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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 27/81)



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USSR REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN PREVENTING TERRORISM EMPHASIZED

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 8, Aug 81 pp 110-119

[Article by I. P. Blishchenko, leading researcher on the Learned Council for Research on the Problems of Peace and Disarmament, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, and N. V. Zhdanov, candidate of juridical sciences: "Cooperation between States in Combatting Terrorist Acts of an International Nature"]

[Text] Since the late 1960's the world press has begun to publish with increasing frequency alarming accounts about airplane hijackings, explosions in embassies, kidnapping of diplomats, provocations and direct attacks on various governmental and non-governmental bodies, as well as about the use of the mails to send plastic-type letter-bombs. In connection with this, in 1972 at the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly there was a discussion of the problem of "international terrorism," which was included on the agenda of the General Assembly by Paragraph 92, entitled "Measures to prevent international terrorism, which threatens the lives of innocent persons, or leads to death, or threatens basic freedoms, and the study of the root causes of these forms of terrorism and acts of violence, proceeding from poverty, a dead-end situation, misfortunes, and despair, and which incite certain people to sacrifice human lives, even including their own, in striving to achieve radical changes" [1, p 5].

The Soviet Union's position with regard to the problem of "international terrorism" has always been consistent and principled. Member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko declared as follows at the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly: "The Soviet Union opposes from a position of principle acts of terrorism which violate the diplomatic activities of states and their representatives, transport ties between them, the normal course of international contacts and meetings, acts of violence which do not serve any positive purpose and which bring about the death of people" [2].

Recently there has been an attempt on the part of the new administration in Washington to utilize the question of "international terrorism," striving to draw state leaders of a number of Western European countries into a regular campaign against the socialist countries and all the democratic forces of the world, using it to destabilize international relations. On 28 January 1981 the U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig declared that the Soviet Union "is preparing, financing, and supplying international terrorism," and he tried basically to identify it with the national-liberation movement. However, in response to questions from the press and in Congress, U.S. officials, of course, could not adduce a single proof of any

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connection between the Soviet Union and terrorism. Furthermore, in April 1981 FBI Director W. Webster in an interview for NBC Television acknowledged that the American administration had "no proof whatsoever that the Soviet Union is behind acts of terrorism on U.S. territory." Thereby, the FBI chief confirmed that the assertions of highly placed figures in the administration of R. Reagan concerning the "penchant" of the USSR toward international terrorism were slanderous and false from beginning to end. Not long before this the CIA prepared a report which also contained a conclusion that there was absolutely no proof of the accusations of the Reagan administration, aimed at the Soviet Union. The goal of this entire campaign is to malign the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy, to distort the essence of the national-liberation movements, hanging on them the label of international terrorism, in order to prove that aid from the progressive states to these movements constitutes support for "international terrorism." Finally, under the pretext of combatting "international terrorism," imperialism is attempting to unloose its own hands for interference in the internal affairs, first and foremost, of those states where reactionary and fascist regimes are running amuck (for example, El Salvador).

On the other hand, the problem of "international terrorism" really does exist, and all the peace-loving states are directly concerned with putting an end to it. This problem encompasses two groups of questions: situations where terrorist acts are carried out by a state or with the support of a state and situations where terrorist acts are carried out by private persons or organizations of private persons. The literature and the practice frequently mix these phenomena, and this complicates the working out of an optimum line for combatting specific crimes.

Moreover, it is necessary to take into consideration the specific conventionality of the term "international terrorism," which has become widespread in the literature and in the practice of the UN. Various phenomena are understood under this term, but in all cases it is a matter of actions directed at worsening international relations. Precisely such a concept of a terrorist act is also contained in Art. 67 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. In our view, one must agree with I. I. Karpets, who in his work entitled "International Crimes" adduces the following definition of terrorism in the broad sense of the word: "Terrorism is an international or intra-state, but having an international nature, organized and other activity, directed at creating special organizations and groups for committing murders, using violence and the seizure of persons as hostages for the purpose of obtaining ransom or the satisfaction of other demands, the forcible deprivation of a person's freedom, often accompanied by the use of torture, blackmail, etc.; terrorism may also be manifested in the destruction of buildings, their being plundered, and similar actions" [3].

It is obvious that the interests of cooperation among states will be facilitated by a detailed classification and definition of the make-up of terrorist acts falling within the realm of international law. First of all, it should be noted that a terrorist act, or a policy of terror as a whole, can be conducted in peacetime as well as in wartime. With regard to wartime, international law already contains a number of norms concerning the prohibition of and the prosecution for the committing of actions bearing a terrorist nature and qualified as war crimes and crimes against humanity, in regard to prisoners of war, peaceful inhabitants, combatants and civilians who have ceased participating in military activities, even in case of a conflict which is not international in nature, with regard to

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partisans and members of the home guards, whose status as prisoners has been made equal with the status of prisoners of war from among the regular units.

In peacetime systematic and mass terrorist acts may be carried out by a state's authorities in regard to its own citizens for the purpose of frightening them, eliminating an opposition (for example, the policy of terror in fascist Germany against the Communist Party and all those who thought differently than the ruling party, the terror in Chile after the military coup of 11 September 1973, etc.), to enforce a policy of racial discrimination, racial supremacy, genocide (for example, the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa, the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea). Terrorist acts committed by the authorities of any given state on the territory of another state, or the permission or encouragement of any sort of activity on the territory of another state, designed to commit a terrorist act in another state, must be qualified as acts of indirect aggression. For example, the territory of Pakistan is being utilized by right-wing circles of the United States and China for training bands to make armed incursions into Afghanistan and to carry out terrorist activities there; terrorist groups are being hurled from China's territory into Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

In March 1974 the UN General Assembly adopted a definition of aggression in which similar acts, as well as fellow traveling or the support of activities directed at the committing of such acts, are qualified as an aggression [4]. This is precisely how the UN Security Council qualified the actions of Israel, as expressed in the commission by Israeli commandos in Beirut on 10 April 1973 of terrorist acts against the leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement.

From the point of view of qualifying these actions, which are sometimes termed state terrorism, one should also bear in mind Par. 6, Art. 2 of the draft Code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind, as prepared by the UN Commission on International Law at its sixth session in 1954. According to this document, a crime against the peace and security of mankind (and, consequently, as indicated in Art. 1 of the draft, a crime of "international law") is the "conduct or encouragement by the authorities of any state of organized activity, directed at committing terrorist acts in another state." Such a qualification is completely justified, inasmuch as an act of aggression by one state against another, regardless of whether it is direct or indirect in nature, undoubtedly is a crime according to international law, not only because it is committed by a subject of international law but also because such an action threatens international peace and security. Consequently, the actions being considered here are encompassed by the concept of aggression, and they may certainly be relegated to the category of international crimes.

In a supplementary protocol on armed international conflict to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the protection of victims of war, as adopted on 10 June 1977, the following actions are regarded, in particular, as the grossest violations of the Conventions, which may qualify in certain cases as terrorist acts: turning a civilian population or individual civilians into an object of attack, committing an attack of an indiscriminate nature, affecting the civilian population or civilian objects, when it is known that such an attack will be the cause of extreme human losses, casualties among civilians, or will bring about damage to civilian objects, turning undefended locations and demilitarized zones into objects of attack,

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committing an attack against a person when it is known that he has ceased to participate in military actions. Thus, in case of terrorist acts committed by a state or its officials, these actions are qualified in accordance with international law as crimes against the international peace and security of states, as crimes against mankind and as war crimes.

A somewhat different situation arises when the terrorist acts are committed by an individual who is not carrying out the will of a state but is acting out of his own personal motives or the motives of an organization to which he belongs. For example, the murder of a representative of a foreign state may take place for personal motives also.

If the first group of crimes is basically covered by international statutes, although these statutes still do need further international development, the second group of crimes, in view of their sporadic nature, has not been accorded so much constant attention by the international community up to the present time. The responsibility for the terrorist acts of individuals which threaten international relations is regulated fundamentally on the level of national legislation and, in a number of instances, by international agreements. Nevertheless, the growth in the number and the danger of such actions requires uniformity in defining them and cooperation among states in preventing and prosecuting them.

A terrorist act should fall under the jurisdiction of international law if it includes the following factors committed by an individual: 1) violent actions in the form of an attempt or the commission of an attack, seizure, kidnapping, or causing of bodily harm, murder, or actions creating a threat with regard to the official representatives of a state and the members of their families; 2) the seizure of, infliction of damage upon, and destruction of property necessary for the conduct of political, economic, technical, trade, and cultural relations between states, as well as the commission of these actions with regard to the funds, equipment, and facilities of airline, water, railroad, and automotive transport. Moreover, in order to relegate such actions to the category of acts of international terrorism, it is necessary that there be present a special motive for the crime--a complication of international relations. The indicated purpose of a terrorist act defines its particular social danger and, consequently, its qualification. It is obvious that the terrorist acts which have become the objects of the UN's attention constitute, from the viewpoint of its own qualification, crimes of an international nature.

Differences in the positions of states with regard to international terrorism led to a situation whereby neither the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly nor its ensuing sessions were able to work out specific measures aimed at combatting terrorist acts which threaten the normal course of international relations. The Special Committee which was created on the basis of UN General Assembly Resolution 3034 (27th Session), dated 18 December 1972, also failed to further advance the discussion of the problem as a whole. Not one of its three subcommittees--the Full Subcommittee on defining international terrorism, the Full Subcommittee on studying the root causes of international terrorism, and the Full Subcommittee on studying measures to prevent international terrorism--was able to work out a generally accepted position with regard to the essence of the matter. The principal attention in its work was devoted to considering the question of that variety of

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"international terrorism" which is sometimes called state terrorism, as well as concerning the forms of its manifestation. In particular, this line was meticulously promulgated in the position of a group of non-aligned countries.

The representatives of the imperialist states attempted to utilize the discussion of the question of "international terrorism" in the UN for the purpose of extending this concept to the national-liberation struggle and various forms of workers' class struggle for their own rights.

During the course of the discussion the representative of the USSR emphasized that the Soviet Union advocates the working out and adoption of an international convention imposing on states definite obligations with regard to cutting short acts of "international terrorism," but that it is unacceptable to broaden the interpretation of the concept of "international terrorism" and to extend it to the national-liberation struggle, to actions of resistance to an aggressor on territories occupied by such an aggressor as well as to demonstrations of workers on behalf of their rights against the yokes of exploiters [5]. In the first place, moreover, the struggle must be directed against acts of violence directed at foreign citizens, committed for political motives, establishing for themselves the goal of worsening relations between states. The documents being worked out, as the representative of the USSR pointed out, must also be directed against the activities of Zionist extremists, emigre centers, and other organizations of a fascist stripe. In this connection a particular responsibility rests on states which receive international organizations. The conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements on extradition may assist in the struggle against airplane hijackings and other terrorist activities. The documents which are adopted should be based on a consensus among the states.

In the Special Committee an over-all affirmation was achieved on the inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the part of all peoples who are under the domination of colonial and racist regimes or who are suffering from other forms of foreign domination, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular, the struggle of the national liberation movements in accordance with the goals and principles of the UN Charter.

It is undoubtedly true that the lack of progress in the Special Committee's work has been influenced by the divergences in the approaches of states with differing social systems to defining the concept of "international terrorism" and the principles of the convention being worked out. This circumstance could lead to a situation whereby the convention would not be universal from the viewpoint of including the participating states. Nevertheless, practically all the states recognize the need for cooperation in the sphere of cutting short terrorist acts which threaten international relations. Therefore, well-known steps were undertaken with regard to working out conventions aimed at combatting individual types of terrorist acts affecting international relations.

* Algeria, Guinea, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Zaire, Zambia, India, Yemen, Congo, Mauritania, Nigeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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During the course of the general discussion at the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly, at which, among other points, there was a discussion of the problem of "international terrorism," the United States presented a document entitled "A Draft Convention on Preventing Specific Acts of International Terrorism and Punishments for Them" [6]. Structurally this draft convention consisted of 16 articles and a preamble. The preamble contained a reference to Resolution 2025 (25th Session) of the UN General Assembly, dated 24 October 1970, and attention is drawn to the fact that this resolution provides for the obligation of each state to refrain from organizing terrorist acts, instigating their commission, rendering aid or participating in them on the territory of another state or from supporting within the boundaries of its own territory organized activity directed at the commission of such acts. However, the preamble contains not a single word about the right of nations to self-determination, nor about the right of peoples to take up arms in the name of liberation from the colonial yoke.

Despite the externally finished quality of the statutes, Art. 1 of this draft had serious shortcomings, since it lacked a complete definition of the make-up of criminal actions (the convention would be extended only to crimes committed against persons). The American draft, which ignored the right of peoples to self-determination and which was essentially directed against the national-liberation movement, which is considered in the draft as "international terrorism," did not receive support at the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly and was, for all practical purposes, taken off the agenda. In this connection, it should be especially emphasized that the US position directly contradicts international law, since, in accordance with the UN Charter and agreed-upon practice (Supplementary Protocol on International Armed Conflict, dated 10 July 1977, to the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Victims of War, 1949), a conflict, in particular, must be considered to be international, in which "peoples are waging a struggle against colonial domination, foreign occupation, and against racist regimes in implementing their own right to self-determination." This means not only the legitimacy of national-liberation movements but also the obligation to render all possible aid to them, including even arms aid for the purpose of securing their right to self-determination. All the more doomed to utter bankruptcy is the present attempt by the US administration to resurrect this doctrine, as undertaken in the speech by Secretary of State A. Haig. As was underscored in the TASS Announcement of 3 February 1981, "neither the Soviet Union nor the national-liberation movements will bear the responsibility for the sources of tension, for the cult of force which is being implanted by certain circles in the international arena, for the terrorist acts which certain states will have to encounter." A fertile environment for terrorism is comprised by the activities and policy of those who support dictatorial and racist regimes, who flout the legitimate rights of sovereign states, who conduct a line aimed at increasing tension. Their address is well known. At the 26th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev, in speaking about the adventurism of the aggressive circles of imperialism, declared as follows: "Demonstrating an utter scorn for the rights and aspirations of peoples, they are trying to depict the liberation struggle of the popular masses as a manifestation of 'terrorism.' They have indeed set themselves the goal of reaching the unreachable --to place a barrier on the path of progressive changes in the world, to return to themselves the role of the rulers of the destinies of nations."

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In Art. 3 of the American draft there is an affirmation of the principle of "aut dedere aut judicare" ("extradite or try"), the need for which had found reflection in the practice of the League of Nations and the United Nations in connection with working out the conventions on combatting terrorist acts of various kinds, affecting the normal course of international relations. However, the most effective means of procedure would be the unconditional extradition of the criminal to that state on whose territory the crime was committed, if the person in question is not a citizen of that state on whose territory he was. We cannot agree with the position of the draft convention in including in principle a statute of limitations for the commission of such crimes.

In the UN's Sixth Committee Austria, Belgium, Italy, Canada, Costa Rica, New Zealand, and Japan, to which were subsequently joined a number of other countries, introduced another draft [7]. It spoke, in particular, about affirming the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, as contained in the UN Charter, as well as about the fact that nothing in this draft could be interpreted as expanding or narrowing in any way whatsoever the sphere of actions of the UN Charter's statutes which affect cases where the use of force is legitimate; moreover, it was indicated herein that certain means are illegitimate and contradictory to the UN Charter under any and all circumstances.

In their own draft a group of non-aligned countries underscored the importance of international cooperation in working out measures aimed at effectively preventing acts of terrorism and in studying their root causes for the purpose of seeking out just and peaceful solutions as rapidly as possible. This draft reaffirmed the inalienable right of all peoples under the yoke of colonial and racist regimes and other forms of foreign domination to self-determination and independence; it stressed the legitimate nature of their struggle, in particular, the struggle which is being waged by the national-liberation movements in accordance with the goals and principles of the UN Charter and other resolutions of UN bodies; it condemned the repressive and terrorist acts of colonial, racist, and foreign regimes, which deprive the peoples of their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence, as well as other rights and human freedoms [8].

The government of Israel, despite the fact that Israel voted against Resolution 3034 (27th Session), dated 18 December 1972, sent its own remarks to the UN general secretary, containing the positions which, in the opinion of the Israeli government, should comprise the basis of a future convention. Israel's position must be considered in close connection with the policy of terror which is being conducted with regard to the Arab people of Palestine, as well as with the practice of individual terror against the national-liberation movement and its leaders, which has allowed the representatives of a number of Arab states to qualify these actions as state terrorism. On the other hand, Israel's proposals failed to touch upon these actions in any way and were aimed at justifying them.

The session of the Special Committee on International Terrorism which was held in 1979 worked out general recommendations with respect to practical measures on cooperation for the purpose of eliminating the problem of "international terrorism" as soon as possible [9]. These recommendations reflected the general opinion, which is principled in nature. Thus, as an important condition of effectiveness in the struggle against terrorism, it contains a request to the UN General Assembly to call upon all states in a unilateral procedure and in cooperation with

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other states, as well as with the appropriate organs of the UN to assist in the gradual elimination of the root causes of "international terrorism." It is also recommended that the UN General Assembly call upon all states to fulfill their obligations with regard to international law; to refrain from organizing instigations to civil disorders or terrorist acts in another state, assisting them or participating in them, from facilitating organizational activity on the territory of other states, directed at the commission of such acts.

Of particular importance in this connection is the recommendation to all states to adopt appropriate measures at the national level for the purpose of the most rapid and final elimination of the problem of "international terrorism," such as the following: the concordance of national laws with international conventions, the fulfillment of international obligations which have been adopted, the prevention of the preparation and organization on their own territory of acts aimed at other states. Also of importance is the recommendation that the General Assembly and Security Council of the UN pay particular attention to all situations engendering "international terrorism," in particular, to colonialism, racism, and situations which arise as a result of foreign occupation and which are capable of threatening international peace and security in order to apply in case of opportunity and necessity the appropriate statutes of the UN Charter, including Chapter 7.

Finally, the Special Committee recommended a consideration of the question of the need for preparing a supplementary international convention or conventions, based, in particular, on the principle of extraditing or punishing criminals for the purpose of combatting acts of "international terrorism" which have not yet been covered by other international conventions. At the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly a working group consisting of a number of representatives from the developing countries undertook the attempt to enumerate the causes which bring about terrorist actions, and, first of all, it noted such reasons as fascism and apartheid. The practice of the international community has proceeded along the path of working out conventions directed at combatting terrorist acts of an international nature as a whole (League of Nations) as well as separate types of such acts (United Nations). As distinct from the unification method, i. e., the development of identical laws in the countries, in such a convention one could define not only the make-up of the crime falling under its jurisdiction but also the principles on the basis of which the national legislatures of the participating states apply the conventions in order to prosecute the crimes which have been committed, as well as the obligations of the states to cooperate in the given sphere. In this way, the inevitability of punishment would be assured with regard to those persons whose activities comprised the crimes, if the jurisdiction of any of the participant-states was established over these persons.

At the present time the UN is discussing the question of concluding a universal convention regarding the struggle against "international terror" or specialized conventions dealing only with its separate aspects. The problem of combatting terrorist acts which threaten the normal development of international relations is so acute that here we must take into account the time which is required to work out a convention which would be broad enough to regulate this area, no matter how illusory this goal might be. Moreover, consideration must be given to the great divergences in the states' understanding of the contents of the concept of "international terrorism." This circumstance could lead to a situation whereby such a

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convention would not become universal at this phase in the development of international relations.

Let us note that well-known steps had previously been undertaken in the matter of working out conventions aimed at combatting individual types of terrorist acts which affect international relations, and this represents the international community's contribution to the struggle against this type of international crime.*

Regardless of whether the proposed convention is of a general or a specialized nature, it should contain specific legal principles which would ensure its effectiveness. By analyzing the practice of the League of Nations and the United Nations on this question, one can draw the conclusion that the inclusion of the following principles and positions in the convention could create the conditions for its effective application; 1) the affirmation of the inalienable right of all peoples under the yoke of colonial or racist regimes and other forms of foreign domination to self-determination and independence; 2) a reference to the Declaration of the Principles of international law, touching upon friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the UN Charter; 3) a proposal that the states become participants in the existing international conventions affecting various aspects of the problem of terrorist acts of an international nature; 4) underscoring the importance of international cooperation in working out measures directed at the effective prevention of terrorist acts of an international nature; 5) a proposal that states adopt all suitable measures on the national level for the purpose of solving the problem as rapidly as possible; 6) defining the make-up of the crime falling within the purview of the convention in order to avoid differences in the contents and interpretation of this make-up in the practice of individual states; 7) the qualification of crimes falling under the purview of the convention as criminal, independent of the specific motives for their commission; this constitutes an important condition for ensuring the inevitability of punishment for the commission of crimes having as their goal the complication of international relations. This position is a development of the so-called Belgian Clause. In 1856 Belgium promulgated a law which established that the murder of the head of a foreign

*Convention on Crimes and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Airliners (1963); Convention on the Struggle against Illegal Acts Directed against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971); Convention on the Prevention of and Punishment for Persons Enjoying Special Protection, Including Diplomatic Agents (1976); International Convention on the Struggle against the Seizure of Hostages (1979). Moreover, two international agreements of a regional nature should be noted; Convention on the Prevention of and Punishment for Acts of Terrorism which Take the Form of Crimes against Persons and Extortion (Blackmail) Connected with This, when these acts are international in nature, signed in Washington on 2 February 1971, and the European Convention on the Struggle against Terrorism (1977), which encompass respectively a number of states in America and Western Europe. These last two agreements contain serious shortcomings which have not allowed a number of states to join in them.

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government or a member of his family should not be considered as a political crime /10/; this article subsequently found application in many international legal agreements and documents; 8) inclusion of the principle of "aut dedere aut judicare," which, along with the above-mentioned point, is extremely important for ensuring the inevitability of punishment for the commission of crimes falling under the purview of the convention; 9) determining the international element in the commission of a crime, i. e., the conditions under which a given convention will be applied; 10) the obligation of states which are participants in the convention to qualify crimes which fall under its jurisdiction as the most serious criminal transgressions according to their national legislatures; this will allow us to reduce to a minimum the differences imposed by the national legislatures; 11) the adoption by the states which are participants in the convention of appropriate measures, including national laws, for the struggle against the activity of organizations, if the crimes falling under the purview of the convention were committed as a result of this activity. This position had not previously been confirmed in any of the existing conventions directed at struggling against terrorist acts of an international nature, although the practice of recent years has shown that in most cases the category of crimes under consideration has been committed by members of organizations; 12) the adoption by states which are members of the convention of obligations with regard to legal cooperation in connection with the application of the convention; 13) the convention ought to be permanent and open for signing by all states.

The effectiveness of the convention will depend primarily on its universality, as well as on those measures which are adopted on the national level, inasmuch as the juridical implementation of the convention's statutes is a necessary condition but insufficient for preventing and punishing crimes falling under its jurisdiction. Development and adoption of a universal convention could be facilitated by the UN General Assembly's adoption of an appropriate declaration or resolution based on the above-mentioned principles. The 34th Session of the UN General Assembly in Resolution 34/145 formulated specific recommendations aimed at combatting "international terrorism," and it regarded these as preliminary steps. Among the measures provided for in this resolution the following may be pointed out; the need for bringing about a concordance between national legislation and international conventions for the purpose of carrying out international obligations with respect to preventing the preparation and organization of terrorist acts directed at other states; the concluding of special agreements or the inclusion of a special stipulation in bilateral treaties on the extradition or punishment of international terrorists. The resolution contains a recommendation that the states introduce specific proposals on the question of concluding an additional international convention or conventions directed against "international terrorism."

In summing up the results of the examination of the convention mechanism for the struggle against terrorist acts of an international nature, one should note that this method ensures not only the unification of the definition of the make-up of this crime and the actions of the states against terrorism but also the special protection of persons or property which in accordance with international law and by virtue of their status must be accorded this protection.

While fully putting itself on record to the effect that any rational anti-terrorist policy should be accompanied by the implementation of a series of appropriate measures aimed at solving acute economic and political problems, the USSR, at the same

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time, ascribes great importance to cooperation among states in the struggle to prevent terrorist acts of an international nature, intercepting, prosecuting, and punishing those persons who are guilty of committing them. It is obvious that possible legal measures against terrorism must, first of all, encompass those spheres in which there is still no international-legal regulation and under all circumstances exclude the possibility of any such interpretation of "international terrorism" which would be applied to the national-liberation movements, acts committed for the purpose of resisting an aggressor on territories occupied by him, and the actions of workers directed against exploiters. Attention must be paid primarily to everything which facilitates the worsening of relations between states. In this sense, of principal importance in the struggle against terrorism is the extradition of criminals for trial in the state against which or against whose citizens this serious crime was committed.

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NATIONAL

BOOK ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET NATIONAL RELATIONS REVIEWED

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 4, 1981 pp 148-150

[Review by L. M. Drobizheva of M. I. Kulichenko (responsible editor), E. A. Bagramov, S. T. Kaltakhchyan, K. Kh. Khanazarov, ed., "Razvitiye sovetskogo naroda--novoy istoricheskoy obshchnosti" [The Development of the Soviet Nation-- A New History-Making Community], Moscow, Politizdat, 1980]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress pointed to the necessity of promoting the comprehensive development and rapprochement of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, the strengthening of the social homogeneity of society, and the consolidation of the ideological and political unity of the Soviet nation as a new history-making community of people.

The book under review is devoted to the development of the Soviet nation in the conditions of mature socialism. The collective of authors set itself the goal of revealing "the law-governed principles of the progress of the new community; the growth of its role, the development of the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities that go into it; the strengthening of the socio-political and international unity of Soviet society; the significance of the progress of class and national communities, their increasingly strong unity for the development of the Soviet nation" (p 4).

The book is, above all, distinguished by an examination of the current problems of the development of the Soviet nation and an orientation towards the tasks of ideological work. The authors attempted to combine the theoretical elaboration of the problem and the generalization of the most recent data, to raise practical problems demanding solution, to submit debatable questions in science for discussion. Moreover, the attempt is made to examine social and national processes on a country-wide basis, as well as by individual regions, in towns and rural localities, and to reveal many phenomena not only within the limits of social and national communities, but also as they apply to the individual.

Let us say at once that the attempt to tackle the problems in such a comprehensive manner was successful to differing degrees in the illumination of individual topics. For example, in the parts of the book devoted to the role of the CPSU, the social and political bases of the development of the Soviet nation (chs 2, 4, 5), the development of the linguistic life (ch 8), the examination of the theoretical questions and analyses of the most recent empirical

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materials, and the posing of practical problems are accomplished more fully than is the case in other instances.

The historical approach lies at the basis of the authors' characterization of the development of the very concept of the Soviet nation as a new history-making community of people. An examination of the posing of the problem in party documents makes it significantly easier, not only for researchers but also for a wide range of propandists and teachers, to have an idea of the time of the development of the new history-making community, its basic characteristic traits, the combination of national and international factors, the fundamental transformations of Soviet reality, which were conducive to the development of the Soviet nation (pp 49, 51, and others).

The book talks about the basic spheres of social life in which the development of the Soviet nation as a new history-making community of people finds manifestation. These are the spheres of the economy, social and political life, culture, and, to a certain extent, psychology. Let us note that in the examination of the social bases of the new history-making community special attention is given not only to the strengthening of the leading role of the working class, but also to the development of the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

From the point of view of the questions being investigated and the inclusion of new documentary materials, the illumination of the political bases of the new history-making community has been noticeably expanded. Two mutually connected processes are analyzed: the further development of socialist democracy and the perfection of the union and national statehood of the peoples. Of interest are the data concerning the representation of the nationalities among the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the union republics and local Soviets in correlation with the relative weight of each nationality in the composition of the population of the country (p 155), concerning the realization of their rights by the republics, and others (pp 155, 181, 191, 192, and others). The book summarizes materials on the realization of the observations and suggestions made by the workers in the constituent union republics, in particular on the amendments to the constitutions that were adopted, which had to do with the more precise definition of the competence of the central and local organs of power and their composition, and on the peculiarities of the constitutions of the union republics (pp 158, 159, 185, 186, and others).

Of the most urgent questions of the development of the multinational Soviet society during the contemporary epoch, the book examines such questions as the growth of the working class from the environment of the indigenous nationalities, above all in the republics of Central Asia, the representation of the various national groups in the organs of power of the republics, the further development of democracy that determines the development of the nations. All of these problems call for the still more profound elaboration by Soviet scholars, especially in the light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The next group of interdependent problems touched on in the book in connection with the development of the Soviet nation concerns the spiritual life of society, culture, language, the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples. Let us note

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that the authors try to illuminate these questions to the fullest extent, commensurate with the contemporary level of the development of historiography. In particular, in the section on culture they talk not only about the problem of the national and international in professional artistic creative work, but also about many aspects of the development of spiritual and even material culture as well. The book correctly states that spiritual culture has a complex structure, which encompasses "production, the distribution and consumption of values in the sphere of science, philosophy, morality, art, education, etc" (p 208). The numerous examples, it is true, relate more to professional artistic culture, while the consumption and assimilation of spiritual values have not found such illumination.

The questions of morality, of moral life are to a certain extent reflected in the chapters devoted to the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, to the characterization of the Soviet man, the builder of communism. But it would, no doubt, be important for the reader to find in the book also concrete material on the formation the general views, conceptions, and cultural interests of the people of different nationalities, on the moral principles of the interrelationships of people in production collectives, in the family, and in friendly intercourse. To throw light on these subjects, as the authors themselves note, new sources are necessary, in particular materials of empirical sociological research. In other parts of the book, in particular those devoted to social problems and also to the strengthening of the friendship among peoples, such materials are partially included, but evidently they could be used on a wider scale.

As far as the problems of language are concerned, the authors in particular accent attention on current practical questions that can help the dissemination of bilingualism among the peoples of the USSR (p 291, 292, 293).

In the chapter on the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of the USSR and the international unity of the new history-making community, the attempt is made, on a theoretical level, to generalize the notions about the friendship of the peoples as an indication and trait of the new history-making community (cf. pp 249-252). The category of friendship of the peoples is examined in correlation with the international unity of the Soviet nation (p 257). Three aspects of international unity are singled out: unity on the level of social consciousness, international unity on the level of individual consciousness, and "objective international links, relations among peoples, among people or different nationalities" (p 258). It is also stated that the friendship of the peoples of the USSR is manifested in the interrelationships among all Soviet republics and nations on a state-wide scale; in the interrelationships of nations and nationalities within republics and oblasts, and elements of the friendship of peoples in the life and activity of the multinational work collectives, the intercourse of people of different nationalities (p 266).

In the analysis of the concepts of international unity and friendship among peoples the authors were more successful in showing the common elements in these concepts than the differences between them. It would be expedient to note that the intercourse of people of different nationalities has its specific character in work collectives and in the circle of family and friends, to turn attention on those factors in contemporary conditions which can promote the strengthening of friendly

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relations not only among peoples as a whole, but also among the representatives of different nationalities and further the overcoming of national prejudices.

The authors' research into the problems of the formation of the personality in connection with the development of the new history-making community of people does them credit. This will help the further elaboration of the subject on the basis of empirical material.

The book gives a critical analysis of the basic directions of the falsification of the essence of the new history-making community in the works of bourgeois ideologists.

The illumination of one of the basic subjects of the book--that of the interrelationship of the national and the international--finds its completion in the conclusion, which includes the inference that the development of the new history-making communities of people, such as the Soviet nation, is a law-governed development of mature socialism (p 427). In these new history-making communities, the conclusion notes, the peoples will exhaust the possibilities of progress "by virtue of the independent existence and development of national specific factors". The further development of the productive forces and the deepening of internationalism will lead in the final analysis to the disappearance of national differences and the amalgamation of nations" (p 428).

A positive aspect of the work is the posing of a series of practical problems; among them are such questions as the struggle against the underestimation and overestimation of national features in economic life and in the spiritual sphere, the conduct of cadre policy (pp 134, 135), the calculation of the national interests of the non-indigenous peoples of the republics (p 163), the question of the factors of the transformation of one state form into another (p 195) and others.

Unfortunately, some subjects mentioned in the book were not laid bare. The authors frequently talk about the internationalization of the composition of the population of the republics, but the reader does not get any notion about the republics in which there is an increase in the multinational composition of the population and those in which, by contrast, national homogeneity is growing. Contemporary science has developed a method for studying the level of multinationality of the work collectives which is not utilized in the work.

The book will promote the theoretical discussion of the important questions it raises as they apply to the study of the process of development of the Soviet nation, it will call forth the interest of a wide circle of researchers and play its role in ideological work.

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REGIONAL

POSITIVE NATIONAL DIFFERENCES TO REMAIN, SAYS SCHOLAR

Baku AZARBAYJAN KOMMUNISTI in Azeri No 7,1981 pp 59-68

[Article by Y.V. Bromley, Director, Ethnography Institute imeni Miklukho-Maklay, USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Basic Tendencies of the Contemporary National Processes in the USSR"]

[Text] In characterizing contemporary national relations in our country, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress that "the intensive economic and social development of every one of our republics has hastened the multi-faceted process of rapprochement to each other. National cultures are progressing and mutually enriching each other, and are forming the culture of the unique Soviet man, a new social and international unity."

These two tendencies of contemporary national processes in our country--the development of nations and their rapprochement--do not manifest themselves the same way in the different sectors of social life, but their mutual connection reveals itself everywhere. For example, this connection strikes the eye very clearly in the economic sector. As is known, immediately after the October victory the struggle began to eliminate the great inequities in the economic development of peoples--a legacy remaining from tsarist Russia. These inequities were liquidated with the implementation of Lenin's plan for socialist industrialization and collectivization in the course of creating the bases of socialism in the country. Fraternal help by more developed peoples--in the first instance, the Russian people--to developmentally backward people played a great role in resolving this complex obligation. As a result, the pace of growth of industrial production in the years prior to the war in republics which represented national territories of the country which were lagging in development surpassed the corresponding all-union figures by 3 to 4 times. It is quite clear that we are comparing the development of nations in the economic sector which has a tendency to flourish. As for rapprochement in this sector, it is especially clearly manifested in the development of a unique economic organism which took shape on the basis of the unique economic complex of the country, of common goals and interests of all nations and peoples.

Under conditions of developed socialism at a time when the duty of equalizing the levels of economic development of the republics has been resolved, as L.I. Brezhnev noted, especially broad possibilities are being opened up "from the point of view of coordinating the interests of the state as the primary unit--the interests of the USSR in raising the profitability of the entire economy--with the specific interests of union and autonomous republics being taken into consideration." (L.I. Brezhnev, Leninskim putyem [The Lenninist Path]: Articles and Speeches, vol 4, p 101).

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In practice, the redivision of a collectively created resource means that the interest in the economic development of the USSR and in each individual republic is taken care of at the same time.

The development and rapprochement tendencies of nations under socialism are seen in their clearest form in social-class relations. That is to say, the development of the social structure of nations characteristic for a society of socialism means the creation of a single type of social structure on the all-union level at the same time.

The social progress of the people of our country has found its brilliant embodiment in the visible achievements in the cultural sector. As is known, the culture of the peoples of the USSR began to develop at a faster pace from the first years of Soviet rule; at first, this development was most rapid among the oppressed peoples of developmentally backward, remote areas. The process found its expression, before all else, in the liquidation of illiteracy and semi-literacy through the development of training in the native language, the creation of alphabets for peoples who previously had had no script, the development of a national culture, and in broadening the sector of the application of national languages and the channels of mass information. After the war a great forward movement took place in educating the population. As a result, there is no longer any basic difference in the educational level of the urban population and, to a significant degree, the younger generation of the rural population.

The flourishing of national cultures of the peoples of the USSR, which is an expression of the triumph of Lenin's nationality policy, has been supported on the basis of changes which took place in ethnic aspects of national processes in the ethnic sector of our country in the years of Soviet rule, along with nation-state building and socio-economic development. Demonstrable factors have contributed significantly to ethnic consolidation processes. The processes have emerged in the formation and re-creation of some rather large ethnic units (the Altays, Khakass, etc.) and in strengthening the internal unity of those ethnoses which had taken shape previously to a greater extent by wiping out earlier differences among ethnographic groups which were part of them (Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians).

As a result, relatively large new groups were formed in the USSR, and ethnic differentiation decreased. However, one must bear in mind that the period of greatest activity in the process of ethnic consolidation has passed. It is characteristic that the list of nations in the 1979 census of the population does not differ from the ethnic nomenclature of previous censuses (1959, 1970).

As in all multi-national countries, one comes across the ethnic process of assimilation side-by-side with ethnic consolidation in the USSR. One of its most important characteristics in our country possesses a natural, visceral quality. It is not by chance that assimilation in practice shows itself rather clearly in ethnically mixed marriages. Children born of such marriages customarily take the nationality of one of the parents, thus breaking with the ethnic pattern of the other. The sharp weakening of national antagonism in the years of Soviet rule and the falling away of religious barriers, along with the strengthening of the process of the territorial shift of nationalities in especially rapidly growing cities, caused a significant growth in the number of such marriages. If, in the 1920's, only one in every forty marriages was mixed by nationality in the country as a whole,

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at present one in every seven--in some cities, one in four--is of this type. As a whole, however, mixed marriages in the ethnic assimilation processes apply to a relatively small segment of the population of the USSR--mainly to groups scattered over a broad area living outside the basic territory of their ethnoses, primarily outside the corresponding national republics.

But in our country it is not assimilation which constitutes the path of mutual influence of ethnic groups but, primarily, the ethnic intergroup integration which constitutes its expression in the rapprochement of cultures.

Socio-economic and ideational-political unity within the unique socialist state borders of nations and peoples created the foundations for such rapprochement.

The unique ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the international unity of workers on behalf of the CPSU and the spiritual-political uniqueness of the Soviet people are the most important factors in the unity of the spiritual life of the Soviet nations.

The internationalist unity of the Soviet people was manifested with special strength in the common patriotic movement in the years of the Great Patriotic War. The multi-national Soviet people who unanimously rose up to defend their country and new social structure were marked by their heroism, which demonstrated their faithfulness to the socialist Fatherland and to the ideals of proletarian internationalism on the front and their self-denying labor behind the lines.

Our entire Soviet way of life, experience in international cooperation and broad exchange of cadres create a social-spiritual environment contributing to the rapid and deep mastery of internationalistic ideas.

Great territorial shifts of population have a special importance for ethnic intergroup rapprochement. This leads to a measurable quickening of the process of territorial relocations of the peoples of the USSR. For example, if in 1959 close to 27.5 million people lived outside their own republics, the number of such people in 1979 was more than 55 million; in other words, they constituted 21 percent of the country's population. Now representatives of many nations who are not of the local population live in every union republic. As noted in the 26th CPSU Party Congress "they have their specific demands in the sectors of language, culture and way of life" (CPSU Materials of the 26th Congress. Baku, Azarnashr, 1981, p 75). A responsible duty of scholars is to study these demands and work out appropriate recommendations.

One of the most important aspects of contemporary national processes in our country is ethnic language change. The policy of the equality of national languages, the application of organization and rules to them, the creation of an alphabet and literature among many peoples without their own script, the publication of literature in the mother tongue--all these caused a broadening of the sector of use of the languages of the peoples of the USSR from the first years of Soviet rule.

The mutual influence of the languages of the peoples of the USSR has found its expression in changes of lexical composition mainly as a result of borrowing words from other languages, but this, certainly, could not bring forth a "merger" of languages in any form. Because of this, the influence of the tendency to unified national development manifests itself basically in the spread of bilingualism, and

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only partially in language assimilation. The mastery of Russian as the basic inter-national language of communication in the USSR by non-Russian peoples has played the major role here.

Because of the strengthening of the process of Russians mixing territorially with other nations and the broadening of ethnic intergroup relations in the development of education, economy, science and culture, the number of nationally mixed marriages and the spread of the Russian language have grown to a striking degree in the years since the Great October socialist revolution.

The 1979 census showed that the number of people speaking Russian fluently or considering it a mother tongue is 214.8 million in the USSR, or 81.9 percent of the entire population (for comparison, the number of people in this category was 183 million, or 76 percent in 1970). This language is the mother tongue for 137.2 million Russians (in 1970, 128.8 million) and 16.3 million from other nationalities (in 1926, 6.4 million; 1959, 10 million; 1970, 13 million). It is the second language for 61.3 million people (in 1970, 41.9 million).

Along with Russian, other nationality languages were wide spread as a second language. In 1979, 12.3 million people--4.7 percent of the population of the country--(in 1970, 6.2 million) claimed fluent knowledge of these languages: Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Tatar, Azeri, Moldavian, Tajik, Georgian, and others.

Along with this it must be noted that the wide use of languages of inter-national communication is coupled with strongly held concepts with regard to the mother tongue as the language of one's nation within our country. 93.1 percent of the population of the entire country gave the language of their nation as a mother tongue in the 1979 census questionnaires (USSR Population. Political Literature Press, Moscow, 1980, pp 26-27).

Our peoples' ethnic intergroup rapprochement processes in the diverse areas of culture have not been manifested in the same way. Ideologists of anti-Sovietism claim that under contemporary conditions, national ethnic characteristics pass quickly from one sector of a culture to another. Sectors showing intergroup ethnic integration processes rather clearly are obvious. These pertain especially to material culture: one rather infrequently comes across people dressing only in national garb, eating only national foods or living in traditional dwellings. As for a person using purely ethnic tools or transport, one could say the he is virtually nonexistent. This, however, has been conditioned by general laws of human development in the 20th century and results from a natural-historical process--especially strengthened in a time of scientific and technical revolution--taking place not only in the USSR but also in the majority of the other countries. The attempt of sovietologists to evaluate this process as russification is absurd. The material culture of the Russians themselves has not been subjected to less change in the last decades than the culture of, for example, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Armenians or Estonians.

One must consider another aspect of the process taking place. Recent decades have brought a growth of interest in the USSR and a number of other developed countries in material culture and the attempt to be liberated from monotonous factory products in favor of individualized form. The production increase in different momentos representing national traditions has definite importance in this context.

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Different from material culture, the spiritual culture of our country's peoples has preserved its national ethnic coloration to a significant degree; this has been conditioned by the language characteristics of many of its components. In addition, the destruction and elimination of certain elements of past culture (primarily religious elements) were united to a revival and development of cultural elements which had earlier been destroyed, or to a number of elements which had been spread in this or that ethnic group. Such tendencies are reflected especially in the recent progress of certain fine arts and in the development of artistic activities.

But the national characteristics of artistic culture of the peoples of the USSR are not only confined to folk art. To a significant extent these characteristics result from a new skilled creativity. One must also bear in mind that it is only possible to achieve dissemination of skilled artistic culture among peoples on the basis of its development in the most national forms. Such an aspect is very important in that skilled cultural workers of every ethnic unit form the symbols of the specific shape of the culture as a whole to a considerable degree; such workers aid in the creation of new specific traditions within it. However, despite active international exchange, many of the components of an artistic culture having an international character do not lose the capability to preserve national form and to be expressed, partially, in influential national variations. At the same time, mutual international influence takes place as a whole even more actively in the skilled forms of a culture.

Ethno-sociological research presents a clear picture of the concrete progress of this process. For example, research shows that the number of systematic readers of artistic literature who are 60 years old or older among Estonians, Georgians and Russians (in their own republics) is 30 percent, and is 7-9 percent among Moldavians and Uzbeks. As for 18-19 year olds, the number of relatively systematic readers in these nations is not less than 50-70 percent. The number of adults going to the theater no fewer than 1 to 2 times a year is 58 percent among the Estonians, 44 percent among the Georgians and 15-16 percent among Russians and Moldavians; in the youth group--98-99 percent among Estonians and Georgians and 73 percent among Russians and Moldavians. Certainly, however, the community of culture bears witness, not only to the utilization of spare time, but also to spiritual interests. Special research shows that national differences never play a decisive role here. Socio-professional and age differences have special importance.

Science, which is one of the components of culture, has a rather independent, specific role in contemporary national ethnic processes. One must note that natural and technical sciences, as a rule, do not directly interfere with the obligation to influence the concept of a national ethnic self; they either stand outside national ethnic processes or influence them equally as a whole. The conversion of science into a continuous productive force significantly increases its role as an internationalizing factor in social life. Nevertheless, the activity of natural scientists definitely influences national (ethnic) identity. When a scholar makes a major discovery, this emerges especially clearly. The fame of the scholar is spread to a considerable extent. For example, the Poles, English and Russians are proud of the contributions of N. Copernicus, I. Newton, M.V. Lomonosov, D.I. Mendeleev and others to the world. In addition, "putting into practice" the scientific achievements in the economy of a country directly influences its socio-economic development. In this context, such achievements are component parts of national processes. The growth of the internationalizing influence of science in the USSR

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caused its general democratization in the years of Soviet rule. While scientific and technical achievements serve the objective interests of the ruling class in a bourgeois society, similar achievements under socialism serve the interests of the working masses. The exciting development of Soviet science, which gained momentum during the scientific-technical revolution, has been assured by an outpouring of research cadres from the most different levels of Soviet society and from different national population groups. All these strengthened the relationship of the broad masses to science, along with generally raising the educational level, and strengthening science's role in the formation of a social concept. The direct conversion of science into a productive force, which is one of the manifestations of the modern scientific-technical revolution, has increased the role of production as an inter-nationalizing factor in social life to an important degree. Since the scientific-technical revolution is carried out to raise the level of social production, it connects different economic regions and sectors to each other with even stronger ties.

The social and humanitarian sciences have a special role in the development of national ethnic processes. These sciences (most of which emerge in their national ethnic form according to research), constituting the study of different social events and processes in an objective society, cannot but draw attention to the study of national (ethnic) events. Social sciences have many more national aspects than the natural sciences have. This is partially explained by the fact that the social sciences are tightly bound to the emotional sector; those like literature can reflect ethnic characteristics of the perception of the external world and specifics of feelings and impressions which enter into an ethnic psychology. In connection with this, it is appropriate to recall the idea of K. Marx and F. Engels that the French perfected English materialism by giving it ingenuity and clarity (cf K. Marx and F. Engels. Second printing of their works in Russian, vol 2, p 144).

In this regard one must especially examine the role of sciences like history, ethnography, archeology, linguistics and folklore. These sciences connect their research subjects to the emotional sector to some degree. Collecting historical data on the peoples of the Soviet Union, studying their historical traditions, clarifying language development, revealing national cultural achievements, comprehending ethnic characteristics of folk art, customs and traditions, and communicating these findings through the school, literature, press, radio and television--all this has influenced and influences the consolidation of our peoples and the development of national (ethnic) identity by creating conditions which increase their level of internal maturity. The influence of the social sciences in this direction is rounded out by historical and local museums. Such museums customarily have special exhibits showing national ethnic uniqueness.

The great influence of historical and philosophical sciences on national identity requires an increasing struggle against the idealization of the historical past of certain peoples and against one-sided evaluations of their traditions. Artificial inflation of national characteristics can result in illegally setting one people against another and can lead to national recidivism.

The social sciences must reveal the reality and progressiveness of development and rapprochement of nations in a socialist society and must defend the ideas of internationalism as the opposites of covert and overt nationalism and national exclusivity. For example, the historical sciences reveal the ancient positive

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traditions among the peoples of our country, their common participation in defending the Fatherland from invaders and their united revolutionary struggle against tsarist authoritarianism to build socialism and communism. Archeology and ethnography prove the equal capability of all peoples for cultural progress and teach the similarities of their culture to specific symbols.

In this context the world-view sciences, primarily the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, have special importance. Soviet social studies, which are based on the legacy of Marxism-Leninism, pay much attention to the nation-building process and to the leadership role of the CPSU in administering national processes. In this sector, social science scholars who carry out administrative duties are participating in the international education of workers by means of works which analyze different aspects (economic, social, legal, etc.) of contemporary national relations. The Party does its duty in studying national processes in all social sciences sectors under conditions of developed socialism--studying tendencies and prospects, characteristics and tempos, optimizing factors, and factors which slow down the development and rapprochement of socialist nations and peoples.

An important component of the Soviet people's social concept--proletarian internationalism--has exceptional significance for national processes (in essence, for ethnic aspects). As a result of an intense ideological struggle and educational work, "the party was successful in that internationalism changed from the ideal of a handful of communists to the deep belief and norm of relationship of millions of Soviet people from all nations and peoples. This was a basic revolutionary turning point in the social concept, a turning point of incomparable importance" (L.I. Brezhnev, *The Leninist Path: Articles and Speeches*, vol 4, p 67).

The community of goals and views of the Soviet peoples which took shape in all sectors of social psychology in the years of Soviet rule has great importance for their inter-national relations under modern conditions. For example, social concepts in the moral, political and legal sectors underwent important changes. In the process of developing socialism, special working class qualities were changed into symbols inseparable from the spiritual makeup of the entire Soviet people. Ideas, spiritual principles and working class interests became principles, norms and interests common to all the people. The spiritual-political unity of the Soviet people took shape. The spiritual makeup is always being perfected under conditions of developed socialism; the common Soviet moral and legal norms influence the conception of the workers even more deeply. Now it is impossible to conceive of the mental attitude of the Soviet people separate from the elements of the socialist humanism special to it, the concept of a high order of social obligations and a regard for socialist togetherness. The ideology of internationalism, the programs and goal of the peoples' education and higher education network, the work methods and basic similarity of the activist content of cultural-educational institutions working in Russian and other national languages as well as the channels of mass information, the community of the method of socialist realism in the fine arts (as for this community, it is united with differences of national forms and style variations formed in the process of the building of socialism)--all these created not only the basis for the rapprochement of nations but also the actively functioning mechanism for this rapprochement.

There is no doubt that the internationalization of culture which is constantly expanding in our country will be strengthened even further in the future.

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National cultures are not becoming the same on the basis of internationalization but are becoming mutually enriched. The peoples of the USSR are not simply forming an inter-national culture in the process of mutual influence and mutual enrichment of their spiritual cultures, they are forming a common Soviet culture. This is manifested not only in literature and fine arts but in daily life, including the laws of etiquette taken from all-Soviet traditions, holidays, celebrations and habits, and common anthroponomics. All-Soviet culture as part of a way of life is an important component of a new historical unity--the Soviet people.

The stability of international socio-political unity--the Soviet people--has found its reflection in the spiritual identity concept of the Soviet man. The relevance of this to each nation is combined with the concept of a relationship to the Soviet people.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state which views the multi-faceted rapprochement of the nations and peoples of our country as the most important objective law of the building of a communist society help the strengthening of Soviet international unity through all channels. At the same time the dialectically mutual connection of basic aspects of national processes in our country are borne in mind. The report of the 26th CPSU Party Congress said: "We oppose tendencies directed at artificially eliminating national characteristics. But, by the same token, we consider the artificial inflation of these characteristics to be unacceptable" (26th CPSU Congress: Materials, p 75).

It was especially noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that the unity of Soviet nations is stronger than ever. But as L.I. Brezhnev noted, "certainly this is not to say that all questions in the national relations sector have been resolved. The dynamics of development of a great multinational state such as ours bring forth significant problems demanding the party's careful attention" (CPSU Congress Materials, p 75). One must study these problems in order to understand them and to feel the pulse of modern national problems. This is one of the pressing duties of ethnography and sociology, which must reveal all facets of the "internal mechanism" of contemporary national processes. It is not by chance that recently a new "peripheral" science--ethnosociology--has emerged which links these two sciences in our country. Its basic duty is to research the mutual relationship of the socio-economic and, in the true meaning of the word, the ethnic aspects of national processes under contemporary conditions and to clarify, on one hand, the changing characteristics of ethnic manifestations in different social milieus and, on the other hand, the specifics of social dynamics in national units.

Ethnosociological research on contemporary national relations in the USSR were at the center of attention of the participants at the All-Union scientific session which took place in Baku at the end of May this year and which connected to the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress. Other aspects of this problem--ethnodemographic, ethnolinguistic and ethnopsychological aspects--were analyzed as well. The session showed convincingly that interdisciplinary cooperation for a deeper study of contemporary national relations will open up in the future.

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