American scholars submitted the papers: "Discovery and Rediscovery: the Course of American Literary Histories" (R. Ludwig); "Empiricism and Theory in British Literary Historiography" (P. Fussell); "Historicism and Anti-Historicism and the History of French Literature" (A. Sonnenfeld); "Gogol and the History of Russian Literature" (D. Fanger); "Predictions from the Past in Literary History: Some Spanish Examples" (G. Guillén).

* A *meeting of the heads of psychological institutions of socialist countries* in Warsaw was attended by delegates from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Vietnam. The Soviet delegation was headed by B. Lomov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS.

The participants exchanged information about the development and prospects of psychological service in their countries, shared the experience of their joint scientific cooperation and coordination of research, mapped out the major spheres of application of their science in the interests of society.

* Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, was the venue of the *International Symposium on the Problem of Unconscious Mental Activity* sponsored by the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Tbilisi State University and the Paris Centre of Psychosomatic Medicine together with the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the Moscow State University and numerous research centres and higher educational establishments of France, the USA, Italy, Poland, the United Kingdom, the GDR and other countries.

More than 250 scholars attended the symposium which was an event unprecedented in scientific history. The largest delegations were the American and French, each numbering 30 people.

The participants discussed the following topics: the problem of the unconscious within the psychological conception of set; the role of the category of the unconscious within the system of modern scientific knowledge on the mind; formation of scientific concepts within modern psychoanalysis; modern neurophysiological and clinical approaches to the problem

of the unconscious; the unconscious and the higher forms of mental activity; the problem of scientific methods and general methodology of the study of the unconscious. Besides, two round-table sessions were held: on the correlation of consciousness and the unconscious mind, and the technique and methods of psychoanalysis.

The introductory speech was made by A. Prangishvili, Vice-President of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. About 170 scholars, including 70 guests from abroad, took part in plenary sessions and panel discussions.

* The *5th All-Union Conference on Engineering Psychology* in Leningrad was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS, the USSR Society of Psychologists and the Leningrad State University. More than 400 scholars attended.

At the plenary session, B. Lomov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of Psychology, made an introductory speech. The following papers were submitted: "Engineering Psychology in the USSR: Its Present State and Prospects" (B. Lomov, A. Krylov, V. Ganzen); "The Impact of Scientific Ideas of Engineering Psychology and Ergonomics on Labour Productivity and Production Perspectiveness" (G. Zarakovsky) and "Analysis of the Main Concepts of Engineering Psychology in the Soviet Union and Abroad" (Yu. Zabrodin).

Then the conference continued its work in panels on "Theory and Methodology of Engineering Psychology"; "Psychological Characteristics of Operators' Activity"; "Psycho-Physiological Characteristics of Operators' Activity"; "Engineering Psychology as a Base for Projecting the Man-Operator's Activity"; "Ergonomics"; "Professional Screening and Orientation"; "Professional Training of Operators"; "Synthesis of the Information Reflection Systems"; "Operator's Group-Activity"; "Reliability of 'Man-Machine' Systems"; "Speech Communication"; and "Space- and Air-Psychology". All in all, over 130 papers were heard and discussed in the panels.

* Prominent scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia attended a *conference of the heads of archaeological research institutes of socialist countries* in Budapest.

The Institute of Archaeology of the USSR AS was represented by its Deputy Director, Dr. R. Munchayev. The participants exchanged information about the field and research work of their institutes in 1978-1979, and spoke of their plans for 1980 and the following years. They discussed the problems relating to bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the institutes, as well as preparations for the publication of *Encyclopaedia of the Early History of European Peoples.*

* A *scientific conference on "The Ethnic History of Slavs and Ethno-Cultural Ties of the Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe"* held in Chernigov, the Ukraine, was attended by scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

The main papers were delivered by Academician Yu. Bromley on "Friendship of the Peoples of the

USSR as a Manifestation of the Triumph of the Leninist Nationalities Policy" and by P. Tronko, Member of the Ukrainian AS, on "The Historic Significance of the Unification of the Ukraine with Russia".

The participants heard and discussed almost 20 papers and communications including "Some of the Ethno-Cultural Problems of Western Slavs" (M. Gladysz, Poland); "Problems of the Ethnic Processes in Connection with the World-View of Slavs in the Period of Early and Mediaeval Feudalism" (E. Horvatova, Czechoslovakia); "The Contemporary Ethnic Processes in the Czech Socialist Republic" (A. Robek, Czechoslovakia); "The Formation and Development of Ethno-Cultural Ties of the Czechs with the Peoples of Eastern and Central Europe" (K. Fojtik, Czechoslovakia); "Problems of the Formation of the Bulgarian Nation" (V. Khajinikolov, Corresponding Member of the Bulgarian AS); "On the Role of Folk Culture in the Formation of the Bulgarian Nation" (S. Genchev, Bulgaria); and "Problems of the Ethnogeny of the Croats" (M. Marković, Yugoslavia).

* Taking part in the *2nd Congress of the World Association of Centres for Historical and Social Studies of the Labour Movement (AMCEHSMO)* in Oaxtepec (Morelos, Mexico) were researchers from 20 countries, including Bulgaria, Cuba, the GDR, Poland and the USSR. The Soviet delegation was headed by B. Koval, Deputy Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR AS. At the opening ceremony, President J. L. Portillo of Mexico delivered a speech of welcome.

The participants discussed four themes. The theme "The Archives and Documentation": 16 informational papers were presented on the search, collection and publication of documents referring to the history of the labour movement in various countries. The theme "The First Celebration of the First of May": 16 papers were submitted on the wide range of questions—from episodes of the origin of the May Day tradition to the broad generalisation of the role of May Day in the consolidation of the working class and in the movement of international solidarity of the proletariat. The theme "Disarmament and the Labour Movement. Social Aspects": 15 speakers dealt with this subject in a lively discussion. The theme "The Results of Investigations": communications were delivered on the current research into the history and contemporary problems of the working-class movement.

Soviet scholars submitted the following papers: "The Working Class and Its Struggle for Peace and Security" (Corresponding Member of the USSR AS T. Timofeyev and B. Koval), "The Working Class in the Struggle for Peace and Detente in Latin America" (E. Yerusalimskaya) and "The First Celebration of the First of May in Russia" (T. Zagladina).

During the congress, meetings of the Association's Executive Committee were held. E. Suárez Gaona of Mexico was re-elected President of the AMCEHSMO for the next term of office. By a unanimous vote of the Association's Executive Committee, the Institute of History under the Committee for Social Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was admitted into the AMCEHSMO.

* The *4th Congress of the Association of South-East European Studies (AIESEE)* in Ankara was attended by some 380 scholars from 21 countries including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Rumania and the USSR. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician A. Narochnitsky.

The congress discussed a wide range of problems relating to history (the primitive society, antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern and contemporary history), archaeology, ethnography, literary science, linguistics, folklore, art. The congress work proceeded largely in panels, by themes. Soviet scholars submitted the following papers: "Russia and the Greek National Liberation Movement in the First Quarter of the 19th Century" (A. Narochnitsky); "The Balkans and European International Life in the 15th-Beginning of the 20th Centuries" (E. Naumov, G. Arsh, I. Dostyan, V. Vinogradov); "The National Liberation Movement in the Balkans in the First Quarter of the 19th Century" (G. Arsh); "The Socialist Movement in the Balkans in the Sixties-Seventies of the 19th Century. Its General Features and Specifics" (V. Grosul); "The National Liberation Movement in the Balkans and Popular Masses in Russia During the Middle East Crisis of 1875-1878" (L. Narochnitskaya); "The Labour and Socialist Movement in the Balkans in the Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries" (Yu. Pisarev); "Historical Ties of Armenia with South-East Europe" (Ts. Agayan, Academician of the Armenian AS); "The Soviet-Turkish Cultural and Scientific Relations in the 1920s-1930s" (I. Chernikov); "Comparisons Between the Byzantine Mode of Life and Organisational Forms of the Ottoman Urban Economy in the 14th-16th Centuries" (G. Litavrin); "Ethnographic Study of the Turkic-Language Population of South-East Europe" (M. Guboglo); "On the Substratum Stock of the Contemporary Balkan Languages" (L. Gindin, I. Kaluzhnaya, V. Orel), and "The Typology of the East Romance Wedding Rites" (V. Zelenchuk).

At the AIESEE Committee's meetings, held during the congress, Soviet scholars were represented by V. Vinogradov, Vice-President of the Association, Deputy Director of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the USSR AS. Academician P. Zepos of Greece was elected President of the AIESEE. The next congress is to be held in 1984 in Yugoslavia.

* Participating in the *3rd All-Union Conference of Africanists on "Africa in Modern World"* in Moscow were some 600 scholars, including 250 guests from African countries, as well as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary and Poland.

The conference was opened by Academician A. Rumyantsev. Professor An. Gromyko, Chairman of the Scientific Council for African Problems of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR AS, read a paper "Africa in World Development and African Studies in the USSR". The work of the conference proceeded chiefly in sections on: economic problems; socio-political and ideological problems; international relations of African countries; history, ethnography, literature and language; geography and distribution of productive forces. More than 240 papers and communications were heard and discussed.

* Scholars from 30 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia, took part in the *3rd International Congress of Turcology in Istanbul.*

The participants worked in the sections of linguistics, literary science, history, and art. Soviet scholars submitted the papers: "The Study of Turkic Languages in the Soviet Union: Main Results" (Academician A. Kononov); "The Areal Integration Processes in the History of Turkic Languages" (N. Baskakov); "About the Oldest Turkic Standard Language" (E. Tenishev); "Berdah: Most Prominent Turkic Poet and Thinker" (M. Nurmakhamedov, Academician of the Uzbek AS) and "Central Asian Shamanism and Folklore" (V. Basilov).

* "Technological Systems: Their Development, Utilisation, Control" was the theme of the *7th Symposium of the International Cooperation in History of Technology Committee (ICOHTEC)* in Sofia. It was attended by 70 scholars from Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Spain and the USSR. Dr. Vylchev of Bulgaria, Chairman of the Organising Committee, Professor C. Maccagni of Italy, President of the ICOHTEC, and M. Germanov, Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Culture of Bulgaria, opened the symposium.

Soviet scientists submitted the following papers: "The Main Stages in the Development of the Means of Controlling Technological Systems" (S. Shukhardin, Vice-President of the ICOHTEC, I. Apokin, A. Chapovsky); "The Role of Automated Control Systems in the Development of Metallurgy" (N. Laman) and "The Development of Optical Communication Systems" (V. Gurikov).

A session devoted to Leonardo da Vinci and his place in the history of technology was held within the framework of the symposium. Among the speakers on this subject were Soviet scholars I. Apokin and N. Laman. The next ICOHTEC symposium was scheduled to be held in 1980, in Czechoslovakia.

* An *All-Union Scientific Conference on "The National and the International in the Contemporary World"* in Kishinev was sponsored by the Scientific Councils on Nationalities Problems under the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Moldavian Academy of Sciences.

At the plenary sessions, participants read the following papers: "The Role of the Party in Implementing the Leninist Nationalities Policy" by I. Bodyul, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party; "Internationalisation Processes in the World Today" by Academician Yu. Bromley; "The Unity of the National and the International in the Communist Education of the Working People" by I. Kalin; "Dialectics of the National and the International Under Developed Socialism" by M. Kulichenko; "The Correlation of the National and the International in the Development of the Socialist Community" by F. Konstantinov; "The National and the International in the Development of National Liberation Movements" by G. Starushenko; "The National and the International in the Linguistic Development of the Peoples of the World" by N. Korletianu, Yu. Desheriev and M. Guboglo; "The Unity of the National and the International in the New Soviet Rites" by D. Ursul and V. Zelenchuk; "Socio-Cultural Development and the Drawing Together of Nations" by Yu. Arutyunyan; and "The National and the International in the Formation and Consolidation of the Soviet Statehood of the Moldavian People" by A. Lazarev.

Then the work of the conference proceeded in the sections on "Theoretical Aspects of the National and the International in Socialist and Communist Construction", "The National and the International in Soviet Cultural Development", "The Nationalities Question in the Contemporary World and the Ideological Struggle", and "The National and the International in Soviet Historiography", where more than 40 papers and communications were heard and discussed.

* Petrozavodsk, USSR, was the venue of the *8th All-Union Conference on the History, Economy, Language and Literature of Scandinavian Countries and Finland* sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Language, Literature and History of the Karelian Branch of the USSR AS, the Institute of World History of the USSR AS, and the Institute of the History of the USSR of the USSR AS. Nearly 150 Soviet scholars, as well as guests from the GDR and Finland, attended.

At the plenary session, the following papers were delivered: "V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party's Revolutionary Ties in Finland (According to Materials of Finland's State Archives)" by Yu. Dashkov; "Aspects of Political Development of Finland After the Second World War as Reflected in Finnish Historiography" by L. Ingulskaya; "Countries of Northern Europe in the East-West Economic Relations" by Yu. Piskulov; and "The Problems of Periodisation of the History of Finnish Literature of the 20th Century" by E. Karhu.

In the panels on contemporary history, economies, modern history, mediaeval history, literary science, art and linguistics, nearly 130 papers and communications of Soviet researchers were presented and discussed, as well as papers by M. Menger and K. Schmidt of the GDR, and by H. Kirkinen and T. Polvinen of Finland.

BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLICATION ACTIVITIES OF THE HISTORICAL AND DIPLOMATIC DEPARTMENT OF THE USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Survey)

The 1960s and 1970s marked a qualitatively new stage, when the alignment of forces on the international scene changed radically and trends in the world politics shaped during the preceding decades were translated into life. The transition from the long "cold war" to detente became the leading trend of this period.

The struggle for peace and detente is the cornerstone of the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy. Leonid Brezhnev said in his report at the joint session of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation which was dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution: "Soviet Power was established under the sign of Lenin's Decree on Peace, and ever since our country's entire foreign policy has been one of peace. Objective historical conditions have dictated its concrete expression as the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems" (L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1978, pp. 183-184).

It is natural that the scientific analysis underlying the Soviet Union's foreign policy is possible only if the necessary documentary base is available. The documents and materials preserved in the USSR Foreign Ministry Archives are a component part of this base.

The Ministry's Archives contain a wealth of material; not only its own staff often make use of them, but also people working in other ministries and departments, as well as Soviet and foreign scholars. The Soviet Union as a signatory to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, remains loyal to its commitment "to promote, by appropriate means, the extension of opportunities for specialists from the other participating states to work with materials of a cultural character from film and audio-visual archives, within the framework of the existing rules for work on such archival materials" (*Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki*, Moscow, 1975, p. 62). We have every ground to say that this fully applies to the USSR Foreign Ministry Archives.

The documents and materials of the USSR Foreign Ministry Archives are an invaluable source for studying the principles and methods underlying Soviet foreign policy, the founder of which was Lenin. The archivists have found quite a number of documents showing Lenin to be the founder of Soviet diplomacy, including a number of documents written by Lenin himself.

From the very outset the Soviet government started to widely publicise documents of Russian and foreign diplomacy, first and foremost, the secret treaties of the tsarist and Provisional governments of Russia with the Entente, thereby unmasking the imperialist ends of the First World War.

On October 26 (November 8), 1917, in his closing speech on the report about peace at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Lenin declared that the "secret treaties must be published". On November 10 (23), 1917, the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia TsIK* started publication of the secret diplomacy documents. On November 22 (December 5), 1917, Lenin in a speech at the First All-Russia Congress of the Navy pointed out that by publishing the secret treaties the Soviet government had embarked upon the road of joint work with the revolutionary class of the working people of all countries (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 345).

In December of 1917, secret treaties began to be published as a separate edition. On Lenin's instructions this work was headed by the legendary sailor Communist N. Markin. Between December 1917 and February 1918 seven collections of documents were put out: *The Collections of Secret Treaties from the Archives of the Former Foreign Ministry. December 1917-February 1918*, Issues 1-7 (Moscow, 1918). The publication of the secret treaties showed to the whole world the predatory nature of the First World War and played a positive role in the Soviet government's struggle for a just and democratic peace.

The valuable documentary materials of the Foreign Ministry Archives were extensively used in scientific research in subsequent years as well. Publication activity was stepped up during the postwar years, when a considerable amount of documentary collections were published. Mention should be made of *Documents of the Soviet Union's Foreign Policy* (Moscow, 1957-1977) being put out by the USSR Foreign Ministry Commission on the Publication of Diplomatic Documents headed by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The 21 volumes that have already come off the press cover Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1938 and contain about 10,000 documents, of which over 6,000 have not been published before. The documents are supplied with commentaries and notes (the total number of which is over 4,000). Volume 22, which comprises documents dating up to August 1939, i.e., up to the beginning of the Second World War, has been prepared for publication. This volume will be concluding in the abovementioned series of documents. It should be noted that the collections contain not only official foreign policy documents but also documents of the USSR Foreign Minis-

try (correspondence with ambassadors, minutes of talks, etc.), which proves the peaceful, honest and consistent character of Soviet foreign policy.

Over the period from 1957 to the present time there have been published eleven volumes of *Russia's Foreign Policy Between the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century. Documents of the Russian Foreign Ministry* (Moscow, 1957-1979). The documents cover the period from 1801 to 1921; 90 per cent of them are published for the first time. Volume 12 of this edition is about to come out soon.

Experience in solving complicated foreign policy problems, that faced the Soviet state, has been accumulated in diplomatic documents, which may be used in elaborating various foreign policy actions. To cite some examples.

From the time it was set up in 1943 under the USSR Foreign Ministry right up to 1947, i.e., when the Paris Peace Conference on the conclusion of peace treaties with former nazi allies ended its work, the Commission on the Preparation of Peace Treaties (the so-called Litvinov Commission) widely used archival documents in preparing draft peace treaties (1946-1947) with the assistance of the USSR Foreign Ministry archivists. The well-known reference work *Falsifiers of History. Historical Note* (Moscow, 1948) was based on materials stored in the Foreign Ministry Archives. Archival materials were also used in preparing a booklet *The Truth about the Western Powers' Policy in the German Question. Historical Note* (Moscow, 1959), jointly published by the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Ministry of the GDR.

Of great interest is the work being done on problems of Soviet foreign policy and international relations on the basis of archival documents. In its social and political importance this work goes far beyond the framework of the archival work itself. A monograph entitled *A History of USSR Foreign Policy* (in two volumes: Vol. I [1917-1945]; Vol. 2 [1945-1976], Moscow, 1977), written with the use of hitherto unpublished original materials, has evoked wide response in the Soviet Union and abroad. The publication of the fourth and fifth volumes of *A History of Diplomacy* (Vol. IV, *Diplomacy During the Second World War,* Moscow, 1975; Vol. V. Book I, Moscow, 1974; Vol. V, Book 2, Moscow, 1979) was greeted no less warmly. The concluding Book 2 of Volume 5, which has recently been put out, covers the period between the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in October 1964 and the 25th Congress of the CPSU. As is known, this period was marked by the transition to detente and a remoulding of international relations.

Book 2 of Volume 5 of *A History of Diplomacy* covers a period which was marked by the irreversible weakening of international imperialism, which, nonetheless, remains a rather active force posing a threat to world peace. In these conditions, peaceful socialist diplomacy is of particular importance.

The concrete foreign policy activities of the world's socialist countries encompass practically all the continents and take the form of a number of positive measures, and countermeasures directed against the intrigues of imperialist circles. The two decades embracing the 1960s and 1970s offer rich

material showing the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and its allies to prevent a return to the cold war, and to pass from confrontation with the capitalist states to constructive talks to lessen international tension.

The book contains a wealth of factual material about Soviet-American relations, the victory of the forces of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia and other problems related to ensuring peace and security in the Asian continent. Much attention is given to international relations and diplomacy in the Far East and the diplomatic history of imperialist aggression in the Near and Middle East. For the first time systematic research has been done on the diplomacy of Latin American and African states, and the role of the non-alignment movement as a major factor in world politics.

Of great importance is the analysis of the activities of Soviet diplomacy during the Second World War. In this connection, a six-volume documentary edition entitled *The Soviet Union at International Conferences During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945* (Moscow, 1978), is of particular interest. The edition, which contains many hitherto unpublished archival materials, shows the role of Soviet diplomacy in the struggle to bring the Second World War to a speedy, victorious end, establish a lasting peace and elaborate the principles for a just and democratic postwar settlement. It incorporates the documents and materials of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA and Great Britain (1943), the Teheran, Crimean and Berlin Conferences of the heads of the three allied powers (in 1943 and 1945), the Conferences in Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco (1944 and 1945).

The collections vividly demonstrate the possibilities which effective cooperation offers states with different socio-political systems. The published documents show the tangible contribution of Soviet diplomacy to the victory over nazism and the role of the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in elaborating the principles for a democratic and just postwar world.

The documents and materials of *The Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA and Great Britain, October 19-30, 1943. A Collection of Documents* (Moscow, 1978) convincingly prove that a broad exchange of opinions at the Conference laid the foundation for expanding cooperation between the three states in bringing the war against nazi Germany to a victorious end. The issue of providing for universal security in the postwar period was widely discussed and the foundation was laid for cooperation in the conditions of the postwar settlement. It was at this Conference that the Soviet Union proposed to set up a commission consisting of representatives of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union to jointly work on the issues connected with the establishment of a universal international organisation. The Moscow Conference laid the groundwork for the first summit meeting of the three allied powers, which was held in Teheran in 1943 and as a result of which the leaders made public a declaration voicing their resolve "to work jointly both during the war and in peace time" (*The Teheran Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied*

Powers—the USSR, USA and Great Britain. November 28-December 1, 1943. A Collection of Documents, Moscow, 1978, p. 175, in Russian).

The Conference in Dumbarton Oaks convened on Soviet initiative served as an example of fruitful cooperation between the states of the anti-nazi coalition for the sake of a peaceful future. This Conference's decisions laid the foundation for the United Nations Organisation.

The documents given in the collection *The Conference of Representatives of the USSR, USA and Great Britain in Dumbarton Oaks. August 21-September 28, 1944,* Moscow, 1978, show that despite different class positions and ideologies, the Conference participants were united in their common conviction that cooperation was necessary for achieving a lasting peace. The understanding reached about the aims, principles and main organs of an international security organisation laid the basis for setting up the world organisation most universal in its aims and scope, whose multilateral activity over the subsequent three and a half decades has convincingly confirmed the possibility of fruitful cooperation of states with different social systems. The guideline for this organisation's activity proclaimed at the Conference, namely, the maintenance of world peace and security and the adoption of effective collective measures to avert any threat to peace as well as to suppress acts of aggression or other violations of peace and to settle international disputes which might lead to war by peaceful means, set the powers which initiated the formation of the world security organisation the task to act jointly within its framework and not to let it be used against one another.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference prepared the convening of the San Francisco Conference in the spring of 1945. This marked the foundation of the United Nations, which has been playing an outstanding role in international life throughout the postwar period.

Of great scholarly value are the three-volume documentary publication *Soviet Foreign Policy During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945* which was put out in the first postwar years: Vol. 1 (June 22, 1941 to December 31, 1943), Moscow, 1946; Vol. 2 (January 1 to December 31, 1944), Moscow, 1946; Vol. 3 (January 1 to September 3, 1945), Moscow, 1947; and *Documents and Materials of the Eve of the Second World War. The Archives of the German Foreign Ministry,* in two volumes: Vol. 1 (November 1937 to 1938); Vol. 2, *Dirksen's Archives* (1938 to 1939) (Moscow, 1948), as well as the collection *The USSR in the Struggle for Peace on the Eve of the Second World War (September 1938-August 1939). Documents and Materials* (Moscow, 1971).

A scholarly publication of a collection of important documents entitled *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* was a worthy reply to premeditated falsification of the Second World War history in a number of Western publications. The second edition of this collection has come out with a foreword by A. Gromyko (in two volumes, Moscow, 1976). Progress Publishers has put out the above two-volume collection in English (Moscow, 1977).

Military historians have widely used archival materials related to Soviet foreign policy to elucidate major issues of the Second World War history. The published ten volumes of *History of the Second World War, 1939-1945* (in twelve volumes, Vols. 1-10, Moscow, 1973-1979) vividly demonstrate the effectiveness of military historians' cooperation with experts in international relations and the important role of the Soviet Foreign Ministry archives in analysing major issues of the Second World War history.

The foreign policy activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state are also reflected in many other collections of documents which have been prepared on a wealth of archival materials. A collection entitled *The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Disarmament. A Collection of Documents* (Moscow, 1977), has been put out by the Soviet Foreign Ministry Historical and Diplomatic Department jointly with the Department of International Organisations and Legal and Contractual Department of the Ministry. This collection contains all acting multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements on disarmament with Soviet participation, namely, documents of an international character adopted in recent years on Soviet initiative and containing major international legal commitments and understandings as well as documents pertaining to the basic initiatives in the field of disarmament undertaken by Soviet diplomacy in carrying out the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses.

As is indicated in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Communist Party attaches and will continue to attach paramount attention to strengthening the socialist community. It will do this, first and foremost, by expanding political, economic and military cooperation, promoting and deepening international ties.

Therefore, a huge project jointly undertaken by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the USSR and the Foreign Ministries of socialist countries involving the publishing of documentary collections about both the bilateral and multilateral relations of the socialist countries is of major importance today. To mark the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty, a collection of documents entitled *The Warsaw Treaty Organisation (1955-1975). Documents and Materials* (Moscow, 1975), published in Russian and the languages of the Treaty member countries, has been prepared jointly with the Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The collection *The Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin and Its Implementation, 1971-1975* (Moscow, 1977) has come off the press. It contains documents of the USSR, GDR and other fraternal socialist countries as well as the three Western signatories to the agreement and the FRG which encompass all the most important aspects of the Agreement's implementation and reflect the above Parties' positions. The collection incorporates 228 documents, a majority of which have not been published before. These documents show the consistent struggle of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for strict observance and full implementa-

tion of the Quadripartite Agreement and outline their desire to do their utmost to make this agreement serve the interests of further improving the international climate. The documents also give an exhaustive picture of the efforts made by the USSR, GDR and other fraternal socialist countries to counteract various attempts to arbitrarily interpret and violate the Quadripartite Agreement. In addition, the USSR Foreign Ministry has published jointly with the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry a collection entitled *Documents on the History of the Munich Deal, 1937-1939* (Moscow, 1979). The collection came out 40 years after the signing of the Munich agreement, the nazi Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia and the beginning of the Second World War. The book is a most complete collection of Soviet and Czechoslovak archival documents, many of which have also been published for the first time. The documents vividly show the cynicism with which the Western powers betrayed the Czechoslovak people's interests and went into collusion with the aggressors; their actions culminated in the signing of the Munich agreement.

The materials in the collection confirm the consistent policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government aimed at establishing a collective front to defend peace and avert the aggression. These documents also convincingly prove that the Soviet position during the Czechoslovak crisis was determined by its readiness to give a helping hand to the working class and people of Czechoslovakia and to save them from the threat of nazi enslavement.

In collaboration with the Main Archives Department of the USSR and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Foreign Ministry has put out a two-volume collection entitled *Soviet-Mongolian Relations, 1921-1974. Documents and Materials* (Vol. 1 [1921-1940]; Vol. 2 [1941-1974], Moscow, 1979). A collection of 180 documents entitled *Soviet-Bulgarian Relations, 1971-1976. Documents and Materials,* Moscow, 1977, has also come off the press. It was prepared by the Soviet Foreign Ministry Historical and Diplomatic Department jointly with the Foreign Ministry of Bulgaria.

The bilateral collections of documents *Soviet-Hungarian Relations, 1971-1976,* Moscow, 1977, and *Soviet-Czechoslovak Relations, 1972-1976,* Moscow, 1977, have also been put out jointly by the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Ministries of the respective countries. The collections comprise 208 and 166 documents respectively. These are joint declarations, communiques, reports about talks between party, and government, parliamentary and other delegations, speeches, interviews of party and government leaders and officials; letters, messages, telegrams of leaders of the Soviet Union and these countries; documents of legislative bodies and public organisations. All these materials give a broad account of growing and deepening bilateral cooperation between the socialist countries in political, economic, scientific, cultural and other areas, and reflect their cooperation on the international scene in carrying out the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and Congresses of the fraternal parties in their struggle for world peace.

In collaboration with the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Main Archives Department of the USSR, the Soviet Foreign Ministry is continuing to prepare subsequent volumes of collections of documents being put out jointly with the Academies of Sciences of the respective countries on Soviet-Polish, Soviet-Czechoslovak and Soviet-Bulgarian relations. The second volume of the collection *Documents and Materials on the History of Soviet-Czechoslovak Relations, August 1922-June 1934,* Moscow, 1977, has come off the press. Together with previously published materials, the collections that have already been put out and those in preparation contain a wealth of new archival documents giving an extensive account of various aspects of the Soviet Union's relations with these socialist countries.

Among recent publications are the three-volume *The Liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish Yoke. Documents* (Vol. 1, Moscow, 1961; Vol. 2, Moscow, 1964; Vol. 3, Moscow, 1967) and *The Policy of the European Powers in Southeast Asia (the 1760s-the 1860s). Documents and Materials* (Moscow, 1962-1967), and others. A number of collections have been put out jointly with the Foreign Ministry of the GDR. These are *Soviet-German Relations in the Period from the Peace Talks at Brest-Litovsk to the Signing of the Rapallo Treaty. A Collection of Documents,* in two volumes: Vol. 1 (1917-1918), Moscow, 1968; Vol. 2 (1919-1922), Moscow, 1971; *For Anti-Fascist Democratic Germany. A Collection of Documents. 1945-1949,* Moscow, 1969; *The USSR's Relations with the GDR, 1949-1955. Documents and Materials,* Moscow, 1974; *Soviet-German Relations, 1922-1925. Documents and Materials,* in two parts, Moscow, 1977.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry also publishes collections of foreign policy documents jointly with capitalist and developing countries. At the end of 1976 a collection of documents came out entitled *Soviet-French Relations. 1965-1976,* Moscow, 1976, published at the same time in Russian and French in Moscow and Paris.

The book *Economic Relations Between Sweden and Russia in the 17th Century. (Documents from Soviet Archives,* Moscow, 1978); (*Documents from Swedish Archives,* Stockholm, 1978), contains interesting material about the economic ties between Sweden and Russia at that time. The Soviet publication involves documents in Russian, Swedish and German taken from the Central State Archives of Ancient Acts, the Archives of the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences (international division) and the archives of Estonia and Latvia; and the Swedish publication contains documents in Swedish and German taken from the collections of the State Archives of Sweden.

The material presented in this edition has been selected from a large number of documentary sources. Data are given about diplomatic relations between Sweden and Russia and the role of the Russian market in Sweden's policy. The oldest documents date back to 1617-1618.

Work is under way together with the US National Archives, the State Department and the Woodrow Wilson Institute on a collection of documents entitled *The Establishment of Russo-American Relations. 1765-1815.* The Main Archives Department of the USSR and the USSR Academy of Sciences are

also involved in this work. The collection *Soviet-Afghan Relations, 1919-1969. Documents and Materials,* Moscow, 1971, has been published jointly with the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan. Among other publications are *The USSR and African Countries, 1946-1962. Documents and Materials* (Vol. 1 [1946-September 1960]; Vol. 2 [September 1960-1962], Moscow, 1963).

Work is nearing completion on Volume 3, which will comprise over 300 documents.

The collections of documents from the archives of the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs have won wide recognition among scholars and the general public both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

S.T.

A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS ON THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR (Survey)

The fourth and completing volume of the serial publication of documents on the history of the Civil War and foreign armed intervention *Directives of the Red Army Fronts' Command, 1917-1922* has been put out. The series includes *Directives of the Red Army High Command, 1917-1920. A Collection of Documents* (Moscow, Voenizdat Publishers, 1969, 883 pp.) and *Directives of the Red Army Fronts' Command, 1917-1922. A Collection of Documents* in four volumes issued by Voenizdat Publishers. Volume 1 covering the period from November 1917 to March 1919 was published in 1971, it contains 787 pages; Volume 2 covers the period from March 1919 to April 1920, it was published in 1972 and contains 803 pages; Volume 3 published in 1974 covers the period from April 1920 to 1922 and contains 367 pages. The last volume was published in 1978, it contains 728 pages. It is mostly a reference volume.

This project was undertaken by the Main Archives Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers, the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defence and the Central State Archives of the Soviet Army. This publication is intended for researchers and differs from other documentary collections on the history of the Civil War which were either thematic publications or "readers". Now we have a comprehensive collection of the main documents concerning military organisation and operations issued by the High Command and the commands of the fronts.

This publication is a remarkable event in Soviet historiography. It substantially expands the source base for research into one of the most important periods of the USSR history. The collections comprise 3,239 documents grouped according to the fronts and the periods of the war. An overwhelming majority of the documents are given in their entirety. Many of them have been published for the first time.

Directives of the Red Army High Command, 1917-1920 is the most complete collection of the Command's main documents on the organisation and conduct of armed struggle. There are 144 Lenin's documents in the collection, they

are closely connected with the materials of the High Command, give us a deeper insight into the developments of those years and into Lenin's role in the guidance of the armed struggle. Of great interest are the High Command reports which tell about the strategic position of Soviet Russia in this or that period. They help the reader understand how the plans of individual operations or campaigns were elaborated. Many of these reports were unknown before or published only in part. The documents acquaint the reader with the course of combat operations, the reasons for certain setbacks, the situation at the fronts, the state of resources and reserves in the country, and the situation in the rear; they also contain data on the organisation of the Red Army and Soviet military construction at the time.

The chronological framework of the three volumes of *Directives of the Red Army Fronts' Command* corresponds to the accepted periodisation. The fourth volume comprises data on the combat and numerical strength of the Red Army during the Civil War as a whole and at the fronts and armies in different periods of the war, as well as a list of large formations and units of the Red Army, a list of army and front commanders, members of the revolutionary military councils, army and front chiefs-of-staff. The volume also contains a name index to all volumes of the series and other reference material.

In almost every volume, the total amount of the documents incorporated therein is distributed unevenly according to the various fronts and this is quite justified. In tackling this problem, the compilers were guided not by the combat and numerical strength of this or that front, but by its importance in the various periods of the war.

Documents of the supreme Red Army organs are supplemented by Lenin's notes and materials of the CC of the Russian Communist Party. This combination makes it possible to fully reveal the decisive role played by Lenin, the Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government in strategic leadership of the military actions and the High Command's activity in executing the missions assigned to it. These documents convincingly show that all the major issues of the Soviet people's armed struggle were discussed at the meetings of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee under the direct leadership of Lenin and that it was he who took the most active part in elaborating all the major plans for routing the enemy. The edition consistently reveals the role of each front in every period of the Civil War and gives an exhaustive interpretation of the operational and strategic missions performed by each front.

The documents in this series enable historians dealing with the problems of the organisation and development of Soviet military art during the Civil War to determine the character of the control of the Soviet troops' operations in the light of the specific conditions of the Civil War and the means of warfare existing at the time.

As is known, the control of strategic operations is one of the most important fields of military art. The collections' materials and documents give an exceptionally complete picture of the distinguishing features of Soviet strategy during the Civil War, namely, unity of political and military leadership,

exploiting contradictions in the enemy camp, profound analysis of all the factors determining the course and the outcome of the war and their consideration during the strategic planning and control of combat operations, choice of the direction of the main effort, flexible manoeuvring of reserves, optimal use of available resources in operations, and concentration on decisive sectors culminating in the complete rout of the enemy.

The researcher will find a useful list of documents not included in these volumes. Most of them supplement important directives and instructions. Thus, historians now actually have a comprehensive publication of documents by record groups which meets their request that source materials be published in whole sets. Another attractive feature is the integrated system of numbering throughout the three volumes. And still another positive aspect, especially of the *Directives of the Red Army High Command, 1917-1920,* is the extensive cross reference index which brings out the interconnection of the documents and makes for a closer understanding of the material. On the whole we have an excellent example of cooperation of archivists and historians.

Thorough commentaries are provided for many of the documents. In the case of previously published documents which are included in the collections, the place of their first publication is indicated. Copious notes to each volume add much to its scientific value. As a rule, most of the notes refer to the sources thus giving the researcher the access to unpublished data.

The publication under review provides broad opportunities to considerably raise the scientific level of the research and to obtain valuable material to combat falsifiers of history seeking to distort this complex period of Soviet history.

Ya. Gorelik

Советский Союз и борьба народов Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европы за свободу и независимость. 1941-1945. М., изд-во «Наука», 1978, 449 стр.

The Soviet Union and the Struggle of the Peoples of Central and South-East Europe for Freedom and Independence in 1941-1945, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 449 pp.

The monograph under review is written by a team of scholars of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is a fundamental piece of research which gives a comprehensive assessment of the USSR's role in the development of the anti-fascist struggle for the liberation and independence of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and Greece during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. On the basis of vast archival material, the latest documentary publications and memoirs, the authors have succeeded, in our opinion, not only in synthesising the findings of Soviet historiography, but also in making a fresh contribution to the study of this problem.

Underlying all the nine chapters of the monograph is the idea that from the very outset of the war the Soviet people set themselves the task not only to liquidate the mortal danger hanging over the world's first socialist state, but also to render assistance to the millions of people in the countries of Europe who found themselves under the yoke of nazi tyranny.

The authors regard the major stages of the resistance movements in Central and South-East Europe as a component part of the freedom-loving nations' great battle against nazism. Drawing on a wealth of factual material, the authors present a panorama of the anti-nazi movement in all its manifestations. They underscore that the successes of the Soviet armed forces exerted great influence on all aspects of the resistance movement despite its specific features in individual countries.

The book vividly shows how these successes, in particular, in the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk, facilitated the upsurge of a mass anti-nazi movement which reached its height during the popular uprisings in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania.

The monograph also contains interesting facts about the participation of Soviet people in the liberation war waged by other peoples against the nazi invaders.

The resistance movement in Central and South-East Europe made a tangible contribution to the complete rout of nazi Germany. This conclusion is convincingly proved in the book. The authors show the interconnection between two major factors leading to the liberation of these countries from the nazi yoke, on the one hand, the courageous struggle of all the patriotic forces in the above countries under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the successful operations of the Soviet armed forces, on the other.

Of particular interest are the pages telling about the lofty liberatory mission of the Red Army. Numerous documents cited in the monograph testify that the Soviet troops carrying out their historic mission entered the territory of foreign countries in keeping with intergovernment treaties and agreements, thus acting in strict conformity with international law.

It is to the authors' credit that they reveal the allround internationalist support by the Soviet Union to the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Greece. The facts presented in the book vividly show the scale of this support. Yugoslavia alone received from the Soviet Union over 155,000 rifles, 38,000 submachine guns, more than 15,000 machine guns, 5,800 guns and mortars, 69 tanks and 491 aircraft.

During the war the Soviet Union rendered assistance in raising national Czechoslovak and Polish units which, like the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, fought shoulder-to-shoulder with the Red Army against the nazi invaders. In addition, the national formations of Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, with a total strength of 555,000 men, joined the Red Army at the final stage of the war.

The Soviet Union handed over gratis 960,000 rifles, carbines and submachine guns, 40,627 machine guns, 16,502 guns and mortars, 1,124 tanks and self-propelled guns, 2,346 aircraft, and other weapons to the above countries for their fight against nazism.

The cooperation of the Soviet Union with the countries of Central and South-East Europe in foreign policy figures prominently in the monograph. The Soviet Government recognised and politically supported the democratic governments which appeared in the course of the revolutions in these countries. At every international forum and conference it resolutely and consistently defended their interests, sovereignty and independence, coming out against the attempts of the imperialist forces to interfere in their internal affairs and providing them with the maximum favourable conditions for their independent development. The militant unity of the Soviet, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Polish peoples found its embodiment in the Treaties of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia (signed on December 12, 1943), between the USSR and Yugoslavia (April 11, 1945) and the USSR and Poland (April 21, 1945).

The merits of the monograph are beyond doubt. At the same time one remark is to be made. It is regrettable that the authors did not say anything about the anti-nazi movement in Austria, which lies in the region under review and in the liberation of which the Soviet Union, as is known, played an important role.

It should be noted in conclusion that the team of authors has produced a book which is sure to evoke interest among both historians and broad readership.

D. Meltser

Л. В. ЧЕРЕПНИН. *Земские соборы Русского государства в XVI—XVII вв.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1978, 417 стр.

L. V. CHEREPNIN, *"Zemskie Sobory" of the Russian State in the 16th and 17th Centuries,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 417 pp.

The book under review, which consists of an introduction, nine essays and an afterword, was the last to come from the pen of Academician Lev Cherepnin.

The first essay is devoted to historiography, source materials, methodology and research methods. The second essay "From Political Disunity to Monarchy with Estate Representation. The Emergence of *Zemskie Sobory*", describes the genetic relationship between the assemblies and the institutions of the previous periods (princes' assembly, *duma, veche,* court of arbitration, etc.). The formation of the monarchy with estate representation began long before the mid-16th century, when the *zemskie sobory* (the estate assemblies) appeared on the scene. The first such assembly named in the book was that of 1549. "The activity of the popular masses, which so vividly manifested itself in the Moscow uprising of 1547," the author writes, "forced the government to reckon with them as a major social force. To this force with its body—the *veche*—was opposed a new political body—*sobor,* or assembly, of representatives of various groups of the feudal class."

The third essay, "*Zemskie Sobory* During the Institution of *Oprichnina* and After Its Abolition", analyses the ideology of the autocracy and the monarchy with estate representation, which was then taking shape, and provides insights into the question of the *oprichnina* and the *zemsky sobor* convened in January 1565, following the tsar's departure for Alexandrovskaya Sloboda. This *sobor,* which included the *posad* (trading quarter) elite, was not a conference under the tsar, but a body which conducted negotiations with him. In the author's opinion, the fact that the system of *oprichnina*-based military dictatorship was adopted by a body of estate representation did not indicate a transition from one form of the state to another, from monarchy with estate representation to the autocracy. Already in 1566 a *zemsky sobor* was convened in order to discuss whether the Livonian War should be continued. In the 1570s, the tsar had on several occasions convened assemblies of the estates (in 1571, 1575, 1576, etc.). The death of Ivan the Terrible was followed by a weakening of the tsar's power, with the *zemskie sobory* growing in importance.

The fourth essay discusses *zemskie sobory* during the civil war and the Polish and Swedish intervention. In those years, the author emphasises, the people's active participation in the electoral campaign influenced its course and results. At times, old *veche* traditions were revived during popular movements which influenced the estate composition of the *sobors.*

The fifth essay is entitled "*Zemskie Sobory* During the Popular Struggle Against Foreign Intervention". The recognition of Wladyslaw on the throne was an anti-national act. The government sought the support of the *zemsky sobor* but, following the occupation of Moscow by the troops of intervention, it had lost its importance. This period, it is shown in the monograph, saw a growth of the importance of the local estate organisations. People's militia units were formed. Then the *zemskie sobory* were revived but the initiative in their reconvening now came from the grass-roots level. From a body convened by the government the *sobor,* at least temporarily, changed into a body which directed the government's activity. The *sobors* operated in the first (1611) and the second (1611-1612) people's militias. The liberation of Moscow raised the question of choosing a tsar. To this end, a *sobor* was convened. It was attended by members of different estates from different parts of Russia. In February 1613 the *sobor* proclaimed Mikhail Romanov tsar. According to the author, this *sobor* ushered in a new period in the history of the *sobors,* which were now mature bodies of estate representation playing an active role in handling questions of Russia's internal and external policy and in other state affairs. The monarchy with estate representation restored after the period known as the Time of Troubles (1605-1613) was a form of feudal state which contributed more to social progress than the serfdom system that followed. A factor contributing to the development of monarchy with estate representation was the peasant war of the early 17th century which retarded the formalisation of serfdom and the transition to absolutism.

The sixth essay is devoted to the *sobors* held in the first decade of Mikhail's rule (1613-1622). In this period they functioned almost

without interruption. The government made an effort to subordinate their activity to its own plans and rely on them in carrying out its own schemes. Therefore, while recognising the *sobor* as a body of estate representation within the monarchy, the tsarist authority took no measures to legalise it as an independent institution.

The *sobors* from the 1630s to the mid-1640s are the subject of the seventh essay. The period between 1622 and 1632 saw a break in the *sobors'* activity, which the author says was due to a stabilisation of Russia's situation. In the early 1630s, because of the Smolensk War and peasant disturbances, the *sobors* were reconvened.

The eighth essay, "People's Uprisings of the Mid-17th Century and the *Zemskie Sobory*", discusses the close relationship between the convocation of the *sobors* and the social events of the time. The *sobor* of 1648-1649 was called on the initiative of gentry and *posad* people, who exploited the grassroots action. At the *sobor* the gentry and the townspeople demanded the compilation of a new Code of Laws *(Ulozhennaya kniga)*. The *sobor* announced a *posad* reform and formalised serfdom. The demands of the gentry and the *posad* elite were met in the main and the government used these estates to strengthen its apparatus.

In his ninth essay, "*Zemskie Sobory* on the Ukraine's Unification with Russia in 1651-1653. Estate Assemblies of the 1660s. The Last *sobors* of the 1680s", the author points out that this decision provided to the Ukrainian people a favourable path of development. The second half of the 17th century saw a decline of estate representation. The last *sobor* met in 1684. "It proved to be fruitless, contributing nothing positive to the Russian state. This was not a pure accident or a mere failure. A new epoch had set in, which required more prompt and flexible forms of handling foreign-policy (and other) questions," the author writes. Some researchers also speak of a *sobor* held in 1698, but the author was inclined to believe that it had not been convened. The essay closes with discussion of the interpretation of the question of the *zemskie sobory* in the journalistic literature at the turn of the 18th century.

The afterword outlines the major problems posed by the history of *zemskie sobory*. According to the author's estimates, a total of 57 *sobors* were convened. In terms of their socio-political character they can be divided into four groups: those convened by the tsar, those convened by the tsar on the initiative of the estates, those convened by the estates on their own initiative in the tsar's absence, and elective ones. A study of the representation of estate groups led the author to the conclusion that Russia had a stable system of estate hierarchy and that there was a contradictory process of the conservation of the fragmentary character of social groupings and of the consolidation of the social estates. During their 150-year history *zemskie sobory*, although they constituted representative bodies of the top estates of feudal society were closely connected with the class struggle in Russia. Comparing them with their West European counterparts, the author emphasises their typological singularity.

M. Chemerisskaya

Н. М. ДРУЖИНИН. *Русская деревня на переломе. 1861-1880 гг.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1978, 287 стр.

N. M. DRUZHININ, *The Russian Village: Years of Change (1861-1880)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 287 pp.

Despite the attention which Soviet historians have devoted to the period when capitalism took root in Russia, there remain gaps in our historical literature on individual aspects of social development in those years. For instance, the situation in rural Russia, its trends of development and the specific features of this development in different parts of the country have been little studied. Suffice it to say that there was not a single comprehensive work dealing with the socio-economic situation of rural Russia during a critical period in its history—the 1860s and the 1870s.

The present monograph by Academician Nikolai Druzhinin fulfils the need for such a study and marks a new stage in research into this crucial phase in the formation of Russian agrarian capitalism. The book is a sequel to the author's well-known and important monograph *State-Owned Peasants and the Reform of P. D. Kiselev* (Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946; Vol. II, Moscow, 1958), in which, for the first time in Soviet historiography, on the basis of the study of the state-owned rural areas where the collapse of the old and the emergence of the new assumed distinct forms, the early stage of the crisis of Russia's feudal system and the essence of this crisis are investigated. At the same time, the author shows that the Kiselev reforms were an example of the autocracy's futile attempts to preserve feudal relations and at the same time find a way out of the crisis.

The monograph under review is concerned with the abolition of feudal-serfdom relations in Russia, which took the shape of agrarian reforms, and the transition of the countryside to capitalist development.

The author regards as his main task a study of the socio-economic processes which took place between 1861 and 1880 in the Russian countryside, which in those years formed the core of the Russian state, and thus it determined the type of the agrarian system of the reform period and exercised an influence on the mass peasant movement, on the development of social thought, and on the policy of the ruling classes. Here the author shows his usual ability to isolate, for the purpose of analysing the general regularities and trends of development, the aspect of historical reality (the category of peasants, as in the monograph *State-Owned Peasants*, or part of the country, as in the present book) which reflects this development in the most distinct forms. The period under study is chosen on an equally sound basis. The initial stage of development of the new formation, says the author, consisted of the years between two revolutionary situations. Being a result of the reforms of the 1860s, the social processes which unfolded in the Russian countryside in the subsequent years led to another upsurge in the revolutionary movement and to partial concessions on the part of the government. It is precisely this relationship between the two revolutionary situations

that marks these years as a distinct, separate period, and it is necessary to study this relationship from both the economic and political angles.

The said problems predetermine the content and structure of the book. The first part considers the underlying principles, content and conduct of the agrarian reforms of the 1860s (as applied to privately owned, state and tsar-owned peasants and lands), the newly introduced system of rural management, the government policy on the peasant question and the countryside's response to the reforms.

The second part is a survey of the conditions, character and regional distinctions of the countryside's socio-economic development following the reforms. The closing chapter of this part discusses the socio-political crisis which erupted in the late 1870s and its influence on rural Russia.

The monograph is marked by profundity of analysis and a painstaking theoretico-methodological approach to the phenomena and processes under investigation. All students of the peasant reform of 1861 speak of its bourgeois character. However, in discussing its implementation many writers do not go deeply enough into the question and give their attention mainly to the plunderous effect of the reform which largely benefited the landlords. Then there is also an opposite trend in historical studies whereby the bourgeois development of the Russian countryside is pictured as an almost serene process. Druzhinin's dialectical approach to this transitional period in the history of the Russian countryside, therefore, constitutes an important contribution to scholarship in this field. This allround approach is most vividly seen in a combination of analysis of general regularities and characteristics with a description of their regional specific features, as well as in a comparison of the overall state of the economy and the situation of the peasants with the distinctive features of the development of the rural areas previously owned by the landlords, the state and the tsar's family.

The monograph is also distinguished by comprehensiveness of treatment of the subject studied, which reflects the author's methodological principles. The author describes the prerequisites for, and the preparation, content and implementation of, the agrarian reforms and their influence on the socio-economic development of the countryside as well as the effect of this development on the peasant movement, the policy of the autocratic state and the struggle waged by socio-political forces around the agrarian-peasant question. This enabled the author to show the development of rural Russia in its period of change as a complex intertwining of both objective and subjective historical factors and forces, and this in turn opens the way for a more detailed study of the essence of the phenomena and processes under examination.

Finally, the monograph, like all other works by Druzhinin, stands out because of the comprehensive character of the sources used and the meticulousness with which concrete historical information derived from wide-ranging sources is examined and analysed. The author takes a comprehensive approach to the sources, but, as in any socio-economic investigation, the basis for analysis is formed by various statistical and other quantitative data, which are carefully brought together and given in 60 tables. These tables offer an insight into the essence of the phenomena and processes in question and are of value in their own right; these data can also be used in exploring other questions. A consistent theoretico-methodological approach has enabled the author to concentrate on the most important processes and phenomena. In this sense the monograph is also a corrective for the traditional pattern of research into this period. For example, research into the implementation of the 1861 peasant reform usually focused on the introduction of temporary peasant-landlord contracts. Undoubtedly this marked a major stage in the carrying out of the reform. But, as is shown in the present monograph, the key element of this process was the going over of the peasants to a system of land redemption. The author gives a comprehensive survey of the course and results of the redemption operation demonstrating its dual effect on the countryside—the emancipation of the peasant from the system of feudal relations and his becoming an owner of land—the basic means of production, on the one hand, and his being plundered because of exorbitant redemption payments for the limited land allotment, on the other. On the whole, the author believes, the redemption operation, while dealing a blow at the previous semi-subsistence economy, forcibly ushered in the process of primitive accumulation, thus clearing the way for the victory of the new, capitalist system—in its bourgeois-conservative, landlordly or Prussian (see "Our Glossary") variant. This operation is shown as a crucial, complex and contradictory phenomenon which exercised a deep and long-lasting influence on the entire course of socio-economic development of rural Russia rather than a simple financial measure or a mode of plundering of the peasants by the landlords and the autocratic state, which is an oversimplified interpretation sometime found in literature.

The author introduces important corrections in the interpretation of the question of how the 1861 reform influenced provision of land to peasants. As is well known, the reform worsened the situation by cutting off portions of land, and by landlords' appropriation of land bought by peasants, and by other measures. All this has been described in detail in many works on the reform. But in describing how the peasants were robbed of their land, researchers frequently neglect to show the final result of this process—the size of the allotment which the peasant received as part of the reform. The author of the present book concentrates his attention not so much on the cut-off of portions of land as on the actual allotments offered to the peasants and the changes in their size during the period in question. He shows the estate and regional distinctions in the apportionment of land to the peasants, and the overwhelming preponderance of the aggregate area of lands allotted to state-owned peasants over the aggregate area of lands belonging to peasants owned by the landlords and the tsar's family. State-owned rural areas, which had not known landlord oppression before the reform, were also incomparably less dependent on the landlord after the reform. Thus, bourgeois agrarian evolution could take place here only on the basis of peasant

holding, in other words, the "American" way (see "Our Glossary"). The prevalence in peasant landownership of lands belonging to former state-owned peasants shows that this pattern of bourgeois agrarian development was also present in the Russian countryside. In Russia this was more than a possibility, as some researchers have thought; it was a socio-economic reality, notably in the north and south and on both sides of the Volga. Such is one of the author's important conclusions.

The author's analysis of the state of farming and the situation of the peasants gives a clear picture of the technical level of the farming economy and the socio-economic changes taking place in it, and of the conflicting trends of oppression of the peasantry, on the one hand, and the progressive development, however slow, of the peasant economy, on the other. The latter trend became predominant and found expression in a deepening stratification of the peasantry. The author shows the distinctive features of this process in various parts of Russia. On the whole, by the end of the period covered in the book, the socio-economic development of the countryside became subject to the laws of commodity capitalism, with bourgeois relations, still underdeveloped and entangled with many survivals of serfdom, striking roots in the countryside.

Thus, the monograph, which fills a gap in the study of the Russian countryside in a complex historical epoch and contributes much that is new to a study of Russia's transition from feudalism to capitalism, is a model of a comprehensive, allround historical investigation performed on a high theoretico-methodological level and based on a wide range of sources and a careful handling and analysis of concrete data. Its importance goes beyond the framework of the author's self-imposed task. Bringing to a higher level the study of the development of agrarian capitalism in Russia and opening up a new stage in this study, the monograph helps raise the level of investigations in the field of socio-economic history as a whole.

I. Kovalchenko

П. А. ЗАЙОНЧКОВСКИЙ. *Правительственный аппарат самодержавной России в XIX в.* М., изд-во «Мысль», 1978, 288 стр.

P. A. ZAYONCHKOVSKY, *Government Apparatus of Autocratic Russia in the 19th Century*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 288 pp.

This new monograph, like a number of the author's previous works, discusses the internal policy of 19th-century Russia. It covers a long span—from 1796 to 1903; this is unusual for studies on modern and contemporary history. With this bold approach the author has made a thorough investigation of Russia's government apparatus in the 19th century.

Regrettably, the scope of research and problems with source materials prevented the author from covering the whole period adequately: no systematic data on the service, social origin, property and education of the officials in the 1800-1850 period have been discovered so far. Future researchers will therefore have to devise methods of making a statistical analysis of Russia's state apparatus of the first half of the 19th century. But the period which lasted from shortly before the Crimean War to almost the first Russian revolution is studied by the author in detail.

For a number of decades books and articles by Soviet historians were concerned mainly with socio-economic and historico-revolutionary subjects, which had been underrated, distorted or passed by in silence before the revolution. Problems relating to the dominant classes and the internal policy of the autocracy came to be underestimated, and this led to an imbalance in Soviet historiography. Fortunately, in recent years the balance has been restored.

The study of the state of the government apparatus, the author justly observes, presupposes the study of two questions. One is the system of state institutions and its characteristics, and the other is the composition of the state apparatus, the officialdom. The first question is adequately investigated both by pre-revolutionary and by Soviet historians. Research into the second question was pioneered by the author.

The author owes his success in resolving this challenging problem above all to his study of a wide range of sources. In addition to a large number of memoirs, he has taken a novel approach to well-known documents. In particular, he has studied the *Address-Calendar of the Russian Empire*, a widely known publication. However, the main "reservoir" of vital and interesting new information is the hundreds of service records preserved in the Central State Historical Archives of the USSR (record groups of the State Chancellory, the Senate, the ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice and a collection of service records). As a result data have been obtained which, it is to be hoped, will soon be included in general courses, study guides and popular works on 19th-century Russia.

According to the author's estimates, the number of officials in 19th-century Russia, with account taken of the country's population growth, increased almost sevenfold. Of considerable interest is the analysis of the composition of the State Council, the Committee of Ministers, the Senate and various categories of the gubernia administration (age, social and class origin, property status, and educational level). A comparison of the officials of the same departments in 1853 and 1903 indicates a rise in their educational level, and a substantial decrease in the amount of real estate owned by them. High-ranking officials, especially governors, always belonged to the nobility, this remained unchanged for 50 years.

Incidentally, the combination in the state apparatus of bureaucratic and socio-hierarchical principles apparently explains certain incongruities and oddities noted by the author. For instance, he describes as "incomprehensible" the strange inconsistency in the size of salaries paid to the members of the State Council pointing out that in general it is fairly difficult to establish any regularity in the size of salaries drawn by the top bureaucrats. Meanwhile, this obviously indicates survivals of uncontrollable old-time feudal grants.

Painstaking statistical research is combined here with an interesting personal approach to history. The author cites fascinating data on the family budgets of officials and the land possessions of the "pillars" of the empire. Diverse typical episodes characterising the Russian bureaucracy are described. True, here and there attention to certain individuals, in this reviewer's opinion, leads the author to subjective appraisals. Pavel Kiselyov, for instance, is presented as being sharply different from the other figures of the Nicholas I epoch. This statement, however, warrants a qualification: in the Nicholas I government, reactionary and ignorant ministers (such as Alexander Chernyshev, Alexander Benkendorf, Petr Kleinmichel, etc.) for decades worked side by side with comparatively moderate, cultured and flexible ones; naturally, reactionary trends and retrograde ministers were in the majority but this combination for some time enabled Nicholas I to manoeuvre in conducting his external and internal policies.

An extensive analysis of various "brilliant careers" made it possible to touch on the question of stability and reliability of the autocratic apparatus from the standpoint of the tasks which were set to it. But then, it seems to this reviewer, the author slightly underrates the relative viability of the feudal state machine: despite all obvious elements of backwardness and decay which he points out, it had for a long period successfully suppressed the majority of the population in the interests of the landowning nobility, who were in the minority. In this connection one may note the curious observations made in the early 1830s by Senator Velyaminov-Zernov, who saw several reigns in his lifetime. "In the 18th century," said the senator, "it was as easy to replace the tsar as to replace a minister but in those days it was much more difficult to replace a minister than now" (*Historical Collection of the Free Russian Press*, London, 1861, Book Two, p. 27.) In general, from 1801 to 1917 the Russian autocratic machine became less unstable, changes in it were made "softer" than before. There were no more palace conspiracies, and no minister (except Mikhail Speransky, in 1812) was exiled.

There is a definite reason for this: alarmed by the people's and revolutionary movement, the nobility and the bureaucracy refrained from staging palace revolutions which, they feared, could weaken the monarchy and the state apparatus. The said factors had an undeniable effect on the formation of the bureaucracy, and the question of the number and form of resignations and of important government officials falling into disgrace calls for special consideration. Incidentally, another sign that the book is a serious piece of research is that it lays no claim to being an exhaustive study of the subject. The author points out in the introduction that his book does not cover all aspects of the problem but rather charts the main lines for a more thorough investigation.

Apparently, one of such lines, barely touched on in the book, is the problem of participation of officials in the country's sociopolitical and cultural life. It will be recalled that many Russian public figures, beginning with the first Russian revolutionary, Alexander Radishchev, in different periods of

their lives did the jobs of officials. The active service of Ivan Pushchin in the Moscow court is justly regarded as an act of Decembrism, which appears to be particularly remarkable against the background of the contempt (noted by the author) shown by high-born noblemen for civil service.

Another fairly complex question is that of the political views and social stand of the officials. It is on record that in the 1850s-1860s a fairly large number of officials passed valuable materials unmasking government deeds to the magazine *Kolokol*. Naturally, the majority of the officials of the autocratic apparatus tried to strengthen it and reflected government views. However, there was an obvious ideological division within the bureaucratic forces. The question of the social, cultural and political make-up of the officialdom remains a subject for research.

Owing to the novelty and significance of the problems discussed, the amount of new material included, the high quality of the analysis of this material, and, finally, the prospects for further research into the subject outlined by the author, the work under review represents a notable contribution to the study of 19th-century Russia.

N. Eidelman

В. А. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Н.С. КИНЯПИНА, М.Т. ПАНЧЕНКОВА, В. И. ШЕРЕМЕТ. *Восточный вопрос во внешней политике России. Конец XVIII—начало XX века.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1978, 433 стр.

V. A. GEORGIYEV, N. S. KINYAPINA, M.T. PANCHENKOVA, V.I. SHEREMET, *The Eastern Question in Russia's Foreign Policy (the End of the 18th-the Beginning of the 20th Century)*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1978, 433 pp.

A variety of archival material, Soviet and foreign publications served as sources for the monograph under review. The authors also drew extensively on periodicals, memoirs, diaries and letters. As they point out, apart from Russia's policy in the Eastern question, their task was to analyse Russo-Turkish relations proper as well as Turkish policy and the political goals of the West with regard to the Ottoman Empire. The specific nature of the problem required the authors to give a scientific definition of the geography of the Eastern question since to date there is no unanimity of views on the subject. The authors rightly think that its geography should not go beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire's possessions.

A more precise definition of the territories involved in the Eastern question makes it possible to give a critical assessment of the works of West European scholars who reduce the problem to the struggle between Russia and Turkey for the Bosporus and Dardanelles while at the same time saying nothing about the annexation policy which the Western countries conducted with regard to the Ottoman Empire. This accurate

definition also helps avoid another extreme whereby historians unjustifiably include the Middle Eastern countries in the sphere of the Eastern question, thereby making the problem unmanageable and stripping it of its scientific value. It is said in the monograph that at certain stages not only the European but also the African and Asian possessions of the Ottoman Empire were drawn into the sphere of the interstate struggle.

As to Russia's policy in the Eastern question, the main topic of the monograph, the authors believe that of primary importance here were problems related mostly to the Ottoman Empire's European possessions. These were the Balkan question, the problem of the Black Sea Straits and Russia's patronage of Orthodox subjects of the Porte as a means of political influence on it.

The authors do not regard Russia's policy in the Caucasus as a component part of the Eastern question, and merely limit themselves to taking it into account in their analysis of Russo-Turkish relations. In this they follow the same principle which they used in elucidating the geography of the Eastern question. Yet this approach to the assessment of the essence of Russia's policy in the Eastern question makes the picture of the Russian government's foreign policy conducted within the framework of the Eastern question somehow incomplete. At certain stages of history, as is known, the rivalry between Russia and Turkey to possess the Caucasus, where the Sultan's government periodically held sway over certain areas, was no less acute than in the Balkans.

The monograph spans the period between the end of the 18th century, when the solution to the Eastern question began to hinge largely on Russia's position, and the Great October Revolution of 1917, which radically changed Russia's foreign policy principles. After the Revolution, the Soviet government, as is known, rendered all-round and disinterested support to the peoples of the Ottoman Empire in their aspiration to free themselves from imperialist oppression.

In analysing Russia's foreign policy within the said period, the authors have come to the conclusion that throughout this period its Near East aspect was one of the most important. They point out that Russian tsarism's policy in the East, like that of the Western states, was aggressive in nature and that the methods and means used in conducting this policy varied depending upon the alignment of forces on the world arena, the country's internal situation, and the position of the Ottoman Empire and the peoples it had enslaved. The Russo-Turkish wars, which occupy a special place in the monograph, are regarded in this light. At the same time, the authors point out that these wars were of positive nature in their objective consequences, since they speeded up the liberation of the Balkan and other nations under Turkish rule from the Sultan's oppression. Besides, it is necessary to underscore that Russia's policy in the Eastern question was in line with that of the West European countries. The authors mention the tendency of Western historiography to disguise the Western powers' aggressive policy with regard to Turkey and to emphasise the allegedly specific interest of tsarism in the struggle for the division of Turkey and the Western state's actions against this division.

The monograph is the first in Soviet historiography to have described Russia's policy in the Eastern question according to periods. The Marxist-Leninist principle of the development of society according to social formations, and the dependence of foreign policy upon internal socio-economic processes served as the criterion for this periodisation.

In keeping with this periodisation, the first period, as has already been said, begins at the end of the 18th century, and concludes with the end of the Crimean War. Russia's policy at the time was affected by the disintegration of the feudal system which had just started and which turned into a crisis in the second quarter of the 19th century. In the authors' opinion, gaining access to the Black Sea and consolidating the Southern border, colonising the country's South and expanding its influence among the Balkan peoples were the first priority tasks of Russia's foreign policy in the Eastern question in that period. By the 1820s this policy had been carried out in general. In view of the crisis in the Eastern question caused by the national movements in the Balkans, Russia included the question of navigation rules for the Straits into her plans. The 1833 Hunkar-Iskelesi Treaty, which was diplomatic victory for Russia, allowed her to take warships through the Straits. The problem of the Straits, however, remained unsettled. The London Conventions of 1840-1841 which weakened the positions of tsarism in Turkey eventually led to the Crimean War.

The second period of the tsarist government's foreign policy in settling the Eastern question coincides with the end of the Crimean War and the establishment of capitalism in Russia. The authors regard the struggle to repeal the shackling provisions of the Paris Treaty of 1856 as Russia's foreign policy aim in the Eastern question. They underscore that, beginning with the 1870s, the Balkan problem became central to the tsarist government's Near East policy.

The epoch of imperialism has been singled out as an independent, third, period when world contradictions began to influence the solution of the Eastern question. This period begins with the signing of the Russo-Austrian Convention of 1897, and ends with Soviet Russia's withdrawal from the imperialist world.

Thus, according to the given periodisation the research comprises, structurally, three large sections, namely, the Eastern question in Russia's foreign policy between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century; in the second half of the 19th century; and in the period of imperialism. The authors show the complex evolution of Russia's policy in the Eastern question beginning with her struggle to repeal the shackling conditions of the Paris Treaty of 1856 up to the Near East crisis in the 1890s.

It is stressed in the book that of all the European states only Russia came out in support of the national movements in the Balkans. Russia acted in the same manner during the Eastern crisis of the 1870s when she insisted, within the framework of the Triple Alliance, on granting autonomy to the Balkan peoples, while the West European governments confined their demands only to reforms for the

non-Turkish population of the Balkan Peninsula.

Besides tackling problems concerned with Russia's policy in the Eastern question, the monograph also raises questions related to the West European states' Near East policy.

M. Bliyev

С. Ю. АБРАМОВА. *Африка: четыре столетия работорговли.* М., Главная редакция восточной литературы изд-ва «Наука», 1978, 284 стр.

S. Yu. ABRAMOVA, *Africa: Four Centuries of Slave Trade,* Moscow, Nauka Publishers (Central Department of Oriental Literature), 1978, 284 pp.

The study under review, which consists of a preface, eleven chapters, a conclusion, bibliography and an index of geographical names, covers a period of more than 400 years—from the mid-15th century almost to the end of the 19th century. Geographically, it embraces practically all Tropical Africa, North and South America, the West Indies, Europe and the Arab slave-trade areas of Asia.

The author divides the history of European-American slave trade in Africa into three main periods. In the first period, which lasted from the early 1440s to the mid-17th century, the Portuguese brought to Europe from West Africa the first hundreds of Africans they had taken prisoner and sold them as slaves. In the early 16th century the main destination of slave traffic shifted to America, where the Europen powers had already been founding their colonies. The second period—that of "free", unlimited slave trade—lasted from the mid-17th century to 1807-1808 (when slave trade was officially banned by Britain and the United States), but it actually ended with the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789. This period saw the expansion of the plantation economy in America and the West Indies, which required a sharp rise in the inflow of African slaves. In the third period, which came to a close in the 1870s, there was contraband slave trade, which was conducted on a large scale. In these decades slaves were brought from East Africa as well as from West Africa, as in the earlier periods. The author gives a detailed description of the slave trade according to periods and regions, singling out in each period specific phases and outlining their features. In describing slave trade in the main regions (the Congo and Angola, West Africa and East Africa) the author characterises the system of slave trade organisation and analyses the slave-trade policy of the European powers and the United States, noting that Russia never was a party to slave trade.

Several chapters are devoted to the struggle against slave trade—the Africans' own resistance, the abolitionist movement in Britain and other countries, official political and military actions of various states—and the ideology and tactics of the supporters of slave trade, ranging from the "theoreticians" of racism in Europe and the United States to the slave-captains and African slave-merchants.

On the basis of a large body of facts, the author draws one of her principal conclusions that slave trade was a stage of the world-historical process and a major period of the history of Africa, Europe and America, and that this calls for a scientific evaluation of its role and place in the destinies of many countries and regions of the world.

The author traces the relationship between the development of capitalism and slave trade, confirming well-known statements by Marx on the role of slavery in the formation and development of European and American capitalism. The immense profits and other forms of wealth derived from slave trade made it one of the key factors in the process of primary accumulation.

The book contains an analysis of the reasons for the ban imposed on slave trade in the early 19th century, the gradual decrease of outflow of slaves from Africa in the second half of the 19th century and the increasingly vigorous movement against contraband slave trade. In the view of the author these reasons are to be found in the changed world political and economic situation and the desire of the European states to preserve Africans as a labour force in the colonies which were established on their continent rather than in the philanthropic sentiments that allegedly prevailed among the ruling classes.

The author describes the role of slave trade in Africa's own history and the terrible price Africa had to pay for the progress and prosperity of many countries of Europe and America. It is shown that for Africa the epoch of slave trade was an epoch of violence and bloodshed when it was forcibly robbed of its productive forces: almost 100 million people were shipped out or died during the slave-trade wars.

As a rule, the strongest and healthiest young men and women were sold in slavery. Slave traffic upset the development of the production and other social relations over a large part of the continent. The book contains an extensive investigation of these two crucial aspects of its influence on Africa. Slave trade, it is emphasised, did more than hamper and interrupt the independent development of Africa. It largely directed the development of the continent along abnormal lines, for which there were no prerequisites in African society. It subordinated and adapted the overall process of this development to its own needs.

The anti-slave-trade movement which followed the official ban on slave trade was exploited by the European powers as a pretext for taking control of many state formations and peoples of Tropical Africa and for their subsequent colonisation.

Slave trade, it is justly observed in the book, also had harsh psychological consequences for Africans. One was a decline in the African peoples' resistance to the Europeans: slave trade, in the author's view, considerably held back the development of the national liberation movement. But its most dreadful legacy is racism. The author shows that ever since it came into existence racism has performed the function of justifying slave trade, the enslavement of Africans and their exploitation by whites.

The book is important both owing to the extensive factual material it contains and to its high level of analysis.

S. Kozlov

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В. С. ЛЯМИН. *География и общество*, М., изд-во «Мысль», 1978, 309 стр.

V. S. LYAMIN, *Geography and Society*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1978, 309 pp.

Science develops unevenly. Some of its branches forge ahead now and then while others lag behind for a time. This fact was noticed long ago. However, there is another form of uneven development linked with the first one, although not always directly. We are referring to the tackling of the philosophical problems of various natural sciences. Unlike physics, chemistry or biology, geography has been very unlucky in this respect. Just a short while ago even rather well-versed philosophers frowned at the very idea that there might be such things as the "philosophical problems of geography".

In the meantime meaningful theoretical discussions continued unabated among the geographers themselves, and more often than not they touched upon rather profound philosophical problems. As for the philosophical works proper, they invariably put all the geographical problems into the Procrustean bed of the concepts of the geographic environment (where the notion was used in a purely sociological sense) and of its ability either to speed up or slow down social development.

Now we have before us a rather voluminous book by V. Lyamin, a geographer (a geomorphologist) by education and a philosopher by profession, devoted to methodological problems of modern geography. The author pays considerable attention to the relations between geography and society: the last two chapters deal with this issue in detail. However, the methodological cornerstone of Lyamin's work is his attempt to specify the place of geography in the system of sciences and substantiate the concept of the geographic form of the movement of matter.

The author is far from being a trailblazer in this respect, and he never aspires to this role either. On the contrary, he thoroughly analyses practically all the most important pronouncements on this score in Soviet philosophical and geographic literature. Much attention is given to the views of the most prominent Soviet geographer, A. Grigoryev, which, in our opinion, is only justified. Grigoryev was the first in Soviet literature to advance the idea of a specifically geographic form of the movement of matter (as far back as the early 1930s); in addition, he was one of the most profound theoreticians on geography.

We shall try to reproduce briefly Lyamin's arguments in favour of the geographic form of the movement of matter.

Most of the attempts made in this field proceeded from the modern contents of the geographic science which studies the interaction and interpenetration of various spheres (the lithosphere, the atmosphere, the hydrosphere and the biosphere) on the surface of the Earth as a whole and, in particular, in its individual sectors or landscapes. However, this would signify that the geographic form of the movement of matter also includes the biological form of movement in addition to the physical and chemical ones. The geographic form (or the "landscape" form as some authors call it) seen that way would be placed in the genetic order of the forms of matter's movements between the biological and social ones, and that would contradict both scientific facts and existing theories since the biological form of the movement of matter itself, without any intermediate elements, gives rise to a social form and makes up a part of it through man who is both a biological and social creature at the same time. Consequently, for the biological form of movement there is no other higher form except the social one.

One can also try and derive the geographic form of movement from the lower form which preceded it in the course of the development of nature. Grigoryev's idea of the pre-organic stage of the "physico-geographic" form of the movement of matter seems to be very productive in this respect. According to his views, before life appeared on earth the integrity of the physico-geographic envelope of our planet was secured by the interaction and interpenetration of the upper layers of the lithosphere, the hydrosphere and the lower layers of the atmosphere (the troposphere). These components of the envelope are not of equal importance. The leading one among them is the hydrosphere. Its formation led to a qualitative change in the lower layers of the atmosphere and the emergence of the troposphere. According to Lyamin, the hydrosphere and the troposphere, which are linked by heat and water exchange, are the principal opposing components of the Earth's superficial envelope. The third component of that envelope, terrain, is a product of the interaction between the planet's air and water envelopes, and, itself plays an important role in that process.

"Therefore," the author observes, "the existence of a specific geographic material system consisting of opposing components is beyond doubt. This system is formed, on the one hand, of the elements of the hydrosphere (rivers, lakes, seas oceans, glaciers and snowfields) and, on the other, of the elements of the troposphere (air masses, cloud systems and climate) and terrain (of non-tectonic origin)" (p. 41). And the presence of a self-developing material system, whose mode of existence is the given form of the movement of matter, constitutes, in Lyamin's view, one of the principal dialectico-materialistic criteria of singling out such forms of movement.

This interpretation of the geographic form of the movement of matter enables the author to approach the solution of a number of vital theoretical problems in geographic science in his own way. These problems deal with the specific features of geographic space and time; the principles of the inner classification of geographic science; the subject of geography and the correlation between physical and economic geography (the author says that "general physical geography is as general to economic geography as it is to any other geographic science" (p. 163). This view is very interesting, in our opinion; the common features and differences between the notions of "geographic environment" and "geographic envelope"; and the unity of geographic science. The author maintains that this unity stems from the existence of the geographic form of the movement of matter, which is a common basis for all the components of the

geographic envelope. And it is this basis that makes for the community of the geographic laws.

The author attaches considerable attention to the place geography should occupy in the system of sciences. He observes that the development of inorganic nature on our planet could be visualised as a succession of various forms of the movement of matter deriving one from another: the group of the physical forms of movement—chemical—geological—geographic (the sciences studying these forms of movement are placed in the same order in the general classification of sciences). It would be wrong to stop there, however. The author underlines that in the course of the development of the Earth's nature the branch of the inorganic forms of movement (geological and geographic) created specific geological and geographic conditions for the development of another branch of the chemical form of movement. As a result, there emerged life and, later, human society.

This, in brief outline, is Lyamin's view on the geographic form of the movement of matter. In analysing it one cannot but give due credit to the author's consistency. He seeks to review many complex theoretical problems of geographic science in the light of the approach he has proposed. At the same time it is difficult to get rid of the impression that this consistency is a little bit dry, if we may say so. The author puts his reasoning within a rigid framework, as it were. It is vital that the geographic form of movement exist. And, having made this assumption, he draws all possible conclusions from it. Meanwhile, some of the latter substantially change (and, we may even say, water down) the almost universal concepts of the content of geographic science. First of all, we are referring to the author's contention that geography ranks among the basic sciences of inanimate nature (p. 125). However, both in the history of geographic thought at least since A. Humboldt's time, and in modern interpretations geography has always been regarded as the science of the inseparable links and interaction of solid matter and life, and the inorganic and organic types of nature, on the surface of the Earth. In view of this circumstance some of the geographers prefer to use the term "biogenosphere" to denote the geographic envelope, meaning a sphere where life emerged, developed and is being reproduced.

The last chapters of the book deal with the interconnection between nature and society and the role of geography in the scientific and technological revolution. At this point we would like to call the readers' attention to the fact that the author has made more specific the notion of the "geographic environment" (pp. 232-242).

In conclusion, it must be observed that the author does not always succeed in conveying adequately the essence of the methodological function of philosophy in relation to scientific knowledge. We are referring to cases when philosophical tenets as interpreted by the author look like rules and regulations for specific sciences. The book also contains a number of repetitions and stylistical errors. However, all these shortcomings cannot detract from the value of *Geography and Society.*

I. Blauberg

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BOOKS ON HISTORY

From the Editors: *Below is an annotated list of books on history put out by Nauka Publishers in 1975-1979. The list has been prepared by Nauka Publishers. The lists of books by Soviet Americanists and Orientalists published in recent years can be found in* ***Social Sciences*** *No. 2, 1980 and No. 2, 1979, respectively.*

The Academy of Sciences and Siberia. 1917-1957, Novosibirsk, 1977, 320 pp.

Chronologically collection spans forty years—the period of expeditions, establishment and activity of the Siberian Branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences which culminated in the organisation of the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It outlines various aspects of the Academy's work in Siberia, and its major achievements.

Topical Problems of Soviet Historiography of the First Russian Revolution. A Collection of Articles, Moscow, 1978, 316 pp.

The book concentrates on Lenin's works on, and his assessment of, the First Russian Revolution, summarises Soviet research in this field and analyses publications of the past decade.

M. S. Alperovich, *Revolution and Dictatorship in Paraguay (1810-1840),* Moscow, 1975, 390 pp.

The monograph analyses the social content of the Spanish-American revolution, the sources and class essence of the dictatorial regimes in the epoch under review.

A. V. Artsikhovsky, V. L. Yanin, *The Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls (From the Excavations of 1962-1976),* Moscow, 1978, 192 pp.

The authors present 135 birch-bark scrolls found in Novgorod and Staraya Russa. The scrolls date from the 11th to the 15th century and each is supplied with a commentary and a glossary. The book is part of the series of publications of the Novgorod birch-bark scrolls put out between 1953 and 1963.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the West European Countries, Moscow, 1978, 216 pp.

A majority of articles analyse specific national forms of the world revolutionary process following the Great October Revolution of 1917 and show the impact of the Re-

volution on the political strategy of the West European bourgeoisie and on international relations as a whole.

The Great October Revolution and the Revolution in Cuba, Moscow, 1977, 298 pp.

The monograph traces the historical connection between the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the Cuban revolution and contains research into the manifestation in Cuba of general laws of a socialist revolution revealed during the Great October Revolution and the specific features of the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

The Great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia and Revolutions of the 1940s in the Countries of Central and South-East Europe. The Experience of the Comparative Study of Socio-Economic Transformations in a Revolutionary Process, Moscow, 1977, 542 pp.

The book analyses the historic significance of the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution for the world and the impact of this experience on the revolutions in Central and South-East Europe in the 1940s, confirming the worldwide relevance of the Leninist teaching about major laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch. The Triumph of Lenin's Ideas. Materials of a Plenary Meeting, Moscow, 1977, 222 pp.

An international scientific and theoretical conference "Tbe Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch" was held in Moscow between November 10 and 12, 1977. It was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Higher Party School under the CPSU Central Committee and attended by outstanding Soviet and foreign scholars, public figures and representatives of more than 70 communist, workers', national-democratic parties. After the plenary session the work was continued in the panels. The present collection carries the materials of the plenary session.

The Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch. The International Significance of the Great October Revolution and the Building of Socialism and Communism. Materials of a Panel's Meeting, Moscow, 1978, 358 pp.; *The Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch. The October Revolution and the Working Class, National Liberation and General Democratic Movement. Materials of a Panel's Meeting,* Moscow, 1978, 448 pp.; *The Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch. The Development of Socialist Society at the Present Stage. Materials of a Panel's Meeting,* Moscow, 1978, 335 pp.

These collections carry the materials of the panel's meetings of the conference "The Great October Revolution and Contemporary Epoch".

The Great October Revolution, the Working Class and Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography, Moscow, 1977, 128 pp.

Attention is focused on such questions as the social character of the Russian working class, its role as the leader of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle for the abolition of private capitalist ownership.

V. P. Volgin, *Essays on the History of Socialist Ideas (the First Half of the 19th Century),* Moscow, 1976, 420 pp.

The book comprises the articles on the views of Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Weitling and other representatives of socialist thinking of the first half of the 19th century in Western Europe.

V. P. Volgin, *The Development of Social Thought in France in the 18th Century,* Moscow, 1977, 372 pp.

The author analyses the views of the founders of bourgeois ideology (Voltaire, Montesquieu), physiocrats' economic theories, encyclopaedists' works, as well as democratic and egalitarian theories and cooperative projects.

V. P. Volgin, *French Utopian Communism,* Moscow, 1979, 336 pp.

The author traces the development of communist ideas prior to and following the French Revolution, the dissemination of these ideas in connection with the growing workers' and republican movement in the 1830s and 1840s and their development in the years directly preceding the 1848 revolution.

L. I. Gintsberg, *The Workers' and Communist Movement in Germany in the Struggle against Nazism (1919-1933),* Moscow, 1978, 380 pp.

The book outlines the reasons of the unfavourable outcome of the tense class struggle of the German proletariat and all working people in the 1920s and 1930s, exposing the social forces responsible for establishing the Hitler dictatorship.

E. A. Grinevich, *Cuba: the Road to the Triumph of the Revolution,* Moscow, 1975, 238 pp.

Drawing on a wealth of documentary material the author elucidates the revolutionary traditions of the national liberation movement of the Cuban people, the bankruptcy of bourgeois parties in pre-revolutionary Cuba, the country's economy, the consolidation of democratic and patriotic forces.

V. I. Gulyaev, *The Maya City-States,* Moscow, 1979, 302 pp.

On the basis of archaeological, ethnographic and historical materials the author makes a conclusion about the nature of the Maya cities comparing them with the urban centres of other early class societies, for example, Egypt, Sumer, etc.

V. P. Danilov, *The Soviet Pre-Kolkhoz Village: Population, Land-Use, Economy,* Moscow, 1977, 318 pp.

The author analyses the socio-economic history of the Russian village prior to collectivisation, the struggle of socialist and capitalist trends in the village development, major factors of the objective necessity for a socialist transformation of agriculture.

250 Years of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Documents and Materials of Jubilee Meetings, Moscow, 1977, 585 pp.

The collection shows major achievements of Soviet scientists, the progress of science under socialism and its growing role in communist construction.

V. A. Demidov, *The October Revolution and the National Question in Siberia, 1917-1923,* Novosibirsk, 1978, 365 pp.

The monograph examines various aspects of the national movements in Siberia, the Soviet Government's efforts to implement the Leninist nationalities policy, of the national-state construction in Siberia.

Europe in International Relations. 1917-1939, Moscow, 1979, 438 pp.

The collection deals with key problems of the development of European diplomacy between the two world wars, with the impact of the October Revolution on the destiny of Europe, the Versailles Treaty, the Locarno agreements, Briand's plans for the unification of Europe, etc.

M. D. Ereshchenko, *The Royal Dictatorship in Rumania. 1938-1940,* Moscow, 1979, 170 pp.

The author examines a variety of the fascism—the royal dictatorship in Rumania and its distinctions from other forms of power, including the fascist dictatorships in Germany and Italy. Much attention is given to the efforts by the Rumanian Communist Party to unite the masses in the struggle against fascism and the policy pursued by the royal dictatorship, against reactionary forces and war.

E. M. Zhukov, M. A. Barg, E. B. Chernyak, V. I. Pavlov, *Theoretical Problems of the World Historical Process,* Moscow, 1979, 330 pp.

The authors deal with topical problems of the teaching about socio-economic formations, in particular, the questions of the correlation between sociological and historical aspects of the category "formation", about the difference between the sociological and the historical structures of social development. The problems of historical typology figure prominently in the book.

From the History of People's Democratic and Socialist Revolutions in the Countries of Central and South-East Europe, Moscow, 1977, 388 pp.

The book shows the development of revolutionary processes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia during and after the Second World War; strategy and tactics of the Communist and Workers' Parties in these countries in the struggle for establishing the people's democratic system and embarking on the path of socialist construction.

G. Z. Ioffe, *The Fall of Russian Monarchic Counterrevolution,* Moscow, 1977, 320 pp.

Drawing on many a source the author reveals the counter-revolutionary activity of bourgeois-landlord monarchic circles striving to liquidate the gains of not only the Great October Revolution but also of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The book exposes the white-émigré and contemporary anti-communist historiography distorting the genuine meaning of the triumph of Soviet government.

Spain. 1918-1972. A Historical Essay, Moscow, 1975, 496 pp.

The book is the most complete and systematised Soviet study of the major stages of Spain's modern history and contains an analysis of political and socio-economic development of Spanish society, the history of political thinking, the theory and practice of the Franco state as well as the development of the mass movement to restore democracy.

Historiography of Peasantry in Soviet Siberia, Novosibirsk, 1976, 475 pp.

The monograph is the first of its kind to analyse the entire literature on the history of Siberia's peasantry from the Great October Socialist Revolution to the present day. It traces the genesis and essence of various concepts of the history of the peasantry at the main stages of the development of historical science.

A History of the USSR Foreign Policy. 1917-1975 (in two volumes: Vol. 1—1917-1945, Moscow, 1976, 518 pp.; Vol. 2—1945-1975, Moscow, 1976, 672 pp.).

Volume 1 deals with Soviet foreign policy from its inception to the end of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. Volume 2 reflects Soviet foreign policy over the thirty years after the war.

A History of the German Democratic Republic. 1949-1973. A Short Outline, Moscow, 1975, 486 pp.

The book contains a short survey of the emergence and development of the German socialist state beginning with the revolutionary-democratic transformations of the first postwar years up to the construction of a developed socialism. The survey is based on the achievements of Soviet German studies and the works of GDR historians.

History and Genealogy. S. B. Veselovsky and Problems of Historical and Genealogical Research, Moscow, 1977, 285 pp.

The collection analyses some aspects of the genealogy of various social groups of the population in pre-revolutionary Russia such as peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, nobility, as well as the interrelation between this discipline and numismatics, anthroponimy, etc.

A History of the First World War. 1914-1918 (in two volumes: Vol. 1, Moscow, 1975, 445 pp.; Vol. 2, Moscow, 1975, 606 pp.).

The work examines the causes and character of the war, its preparation, the land and naval operations, military-political outcome and lessons, the development of military art. The authors unmask falsifiers of the history of the First World War.

A Source Study of the History of the Great October Revolution. A Collection of Articles, Moscow, 1977, 288 pp.

The articles contain a source analysis of the documents on the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Much attention is given to the study of Lenin's works, the Communist Party documents and decrees by the Soviet Government.

Canada. 1918-1945. A Historical Essay, Moscow, 1976, 504 pp.

The research centres around the history of the Canadian people, trade-union and farmers' organisations. The activity of bourgeois parties—Liberal and Conservative, the process of the country's growing dependence on the USA, Canada's participation in the war against nazism, and the movement of solidarity with the USSR, figure prominently in the book.

I. K. Kirilov, *Prosperous Russian State,* Moscow, 1977, 444 pp.

The work of a famous Russian geographer of the 18th century, a cartographer and historian, Chief Secretary of the Senate, was completed in 1772 and is the first historical, geographical and economico-statistical description of Russia. The first edition of Kirilov's works (published by M. Pogodin in 1831) has long become a bibliographical rarity. The new edition has been prepared with due account of all currently known variants of the scholar's works and it contains the parts of Kirilov's works which were not included into Pogodin's publication.

A. I. Klibanov, *Popular Socialist Utopia in Russia. The Period of Feudalism,* Moscow, 1977, 334 pp.

The author examines popular ideals of a classless society and their evolution which is inseparably linked with peasant wars and uprisings, elucidates the experience of establishing "socialist" community living, the historical roots of popular Utopias, the interrelations between the theories of Russian popular Utopians and those of representatives of foreign social Utopianism.

Yu. V. Knorozov, *Hieroglyphic Maya Manuscripts,* Leningrad, 1975, 272 pp.

The book is a translation of the three survived manuscripts of the Maya Indians dating from the 12th-15th centuries and written in hieroglyphs (the other Maya's manuscripts are known to have been burnt by the Inquisition following the Spanish conquest in the 16th century). The translation is based on the author's interpretation of the Maya hieroglyphic writing, as described in the preceding publications, and is supplied with a commentary. The introductory article outlines the data about the Maya literature.

G. D. Komkov, B. V. Levshin, L. K. Semyonov, *The USSR Academy of Sciences. A Short History,* 2nd Revised and Enlarged Edition. (in two volumes: Vol. 1, 1724-1917, Moscow, 1977, 382 pp.; Vol. 2, 1917-1976, Moscow, 1977, 545 pp.).

In Volume 1 the authors, drawing extensively on documentary materials, trace the emergence of Russian science and the work of many outstanding scientists. Volume 2 is devoted to the Soviet period. It outlines Lenin's role in drawing the country's leading research institution into Soviet construction, shows the development of Soviet science before, during and after the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 and its present-day achievements.

Yu. Kh. Kopelevich, *The Foundation of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences,* Leningrad, 1977, 210 pp.

The monograph deals with the emergence of the idea to found an academy of sciences in Russia, the election of its first members, the Academy's first steps in organising scientific research, the development of management system and the attempts to bring scientific activities in line with the practical tasks of the state.

P. A. Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution. 1789-1793.* ("The Monuments of Historical Thought" series), Moscow, 1979, 575 pp.

The book was first published in 1909 in France. As compared to other works devoted to this theme, it gave a more complete picture of the role of the masses, in particular, the peasantry at all major stages of the Great French Revolution. It is for this reason that Lenin highly assessed the book and insisted that it should be reprinted. The book written in a lively language and based on a wealth of sources retains its importance even today.

N. I. Lebedev, *The Great October and the Restructuring of International Relations,* Moscow, 1978, 456 pp.

The author analyses the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government to establish a just and democratic world peace, to restructure international relations according to Lenin's Decree on Peace.

Much attention is given to the foreign policy programmes of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses.

V. S. Lelchuk, *Socialist Industrialisation in the USSR and Its Reflection in Soviet Historiography,* Moscow, 1975, 310 pp.

The author focuses on three questions: industrialisation in Lenin's works; the Communist Party's elaboration of the policy to transform the USSR into a mighty industrial state; an analysis of relevant scientific literature (from the end of the 19th century to the early 1970s).

The Lenin Decree on Land in Action. A Collection of Articles, Moscow, 1979, 310 pp.

The collection shows the redistribution of lands under this Decree in various regions of the country, its results and socio-economic consequences.

B. R. Lopukhov, *A History of the Fascist Regime in Italy,* Moscow, 1977, 294 pp.

The author analyses the history of the fascist dictatorship in Italy, its peculiarities as compared to German nazism, the relations between Italian political parties in that period, the struggle of the Italian Communist Party against fascism.

A. Z. Manfred, *The Formation of the Russo-French Alliance,* Moscow, 1975, 374 pp.

The monograph examines one of the bright pages of the history of the relations between the two great powers whose cooperation in the past (the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century) and, in particular, today—in absolutely different historical conditions—played and is playing a major role in European and world politics.

I. I. Mints, *A History of the Great October Revolution. 1917-1977.* 2nd Edition (in three volumes: Vol. 1, *The Overthrow of Tsarist Autocracy,* Moscow, 1977, 784 pp.; Vol. 2, *The Overthrow of the Provisional Government. The Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* Moscow, 1978, 1,008 pp.; Vol. 3, *The Triumph of Soviet Government,* Moscow, 1979, 902 pp.).

Volume 1 contains a comprehensive analysis of socio-economic and political prerequisites for the Great October Socialist Revolution. Volume 2 is devoted to the victory of the Revolution spanning the period from March to October 1917. Volume 3 covers the victory of Soviet Government in Moscow, the rout of first anti-Soviet mutinies, the development of the socialist revolution at the front and across the entire vast territory of the former Russian empire.

G. P. Murashko, *The Struggle of the Working Class for the Nationalisation of Industry. The Experience of the Revolutions of the 1940s in the Countries of Central and South-East Europe,* Moscow, 1979, 318 pp.

The monograph deals with a range of problems linked with the struggle of the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party to abolish capitalist ownership in the means of production in the countries of the region.

Society and the State of Feudal Russia. A Collection of Articles Devoted to the 70th Birth Anniversary of Academician L. Cherepnin, Moscow, 1975, 350 pp.

The collection contains the articles of Soviet scholars analysing the class and social-estate structure of feudal society, its reflection in socio-political thinking and the impact of the socio-estate structure and class struggle on the evolution of the Russian state.

A. M. Orekhov. *The Formation of Polish Socialist Movement,* Moscow, 1979, 374 pp.

The book shows the emergence and formation of first groups of Polish socialists, the organisational structure of Polish liberation movement, Polish socialists' views on social revolution and revolutionary tactics, their attitude towards the problem of Poland's national independence and connections with the Russian revolutionary movement.

An Outline of Cuban History, Moscow, 1978, 604 pp.

The monograph deals with fundamental problems of Cuba's history since the pre-Columbian epoch to the present day, and traces the major stages of the national liberation struggle and revolutionary movement of the Cuban people culminating in the establishment of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

An Outline of History of Soviet-Polish Relations. 1917-1977, Moscow, 1979, 584 pp.

The book shows the role of the October Revolution in restoring Poland's independence, as well as the political, diplomatic, economic, scientific and cultural relations between the two countries, their comradeship-in-arms during the Second World War and postwar cooperation.

Essays on Revolutionary Ties Between the Russian and the Polish Peoples. 1815-1917, Moscow, 1976, 604 pp.

The book is the first of its kind to give such a complete picture of the relations between the Russian and the Polish revolutionary forces at every stage of the liberation movement up to the October Revolution.

V. D. Polikarpov, *A Prologue of the Civil War in Russia. October, 1917-February 1918,* Moscow, 1976, 414 pp.

The author describes the struggle of the new-born Soviet Republic against the bourgeoisie in the period when the new government had neither yet organised the work of the state apparatus, nor created new armed forces.

B. F. Porshnev, *The Thirty-Years' War and the Entry of Sweden and the Moscow State into It,* Moscow, 1976, 434 pp.

Relying on Engels' statement about the importance of the Thirty-Years' War, the author introduces much new into the history and genuine role of the Moscow state in this war.

The Working Class and Socialist Construction in the Countries of Central and South-East Europe, Moscow, 1977, 384 pp.

The monograph analyses the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties in implementing revolutionary transformations, creating the material and technical basis of socialism, in developing the society's political system and moulding socialist ideology. The book also analyses structural changes in the working class and society as a whole.

A. I. Razgon, *The All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets During the First Months of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* Moscow, 1977, 335 pp.

The author examines the history of the Committee of Second Convocation (October 1917-January 1918): the sources of its formation and its composition, the dynamics of its structure, the efforts to consolidate the gains of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Russia and the National Liberation Struggle in the Balkans. 1875-1878, Moscow, 1978, 454 pp.

This jubilee documentary publication, prepared to commemorate the centenary of the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war, shows Russia's aid to the national liberation movement in the Balkans during the Eastern crisis and considers the position of various social and political circles in Russia and the upsurge of mass movement there in support of the Balkan Slavs.

B. A. Rybakov, *Herodotean Scythia. A Historical and Geographic Analysis,* Moscow, 1979, 248 pp.

The author analyses the data collected by a Greek geographer and historian Herodotus (5th century B. C.) about the tribes living in Eastern Europe in the 1st millennium B. C., and on the basis of the recent archaeological discoveries proves the authenticity of Herodotus' information.

V. V. Sedov, *The Origin and Early History of Slavs,* Moscow, 1979, 158 pp.

The author examines the stages of the formation and settlement of pra-Slavic and Slavic tribes on the territory of Central and Eastern Europe from the middle of the 1st millennium B. C. to the end of the 1st millennium A. D., and summarises the results of the many years of work on this problem by both Soviet and foreign Slavists.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International and the Struggle for a People's Front in the Countries of Central and South-East Europe, Moscow, 1977, 375 pp.

The monograph tells about the elaboration of a new political orientation of the communist movement by the Communist International in view of the increased threat of fascism and war in the 1930s, about a creative employment of a new strategy and tactics by the Communist Parties in the countries of Central and South-East Europe.

The Socialist Revolutions in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in 1940. The Restoration of Soviet Power, Moscow, 1978, 532 pp.

The book deals with the prerequisites of the socialist revolutions in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, as well as with their main features, common laws and specific features.

A. M. Stanislavskaya, *Russia and Greece at the End of the 18th-the Beginning of the 19th Century. Russia's Policy in the Ionian Republic. 1798-1807,* Moscow, 1976, 374 pp.

The author shows Russia's role in creating the national Greek state, the efforts by Russia, France, Britain and Turkey to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean Area, the importance of the Ionian Republic as a national centre of the struggle to liberate Greece from the Turkish yoke.

Strikes: Past and Present, Moscow, 1978, 344 pp.

The book analyses strikes as a peculiar social phenomenon and a weapon of the proletariat's class struggle, the historical evolution of the forms of striking and their present-day features.

The Centenary of Bulgaria's Liberation from the Ottoman Yoke. 1878-1978, Moscow, 1978, 288 pp.

The book examines the heroic struggle of the Bulgarian people for their freedom, shows Russia's role in liberating Bulgaria, the exploits of Russian and Bulgarian soldiers in fighting against Turkish troops.

T. T. Timofeyev, *The Working Class in the Centre of Ideological and Theoretical Struggle,* ("The Ideas of

the October Revolution and World Development" Series), Moscow, 1979, 382 pp.

The author deals with ideological and theoretical problems of the struggle of the proletariat, different tendencies in interpreting its history, various anti-Marxist "doctrines" concerned with the theory and history of the workers' movement.

M. N. Tikhomirov, *Old Rus,* Moscow, 1975, 428 pp.

The collection comprises articles on the formation and development of feudal relations in Old Rus, its place and role in international relations at the time, as well as on the Russian people's struggle against foreign invaders—the Kulikovo Battle, the Battle on the Neva River, and the Battle on the Ice of Lake Peipus (Chudskoye).

V. A. Tishkov, *Liberation Movement in Colonial Canada,* Moscow, 1978, 384 pp.

The author examines the prerequisites, principal motive forces, forms and character of the Canadian liberation movement, the nature of the national question in Canada, the 1837 anti-colonial revolution, and criticises the conceptions of foreign historiography.

The Participation of Yugoslav Working People in the October Revolution and the Civil War in the USSR. A Collection of Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1976, 555 pp.

The collection contains documents and materials from Soviet and Yugoslav archives, publications from periodicals. The documents have been prepared jointly by Soviet and Yugoslav historians.

S. M. Falkovich, *The Proletariat of Russia and Poland in a Joint Revolutionary Struggle (1907-1912),* Moscow, 1975, 378 pp.

The author focuses on Lenin's role in the Russo-Polish revolutionary cooperation, the connections between Russian and Polish revolutionary parties and organisations and personal contacts between Russian and Polish revolutionaries.

V. T. Fomin, *Nazi Germany During the Second World War (September 1939-June 1941),* Moscow, 1978, 326 pp.

The book deals with questions of nazi Germany's internal, external and economic policies insufficiently studied in Soviet historiography, and shows the preparations of nazi Germany for the war against the USSR.

L. V. Cherepnin, *Zemskiye Sobory in the Russian State of the 16th-17th Centuries,* Moscow, 1978, 418 pp.

Drawing on a wealth of sources the author is the first in Soviet historiography to have summarised the history of social-estate institutions in Russia. He examines such problems as *zemskiye sobory* and the people, *zemskiye sobory* and the Russian state's international position.

The USSR: Sixty Years of Struggle for Peace and Security, Moscow, 1979, 438 pp.

The monograph examines the Soviet state's activity in the post-revolution and prewar years, the conditions and prerequisites of the formation of the anti-Hitler coalition, the USSR's decisive contribution to the victory over nazi Germany, the importance of this contribution in the postwar settlement.

N. A. Shlenova, *The Working Class of Czechoslovakia in the Years of Laying the Foundations of Socialism. Its Strength, Composition and Structure,* Moscow, 1977, 116 pp.

The author describes the Czechoslovak working class and its development during popular-democratic transformations and socialist construction.

Economic Relations Between Russia and Sweden in the 17th Century. Soviet Archival Documents, Moscow, 1978, 296 pp.

The collection is a part of the joint Soviet-Swedish edition (Swedish archival documents and materials were published in Stockholm). It contains the charters of Russian tsars to Swedish Kings; reports on trade relations between the two states, and Swedish import of Russian grain; excerpts from the documents concerning the stay of Swedish Ambassadors in Moscow and their Russian counterparts in Stockholm; and information on the work of Swedish craftsmen in Russia. Almost all the documents are published for the first time.

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OUR GLOSSARY

PHENOMENOLOGY is a theory about phenomena, that is, about the nature of philosophical concepts associated with the sensually perceived experience but not limited to perception alone.

1) Phenomenology, in one of its meanings, is a philosophical discipline treated differently in the history of philosophy: as a science criticising sense knowledge (German philosophers of the 18th century, particularly Johann Heinrich Lambert who was the first to use the term "phenomenology"; Immanuel Kant); as a teaching about the formation of philosophy and historical forms of consciousness (Georg Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807); as a part of psychology describing psychological phenomena (German philosopher Franz Brentano, 1838-1917; Austrian philosopher Alexius Meinong, 1853-1920).

2) An idealistic philosophical trend and method of cognition whose principles were elaborated by the German philosopher idealist Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) in the early 20th century. Phenomenology appears as an opposition to, on the one hand, psychologism in the theory of knowledge which regards cognition identical with sense-experience, and, on the other hand, "historicism" treating philosophy as a description of historical types of world outlooks. The purpose of phenomenology is to reveal the primordial experience of consciousness through the reductive procedure (*epoché*—abstention from any statement), which implies an intentional suspension of belief in reality in order to get a clear understanding of its nature and achieve a sort of final indivisible unity of consciousness in its intentionality. Husserl's early theories are marked by a turn from objective reality to intentionality of consciousness (he regarded intentionality as a pure structure of consciousness free from individual—psychological, social and other—characteristics. Phenomenology

was one of the sources of existentialism and other trends in modern Western philosophy.

PRUSSIAN AND AMERICAN WAYS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. Under pre-capitalist formations, agriculture was unintensive, low-productive and had a character of natural economy. As capitalist commodity production began to develop on the basis of the social division of labour, agriculture became a branch of the national economy in a full sense of the word. The replacement of feudal relations in agriculture by capitalist relations was accompanied by an exodus of peasants from agriculture. Engels noted that "... small peasant, like every other survival of a past mode of production, is hopelessly doomed. He is a future proletarian" (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 460). As social conditions differed, capitalism in agriculture developed in two ways, Prussian and American.

The first way consists in a slow modification of the pre-capitalist relations, in the embourgeoisment of the landlords who were adapting themselves to capitalist conditions. Semi-feudal features remain in the capitalist system of agriculture for a long time and the differentiation and proletarianisation of peasants lasts for long years and assumes forms that are most tormenting for the peasants. According to Lenin, the main content of the evolution is "transformation of feudal bondage into servitude and capitalist exploitation on the land of the feudal landlords—Junkers" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Moscow, Vol. 13, p. 239). Capitalism in agriculture developed along this path in Prussia after the revolution of 1848 and, to a considerable extent, in tsarist Russia after the Reform of 1861.

The second way is distinguished by a rapid introduction of capitalist relations in agriculture, the emergence of the class of capitalist farmers, a relatively free development of farming economy, which was unhampered by pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. This way was followed by agriculture in the United States and some other countries where bourgeois revolutions abolished landlord property rights and serfdom. Lenin emphasised that the main background of the American way is "transformation of the patriarchal peasant into a bourgeois farmer" (Ibidem).

Our Mailbag

Below we publish some excerpts from our readers' letters, in the original or translated into English.

"I recently ordered several titles in your 'Problems of the Contemporary World' series through one of your US distributors, and I want to tell you that I enjoyed them very much. I am not a communist, but I was pleasantly surprised by the quality of scholarship of most of the articles and by their absence of dogmatism."

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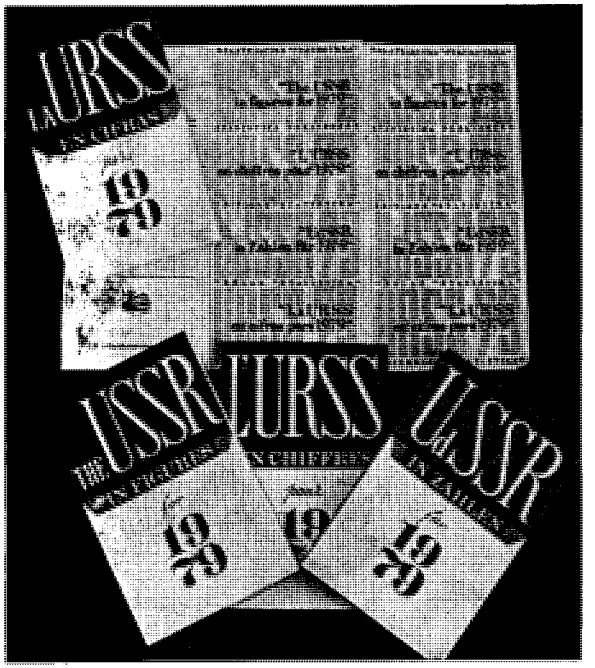

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