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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 9/82)



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INTERNATIONAL

SHAKHNAZAROV BOOK VIEWS FUTURE WORLD ORDER

Moscow GRYADUSHCHIY MIROPORYADOK in Russian 1981(signed to press 27 Aug 81)pp 1-2, 447-448

[Table of contents and brief description of book by G.Kh.Shakhnazarov]

[Excerpts] Title Page:

Title: GRYADUSHCHIY MIROPORYADOK (The Future World Order)  
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Brief Description:

This book by G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, doctor of legal sciences, president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences, winner of the USSR State Prize, concludes his study, the first two parts of which were published under the titles "The Socialist Fate of Mankind" and "The Fiasco of Futurology." The author examines the main trends of contemporary social development and the prospects of international relations; he subjects to critical analysis the views of Western political scientists and futurologists. The book is intended for specialists, as well as for the general public interested in these problems.

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INTERNATIONAL

'PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN EAST, MODERN TIMES'-VOL I

Moscow ZARUBEZHNY VOSTOK I SOVREMENNOST' in Russian 1980 Vol 1 (signed to press 22 Sep 80) pp 1-4, 5-18, 530-531, 532-534

[Annotation, introduction, author collective, and table of contents of Vol 1 of "The Foreign East and Modern Times: Basic Problems and Tendencies in the Development of the Countries of the Foreign East," in three volumes, by G. F. Kim *et al.*, Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 18,200 copies, 533 pp]

[Excerpts] The book studies the processes that occur in the socioeconomic base chiefly of the developing countries of Asia and North Africa, as well as questions of the class and political struggle in those countries. Various economic problems are considered in inseparable connection with an analysis of the specific nature of the production relations that predominate in the modern East.

Introduction

Among the paramount social changes which, six decades after the historic victory of the Great October, are shaking the world of social and national oppression, an important place belongs to the revolutionary constructive creativity of the peoples of the East. As was emphasized in the Report of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev to the 25th CPSU Congress, one of the typical features of modern world development is "the serious intensification of the influence of the states which quite recently were colonies or semicolonies"<sup>1</sup>. The second half of the 1970's confirmed the rightness of that evaluation. Overcoming the opposition of neocolonialism, the national-democratic movement of nations is receiving further deepening and expansion in Southeast Asia, in the Near and Middle East, and in Tropical Africa. Young sovereign states are emerging as one of the most dynamic components of the modern, rapidly changing world. We have in mind not only the indicators of economic development, although major shifts have been achieved in this respect. We also have in mind a broader series of questions that encompass actually the entire totality of the basic aspects of the social life of the developing countries -- the economic base, the social structure, the political superstructure, and ideology. As a consequence of the transitional nature of the development of the liberated countries, all these spheres have been subjected to rapid, although far from identical, changes.

The completion of the first large historical stage in the national-liberation movement, which was linked with the collapse of the colonial system, means the

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advent of a qualitatively new stage in the history of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and which is characterized by a change in those traditional forms of the popular masses against imperialism that had been aimed primarily at expelling the colonizers.

The very logic of life led the peoples of the liberated countries to an understanding of the truth that the national-liberation struggle cannot be completed by the achievement of political independence, that colonialism has set down deep roots into various spheres of the socioeconomic and ideological-political life of the enslaved countries, and that, therefore, the final liquidation of all the survivals of colonialism is unthinkable without the extirpation of its roots. Hence the liberated countries are confronted by the imperative need to continue the liberation struggle, but now with the emphasis upon the domestic and foreign-political aspects, that is, a struggle that is directed primarily against the heritage of colonialism, against the domestic exploiting upper class.

In documents of the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties (June 1969) mention is made of the ever-increasing role of the anti-imperialistic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the world revolutionary process<sup>2</sup>. This phenomenon is not only of a quantitative nature. We are dealing with a new qualitative stage, when, in addition to the struggle against imperialism (external contradictions), one observes more and more clearly the internal social contradictions.

Although the downfall of the colonial system does not mean the liquidation of colonialism in general, it undoubtedly creates a new situation in the anti-imperialistic struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Today that struggle is aimed chiefly against those socioeconomic foundations and social-class forces upon which imperialism relies in its attempt to preserve and even, if possible, expand the exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries. Whereas previously there existed a clearly defined line of demarcation along which, on one side of the barricade, there stood the national-patriotic forces and, along the other side, imperialism and its immediate agent network, at the present time everything appears to be much more complicated. The struggle against imperialism is inevitably fractionated through the prism of the internal social contradictions, and the struggle for the choice of the path for development frequently leads to a new demarcation for the petty bourgeoisie, the middle urban segments, especially the national intellectuals, and the other social groups of the transitional society.

The middle of the 1970's became a new, important turning point in the struggle for the economic independence of the liberated states, in the course of which they began to change over to collective and coordinated methods of struggle and advanced the slogan of the cardinal reorganization of the system of international economic relations on the basis of equal rights. The first serious victories have already been won in that struggle, including those on the "petroleum front." Now even the bourgeois experts in the well-developed capitalist countries have come to the conclusion about the urgent necessity for the community of nations to resolve the "task of developing a new policy and new forms of cooperation," in order to overcome the gap between the developed and the developing countries, the instability of the world monetary system, the sharp fluctuations on the commodity

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markets, the depletion of the world's raw-materials supplies, the consequences of the many years of natural calamities, the worsening of the position of the poorest countries and regions, the slump in world capitalist production, unemployment, constantly growing inflation, etc.<sup>3</sup>.

However, the resolution of the problems linked with the overcoming of economic backwardness, with the creation of an independent economy, with raising the population's standard of living, presupposes profound socioeconomic changes; the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry; with its participation, the annihilation of obsolete feudal and tribalistic relations; the liquidation of monopolies; the radical democratization of social and political life and the state apparatus; the rebirth of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions; the reinforcement of the revolutionary parties and the creation of such parties where they do not yet exist<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, the present-day stage in the national-liberation movement is characterized primarily by its turn in the direction of the resolution of acute social problems, with the question of the liquidation not only of national oppression, but also of every kind of social oppression, already being posed several times. During the 1960's and especially during the 1970's the struggle for national liberation in many countries began to develop into the struggle against exploiter relations, both feudal and capitalistic<sup>5</sup>.

The anticapitalistic, or socialistic, orientation is becoming one of the leading tendencies in present-day national-liberation revolutions.

The three-volume collective monograph "The Foreign East and Modern Times," which is being offered to the reader, represents the second, revised edition of the two-volume work of the same name that was published in 1974. It is devoted to a description of the most important phenomena in the socioeconomic and political life of the developing countries of Asia and North Africa, basically in the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's. It must be said that the term "foreign East" as used in this work is of an extremely arbitrary nature. To a considerable degree the term has lost its former meaning, since, with the downfall of the colonial system, its chief basis has disappeared, for, in the past, the East was a colonial periphery for imperialism and, from that point of view, it, as it were, symbolized the colonial world.

At the same time, in literature that term has become traditional, containing within itself not only a geographical, but also a sociopolitical principle. With a consideration of all these circumstances, when we employ the term "East," we have in mind chiefly the developing countries of Asia and North Africa.

And there is one more important preliminary comment. The book deals with the processes of today and, consequently, many of the phenomena and events that are described in it are not yet settled and are complicated for the understanding of contemporaries, since they are dynamic and are rapidly transformed. The state of statistics also leaves much to be desired: research is also complicated by the lack of sufficiently representative information concerning the situation in most of the developing states. It is not by accident that many of the important problems of the development of the countries of the East have become the object of lively discussions, and this has found its expression in the fact that, within



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the author collective, there exist dissimilar approaches to certain theoretical questions (for example, the nature of multiple ways of life and the tendencies of their evolution, the peculiarities of the social-class structure, the prospects for the development of revolutionary democracy). Under these conditions we deemed it possible to retain in the book, to the maximum extent, the existing points of view without subjecting them to an editorial "leveling" process.

In the socioeconomic sections of the monograph, the attempt was made to analyze in detail but, at the same time, in a comprehensive manner the basic processes that have occurred and that are currently occurring in the economic base of the countries of Asia and North Africa. The production shifts in agriculture, in small-scale and factory industry, changes in the course of accumulation and in the training of national cadres, the situation with regard to the employment rate, and other economic problems are viewed in inseparable relationship with the specific production relations that predominate in the present-day East. Their plural nature, the existence of multiple ways of life, create a large peculiarity, the study of which has become one of the most important tasks of the authors of these sections. Therefore not only the technical-economic aspects of development, or, in other words, the changes in the status of the productive forces in the definite branch of the national economy, are coordinated with the evolution of the multiple nature of the socioeconomic structure, but it is an object of complete research itself. Individual chapters are devoted to an analysis of the ways of life and to the changes in them during the past two to two and a half decades, using the example of specific states and branches of the national economy.

This approach to the revealing of the topic makes it possible to provide a better, deeper analysis of the real difficulties and contradictions in the struggle being waged by the developing countries for the attainment of their economic independence. As a result, one can discern more easily the relationships that the production and social aspects of the struggle have with neocolonialism, with the survivals of the Middle Ages and the local Big Business.

At the present time, among specialists on the East, there exist different opinions relative to the essence of the very phenomenon of multiple ways of life and the concrete forms of its manifestation. It is completely clear, however, that the socioeconomic outlook of the developing countries cannot be recreated today without a consideration of one of the most important and most typical features of it -- the existence of several ways of life. The interaction and conflict among the various ways of life form the basis of many of the social contradictions and, to a considerable extent, determine the processes of the further evolution of the countries of the East. At the same time, despite all the stability of the multiple ways of life, in the second half of the 1960's and especially in the 1970's there has come forward as a very important task in the science of Eastern studies the analysis of the basic tendencies in the process of the evolution and transformation of the multiple ways of life, the ascertaining in this process of the role played by the leading, structure-forming way of life, the analysis of the methods and forms of overcoming it. In the process of resolving this task, the author collective of this work strove to avoid both the underestimation and the exaggeration of the importance of the multiple ways of life. This is important in connection with the fact that individual ways of life (for example, the state-capital and private-capital ways of life) operate as a single reproduction complex, but the basic

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classes in the transitional society of the East are organically linked not with one, but with several ways of life. Nor can one ignore the fact that certain important components of the social structure of the developing countries are reproduced in the process of the interaction and "butting" of various types of production relations.

As is well known, the first person to carry out a scientific analysis of the phenomenon of multiple ways of life and the methods of channeling that phenomenon into a single, organically integral socialist method of production, was V. I. Lenin. The object of his study was Soviet Russia during the NEP [New Economic Policy] period [1921-1936]. The conclusions that were obtained were brilliantly used in practice. However, it is only now that we are beginning to realize more completely the entire significance of Lenin's analysis, when the similar phenomenon of the multiple ways of life is being revealed on the tremendous areas of the developing countries.

What does the existence of multiple ways of life express? It is the best indicator of the deepest processes of the transitional state of the production relations. The growing interest of the social sciences in the transitional states of society, one must think, will lead to the revealing of the specific nature of the phenomenon of multiple ways of life during the development of a definite formation. For the developing countries, the results of this kind of analysis will be not simply of cognitive interest, but also of the absolutely most vital interest, since they will help to reveal important elements of their present-day validity. And yet, in this instance, we are engaged in the problem not of transitory phenomena in general, but, rather, of transitory phenomena under specific conditions, at a definite time, and in a definite direction.

V. I. Lenin laid the basis for the study of transitory phenomena and multiple ways of life, analyzing those problems under the specific conditions first of pre-revolutionary and then of postrevolutionary Russia. As a result we obtained a classic model of the dialectical approach to the study of the general and the particular in the problem of multiple ways of life, the methodology of which must be employed when analyzing multiple ways of life in the modern world. Obviously, it is necessary at such time to take into consideration all the specific features of the multiple ways of life in the Afro-Asian countries.

In the basic areas of Asia and partially in North Africa, the feudalism that had been established long ago coexisted with other, more ancient forms of socioeconomic ways of life, the significance and extent of which were immeasurably larger and broader than under the "European" types of feudalism.

The economic, and then the political invasion of the colonizers effected a cardinal change in the course of the social evolution of the enslaved countries. The foreign usurpers strove for a long time not to spread the new, capitalist relations, but rather for the maximum pumping out of wealth. Insofar as this was possible for them, they placed at their service all varieties of the "native" types of production. This achieved a contradictory effect: on the one hand, the traditional types of social order were preserved (or, rather, conserved), and, on the other hand, their inner essence was distorted. The contradictory influence of colonialization led to the differentiation of the local precapitalist ways of life. Some adapted better to the colonial exploitation, and others adapted worse.

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With the advent of the era of monopoly capitalism, the extremely agonizing development of the capitalist ways of life occurred in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the influence of the foreign and domestic factors. The capitalist production relations were not, however, homogeneous: some of the capitalist enterprises were created by foreign monopoly capital in its interests, and some grew up as a result of the protracted development of local capitalism. Thus, the basis of that specific kind of plurality of the ways of life formed under the pressure of colonial exploitation.

The analysis of the ways of life and the ascertaining of all the mechanisms of socioeconomic development create an important basis for studying the individual classes and the class structure of society as a whole. A special section of the book has been devoted to the present-day social-class structure, which is characterized by the "coexistence" of the old, traditional, and the new, modern classes and social groups. The authors have striven not only to point out the specific nature of the basic classes of Eastern society, but also to isolate those very important class segments and groups (the middle segments, the nonproletarian segments of the workers, etc.) which have their own specific interests and occupy a special place in the social and political life. It is only as a result of this kind of approach, in our opinion, that one can reveal the important peculiarities of the class conflicts in the developing countries at the present-day stage, and to ascertain the relatively independent nature of the political factors.

Today the question that stands in the center of the class struggle in the liberated countries is the question of choosing the path of social progress. Hence an ever-growing importance is attached to the study of the ideological situation in the area of the national-liberation movement, the process of the origin and development of the chief ideological concepts, and the struggle among various currents. Factors which are extremely complicated for the researcher are the determination and interpretation of the most important ideological currents in the East, which, in the overwhelming majority, represent a variegated mixture of traditional and new views, the class content of which sometimes filters through a complicated system of mediating layers of a religious-communal or tribal nature.

One of the typical features of this ideological situation is, in addition to the existence of traditional, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois ideological concepts, the origin of a large number of "transitional," basically petty-bourgeois, currents.

As is generally known, the common feature for most of the countries in the East lies in the fact that they put an end to the direct political dominance of the imperialistic powers, and are confronted by complicated tasks in overcoming the pernicious social and economic backwardness. Today they are in the state of confrontation with colonial and especially with neocolonialism.

On the path of consolidating their national independence, they will have to overcome a number of cardinal difficulties and to resolve many fundamental contradictions. The following are the most important of them.

First, the contradiction between the dependent (in its structure, colonial) nature of the national economy and the objective need for its intensive development for the purpose of achieving economic independence and consolidating the

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political independence. We have in mind the need for decisive shifts in material production, and the reorganization of the deformed, one-sided specialization of the economy as the agrarian type for producing raw materials, which will inevitably result in substantial changes in the entire social structure of society and its production relations.

Secondly, the contradiction between the democratic forces which are striving for fundamental changes in the interests of social progress, and the reactionary forces, which are inclined to make concessions with imperialism. That contradiction is leading to the sharp intensification of the class struggle.

Thirdly, contradictions among various ideological tendencies. Among these contradictions one must isolate the struggle of the neocolonialistic and revolutionary-democratic concepts. The "splitting" of bourgeois nationalism and the arising of petty-bourgeois currents of a transitional nature, as well as presocialistic concepts that bear the charge of revolutionary radicalism, have become one of the peculiarities in the ideological and political life of many developing countries.

The creation of independent national states predetermined the curtailment of those traditional forms of the struggle of the popular masses against imperialism which were aimed at breaking the apparatus of the colonial administration and driving out the colonizers. The center of gravity of the struggle against imperialism was shifted to the sphere of intergovernmental relations. At the present time it has taken on the nature of economic, political, and diplomatic contradictions and even military conflicts. The countries with national-democratic regimes use, in the struggle against imperialism, the power of their state apparatus. An important place is occupied at such time by the capability of establishing treaty relations with other states (primarily with countries of the socialist community), which leads to the internationalization of the struggle and a qualitative change in the correlation of the forces that are in a confrontation situation.

The Afro-Asian countries do not represent an organically integral and homogeneous group. They are not of the same type, and large differences exist between individual groups of countries. Realizing the entire conventionality of any classification of such dynamic phenomena as modern developing countries, we nevertheless attempted to isolate four groups of countries, keeping in mind primarily their types of evolution in the course of social progress.

The first group includes the countries with comparatively developed national capitalist ways of life in the economy and a relatively independent national bourgeoisie, which, acting in alliance with or making a compromise with other classes, is capable of definite anticolonial and anti-imperialistic actions in the defense of the national economy and political sovereignty. In the countries of this group, there has occurred, for the most part, class differentiation; the capitalist ways of life predominate in the city and are waging an offensive on the rural areas. The national bourgeoisie which is in power is sufficiently strong and experienced to lead these countries along the path of capitalist development. These countries resolve their contradictions with imperialism not only by a struggle, but also by an agreement with it. This group includes a number of countries in the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia.

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The second group includes the countries with the predominance of semifeudal and even prefeudal ways of life, with a class structure that is still poorly developed. The comparatively narrow elite which is in power does not have a more or less stable social base. Therefore one frequently observes there an acute struggle among the social groups and even the narrow political groupings with regard to the question of choosing the path for further development. One must include many of the states in Tropical Africa in this group.

The third group includes the countries or territories in which the capitalist ways of life are developing under the decisive effect, or with the direct participation, of foreign monopoly capital, with the latter exerting pressure upon the other ways of life and misforming them. The national bourgeoisie in these countries is subordinate to foreign monopolies, and the political institutions and state apparatus are subordinate to imperialism. As a rule, the governments of these countries, which are independent of imperialism participate in the knocking together of various military blocs.

The fourth group is made up of the countries that have accepted socialist orientation. In these countries the basic positions of the foreign capitalist way of life have been undermined, the agrarian reform is dealing a tangible blow at the feudal way of life, and a serious offensive is being waged against major national capital. The structural changes in the base are leading to shifts -- albeit not always adequate -- in the superstructure as well. A number of progressive social reforms are being carried out (in the area of workers legislation, public health, education, etc.). The foreign-policy course of these states is aimed at expanding the cooperation with the socialist countries.

The level of economic and social development, the correlation of the class forces, the degree of interference by imperialism, and the capabilities of cooperation with the countries of socialism are creating that concrete-historical situation which determines the basic content of the national-liberation revolutions in each country. At the same time, the 1970's were typified not only by the further deepening of the differentiation between the two extreme poles -- the socialist and the capitalist -- but also by the processes of inner crystallization and differentiation in the very groups of the developing countries which have already begun to orient themselves to socialism or capitalism. This leads sometimes to a new placement of forces on a regional scale, and partially also on a world scale.

The independent states of Asia and Africa, in their socioeconomic development, lagged behind the advanced countries by many decades. That means that the replacement of capitalism by socialism is a process that is prolonged in time and complicated in its essence. It can occupy a relatively large period of time and can be broken down into a number of stages. Experience shows us that, for the majority of the liberated countries, capitalist orientation does not promise any cardinal resolution of the fundamental socioeconomic tasks. Despite the possible partial economic successes, they have waiting for them, in the final analysis, the fate of conversion into neocolonies, that is, formally independent states with a subordinate, malformed economy. On the capitalist path they will remain in the status of a "rural periphery" of the capitalist world, since the chasm that separates them from the developed countries will broaden more and more during the age of the scientific-technical revolution.

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The states with socialist orientation, using such levers for the mobilization of economic potentials as the nationalization of the extraction and processing of mineral resources; the expansion of the state sector in industry, power engineering, and transportation; the development of cooperatives in agriculture; the consolidation of state finances; as well as economic aid provided by the socialist countries, developing the planned principle in management, and mobilizing the creative energy of the masses, are able, when the historical conditions are favorable, to leap across the gap of centuries of backwardness in only a few decades, that is, during the lifetime of a single generation.

Of course, the choice of the path of noncapitalistic development itself does not automatically guarantee the successful resolution of these tasks. To an equal extent one should not expect on this path an immediate effect. The historical experience of the previously backward nations of the USSR indicates that what is required here is painstaking work, which is fraught with many difficulties, as well as the mobilization of all the material and spiritual resources of the nations.

For the future prospects of the national-liberation movement (by which we understand also the present-day stage in the development of the countries of Asia and Africa), a factor that will be of tremendous importance is the further dissemination of scientific socialism. In this regard, the monograph points out the role and place of the Afro-Asian proletariat, its closest political allies (the peasantry, the nonproletarian segments of the workers, the national intellectual class, and other groups) and the very important problems that are linked with the activities of the Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties in the countries of the East.

The correct description of the situation in the East would be unthinkable without the ascertaining of the place and role of the national question at the present-day level. The countries of Asia and Africa, as is well known, are, in the overwhelming majority, multinational ones. At the present time, as a result of the fact that the chief center of the liberation struggle has shifted to the sphere of socioeconomic reforms, there has been a considerable aggravation of the national question. Various nationalities which are at a dissimilar level of socioeconomic development and social-class differentiation, and which, by virtue of the historical conditions, occupy a dissimilar position within the system of the internal social interrelationships of the particular state, understand variously the tasks of economic development and the social reforms.

The nationalistic frictions with regard to the economic problems do not necessarily take the nature of a struggle with regard to the choice of the path of development. They can also arise as a result of the choice of the type of capitalist evolution. The interests of the more developed bourgeoisie of one nation or nationality lead to a conflict with the striving of the aristocratic, tribal, or bureaucratic leaders of another nation or nationality to preserve their privileges, and then both forces appeal to "their own" ethnic masses, advancing nationalistic slogans. Very frequently in African countries one observes the attempts of the bourgeoisie of one nationality to become rich at the expense of the bourgeoisie of another nationality, to guarantee themselves the monopoly right of exploitation on the regional, "intra-ethnic" market. Putting it more briefly, behind many "national" demands one can discern a completely definite social-class interest, albeit one which is disguised by nationalistic slogans.

An important cause of the aggravation of the national question lies in the nature of the ethnical processes in the East themselves. They are distinguished by a dynamic and incomplete nature. In many countries, all three major stages of the ethnic process coexist: the formation of the tribes into nationalities; the formation of nations from the nationalities; and the internal consolidation of the nations that have already formed. Thus, there exists a historically developed unevenness in ethnic development, an unevenness which, naturally, gives rise to unequal rights for the various nationalities, and which, consequently, can serve as a source of national conflicts.

The qualification and classification of the national movements in the East as a natural consequence of the aggravation of the national question is a matter of primary importance and, at the same time, of exceptional complexity. In the sphere of national relations, the class content emerges in an extremely mediated form: it frequently is difficult for contemporaries to isolate in a particular national movement the fundamental interests of the working masses and to avoid the reefs of either the nationalistic or the chauvinistic approach. A factor that takes on very great importance in this regard is the need for a decisive struggle against the ideology and policy of Maoism, which plays an extremely pernicious role in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the East. Extreme manifestations of chauvinism and anti-Sovietism, the vulgarization of the principles of scientific socialism, and the formation of blocs with the most reactionary imperialistic circles leave no doubt that the Maoist strategy is being converted into a special, extremely dangerous variety of modern anticommunism. The correct combination of the national and the international in the spirit of revolutionary dialectics and in the application to the specific national situation in our time is impossible without the successive unmasking of Maoism.

When evaluating the national movements from the point of view of their progressive or reactionary nature, it is necessary to proceed, first, from their deep class content and, second, from their objective, primarily international, consequences. It will be incorrect at such time to give preference to the former or the latter aspect of the question: in the present-day world the domestic and international aspects of the national movements form an organic fusion as never before. In addition, it is necessary to remember that, under the conditions of the countries with multiple ways of life, which are deeply split by the most varied social contradictions, "pure types" of national movements are encountered not frequently. Frequently the progressive and reactionary tendencies coexist and oppose one another in one and the same movement, and it is not always possible to predict which tendency will prove to be the leading one.

In the ethnic processes in the countries of the East there are two basic tendencies: the objective (consolidational) and the differential (disintegrational). Sometimes both these tendencies coexist.

Not only the very rich experience of history, but also the current political life of the peoples of Asia and Africa, demonstrates the doomed nature of the narrowly nationalistic, isolated movements. The lessons of history and modern times dictate the need that the nations which are fighting for their own national rights have to unite with the democratic forces and the working masses of the dominant nation and the other national minorities. This is the most effective method of struggling for the elimination of national oppression and simultaneously the chief means of

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combatting both narrow-minded nationalism and great-power chauvinism. The other, international aspect of the united front of national movements' tactic, a tactic which has demonstrated its effectiveness, is the orientation toward the countries of the socialist community and the advanced democratic forces in the countries of capitalism. Otherwise, self-isolation is inevitable, and this sharply weakens any national movement, of the use of it by imperialism and the local reactionary forces for their own selfish interests. This was demonstrated to the world with particular clarity by the events in the area of the African Horn in 1977-1978.

In this monograph a considerable place has been given to an analysis of the basic ethnic processes, their socioeconomic and political aspects, and national movements.

In the concluding section of the monograph the attempt was made to pose and to throw light upon a number of new social and political problems of the modern national-liberation movement, which evolve from the existence of the two opposing social systems on the world scene.

Special attention at such time was devoted to the new aspects of the social and political strategy of neocolonialism, which are linked with its persistent striving to lessen somewhat the contradictions with the growing national bourgeoisie of the developing countries -- the decisive internal force in the struggle for the confirmation of capitalist production relations. The imperialistic circles of the West, manifesting a definite self-interest in "pulling up" the productive forces of the liberated countries, in guaranteeing more or less stable proportions in their structure, are striving first of all to reinforce and expand the positions of the modern capitalist ways of life, and, consequently, the class position of the national bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic upper class, the local elite, and other rightist-nationalistic, antisocialistic forces.

A place of no small importance in the neocolonialistic programs for modernizing the international capitalistic division of labor is given to the scientific-technical revolution, which, according to the plans of the imperialistic circles, has been called upon to block the carrying out of the successively progressive reforms in the liberated countries. However, the real-life practical situation has revealed with complete obviousness the insolvency of the strategic line of neocolonialism, which is aimed at using the scientific-technical reforms to oppose the social revolution of the nations of Asia and Africa. The use of the advanced achievements of scientific and engineer-technical minds opens up for the young states the objective opportunities to achieve a sharp increase in the social productivity of labor, and to attain a major economizing in time and material resources in the struggle for economic independence and social progress.

The implementation of these inexhaustible capabilities acts in irreconcilable contradiction with the overall socioeconomic backwardness of the liberated countries and the striving of neocolonialism to reinforce and perpetuate their economic dependence upon the system of developed capitalism. Moreover, the unequal status of the developing countries in the international capitalist division of labor is leading to paradoxical socioeconomic consequences, when the greatest benefits from the introduction of advanced technology in the liberated countries are gained



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by the imperialistic monopolies; this is one of the prerequisites for increasing the gap in the level of social productivity of labor between the two parts of the world capitalistic economy.

Real cooperation in providing the young states with the latest scientific-technical knowledge, advanced technology of production, in training skilled national cadres, and in developing the most promising branches of scientific research has been rendered by the socialist states. This aid is not only of economic importance, but also of great social importance, contributing in every way to the victory of the progressive forces in the anti-imperialistic struggle. "In the person of the socialist countries, these states," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," "have true and reliable friends who are ready to provide them with all kinds of aid and support in their development along the progressive path. And that support is not only moral and political, but also economic, organizational -- up to and including cooperation in reinforcing their defensive capability"<sup>6</sup>.

Active, effective support provided by world socialism and the international working class represents the decisive foreign factor in the further deepening and expansion of the national-liberation struggle of nations. It is precisely this support that has been paralyzing many of the expansionistic actions of modern imperialism which are aimed against the peoples of the East.

V. I. Lenin said that the victory of the proletarian revolution creates "completely different international relations which provide the opportunity for all the oppressed nationalities to get rid of the imperialistic oppression"<sup>7</sup>. Reinforcing the alliance with the national-liberation movement, the socialist countries are executing in a holy manner the Leninist behests concerning the unity of the worldwide anti-imperialistic forces in the common struggle for the national and social emancipation of the peoples on our planet.

The deep-down processes of the further social demarcation and aggravation of the class struggle, processes which frequently are concealed from foreign observance, and in particular the noticeable rapprochement of the imperialistic circles of the West with the reactionary rightist-nationalistic (as well as pro-Maoist) circles in the developing countries, group in a new manner the motivating forces of the present-day national-democratic struggle. There has been a steady intensification of the isolation of the rightist-nationalistic, reactionary, pro-imperialistic forces, which have been opposing the vitally essential tasks of national rebirth and social progress. And, at the same time, there has been an immeasurable increase in the role played by the progressive democratic forces, which have a heart-felt self-interest in the consolidation of the national independence and in the forward movement, in the future prospect, toward real socialism.

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS* [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 13.
2. See: *Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Dokumenty i materialy* [International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties: Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1969, p 310.

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3. See: *Development Co-operation Efforts and Policies of the Members of the DAC*. 1976. Review. P., 1976, p 9 [as published].
4. See: *Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy*, p 312.
5. See: *Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS* [Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1971, p 18.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, *Velikiy Oktyabr' i progress chelovechestva* [The Great October and the Progress of Mankind], Moscow, 1977, p 21.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 22-29 December 1920. 1. Report on Concessions for Factions of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)], 8th Congress of Soviets, 21 December," Vol 42, p 107. The works of V. I. Lenin are cited from *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* [Complete Collected Works]; the works of K. Marx and F. Engels are cited from *Sochineniya* [Works], 2nd edition.

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Volume 1

Introduction -- G. F. Kim.

Section I -- Problems of the Socioeconomic Development of the  
Countries of the East (supervisor, A. I. Levkovskiy):

- A. I. Levkovskiy (Chapter I; Chapter IV, jointly with A. I. Novichkov;  
Chapter VIII, jointly with B. V. Sinitsyn; Chapter X, jointly with I. I.  
Yegorov and V. N. Ulyakin).
- N. A. Dlin (Chapter II).
- N. G. Lozovaya (Chapter III).
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- N. A. Arsharuni (Chapter VII).
- L. K. Orleanskaya (Chapter IX).
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- S. A. Bessonov (Chapter XII).
- I. I. Yegorov (Chapter XIII).

Section II -- The Class and Political Struggle in the Countries of the  
East (supervisor, R. G. Landa):

- R. G. Landa (Chapters I-ii; Chapter V, jointly with R. E. Sevortyan).
- A. S. Plotnikov (Chapter II, paragraph 3).
- E. V. Pavlutsкая (Chapter II, paragraph 4).
- G. F. Kim and I. G. Sanovich (Chapter III).
- A. V. Kiva (Chapter IV).
- B. G. Sapozhnikov, R. E. Sevortyan (Chapter VI).
- N. A. Simoniya (Chapter VII).

Volume 2

Section III -- The Agrarian-Peasant Question (supervisor, V. G. Rastyannikov).

- V. G. Rastyannikov (Chapter I, paragraphs 1, 2; Chapter II, paragraphs 1, 2;  
Chapter III: Chapter IV, introductory part, paragraph 1, conclusion;

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- Chapter V, paragraph 1: The Peasant Movement in the Countries With Rural Workers Organizations That Are Independent of the State -- India).
- Yu. G. Aleksandrov (Chapter I, paragraph 3; Chapter II, paragraph 3; Chapter V, paragraph 1: introductory part, The Peasant Movement in Countries with Rural Workers Organizations That Are Controlled by the Ruling Political Group), paragraph 2).
- Zh. D. Smirenskaya (Chapter IV, paragraph 2; Chapter V, paragraph 1: The Peasant Movement in Countries With Rural Workers Organizations That Are Independent of the State -- the Philippines).

**Section IV -- The National Question (supervisor, M. S. Lazarev):**

The section was written basically by M. S. Lazarev with the participation of V. F. Vasil'ev (Burma), G. M. Grigor'yeva (India), V. I. Kochnev (Pakistan), L. S. Kyuzadzhyan (China), N. S. Lutsкая (the Magrib countries [Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco], I. B. Marunova (Kampuchea), I. M. Meliksetova (Oceania), I. M. Oshurkova (Nepal), P. I. Puchkov (Oceania), N. I. Semenova (India), N. A. Simoniya (Indonesia), E. D. Talmud (Sri Lanka), V. V. Trubetskoy (Iran). In addition, the section contains texts and materials by L. M. Demin (Indonesia), R. G. Landa (Algeria), G. I. Levinson (Philippines), Liu Younan, (Chinese in Southeast Asia), G. I. Mirskiy (Arab world), Yu. V. Khrenov (Malaysia), R. I. Sherkovina (Pakistan).

**Volume 3**

**Section V -- Social and Political Thought in the Countries of the East  
(supervisor, L. R. Polonskaya)**

- L. R. Polonskaya (Chapter I, paragraph 1; Chapter V, paragraph 1; paragraphs 2-4, jointly with S. I. Kornev (Buddhism) and G. I. Levinson (Christianity).
- V. G. Khoros (Chapter I, paragraph 2).
- A. I. Chicherov (Chapter II).
- A. S. Kaufman (Chapter III).
- L. S. Kyuzadzhyan (Chapter IV).
- A. I. Ionova (Chapter V, paragraph 5).
- A. Kh. Vafa (Chapter VI, paragraph 1; general editing of Chapter VI).
- A. D. Litman (Chapter VI, Philosophical Thought).
- L. S. Aganina, Ye. P. Chelyshev (Chapter VI, literature; in the written of the paragraph "Literature," use was made of materials by V. I. Braginskiy, N. D. Gavryushina, A. A. Gerasimova, V. N. Kirpichenko, V. B. Klyashtornaya, Z. N. Petrunicheva, A. S. Sukhochev, S. N. Uturgauri, B. V. Chukov).
- S. I. Potabenko (Chapter VI, Art).
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- T. I. Kukhtina (Chapter VI, Education).
- L. B. Nikol'skiy (Chapter VI, Linguistic Situation).

**Section VI -- International Aspects of National-Liberation Movements (supervisor, V. F. Li):**

- V. F. Li (Chapter I).
- N. A. Simoniya (Chapter II).
- Yu. F. Shamray (Chapter III).

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M. A. Aleksandrov, G. K. Shirokov (Chapter IV).  
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Conclusion -- G F. Kim.

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## 'PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN EAST, MODERN TIMES' - VOL II

Moscow ZARUBEZHNY VOSTOK I SOVREMENNOST' in Russian 1980 Vol 2 (signed to press 27 Aug 80) pp 3-4, 319-320

[Annotation and table of contents of Vol 2 of "The Foreign East and Modern Times: Basic Problems and Tendencies in the Development of the Countries of the Foreign East," in three volumes, by G. F. Kim *et al.*, Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 182,00 copies, 319 pp]

[Excerpts] The book studies the problems of reproduction in the agriculture of the developing countries of the East and the shifts in the socioeconomic structure of the rural areas in the 1960-1970's, and throws light upon the contradictions in the "green revolution," and the basic peculiarities of the social and political situation in rural areas. It also considers the typical features of the national development of the present-day countries of the East and the factors that exert an influence upon the national movements. It provides a typology of the national movements.

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'PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN EAST, MODERN TIMES' - VOL III

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[Annotation, conclusion, and table of contents of Vol 3 of "The Foreign East and Modern Times: Basic Problems and Tendencies in the Development of the Countries of the Foreign East," in three volumes, by G. F. Kim *et al.*, Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 18,250 copies, 528 pp]

[Extracts] The book discusses the underlying natural laws and peculiarities of the present-day stage of social thought in the developing countries and analyzes bourgeois nationalism, the non-Marxist socialist concepts, and the role of religion in the ideological-political struggle. A considerable amount of attention is devoted to the problems of culture. The book also throws light upon the international aspects of the national-liberation movement: questions of foreign aid, the problem of nonalliance, etc.

Conclusion

The Liberated Countries of the East on the Threshold of the 1980's

The national-liberation struggle of the nations during the past one-and-a-half to two decades was marked by new outstanding victories. "Confirmation of this," as stated in the report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev to the 26th CPSU Congress, "is provided by the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the antipopular monarchist regime in Iran. During the 1970's, factually speaking, the liquidation of the colonial empires was completed. There was a narrowing of the sphere of imperialistic dominance in the world"<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the crushing defeats inflicted on imperialism and neocolonialism, the great-power chauvinistic policy of the leadership of the People's Republic of China suffered serious failures in the countries of Asia and Africa. The nature and direction of the national-liberation struggle completely confirmed one of the basic conclusions of Marxism-Leninism, as relative to the content of the present-day era as the era of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

The struggle being waged by the nations of the East for the consolidation of their national independence and social progress, fusing together with the struggle being waged by all the progressive forces of our planet against imperialistic reaction,

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accelerates the present-day revolutionary process. In the course of this struggle one begins to see more and more clearly the limitation of the social framework of capitalism for the purpose of resolving the vitally important tasks of the national-democratic revolutions. In this regard one must view the very important feature of the social development of the East -- the unusual intensity of the attraction of the masses of the people toward socialism.

The struggle against imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, which struggle constitutes the content of the present-day stage of the development of the liberated countries, has revealed a number of contradictory phenomena and tendencies. Substantial successes in this struggle were achieved primarily by the countries of socialist orientation, which acted most decisively to squeeze the imperialistic monopolies and to establish strict governmental control over their own economic ties. At the same time, new trends also touched those countries which, comparatively recently, were viewed by imperialism as relatively "stable regions" of the world capitalist economy. It can be assumed that the 1980's will run their course under the sign of the further development of these tendencies, both in width (as a result of the encompassment of new countries) and in depth (by way of the intensification and qualitative improvement of the instruments and methods of the independent economic policy). In the new decade, obviously, one should expect the completion of the process of reorganization of the activities of foreign capital and the substantial limitation of the frankly predatory forms of its activities.

Another important tendency which was noted in the 1970's but which, obviously, will receive wide development in the 1980's, is the carrying out of considerable democratic reforms, primarily in the agrarian area. The countries that were the pioneers in these reforms were the countries of socialist orientation. However, the leaders of the states with capitalist orientation also proved to be forced to begin carrying out reforms aimed at eliminating the most conservative survivals of feudalism, although that course did not, by any means, contribute to establishing social and political stability in the liberated countries.

In many countries one observes the greater and greater deepening of the disproportions between the modern and traditional sectors of the society, primarily between the urban industrial branches and the agrarian sphere, which continues to rely upon backward productive forces. On this basis there has been an exacerbation of the food-supplies problem, which has been hindering the formation of a commodity fund of food supplies that is necessary for the creation of a diversified modern structure of the economy, and which intensifies the dependence of the system of social reproduction.

The social consequences of these increasingly exacerbated contradictions find their manifestation in mass pauperism, the extremely low level of consumption by the bulk of the workers who are vegetating in the sphere of precapitalistic ways of life, and the vast unemployment, which has clearly expressed features of a depression. All this is the direct result of the destructive interaction of the socioeconomic and demographic processes in the disintegrated economy of the developing countries, which occupy a special, subordinate position in the system of world capitalism. Moreover, one of the important peculiarities of its effect upon the process of socioeconomic evolution lies in the fact that, in essence, it blocks the growth of the organic structure of joint capital and intensifies the

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disintegration and disproportions in the entire national-economic structure. And the one-sidedness of the reorganization of the economy, in the final analysis, restrains the process of its progressive reform and leads to the continuous increase in the relative gap in the levels of the economic development of the liberated countries and the world capitalist centers.

The unevenness of the socioeconomic development, as a general underlying natural law that is inherent to the entire system of world capitalism, manifests itself on the periphery of world capitalism and in the further deepening of the differentiation of the liberated countries themselves. That circumstance was emphasized in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress: "These countries are very varied. Some of them, after liberation, took the revolutionary-democratic path. In others, the capitalist relations were confirmed. Some of them are carrying out a truly independent policy, and others are today following the wake of the policy of imperialism. In a word, the picture is rather motley"<sup>2</sup>. With the passage of time a factor that exerts a stronger and stronger effect upon the socioeconomic development of the countries of the East is such a factor as the differences in the degree and the nature of the inclusion in the worldwide capitalist economy. However, even the countries which have gone ahead with regard to definite indicators are encountering the same very acute problems: the deepening of the disproportions and the intensification of the dependence upon the imperialistic powers, the pressure exerted by the tremendous repopulation upon all the social processes, and the intensification of the counteraction being put up by the imperialistic centers. Therefore the problem of a single anti-imperialistic front made up of all the liberated countries in the struggle for the creation of a new international economic order is taking on an increasingly important nature.

The contradictory features of the socioeconomic evolution of the countries of the East which are in the system of the world capitalist formation determine the further aggravation of the old social contradictions and the arising of new ones. Within the next 10-20 years in the liberated countries of capitalist development there will inevitably occur the further intensification of the social polarization, the increase in the relative and absolute gap between the propertied, exploiting upper class and the exploited lower classes of society. The course aimed at the forced development of capitalism will inevitably cause the further forcible pushing out of broader and broader masses of the workers from the existing system of production and the headlong swelling of the sphere of pauperism and backwardness. (No less than one-fourth of the population in the liberated countries consumes an amount of food supplies that is below the minimum means of subsistence.) The pauperism of the masses and the declassing of a considerable part of the population will, to a large extent, determine the nature of the social and political struggle in the liberated countries during the 1980's.

The organic incapability of capitalism as a social means of production to resolve the vitally important economic and social problems of the developing countries brings with it new contradictions in socioeconomic life. One of the most important is the intensification of the effect that the state and its property have upon social reproduction and the evolution of the socioeconomic structure. Within the next decade one should expect a further increase in the role of the national state in the socioeconomic development of the liberated countries, and this, undoubtedly, will reflect the inability of the private-capital way of life to resolve

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independently the tasks of overcoming the economic backwardness and of social progress. In the countries of the East with a capitalistically oriented development, the expansion of state property in the sphere of the economy gives rise to socioeconomic types of the economy which are basically higher than private-economy capitalism (various versions of state-monopoly capitalism, primarily), the development of which types, for the most part, is subordinated to the logic of development of the capitalist formation. Hence the persistent striving of private capital to be integrated to the maximum extent with the state capital, up to and including the creation of a single reproduction process. At the same time, the evolution of state capitalism in the 1980's, to a greater and greater extent, will be influenced by the intensification of the state functions to integrate the entire process of economic development and to maintain the political stability of society under conditions of the continuous aggravation of the fundamental social contradictions, and this objectively intensifies the noncapitalistic potential of state property and the entire effect of the national state upon the socioeconomic development of the transitional society.

The specific nature of the class structure in the countries of the East lies in the existence and the frequently numerical predominance of the classes and segments of the precapitalistic type (tribal nobility and patriarchal-commune peasantry, feudal lords and feudally enslaved peasantry, a large number of semifeudal groups, including those among urban dwellers, a large military segment, nonproletarian segments of workers, etc.). The breakdown of these classes and groups is historically inevitable. Nevertheless, within the next decade (the 1980's) they will continue to play an important role in the social structure.

The variety and the multileveled nature of the class gradations, interests, and strivings in countries with multiple ways of life determine the special role of the ruling elite. In the East, they are not simply the agent network of the ruling class, but, rather, a specific and socially complex (not always constant) segment that carries out the political power usually in the name not of a single class, but a broad class coalition. Acting as a consolidating and mobilizing factor, the elite attempts to play the role of an above-class arbiter (and if it succeeds in doing so, it is only for a short period). This tendency objectively feeds on the special economic role played by the state and state coercion, and upon the historically firmly established might of the bureaucracy in the East, a bureaucracy which always revealed the striving for the formation of a closed, distinctive social caste. In this situation the elite strives to represent itself as the expresser of the interests of society or the nation as a whole, but, obviously, its understanding of these interests is influenced both by its social origin and social ties, and by the overall situation and correlation of class forces in the country. To the same extent that, in the 1980's, there will be an aggravation of the multilevel and multistage class struggle in the liberated countries, the elite will remain the object of various class pretensions and will reflect the upward flight of a particular class. Also linked with its contradictory nature is the special role of the army, the bureaucracy, and the state sector in the economy.

Under conditions of the aggravation of the class struggle in the East, factors that are taking on greater and greater importance are both the improvement of the organizational and political forms of the class movements (still insufficiently developed and self-determined) of the proletariat, the nonproletarian segments of the workers, and the working peasantry, and the social and political dynamism

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of the modern middle segments, that is, the most educated and politically active social groups -- the intellectuals, the officer class, the studentry, etc. -- which are linked to a particular degree with various detachments of the petty bourgeoisie.

The advancement of this segment was objectively caused by the weakness and unpreparedness of the proletariat and especially the bourgeoisie, by the considerable growth of this segment by drawing on the broad urban and rural masses of the precapitalistic small-scale producers, by the gravitation to it of the pauperized poor and the preproletariat, which constitute a large part (sometimes the majority) of the population in many countries of the East. The close ties between the petty bourgeoisie and the nonproletarian majority of the population determined the bourgeoisie's leadership role in many important processes in the development of the modern East. As a whole the petty bourgeoisie, after its advent to power, is typified by the gradual rejection of extremes, pragmatism, and the orientation toward the prolonged coexistence of petty and medium private ownership under the aegis of the powerful state sector. Also operating in this same direction is the petty-bourgeois influence in the ranks of the ruling elite, the bureaucracy, the army, and the apparatus of economic administration, which apparatus is gradually encompassed by the petty bourgeoisie.

The complicated process of the national rebirth and the search for the ways for the further development of the peoples of the East cannot fail to lead to a new regrouping of the social and political forces during the 1980's. As the social and class consciousness of the workers inevitably becomes intensified, there will be an acceleration of the transition from the previous class-caste conservative social structure to a modern social and political organization that included within itself new social classes and segments, new progressive parties and organizations. The upsurge of national feelings, the increasing protest against imperialistic exploitation, provide the objective impetus for the ethno-national processes: the transition from tribal organization to the nationality; the formation of the nationalities into new nations of the transitional type.

The struggle for the consolidation of the political integrity and sovereignty remains one of the most important directions in the social development of the liberated countries during the 1980's. Meanwhile the social reforms, even during the modern era, when they evolve under the active guiding effect of the political superstructure, will require a rather prolonged transitional period. That course also requires the active participation of the masses in affairs of administering the state. In the countries of capitalist development, very serious obstacles stand on this path: a considerable part of the population, from the point of view of their social psychology, the degree of development of their class-political awareness, have not yet matured enough for active and conscious political movements. The existing forms of state authority in the countries of capitalist development do not always correspond to the objective need for involving in active political work the broad masses of the population or the creation of mass-scale social and political organizations. Frequently the ruling bourgeois groupings limit the participation of the masses in political life, and strive to channel their participation into the movements that are occurring under the slogans of bourgeois nationalism, conservative traditionalism, etc.

These factors will undoubtedly exert the most serious influence upon the domestic political life of the liberated countries in the 1980's. Wherever the political

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life comes out from under the control of the parliamentary regimes, the bourgeois-nationalistic forces will strive to promote "strong personalities" to the power, and to promote the confirmation of authoritarian forms of power. Under a personal or narrow-group dictatorship there can be a temporary weakening of the role and importance of the constitutional-legal, democratic-representative institutions, and there can be an excessive expansions of the punitive prerogatives of the army, police, and the internal security agencies. However, these repressive tendencies will not lessen, but rather will aggravate still more the antagonistic contradictions of the transitional society. In other words, during the 1980's the social and political tension in many countries of the East, in proportion to the growth of the class differentiation and the aggravation of the domestic contradictions, will grow steadily.

A very important feature of the present-day ideological situation in the developing countries is the deepening of the social content of various theories and concepts, their more clearly defined class-political demarcation. The question that was the center of ideological battles in most of the states in the Asian-African world was the question of culture and national traditions, and that had the most direct effect upon the fates of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois doctrines. There was an acceleration of the previously noted reduction in the influence of those nationalists who had acted from frankly "modernizer" positions. That fate overtook the rather numerous and extremely varied segment of theoreticians, primarily the popularizers of "Western models" of capitalist development. The only ideologists who could defend and expand the zone of effect upon the masses were, for the most part, those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who did not so much break as adapt the "traditional factors" to the needs of modernizing society. A special place was occupied by the corresponding transformation of the religious dogmas and laws. There still remain linked with the idealization of the patriarchal social orders many patriarchal-peasant and petty-bourgeois illusions, including those which provide an impetus to the movements of social protest.

An extremely important factor in the early 1980's in the ideological and political life of the liberated countries is the consolidation of the ideological alliance between the national democratic forces of the liberated states and the worldwide system of socialism and the international communist movement. Real socialism guarantees gigantic social progress, organically combining the resolution of the tasks of economic growth, the complete cultural flourishing of the nations, with the realization of the centuries-old national yearnings for social justice.

The question of this realization takes on special acuity in a situation of the growing differentiation of the countries in the Asian-African world, where the question that has become the decisive one is the question of the class choice of the particular place in the world conflict between socialism and capitalism.

But the ranks of the ideologists whose teachings objectively serve to substantiate the bourgeois development are far from monolithic. The large number and the theoretical motley of the teachings themselves reflect the varying level of the social development of individual countries, the variety of the specific political situation, and the varying degree to which the general national tasks have been resolved, including the overcoming of economic backwardness, the elimination of the inhibiting consequences of colonialism and precapitalistic relations, and, finally, the divergence of the strivings of the representatives of various bourgeois, as

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well as petty-bourgeois groupings. One observes differences of opinions between the ideologists who act from anti-imperialistic positions and the ideologists of the neocomprador, landowning upper-bourgeois segments. These differences of opinion affect to a broader and broader extent not only the foreign-policy sphere, but also the entire mechanism of international economic communication. The sowers of the illusions concerning the exclusive effectiveness of bourgeois development and the zealous apologists of "free enterprise," on the one hand, and those who, to one degree or another, are aware of the limited nature of the historical opportunities of that progress and who join up with the criticizing of the negative features of capitalism which were revealed on the national soil, on the other, continued to march in different columns. As a result there was an expansion of the chasm between the ideological expression of the interests of the narrow exploiter circles and the interests of the remaining groups of the population.

At the same time, the doctrines that became most widespread were those nationalistic doctrines which represented, as it were, the "equivalent" of various social forces. The most typical components of those doctrines were, as a rule, the course aimed at a "mixed economy," in which one observed the parity between the private initiative and state-economic activity; the criticism of large capital, foreign and national; and the declaration of the primacy of the general national interests over others. Doctrines of this type were confirmed as the dominant ones at the general state level, including in the official ideologies.

Moreover, practically the main emphasis in these ideologies is placed upon bringing up to date the mass awareness, upon introducing into it those value landmarks and mobilizing ideological principles which serve the goals of accelerating the rates of economic development, the reinforcement of sovereignty, and the repelling of the intrigues of neocolonialism under conditions of social and economic disintegration, the multiplicity of historical and cultural traditions, the incompleteness of the processes of class formation and the formation of nations. The spectrum of the official doctrines has become more varied: their creators have developed various approaches to the correlation of the social and the general-national, and have proposed different versions for coordinating these factors with the spiritual heritage of their countries, with the cultural norms.

What, though, are the basic prospects for the ideological-political struggle in the liberated countries during the 1980's? As the national-democratic movement continues to deepen, the struggle waged by the progressive forces against the noticeably intensified attempts to use religion for antipopular purposes will take on particular importance. Pointing out the use of religious slogans, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the chief thing lies in what goals are being pursued by the forces that proclaim the various slogans"<sup>3</sup>. The anti-imperialistic and anti-capitalistic moods that have been widespread among the masses of the faithful and some of the clergy, as well as the political figures who are close to them, make it possible to oppose to the dogmas of religious exclusivity the ideas of religious tolerance in the name of creating a single front of patriotic forces; to oppose to theocratic tendencies the requirements of the genuinely democratic and progressive transformation of society and the state; and to oppose to the summons for religious unity the policy of the international solidarity of the workers in the name of the struggle for international security and social progress.

Whereas during the period of the struggle for political independence the gauge of progressivity was the attitude toward imperialism, at the present time that

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criterion is insufficient. What has become decisive is the attitude toward socialism and capitalism. The social-political ideologies that were developed during the period of the struggle for independence and that enjoyed mass support are undergoing a crisis and have lost their previous importance. The political forces that are in power or that are fighting for the power are striving to develop new national theories that have been designed for mass support.

The dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in the liberated countries travels along complicated and contradictory paths. Frequently the influence of the patriarchal peasant and petty-bourgeois psychology and ideology, and the adherence to the traditional way of thinking and way of life, hinder the perception by the masses of the theory of scientific socialism. The non-Marxist socialist concept are sometimes distinguished by their deep duality and eclecticism. Anticapitalism and socialist orientation, which constitute their strong aspect, are isolated from the question of power, from materialistic philosophy as a whole. Certain national democrats are typified by the lack of understanding of the leading role played by the working class, their overestimation of the revolutionary potentials of the peasantry and intellectuals, the overestimation and absolutization of the national peculiarities and the national specifics of the revolutionary process, and the underestimation of its general underlying natural laws. All this creates the opportunities for the temporary evolution of some of the national democrats to the right.

This understandable movement of progressive social thought is also possible in the future, especially wherever there are no mass-scale communist parties and wherever the situation being formed is one that favors the growth of nationalistic moods. This does not preclude the fact that during the 1980's the socialist orientation of a number of the developing countries, and the anticapitalistic theory and practice of the revolutionary democrats at the existing level of social awareness, will represent an important form of the development of their progressive social thought.

A factor that has become a fundamentally new phenomenon in the ideological and political life of a number of countries in the East is the arising of vanguard parties of workers who have accepted scientific socialism. For such parties the 1980's will become a period of an intensive struggle against the forces of foreign and domestic reaction, for the consolidation of the unity and organizational spirit of all the forces of the people's revolution. The most important tasks that have been stated in the keynote documents of those parties reflect similar trends in the development of the countries of socialist orientation along the progressive path. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, these trends include: "... the gradual liquidation of the positions of the imperialistic monopolies, the local upper bourgeoisie, and the feudal lords, and the limitation of the activities of foreign capital. This is the guaranteeing to the national state of the commanding heights in the economy and the transition to the planned development of the productive forces, and the encouragement of the cooperative movement in the rural areas. It is the increasing of the role played by the working masses in social life, the gradual reinforcement of the state apparatus with national cadres that are devoted to the nation. It is the anti-imperialistic nature of the foreign policy of those countries"<sup>4</sup>.

As the positions of the vanguard parties of the workers become stronger, the increasingly solid positions as a material base for noncapitalistic development will



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be occupied by the state sector. By monitoring the financial and bank system and foreign trade, and by protecting the domestic market from the expansion of foreign monopoly capital, the state sector will contribute even more actively to the creation of the optimal conditions for the development of national production, the diversification of the national economy, and the liquidation of its single-commodity structure. It is precisely the state sector that has been called upon to play the leading role in liquidating the backward socioeconomic relations which have been restraining economic development; to promote the broader development of cooperatives for raising the level of small-scale production in the rural and urban areas, thus creating the material-technical prerequisites for the noncapitalistic development for the changeover in the future to the path of the extended construction of socialism.

The changeover of the previously oppressed countries to the path of noncapitalistic development, a changeover that is uniform in its social content, requires the unity of all the patriotic, democratic, and progressive forces, but the political basis of that unity is formed primarily by the alliance of revolutionary democrats and communists, the most consistent expressers of the revolutionary strivings of the broad masses of the people.

The complication of the present-day international situation, the intensification of the ideological struggle in the world, the changes in the social and class situation, and the polarization of the political forces in the liberated countries are presenting the Communists with fundamentally new tasks, the resolution of which does not always fit inside the ordinary theoretical schemes and which requires special and timely elaboration. They include the definition of the role in the revolutionary process of the vanguard parties that rest upon a Marxist-Leninist ideological basis, but which are not communist parties; the correct choice of the struggle strategy in conformity with the level of socioeconomic maturity and the stages of the national-liberation revolution; the definition of the new tasks and methods of mobilizing the masses of the people for the most active struggle against neocolonialism and the forces of domestic reaction.

During the decade that has begun, the problems that will be exceptionally important for Communists are the set of problems that are linked with class and political coalitions and with the creation of a broad anti-imperialistic, antifeudal democratic front of patriotic forces. Problems that are taking on even greater importance are such problems as the determination of the principles and tasks of the unification, the forms of uniform actions, the development of a strategy for alliances and the role of the communist parties participating in them at various stages of the struggle, the conditions for entering, participating in, and leaving coalition governments, etc.

The many years of practice confirm the fact that what is very important here, as in general in the activities of the communist parties, is the correct correlation between flexibility and adherence to principles, the skillful combination of the struggle for the resolution of the general national tasks and the defending of the class interests of the proletariat. "For the Marxist," V. I. Lenin taught, "the task consists only in avoiding the two extremes: on the one hand, in not falling into the error of those people who say that, from the point of view of the proletariat, we do not have anything to do with any of the immediate and temporary non-proletarian tasks, and, on the other hand, in preventing the participation of the proletariat in the resolution of the immediate democratic tasks from obscuring its class awareness and its class peculiarity"<sup>5</sup>.

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The vitally important problems of the communist movement and the entire revolutionary process in the zone of the national-liberation struggle are complicated and varied. They require scientific study on the basis of a thorough concrete-historical analysis and the generalization of the varied experience of the national-liberation movement. The path to their resolution inevitably lies through the revolutionary practice, through the creative search for the optimal strategy and tactics with a consideration of the changing political situation in the world and within their own countries, the political maneuverings of the class enemy, the national-ethnic and cultural traditions, and the peculiarities of the social psychology, and many other factors which do not exist in countries where strong detachments of the national proletariat have already formed.

The national situation in the East has become considerably more complicated. In most of the developing countries of Asia and North Africa there have been sharp conflicts on the national soil, which at times have taken on a dramatic nature. The reasons for this aggravation of the national questions are to be found in factors both of a domestic and a foreign nature.

The former include the sharp speeding up of the natural ethnic processes as a direct consequence of the unprecedentedly rapid rates of social and cultural development. The consolidation of new ethnic commonalities as a consequence of the integrational processes, the rapid formation of young and dynamic nations, the disappearance and "dissolving" of many small nationalities and ethnic groups, as well as those which have been backward in their development -- those are the chief signs of the ethnic processes in the East which have occurred before the eyes of contemporaries. This inevitably leads to the intensification of the struggle for political self-determination of the nations that have arisen on the Afro-Asian scene. In addition, a morbid effect is exerted on the national relations by all the contradictions and difficulties of socioeconomic and intra-political development.

Two social systems exert an effect simultaneously upon the national situation in the countries of the East. On the one hand, a favorable effect is exerted upon them by the generally acknowledged successes achieved by the socialist community in economic and cultural construction and especially in the effective resolution of the national question. On the other hand, neocolonialism, placing its emphasis on the undermining of the internal integrity and stability of the recently liberated states, eagerly uses the age-old method of inciting national enmities. Yet another negative factor has begun to exert an effect upon the national relations in the countries of the East -- the great-power chauvinistic policy of Beijing. Practically speaking, in the national situation in the East the hegemonistic pretensions of Beijing play the same role as the imperialistic intrigues: it is a disintegrating factor, which undermines the domestic security and integrity of the young independent states.

The general evaluation of various national movements is possible, of course, only from concrete-class positions, with the mandatory consideration of the highest interests and final goals of world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

When approaching the national movements of the present-day East it is extremely important, first of all, in each of them to isolate the overall democratic content and, secondly, to ascertain the degree to which the particular movement contributes to (or hinders) the most rapid dying out of the traditional ways of life in the

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socioeconomic and social and political structure, and especially the overcoming of the capitalist system and the preparation of the conditions for the transition to socialism.

The fundamental factors in the social development of the countries of the East should include the sharp aggravation of the contradictions between the national-liberation forces and imperialism. At the same time that international imperialism has been undertaking complicated and flexible maneuverings for the purpose of keeping the liberated countries in the worldwide economic structure of capitalism, the nations of the East, on the contrary, have been intensifying the struggle to overcome their age-old backwardness, for the radical reorganization of the semi-colonial structure of the economy, the guaranteeing of modern standards of consumption, the upsurge in national culture, and the attainment of a new economic international order and a truly equal position in the international division of labor.

On the basis of this very deep antagonistic social conflict between the national-democratic forces and imperialism, there has been a deepening and expansion of the social base and the scope of the mass anti-imperialistic movements in the countries of the East. Therefore, within the next few decades the rising wave of anti-exploiter social revolutions, without any doubt, will combine within themselves even more closely the anti-imperialistic, antifeudal, anticapitalistic, democratic, and, in the broader prospect, the socialist streams of the class struggle.

It is precisely in dependence of the scope and depth of these revolutions and the rates to which the national revolution develops into a social one that the fundamentally new conditions will gradually form for fundamental shifts in the economic and social development of the liberated countries. And this presupposes a multi-stage struggle for the decisive elimination of the tremendous economic backwardness; the effective involvement in the modern scientific-technical revolution; the intensive development of modern productive forces, to which, in the final analysis, the definite (nonexploiter) production relations must correspond; a new political and legal superstructure that corresponds to the interests of the masses of the people, and primarily the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, the employees, small-scale property owners, and other representatives of the middle and nonproletarian segments.

The next few decades will be a period of the further consolidation of the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other forms of cooperation between the liberated countries and world socialism. In essence, we are dealing with the possibility of important qualitative changes in this cooperation, when the agenda will include problems of multilevel specialization and cooperatives, the development of programs for the comprehensive assimilation of natural resources and the protection of the environment, and the attainment of the optimal versions of the international division of labor.

On the basis of many years of experience, the nations of the East are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the durability of the alliance with world socialism, the modern placement of the world social and class forces, will determine the outcome of their gigantic struggle for a qualitatively new and equal structure of relations in the world economy and for their national independence and social progress.

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**FOOTNOTES**

1. PRAVDA, 24 February 1981.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. V. I. Lenin, "Answer to the Criticism of Our Program Draft," [*Poln. sobr. soch.* [Completed Collected Works]], Vol 7, p 225.

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INTERNATIONAL

ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA BY WESTERN RELIGIOUS CENTERS CRITICIZED

Moscow ARGUMENTY in Russian 1980 (signed to press 30 June 80) pp 1, 47-48, 57, 74-75, 76-80, 81-83, 192

/Title, table of contents, and excerpts from book "Arguments" by M. V. Andreyev, M. A. Gol'denberg, N. S. Gordiyenko, et al., Politizdat, 200,000 copies, 192 pages/

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The malignant accusations which are directed at the Soviet Union are often most absurd in nature. It would, perhaps, be difficult to name a more virulent anti-Soviet person of the clerical persuasion than the Baptist pastor R. Burmbrand, who lives in the United States, and a more implacably hostile publication than the arch-reactionary CATACOMBES, which is published in Paris. Let us attempt to provide at least a partial idea of the "survey" of the Soviet press's atheistic materials which the pastor made in 1976 in the pages of this monthly. For example, the issue of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, dated 16 June 1971, came within Burmbrand's field of vision. "Having comprehended" it, the "surveyor" talked about the "brothers and sisters" who managed to print "hundreds of books of Christian songs in a state printing plant with the concurrence of the director, all employees, and the persons who furnished this literature on order. Nobody gave anybody away. This shows how approvingly the average citizen of the Soviet Union looks at Christianity...."1

Here is what really happened: the directors of the printing plant, along with the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations unanimously assisted the sectarians in publishing the religious literature, for the entire group at this printing plant consists of zealous Christians. But it is not Burmbrand's scope to be satisfied with the narrow framework of a single organization: the conclusions which he drew were extrapolated in the course of things to the entire Land of the Soviets!

But such a version is just as far from the truth as the pastor himself is from the elementary norms of honesty. In fact, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA reported an irritating machination. The chief of the printing production shop of one of the planning institutes along with four other workers entered into a conspiracy for a large sum of money with several Seventh-Day Adventists and agreed to print for them a collection entitled "Psalms of Zion." The sectarian "activists" were counting on ensuring themselves a tidy profit from selling their "spiritual" product. All of this took place (let's quote verbatim) "under the noses of the gawking managers." "This chance instance has demonstrated," the newspaper goes on to say, "that poor organization, a disorderly system, and managerial carelessness are not simply a loop-hole but a broad road for unscrupulous persons."

Islam's "opposition" potential could be depicted "on a larger scale," if there were some kinds of extremist trends within it. However, to the great annoyance of our opponents, Islam has nothing analogous, let's say, to the Baptist "initiators." And since there are no such elements, therefore, it was necessary to invent something. And they did think something up. There are in the Soviet Union, wrote one of the most true-blue bourgeois Islamic scholars, A. Bennigsen, two types of Islam--the official and the unofficial. If the former is loyal, the latter is "energetically opposed to the regime." Bennigsen does not inform us about the relationship between the two models of Islam which he has constructed, permitting the readers to draw whatever conclusions they please. Bennigsen does not bother to explain what "official" Islam is or wherein consists the "energetic opposition" of the "unofficial" Islam.

Following the lead of the West's imperialist propaganda and utilizing, often with a delay, its very same dirty methods, the press organs of the Muslim reaction are striving to create among the population of the developing countries a persistent stereotype of suspicion towards genuine socialism. If the West speaks about the "awakening" of the Soviet Union's Muslims under the influence of the events in Iran and thereby betrays its own secret hopes for the emergence of something like

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an "Islamic political opposition" to the Soviet system, certain anti-Soviets from the camp of the Muslim reaction write without beating about the bush of the need to create such a movement. They write that they want to "extend strong bridges" to the Soviet Union's Muslims, who, in their opinion, are experiencing "the most acute need for support and aid," so that the Soviet Muslims "together with their brothers can activate the Islamic movement, which has been called upon to encompass new nations and to extend its influence over the entire earth" (from the Saudi Arabian newspaper AN-NADWA, dated 19 March 1979). And in order to somehow justify his own inventions, the author of this article slanders the Soviet state, accusing it of "forbidding freedom of religious belief and interfering in people's links with the Koran."

Another Muslim anti-communist has declared the following without beating about the bush in the pages of the JOURNAL OF THE WORLD ISLAMIC LEAGUE (No 2, March 1975): "The communist countries have set themselves the goal of ridding themselves of the Islamic minorities in their countries." The falsifiers have not been able to find any facts or arguments on behalf of their malicious statements. They go through different variations of the invalid versions, known for a long time and exposed by Marxist-Leninist theory and historical practice, of the concept that the principal condition for building socialism is supposedly the liquidation of religion. Relying on such thought-up versions as this, the Muslim reaction wants in all manner of ways to convince believers that adherence to Islam obliges a person to be an anti-communist and to struggle against genuine socialism. Hypnotized by this conception of theirs, the opponents of social progress have concluded that Muslims in socialist countries are in political opposition to the socialist system and that they constitute a kind of "counter-society."

Inasmuch as our country's Muslims do not go along with the wishes of the Soviet people's adversaries, the latter have resorted to various types of inventions, lies, and slander. These also include slander against the Muslims and Muslim leaders in our country. A certain Abdu Mubashir, writing in the Cairo AL-AHRAM (1 April 1977) even accuses our country's religious leaders of "not raising their voices in defense of the Soviet Union's Muslims."

But what is the true status of Muslims in the USSR with regard to rights? Here is what was said on this subject after completing a two-week trip around the Soviet Union by Jordan's Minister of Religious Affairs and Holy Places, Abdul Aziz al-Hayat in an interview with the correspondent of ASH-SHAAB: "We have become convinced that the Muslims have the freedom to carry out their religious rituals, worship, and religious life, including prayers and marriages. After registering a marriage in the state institution, Muslims confirm their marital union before muf-tis or imams. We saw hundreds and thousands of persons saying their prayers in the mosques on Fridays, despite the fact that this is not a day off.... During the course of our meetings with Muslims we constantly felt the spirit of Islam, the adherence to Islamic doctrine and morality, as well as a striving to perform the religious rituals among most of them."

We have become convinced that the authorities do not interfere in matters of religion."

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With regard to the secular life of the believers the minister stated the following: "Muslims in the Soviet Union, like all other citizens, take part in all the spheres of life: in the economy, culture, and the field of education. They are engaged in various fields within the sphere of management and production, in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Also like other citizens they receive tuition-free education at various universities."<sup>2</sup>

To this testimony from Jordan's religious leader we may add that the Muslims of the Soviet Union have not known unemployment for almost 50 years. They live in a country which has the lowest and most stable prices for bread, transportation, and housing, prices which have not changed for decades, where there exists high-quality, free medical service for the entire population, where education from the first grade of primary school to graduation from an institution of higher learning is free, and where there is the highest level of education among the broad masses.

Every Soviet Muslim, like any citizen of the USSR, knows that he is living better today than yesterday and that he will be living better tomorrow than today.

But can one say the same thing about Egypt's Muslims? As Arabic sources inform us, the workers' standard of living in Egypt is rapidly sinking; the masses are growing poorer, whereas the incomes of the bourgeois-bureaucratic strata are growing at a fabulous rate. There is a growing number of citizens who do not have a roof over their heads; the BAGHDAD OBSERVER writes that in Cairo alone there are more than 400,000 persons who are homeless.<sup>3</sup> Apartment rents, like the prices for other items of prime necessity, have grown catastrophically. In Cairo apartment rents have increased five-fold during the last few years, food products and other items of prime necessity in the country during this same period became 2--4 times more expensive. During the period from January 1977 through March 1978 alone the cost of items of prime necessity increased by 56 percent. Unemployment has grown rapidly. Out of 12 million persons of the able-bodied population more than 2 million do not have permanent jobs. About 4 million Egyptians have gone abroad in search of work.

As we have seen, the Egyptian "defender" of Soviet Muslims is clearly dissipating his reproaches on the wrong target. The facts testify that he should raise his voice in defense of Egypt's Muslims, who have been deprived of many of the most essential socio-economic and political rights and liberties, which the Soviet Union's Muslims have been enjoying without hindrance during the course of many decades.

It seems not enough for Islamic anti-communists to blacken the socialist system and to hurl ungrounded accusations against the Muslim leaders in the Soviet Union. In order to turn the popular masses of the developing countries away from the ideas of communism, they are prepared to slander entire peoples. Here, for example, is what Akhmad Salakh writes in the World Islamic League's weekly, NEWS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (No 431, 9 June 1975): "A society which does not acknowledge the existence of God, neither recognizes the existence of the human personality, liberty, nor human rights. Therefore, we consider that in a communist society human beings do not exist." He designates the citizens of a socialist society as a "forest of red animals."

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Such attacks, however, have not had any effect. The popular masses in the countries of the non-socialist world are getting rid of the anti-communist myths with more and more determination. History is the best teacher. It bears witness to the fact that under Communist leadership the most just and solid society which mankind knows has been built and that this society is a bulwark for universal peace and social progress. The expanding contacts between the Soviet Union and the "Muslim countries" have demonstrated more and more vividly to the peoples that it is precisely in the socialist countries where one finds the implementation of the workers' ideals regarding the establishment between a society's members of the highly moral relations of comradeship, mutual aid, and brotherhood.

Such a reality drives the malicious people distraught, arousing them to make increasingly inept statements. Thus, the newspaper NEWS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (4 April 1977) asserts that in the Soviet Union "an iron wall has been set up around the Muslims in order to isolate them from other peoples of the Islamic world."<sup>4</sup> But, of course, it is sufficient to open up any issue of the journal MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST, which is published in Tashkent in Uzbek, Arabic, English, and French and which is sent to the religious organizations of Saudi Arabia and, obviously to the editors of the above-mentioned newspaper, to be convinced of the fact that the Muslims of the world's first socialist country have extremely broad contacts with their brothers in the faith in dozens of countries throughout the world. In practically every issue of the journal there are materials about the stay in the USSR of this or that Islamic delegation from "Muslim" or other countries or about a visit by our country's religious leaders to various "Muslim countries." This journal also informs us that taking part in the work of the World Conference entitled "Religious Leaders for Lasting Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relations among Peoples" (held in Moscow during 1977) were prominent Muslim leaders from more than 40 of the world's countries. After the conference ended, they were the guests of the Soviet Union's Muslims for two weeks. Likewise prominent religious leaders from 26 "Muslim countries," including some from Saudi Arabia, took part in the work of the Samarkand Conference of Muslims, entitled "The Imam al-Dukhari and the Present Day" (1974), and then for 10 days they traveled about the Soviet Union, speaking before believers in dozens of mosques. Apropos of this, the newspaper NEWS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD and the JOURNAL OF THE WORLD ISLAMIC LEAGUE published at that time a series of articles by the deputy general secretary of the World Islamic League, Muhammad Sawfat Sakka al-Amini, which included the following words: "It was as if the Muslim center of the entire world had shifted from Mecca to Samarkand." Evidently, the publishers of the newspaper and journal of the World Islamic League have already "forgotten" about this.

The most violent, unprincipled and dirtiest anti-Soviets in the camp of the Islamic anti-communists are traitors and renegades such as Baymirza Khait<sup>5</sup> and a certain "grandson of the Imam Shamil," Said Shamil. Issuing forth from their pens are the most savage, most delirious, slanderous inventions and assertions. And there are people who call themselves "fighters for the truth" who will hear them out and even publish their writings.

In 1969 the above-mentioned Said Shamil in a report read at the World Islamic League described how in the USSR a "policy of national discrimination" is being conducted and how the "Muslims are concealing their religious adherence, fearing repressions and persecutions." He swore to the truthfulness of his statements in

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the face of his listeners who expressed doubts: "I call upon those who are being deluded by the propaganda of extremists who have lost all human feelings (thus this slanderer calls the followers of scientific communism) to go there, behind the iron curtain, and see the truth there."<sup>6</sup>

Over the last few years hundreds of Muslim leaders from foreign countries have visited the USSR and become convinced with their own eyes how false and slanderous were the assertions of Said Shamil and malicious persons like him.

After religious leaders who are so authoritative in the Muslim world as the following--the former sheikh of "Al-Azhar," Muhammad Muhammad al-Fakhkham, the supreme mufti of the Syrian Arab Republic, Akhmad Keftaro, the chief mufti of Lebanon, Hasan Khaled, the mufti of the Yemen Arab Republic, Akhmad Muhammad Zabara, the former minister of religion of Morocco, Akhmad Bargash, and many other prominent religious leaders who have visited the USSR--in their public utterances have attested to the presence in Soviet citizens of the full opportunity to be believers or non-believers, the presence of genuine conditions among Muslims to profess their religion and, on an equal basis with all the country's citizens, to enjoy all the democratic rights and privileges which are accorded by the socialist society, after all this, it would seem to be no longer possible to speak about "persecutions for one's faith," about "persecution of Muslims in the USSR," or about their being deprived of any kind of rights.

It is a characteristic, however, of the viewpoint of anti-Soviets and anti-communists to, despite the facts, not to stop at inventions and slander in order to blacken genuine socialism.

In a report which was read at the Institute of Muslim Minorities at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jidda on 20 March 1978 (and published in an expository form in the fourth issue of this institute's BULLETIN) Baymirza Khait stated, for example, that in the USSR "Islamic meetings were prohibited," that in Central Asia (he writes "Turkestan") "there are only eight mosques," that "it is forbidden for more than 20 Muslims to assemble in the mosques," that "all contributions for Islamic purposes are forbidden," etc., etc.

Such declarations as these can in no way be relegated to the category of honest mistakes. If they had the slightest desire to be objective, the organizers of this renegade's lectures could have at least glanced at the pages of the London newspaper ECONOMIST (see, for example, the issue of 22 January 1977), which can in no way be suspected of having sympathies with communism, and they could have read a report by its Moscow correspondent that "only 1,000 mosques" are functioning in Soviet Central Asia. Or they could have turned to the materials of the weekly of the World Islamic Congress, MUSLIM WORLD, in which religious leaders--eyewitnesses from Pakistan--remarked on several occasions that in Tashkent alone more than 10 major mosques are functioning, where on Fridays thousands of believers pray without hindrance. And in the weekly of the World Islamic League NEWS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (No 419 for 17 March 1975) they could have found the following testimony of the deputy general secretary of the World Islamic League, Muhammed Sawfat Sakka al-Amini: "The budget of the Soviet Union's Muslim organizations is fully based on the "zakat" [alms] and other contributions. I myself have personally observed that the believers bring their own contributions voluntarily, proceeding from their own religious convictions."

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FOOTNOTES

1. CATACOMBES, No 61, Paris, 1976, p 5.
2. ASH-SHAAB, Amman, 19 May 1976.
3. See ZA RUBEZHON, 8--14 June 1979, p 7.
4. AKHBAR AL-AIAM AL-ISLANI, MECCA, SAUDI ARABIA, 4 April 1977.
5. As a refugee from Uzbekistan, Baymirza Khait during the Great Patriotic War surrendered to the fascists and became their servant; he organized the punitive detachments of the "Eastern Muslim Division" and the Timur Battalion. On his unclean conscience are the deaths of thousands and thousands of our fellow-countrymen, as well as Czechs, Italians, Frenchmen, and Greeks.

Bulletin (No 4) of the Institute of Muslim Minorities of the King Abdul Aziz University in Jidda (Saudi Arabia) presents B. Khait as a "Muslim from Turkestan, living at present in West Germany, where he is engaged in research on the conditions and status of Muslims in the USSR."

6. AL-RAID, Lakhnau, 1389 khidzhry, 15 dzhumadil-avval [?].

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NATIONAL

PROBLEMS, TASKS OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHY OUTLINED

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 3-21

[Article: "For a Close Bond Between Theory and Practice"]

[Excerpts] Research on the dialectical conformities to law of mature socialism and on the conformities to law of communist construction has especially important significance for the enrichment of the theoretical and instructional methods base of Marxist-Leninist theory and for the practical solution of important problems in social development. Such research is one of the main directions in the work of Marxist philosophers.

Trying to make its own contribution to the development of these very important philosophical problems, the journal began a new section, "Today's Urgent Social and Philosophical Problems in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" in its fourth (April) issue of 1981. Many important articles, in which urgent problems in the development of Soviet society and international life were analyzed and in which vital questions concerning social science research in the future were raised, have been published in this section. In our opinion, the material which is being planned for this section must reflect the real state of affairs in the research on this field of philosophy and on the entire totality of today's social and philosophical problems, including such a very important one as the theory of a mature socialist society; provide an opportunity to evaluate sensibly the main trends in the development of theoretical thought during recent years; and reveal "bottle necks" which require the special attention of our social scientists, especially when analyzing problems connected with the development of production forces and production relations, the conformities to law of the formation of communism's material technical base, the change in the social structure of Soviet society, the development of national relations, the improvement of the socialist way of life, the formation of a socialist type of personality, etc.

One of the most important tasks facing Soviet philosophers is the continuous deepening and correlation of the scientific and theoretical image of developed socialism with the existing social reality of mature socialism. Of course, the theory of scientific communism is not a hardened and immutable construction which has been dogmatically set once and for all. It is being enriched and developed by the scientific conclusions regarding the real practices of socialism. This enrichment does not repudiate the basic statements of Marxist-Leninist teachings

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about socialism. However at the same time, the improvement of the theory's individual components and the incorporation into it of the new constructive ideas which have been evoked by the deep changes for the better, which are taking place in socialist society, are a necessary condition for its progressive development.

Of course, this does not assume the creation of some idealized "model" of socialism which is separated from life and to which the practical movement of society supposedly must mechanically conform. We are talking about the creation of a theoretical model which would primarily reflect the general and binding features of a socialist structure and which would at the same time take into consideration the specific features in the development of individual countries, that is, which would coincide to the maximum degree with the real development of society and which would reflect all the complexities and contradictions in its development. Soviet philosophers in cooperation with representatives of other social disciplines must insure the maximum possible strictness in scientifically forecasting the course of social processes based on theoretical elaborations, and give appropriate recommendations to practical workers since the making of the best decisions in the area of social, economic and cultural construction is possible only on this basis.

The cornerstone of the unity of the Soviet people is their internationalism. Under the conditions of a multinational state, the Communist Party has always regarded the nationality question as one of the vital questions in the construction of a socialist society. The full equality of nations, the right of nations to self-determination, the merging of the workers in all nations -- this is the way V. I. Lenin, the founder of our state, understood the essence of our party's nationality policy. The birth and successful development of the voluntary and equal state union of the Soviet republics is an example of a fundamentally new and truly just solution to one of the most complicated questions in the development of human society. The Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU has permitted the nations and nationalities of the USSR, which were liberated from national and social oppression, to construct a path from backwardness to the heights of social and cultural progress within a relatively short period according to the scale of history, and to achieve factual equality in all areas of social and spiritual life. Therefore, in a society of developed socialism internationalism was transformed from the ideal of a small number of communists into the deep conviction of millions of Soviet people and all nations and nationalities. This is truly a revolutionary transformation in social awareness whose significance it is difficult to over-estimate.

In 1982, the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be celebrated. This important political event must arouse our philosophers to pay intense attention to the thorough development of the theory on national relations. The unity of USSR people is firm today as never before; however, this does not mean by any means that all the questions in the area of national relations have already been solved. The dynamism in the development of our multinational state -- which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which unites more than 100 nations and nationalities is, gives birth to quite a few problems of a theoretical and practical nature, which require the intense attention of our scientists and practical workers in the construction of socialism. During the 26th congress, it was pointed out that the trends in the development of national relations and



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in the demographic and migratory processes are leading under the conditions of the country's single national economic complex, which has taken shape, to a growth in the proportion of the non-indigenous population in the national republics. This is playing an ever greater role in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the national republics. "The fact that the unity of Soviet nations is today strong as never before, does not at all mean the solution of all questions in the area of national relations".\* For example, the complicated question of the social and ethnic signs of a nation remains open to discussion.

In addition, when solving this series of questions which has practical significance, a retreat from the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory on national relations, attempts to move biological factors to the fore-front when explaining the peculiar features of national structures and the mutual relations between people of different "ethos" attempts to replace the objective features of nations with individual and psychological characteristics, and the unjustified introduction of biological and medical terms into the content of social theory cannot be tolerated.

The editors intend to perform a lot of work in publishing materials in a section entitled "Philosophy - Man - Culture: For the 17th World Philosophy Congress", which is being especially introduced in accordance with the next, the 17th World Philosophy Congress which will be held in August 1983 in the city of Montreal (Canada) on the general subject "Philosophy and Culture". In accordance with the traditions which have taken shape, we will publish here articles by prominent Soviet philosophers and scientists, and we will sum up the results of the work of the Montreal Congress.

The Journal attaches a great deal of importance to questions concerning the history of native culture. Studying the cultural history of the Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet Union permits the multi-planning, variety, exceptional richness, and -- at the same time -- the integrity of the demonstration of the conformities to the laws of historical development in the diversity of society's material and spiritual life to be shown more completely; and the creative and theoretical activity and -- in this regard -- the cultural activity of society and of individuals, groups and classes to be revealed.

When investigating the problems of man, philosophy cannot ignore the contribution which such important spheres of social awareness as literature and art make to the development of this problem since they, on the one hand, exert considerable influence on the formation of an individual and, on the other hand, are one of the most important means by which an individual will get to know an image which is specifically different from science. At the same time, literature and art contain a large humanistic charge and are a unique method for penetrating into human individuality. The numerous statements of Marxist-Leninist classical

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\* PRAVDA, 18 December 1981

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writers regarding the influence, which literature and art -- especially the works of outstanding representatives of world literature -- had on their thinking, are well known. At times, literature and art are capable of revealing deep social contradictions more sharply than science does this and of directing the attention of social awareness to the fundamental problems of human existence. Therefore, the urgent task of philosophical aesthetics is the need for a theoretical understanding of present literary and artistic practices. A further strengthening of philosophy's union with literature and art, especially in the analysis and working out of the human problem, is required.

New conditions have taken shape during the stage of developed socialism which make the solution of the problem of an individual's thorough development as a person practically necessary and -- from the point of view of the material prerequisites -- possible. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the formation of a new individual must rely on a solid social and economic policy base. In this regard, the humanism of our society, the goals and policy of our party, and all its activity are inseparable from the uncompromising struggle against everything that interferes with the Soviet people living and working quietly and properly. Relying on the enormous accomplishments and at the same time soberly evaluating existing difficulties and deficiencies, we must not boil the negative phenomena in our life down to only "vestiges of the past" in the consciousness of people, since the deficiencies, whose causes and roots must be searched for in recent practices or in today's practices, are lost sight of in this case. Thus, the manifestations of parasitism, graft, embezzlement, stealing, profiteering, infringements on socialist property, protectionism, covering-up, and violations of the norms of socialist society, which still exist in our society, cannot be explained only by the heritage of the past which is preserved in people's consciousness. They are often the result of arising and existing economic and social imperfections. Therefore, it is impossible to eradicate negative phenomena only with the help of moral regulators of a person's conduct and by publicizing communist ideals. In the struggle against such phenomena it is necessary to use all available economic and social levers and organizational, financial and legal means.

An important sector in the party's ideological work is the struggle against the remnants of religion in the consciousness of Soviet people. Scientific atheism, being an integral feature of socialist social awareness, of a dialectical materialistic world outlook and of a socialist way of life, is at the same time a very important condition for the all-round development of an individual. Without it, the creation of a new culture, which corresponds to the needs and goals of a socialist organization of society and to the workers' indoctrination in communism, is impossible. The main task of scientific atheism in the aspect of a specifically philosophical journal is the critical understanding of religion as a phenomenon of social consciousness and social life. This has determined and is determining the problems which are being raised by the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII on this question: studying the reasons and conditions for the origin of religion, the stages in its development, its present status, and the attempts of religion to improve its role in the life of society; analyzing the social and cultural mechanism for its effect on people; critically examining the main propositions of religious dogma; revealing the essence of the general crisis of religion in the contemporary world;

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using religious forms in liberation and revolutionary movement; explaining the reasons for the existence and ways to overcome religious views and vestiges in a socialist society; critiquing bourgeois religious concepts; etc.

By revealing the bankruptcy of modern bourgeois ideological concepts, including religious ones, the journal is trying to show logically the growing role and influence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the spiritual life of mankind, and is directing the attention of researchers to the need for a thorough scientific elaboration and Marxist interpretation of the new problems, counterposing a Marxist point of view to all the attempts of bourgeois theologians to profit by the daily needs, difficulties and concerns of people and by the unresolved problems with which theoretical thought and social practices have been faced by the present historical development. At the same time, the journal's work on the problems of scientific atheism has certain difficulties connected with the specific nature of a philosophical journal (the need for a philosophical and not a popular scientific analysis of the mentioned subjects) and with the insufficient elaboration of scientific atheism's methodological problems which is explained by the shortage of highly qualified philosopher specialists engaged in the philosophical analysis of these problems.

Now, as never before, the task of further developing the philosophical, sociological and psychological aspects of ideological work theory and methods, of the scientific bases of its current and long range planning, and of thorough research connected with the study of public opinion, the effectiveness of various methods for ideologically and indoctrinationally influencing the masses, and the specifics and capabilities of the mass information media in this process, has become urgent. This requires with new force the unification of the efforts of all workers on the ideological front and the strengthening of the bonds of academic scientific research institutes with ideological and indoctrinational work practices, especially with the activity of VUZ social science departments.

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NATIONAL

RISE OF CONSERVATISM IN WEST ANALYZED

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 147-150

[Article by A. Yu. Mel'vil': "A Critique of Conservatism and the Tasks of the Present Ideological Struggle"]

[Excerpts] The international scientific colloquium on studying the policy and ideology of conservatism, which was held during May 1981 in the GDR in the Friedrich Schiller University (Jena), made a contribution to solving the important and urgent task of critiquing modern conservatism. The colloquium was organized by the university's Marxist-Leninist department and by the scientific council on the main questions in the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism attached to the GDR Academy of Sciences. Scientists from the GDR, USSR, Bulgarian People's Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the FRG took part in the work of the colloquium. Two plenary sessions and sessions in four sections were held during which the problems of the interrelationship of the economic, political and ideological aspects of conservatism; the world outlook and ideological sources and foundations of modern conservatism; conservative political and ideological concepts and social theories and the historical traditions of conservatism were examined.

During the colloquium, ten reports were given to the plenary sessions and about 80 presentations to the sections. The theoretical and instructional methods for studying and critiquing the policy and ideology of present day conservatism in the West and its ideological, theoretical and philosophical sources and traditions were examined in the reports and presentations. A comparative analysis of the features of conservative ideology in the leading countries of modern day imperialism, especially in the FRG and the United States, was also undertaken.

The report of A. Yu. Mel'vil' (USSR) was devoted to the distinctive features of the conservative currents in the policy and ideology of the United States. Their origin and evolution was connected with the inheritance of classical European conservative traditions, with the dynamics of American liberalism, with its shift from the liberalism of a free market and free enterprise to a state-monopolistic, Keynesian liberalism, and with its subsequent development. In the opinion of the speaker, the phenomenon of modern American conservatism testifies to the origin of a qualitatively new ideological and political situation which was caused by the growing ineffectiveness of the traditional liberal mechanisms of state regulation and social policy. A number of parallels were also drawn between the ideologies of modern conservatism in the United States and the FRG.

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The adequate understanding of the essence of conservatism as an ideology and political orientation also requires the drawing of a clear distinction between it and the right-wing radical and right-wing extremist forms of ideology and policy. According to its own definition, conservatism is the adherence to the status quo, although the adherents of a conservative orientation can find themselves -- when necessary in specific historical situations -- defending their already objectively lost social positions, turning to the past and demanding changes in the existing order. On the other hand, those with a right-wing radical orientation demand a complete break with the present and radical social changes of a reactionary trend.

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NATIONAL

RECENT STUDIES ON SOVIET WORKING CLASS LISTED, DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No 2, February 1982, carries on pp 3-16 a 9500-word article by G. A. Sivokhina entitled "Soviet Historiography on the Working Class of the USSR in the Period of Developed Socialism." The article's analytic footnotes provide an extensive bibliography of recent Soviet research and writing on the USSR's working class.

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