

JPRS-UAA-89-002  
21 FEBUARY 1989



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# **Soviet Union**

***PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA***

No 4, July-August 1988

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 8**

**19980202 181**

**Soviet Union**  
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JPRS-UAA-89-002

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21 FEBRUARY 1989

[The following is a translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated.]

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### English Summaries of Major Articles

18070092a Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in English No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 219-221

[Text]

### THE MODERN AGRICULTURE OF JAPAN: THE SPHERE OF PRODUCTION OR THE WAY OF LIFE?

N.M. BRAGINA

The article investigates into the latest trends in the development of the farm production in Japan. It is emphasized that in the second half of the 1970s the processes of westernization of the Japanese agriculture began to slow down, and signs appeared that the massive use of chemicals and methods of mass-scale industrial production of agricultural commodities were giving way to the so-called organic agriculture based on the holistic technology. The latter is regarded as an alternative to the modern chemicalized agriculture and advocates not the rejection of all scientific and technological achievements in agriculture but rather the application of such techniques only that neither disrupt the genuine natural links nor cause any damage to man and the environment. The holistic approach represents to some extent the return to the traditional agriculture by combining the various branches of the intra-farm production, including elements of cattle breeding, into a single complementary system. This comeback of the traditional approach, however, makes use of the latest developments in agro-technics, mechanization, and biotechnology.

The changeover to the organic practices has been inspired by the turn of consumers' tastes and, consequently, demand towards foodstuffs produced without chemicals or without chemical or other treatment (preservation, freezing, etc.). At the same time, a new phenomenon was the emergence of personal direct links between farmers and consumers, with the buyers even harvesting themselves the produce they need. This individualized demand for fresh foodstuffs only has given rise to the corresponding type of individualized specialized production, especially of vegetables, berries, fruits and mushrooms, at small farms.

Small and smallest family farms with the most of income derived from the family members' activities outside agriculture turned out to be perfectly suited to the holistic agricultural techniques. The main production functions at such farms are performed by family members incapable of full-time employment (elderly people, schoolchildren, etc.), which helps to utilize family's labour resources in an optimal way. This has been facilitated by the wide choice of compact agricultural machines available to farmers and quite as small and easy to handle as the modern household appliances. Commuting is becoming one of the major characteristics of farming. An average income of a farm family from non-agricultural activities is 1.6 times higher than that from the agricultural production, with the minimum lots (below 0.5 ha) showing a difference as great as 40 times or more as compared to the group of largest farms (2 ha or more) where the non-farming activities account for less than 40 per cent of the total farm's budget.

A most striking trend in the recent years was the establishment, as a well-conceived government policy, of urbanized agricultural zones based on holistic techniques. A typical case of such development is Kanagawa, an industrial prefecture with the capital in Yokohama. This prefecture has established 200 agricultural areas of 1000 to 2000 ha each exempt from urbanization. Those islets of unbuilt territory within the megalopolis are intended to serve two purposes: to ensure daily supply of fresh foodstuffs and to provide recreation for the urban population. An even more striking feature is the development of urban farm cattle breeding, especially pasturable dairy cattle breeding.

The holistic approach to agriculture which combines a complex of branches within a farm means that the productivity of labour and its dynamics will inevitably and considerably lag behind those in the mass-scale industrial production of agricultural commodities. Therefore, the small-scale farm production based on the holistic approach cannot survive in a market economy without the government protection and subsidies, as well as without a developed network of marketing and purchasing cooperatives. The government's protectionist policy is under the constant attack of the open economy's advocates who claim that such policy encourages unprofitable production, thus impairing the overall development of the country. However, the holistic farms of individual land use now seem to be one of the most important ways toward the harmonious symbiosis of man and the environment and towards environmentally sound production of agricultural commodities. Therefore, in performing this new function, farm production in Japan cannot be evaluated in terms of branch efficiency only. Its contribution to the national product assumes the role of an external, i.e. not strictly economic factor which greatly influences the quality of life in the country.

## **SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE PAKISTANI CAPITALIST EVOLUTION**

**V.Ya. BELOKRENITSKY**

The article analyzes the origins and development of the capitalist economic and social relations in the north-western regions of colonial India and in contemporary Pakistan. It points out that the bourgeois-type relations emerged after the colonial conquest though individual pre- and proto-bourgeois elements had been forming back in the precolonial period under the impact of commercial political and cultural European expansion. The author distinguishes three stages of the economic evolution in the north-western regions during the 100 years of the colonial regime (mid 19th century to mid 20th century). In 1880-1920 the villages of those regions established direct links with the world market, turning into a major supplier of cereals, primarily to the parent state. In the 1930-1940s they were to a greater extent oriented to the Indian market, supplying cotton to textile factories. By the end of the colonial period, sufficiently well-developed capitalist relations had been formed. Having emerged under the impact of external impulses, capitalism became rooted in the local soil. This was the capitalism of the synthetic conservative type, incorporating precapitalist relations as a constant source of capital reproduction.

The formation of an independent national state has resulted in the consolidation and extension of the capitalist economic system. The first half of the 1960s saw the preponderant growth of the light industry, with the agriculture and heavy industry catching up later on. Despite the efforts taken to orient the industry towards exports, the industrialization was aimed primarily at import substitution.

Capitalism in Pakistan develops mainly "from above" with the wealth and privileges concentrated within a thin stratum consisting of big industrialists, merchants and bourgeois landlords. A significant place in the Pakistani elite belongs to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In the villages and in the non-formal urban sector, capitalism of the conservative type with its numerous remnants of traditional links and relations stands its ground. The growth of capitalism "from below" runs into the resistance from the upper strata and is reflected in the ethnonational movements.

## **TRADITIONAL MUSLIM RELIGIOUS WORKERS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH**

**A.Sh. NIYAZI**

The current events in Bangladesh demonstrate that a growing appeal of the ruling circles to Islam on the verge of 1980s could not assure a political stability for a long time but was merely a catalyst for the activities of Islamic groups including ulama parties. There is a phenomenon in the country which may seem paradoxical:

the development of the process of official "Islamization from the top" of certain aspects of social life is accompanied by the tendency of strengthening an oppositional movement of ulama—the traditionalists. The author finds an explanation of such a phenomenon, first of all, in the changed traditional status of Muslim theologians and in infringement of their corporate interests in the course of the development of the state system and ideology of Bangladesh or, in other words, in an aggravated crisis of the ulama institution in the contemporary conditions of ideological, political and state development of the country.

The article also highlights the problems of social position, influence and organization of the traditional Muslim theologians and ministers of religious worship, which, in the final analysis, help to understand the political behaviour, relations with authorities and a complex role of various religious functional and corporate groups, represented by ulama, mullahs and pirs (heads of sufi brotherhoods) in the social and political life of the developing state.

## **CASTE, FACTION AND POLITICS IN INDIA**

**M.Yu. LOMOVA-OPPOKOVA**

The article highlights the problem of factions (groups formed as a result of unification of parts of various castes) as a phenomenon of social and political life of India. The structure of the faction is analyzed and its graphic image is suggested. On the basis of data from the composed diagrams the author describes a great structural stability of the faction, which is assured by objective forces: the relations of intra-caste and inter-caste dependence, based on the economic and cultural tradition of the given society.

Analyzing the relations between factions the author introduces the notion of a "union of factions," noting that this phenomenon is not characterized by a structural stability because it goes beyond the limits of a traditional structure of the social and economic dependence. As a structural element of political organization and political coalitions the caste loses its paramount importance at this level. The relations between factions in factional unions are based in personal interests of leaders and the patronage potential of social and political arenas where they act. The article includes a table showing, on materials of Orissa, relations between main leaders of alliances of factions at the level of a state for a given period of time. The table data demonstrate the instability of relations between these leaders and of the whole structure of connexions between factions. On the basis of these data the author makes the assumption that the structure of political alliances and organizations as well as their behaviour in various states of India should be explained (in addition to caste and class factors) with a recourse to the notions of factional co-operation and factional conflicts. These notions provide an explanation of movements of certain groups from one party to another, collapses of some political personalities and the promotion

of others, the complex structure of support given to political parties etc., in other words, phenomena which cannot be interpreted merely on the basis of ideological and economic factors.

#### **AFRICAN ESCHATOLOGY (TOWARDS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ANCESTOR CULT)**

**M.L. VOLPE**

The cult of ancestors is a salient feature of archaic mentality. The study of mortuary customs of African peoples provides the opportunity to properly understand one of the most obscure areas of the traditional culture and the evolution of human thought. It also gives an insight into the peculiarities of modern social set-up in Africa, thus being useful in tackling contemporary problems.

The author dwells upon concepts of death and after-life prevailing among such tribes as Mende (Sierra Leone), Lele (Congo), Ashanti (Ghana), Ibibio (Nigeria), Lovedu (South Africa) etc. Corresponding mortuary rites are described and their social meaning is analyzed. A special reference is given to varying notions of spirits and ghosts. These ideas are interpreted within the context of primeval spiritual life.

The views of the author are substantiated with materials of the modern African fiction, because many of African writers are reputed for original interpretation of their native cultural heritage.

#### **THE EAST AND THE FEUDALISM**

**G.S. KISELEV**

The article is a response to the article of L.B. Alayev "Formational Characteristics of Feudalism and the East" (No 3, 1987). The author does not support the conclusions of L.B. Alayev that Marx's views on feudalism reflected in essence the social and economic reality existing in the medieval East. Guided by the methodology of study of social and economic processes, proposed by Marx in "Forms Preceding the Capitalist Production," the author makes an attempt to define more exactly for the pre-capitalist East the notions of "productive forces" and "relations of production" having recourse for his argumentation to such categories as "immediately social productive forces" and the "social form of productive forces." He suggests that the relations of private ownership in the East were merely an element of a complex system of ownership relations and therefore cannot form the basis for elaborating views on formational structure of Oriental societies. In the author's opinion, such a basis can be formed by the social and economic function performed in the East by the state power which was the initial factor of the social reproduction.

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#### **Author Information**

*18070092b Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI  
in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 p 218*

[Text] Nataliya Mikhaylovna Bragina, candidate of economic sciences, senior academic staff member of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Vyacheslav Yakovlevich Belokrenitskiy, candidate of economic sciences, department chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Aziz Shavkatovich Niyazi, secondary-school instructor in Moscow.

Marina Yuryevna Lomova-Oppokova, graduate student at the Center for Indian Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Mikhail Lvovich Volpe, candidate of philological sciences.

Vladimir Nikolayevich Shevelev, candidate of historical sciences, docent of the Recent and Modern History Department of Rostov State University.

Grigoriy Sergeyelevich Kiselev, candidate of historical sciences, staff member of the Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House.

Mikhail Nikolayevich Klimenko, junior academic staff member of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Vladimir Igorevich Tikhomirov, academic staff member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute.

Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vovin, senior laboratory assistant of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Marianna Yevgenyevna Taymanova, graduate student at the Leningrad State University imeni A.A. Zhdanov.

Tatyana Konstantinovna Posova, academic staff member of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Marat Aleksandrovich Cheshkov, doctor of economic sciences, lead researcher of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Dudko, academic staff member of the Literary Memorial Museum of G.S. Skovoroda (UkSSR).

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**University Study of Modern Asian, African History**

18070092c Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 59-65

[Article by V.N. Shevelev under the rubric "The Instruction of Oriental-Studies Disciplines": "The State and Ways of Improving the Course of Instruction in the Modern History of the Asian and African Countries"]

[Text] The tasks of improving instruction, making a decisive break with outmoded dogmas and stereotypes that have taken shape in the process of educating students and approaching the aspirations of real life were clearly posed at the All-Union Conference of Department Chiefs of the Social Sciences at Higher Educational Institutions (October 1986). Instead of giving a "scientifically objective picture of the contemporary world overall," our social-studies thought and "the postulation and forms and methods of instruction of the social sciences facilitate to no small extent that which we call dogmatism and scholasticism," noted M.S. Gorbachev at the conference. "The inclination to seek formulas in truisms that are suitable for all instances in life is born in pedantry and from a calculation not of the creative work of thought, but rather the thoughtless rote learning of general tenets."<sup>1</sup> It seems that all of this has an immediate relation to instruction in the history of Asia and Africa at higher educational institutions.

The course of instruction in the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa is currently studied by the students of all universities and pedagogical institutes of the country. Its role and proportionate share in education are growing. The interest of broad society in various problems of the countries of the Orient and Africa is increasing. The modern history of these peoples is more and more distinctly taking on the nature of a topical social-science discipline. Formalism and separation from actual practice are having a palpable effect on this instruction today. This is conditioned first and foremost by the preponderance of political and ideological interests over the need to be aware of actual processes in the Afro-Asian world, the poor level of development of the general theoretical foundations of the course of instruction and excessive popularization leading to superficiality in the illumination of a series of issues.

The course of instruction in the history of the countries of Asia and Africa at many higher educational institutions is seemingly on the periphery. This is manifested first of all in that the course is poorly supplied with teaching and methodological literature, and secondly in the fact that the instructors teaching it are far from always specialists in the subject; they are, as a rule, "Westerners," and moreover their annual load reaches 900-1,000 hours, which naturally creates a shortage of the time so essential for academic work and the constant

renewal of the course. I would add to this that only an inconsiderable number of students specialize in the problems of Asia and Africa and that graduate programs are correspondingly weak.

The rapid growth of interest in history and the resurrection of genuine debate and disputes on many of the problems of the history of Soviet society and the CPSU along with a review of tenets that predominate in the social sciences and the departure from dogmatism and fixed preconceptions that has been observed have all touched to a considerable extent on the "Afro-Asian sector" of academic and educational activity. But an illusory well-being holds sway in the instruction of the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa as before. It would probably be an exaggeration to assert that a series of processes transpiring in the societies of the Orient and Africa are being ignored or not spoken of, but the fact that a sufficiently objective treatment of them is not always provided is obvious.

The social experience of the peoples of Asia and Africa is very poorly summarized and in any case is not noticeable in our educational literature. Interesting and serious discussions on problems of instruction that were conducted in the pages of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI,<sup>2</sup> sunk in the past years of "stagnation," unfortunately brought almost no real return. Texts and references suffer from appreciable errors as before. Curricula—intended, it seems, not for 70-80 hours, but practically the whole 200 hours, since they strive to encompass all countries—are jettisoning the theoretical-problem approach therein. This "country" principle, like the notorious "gross" in our economy, continues to have complete sway, determining the technique and thrust of instruction.

Thinking and informed students today are stressing the dogmatism and congealed nature of our course of instruction especially sharply through their acute and impatient questions. They expect open and candid answers from the instructor, not silence, and they must be convinced with thought and reasoned actual facts from history, not quotations or the monumental quoting of this or that program document. That will not work today at all.

How are the specific features of socialist construction in the economically backward countries manifested? How do the theory and practice of socialism in the USSR correlate with the reality of the Asian countries that are building socialism? What is socialist orientation, and how solidly has it been affirmed in the countries of Asia and Africa? How do general human interests correlate with national, state and class ones? What is the true role of cultural and religious traditions in the processes transpiring today on these continents? How correct are the forecasts for the development of the liberated countries? What are ways of breaking up the dead-end situations in regional conflicts? These and many other questions are eliciting enhanced interest among the student audiences.

The thinking student is striving to understand the true history of the African and Asian peoples as an integral and interconnected whole, with its true complexities, in the unity and struggle of opposites. Here the instructors themselves, to the extent of their abilities, knowledge and desire, seemingly groping, must search out answers to these and many other questions, since Oriental-studies journals rarely address the problems of instruction in the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa, while conferences for the exchange of experience seem to have been long forgotten. And we are, after all, only at the beginning of a restructuring of theoretical thought and historical, philosophical and economic science. The avalanche of questions demanding answers will grow. Won't our academics—and we, the instructors, along with it—then prove to be confused, as is happening, by way of example, with the history of Soviet society?

The modern history of Asia and Africa is a profoundly social and topical political science. A feeling of dissatisfaction with the level of instruction and teaching of this course is being manifested more and more distinctly today. Radical changes are finally needed. It is essential to interpret cumulative experience and try to create a real concept of the re-organization of the course of instruction, insofar as in its current state it does not meet the needs of the times and the tasks of restructuring. And we should evidently begin with the problems and structure of the course. What do I have in mind?

It seems that the structure of the course should not be reduced just to a sequence of expositions, moreover of a primarily national-studies nature. It is summoned first and foremost to reflect the extent of academic interpretation of the processes transpiring in the Afro-Asian societies and, consequently, should change and improve under the influence of a number of factors: the degree of general methodological and theoretical underpinning; the level of development of the problems of African and Oriental studies and the level of study of national-studies problems; and, an interpretation of the actual development experience of various societies and peoples. The course should reflect the actual state of the contemporary Afro-Asian world, i.e. the presence in it of three communities of countries in all—socialist, capitalist and liberated or developing—which are distinct from both "classic" capitalism and "classic" socialism.<sup>3</sup>

I. Questions of socialist construction in the current structure of the course are reduced to the specific conditions of the countries of the PRC, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam and Laos. It seems that the accent on a trivial retelling of events and facts from history and the shortage of a problematical approach devalues this section of the course to a considerable extent. General theoretical and socially significant problems in the construction of socialism in economically poorly developed countries should be discarded.

It is no secret that an especially "nice" and conflict-free posing of the questions of the construction of socialism in the countries of Asia (with the exception, naturally, of China in the 1960s and 1970s) has held sway in educational and socio-political literature. The difficult processes of critical re-interpretation of a number of the provisions of the teaching of socialism and getting rid of many years of dogmas and prejudices that are transpiring today in Soviet social studies are forcing a new look at questions of the construction of socialism on the Asian continent. It was emphasized at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that the necessity of restructuring in the USSR "has brought to life cumulative contradictions in the development of society which, gradually accumulating and finding no timely resolution, have essentially taken on pre-crisis forms."<sup>4</sup> Much that is negative has also accumulated in the Asian countries that have taken the path of building the foundations of socialism. The press has been writing a great deal about the acute problems of Vietnam, Laos and other countries of late. Party and state figures and scholars in those countries are speaking more and more of the necessity of changes in the way of thought and in views on a whole series of problems in the building of socialism. Party worker Vu Hyu Ngoan from Vietnam directs our attention to the impermissibility of haste in the execution of socialist transformations and writes that "there is as yet no clarity here on what mechanism should be incorporated that is able, like competition, to stimulate the dynamism of the economy and develop the feel of its leaders."<sup>5</sup> We instructors, as before, are holding discussions of "an era of ovations" and endless victories where there is no place for internal struggle, contradictions or errors.

The restructuring that is underway in the USSR and the serious shifts in recent years in a number of the countries in the socialist community are most intimately linked with the formation of a new way of thinking, the distinguishing features of which are the rejection of dogmas and false stereotypes, a reliance on the objective truth rather than a belief in prescriptions from above, and self-criticism and realism. A re-interpretation of many theoretical depictions of the effects of the objective general laws of socialism is underway today. What outmoded stereotypes are being discerned in the problems of socialism in the Asian countries?

First and foremost the position of the impossibility of serious contradictions in the process of the construction and development of socialism and the view of actual reality through "rose-colored glasses." The theory that socialist industrial relations offer an unlimited expanse for the development of productive forces and that the systematic nature of the construction of socialism rules out spontaneity also requires correction. The view of the growing democratization of society as a phenomenon that is immanently characteristic of socialism and the conflict-free development of the state and the party hardly corresponds to reality. It is clearly possible to cite a number of other theoretical positions that diverge from actual reality as well.



II. The second political and socio-economic community—capitalism—is represented in the Afro-Asian world by Japan, Israel and South Africa, although lately Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia and a number of other countries that are primarily Asian are actually moving closer to it as well. The most serious attention is justly directed toward Japan in our lecture courses. Political and economic life, foreign policy, culture—all of this evokes the vital interest of the student body. There are, however, definite problems and difficulties here, associated first of all with prevailing stereotypes in the portrayal of capitalist reality and our inability to rise above propagandistic denunciations.

An aspiration toward a more objective reflection of all spheres and aspects of life along with the portrayal of the acute problems of bourgeois society—unemployment, the poverty of the lower classes, profound social inequality and the contradictions of scientific and technical revolution—is gradually being affirmed in our mass media today. This is an important constituent element of the emergence of the new thinking that assumes a humanizing of international relations along with a rejection of the stereotypical “face of the enemy” and a transition to “dialogue.” In his article “Reality and the Guarantee of a Safe World,” M.S. Gorbachev noted that the peoples of the planet should be acquainted with the life of each other, what it actually is, getting rid of clichés, bias and prejudice.<sup>6</sup> The priority of values common to mankind over national and state ones, as well as class ones, is being spoken of more and more. It seems that all of this should lead to certain corrections in illuminating the problems of capitalism in the countries of Asia and Africa.

III. An especially large-scale community is the developing (liberated) countries. A “country” approach currently dominates over the so-necessary problematical one in this part of the course of instruction as well. The curriculum ignores such questions as the formational development of the liberated countries, the correlation of elements of socialism and capitalism, the common and the particular in the development of the liberated countries, processes of class formation etc. One can agree with the opinion of V.L. Sheynis that unilateral or simply primitive treatments of the problems of the liberated countries are reproduced constantly in educational literature and public opinion.<sup>7</sup> It is, moreover, difficult to understand the role of the peoples of these countries as one of the chief motive forces of contemporary social development without a profound analysis of the problems that are of common significance for all the liberated countries.

The question could of course arise of whether it is worth including problems that are not entirely settled or completely interpreted academically—and moreover requiring of the students serious knowledge of philosophy, scientific communism and political economy—in the teaching cycle at all. The socio-economic, political and spiritual look of the liberated countries, however,

changes from year to year, and there is hardly any sense in waiting for it to stabilize. The more so as our science had taken an appreciable step forward by the middle of the 1980s in interpreting the problems of the liberated countries. It is enough to cite two fundamental works: “The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress” and “The Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary,” as well as the very interesting and timely discussions of these works in the pages of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI.<sup>8</sup>

The accent solely on the specific countries makes understanding the specific nature of the development of these societies, the role of the person in the system of industrial relations and productive forces, his place in mutual relations with nature and the like more difficult for the students. Such problems as social progress in the liberated countries, the correlation of the contemporary and the traditional, the positive and the negative in the course of drawing the Afro-Asian societies into contemporary technological civilization, the correlation of revolution and reform, social mobility and the work ethic in traditional societies, authoritarianism and the emergence of modern political structures and the like should be at the foundation of course structure.

One of the principal problems of the young states that have proclaimed a strategy of the development of their social and ideological foundations is the need for economic growth. A mechanism for development itself is still lacking there, however. Whence the striking lack of conformity between the aims that have been declared and the real means for achieving them. Practice shows that spontaneous processes, and not consciously realized program goals, lie at the foundation of such development.

The requirements of the need to move to a new level of evaluation of cumulative experience also relate to our understanding of the problems of socialist orientation. Dogmatism and stereotyping of thought are making an understanding of the actual processes transpiring in these countries more difficult. Authoritarianism and democracy, leading parties and communists, socialism and religion—all of these complex and contradictory problems are associated with the realities of socialist orientation. Historical practice moreover testifies to the fact that the trend of non-capitalist development in the Afro-Asian countries is being manifested more weakly today than in the 1960s.

Today it is becoming more and more clear that a comprehensive and systematic approach is required for an understanding of the processes that are transpiring there. Such an approach should take into account the complex interconnection of productive forces and industrial relations, the substructure and the superstructure, politics and economics, centralism and democracy, personal and public interests and ideology and the material conditions of life.

As for our course of instruction, the necessity has evidently become acute to surmount the limits of historical problems and formulate a structure for the course that would have not so much a historical as a topical-political or even political-science approach. Only in that case is a real transition from listings of country facts to a theoretical-problems interpretation of the most complex Afro-Asian reality possible.

How does the structure of a course in the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa look in this light? The following major topics could be proposed:

Topic I. The peoples of Asia and Africa in the modern world.

1. The peoples of Asia and Africa: past and present.
2. The general crisis of capitalism and the national-liberation movement.
3. The liberated countries and the imperialist policies of neo-colonialism.
4. Basic problems and difficulties in the development of the liberated countries.

Topic II. Socialism in the Afro-Asian world.

1. Socialism: the dialectic of the general and the particular.
2. Problems of socio-political development of the socialist countries of Asia.
3. The economic mechanism and business policy under the conditions of poor development.
4. Culture-building in the socialist countries of Asia.

Topic III. Socialist orientation as a contemporary variation of non-capitalist development.

1. The essence and types of non-capitalist development.
2. The ideo-political platform and practical activity of the social forces in power in the socialist-oriented countries.
3. The economic problems of socialist orientation.
4. The socialist orientation of Algeria, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Egypt (1960s).

Topic IV. People's Republic of China.

1. Socio-political and economic development of the PRC in 1949-78.
2. The 1980s: a policy of reform.

3. The foreign policy of the PRC.

Topic V. Capitalism as a formation in the Afro-Asian world.

1. Socio-political, business and economic development of Japan in the 1950s-80s.
2. The countries of "peripheral capitalism" in the Afro-Asian world.

Topic VI. Theory and practice of the independent development of young states.

1. India.
2. Indonesia.
3. The oil-producing countries.

Topic VII. Islam in the modern world.

1. Islam in the social life and politics of the contemporary countries of the Orient.
2. The Iranian Revolution of 1978-79 and the emergence of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Topic VIII. Regional conflicts: history and modern times.

1. The Near East.
2. The Iran-Iraq war.
3. The situation in Southeast Asia.

Topic IX. Africa: problems and contradictions of modern development.

1. The socio-economic development of the countries of Africa.
2. The political structures and instability of the existing regimes.
3. Social structure.
4. Culture, ideological life and the religious situation.

Topic X. Global problems of modern times and the Afro-Asian world.

1. The 27th CPSU Congress on the modern world.
2. Global problems of modern times and the countries of Asia and Africa.

Another issue is connected with improving the curriculum at the foundation of which the course structure should be placed. We should move as much as possible

away from the country principle, placing stress on a theoretical-problems presentation of material, the portrayal of individuals in history and a description of basic trends in development. The number of topics subject to study should be reduced proceeding from the actual time stock available for a yearly course. A cardinal review and supplementing of the list of literature proposed for the independent study of students is also essential.

There is no doubt that questions of problematical study merit separate discussion and detailed analysis. Here I would like to direct attention toward the significance of such teaching in the course of the modern history of the Asian and African countries. A departure from the national-studies principle and the exposition of factual materials alone and a corresponding accent on theoretical explanation are essential in today's situation.

The question of the supply of educational literature and textbooks for the course is also timely. This seems especially important today, when the discussion concerns raising the role of the independent work of students. It must be acknowledged that the texts in existence today do not meet modern requirements. They are filled with raw information that is completely unable to facilitate the development of thought and is written in dry and repulsive language. The actual problems and contradictions of life are not reflected in the textbooks. Our texts do not contain the debate on the paths of social development that is underway in the Afro-Asian countries, the individuals and their ideas are not visible, and the problems that socio-political, ideological and theoretical thought are wrestling with today are essentially not there.

On what principles, in my opinion, should a textbook on the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa be constructed?

First of all, as has already been said, a theoretical-problems approach should predominate in it. It should be taken into account therein that a number of theoretical issues have already been touched on in other socio-political and general historical disciplines, and thus the level of the theoretical-methodological approach to the problems of the modern countries of the Orient and Africa in this text should be quite high. It is essential to shift, finally, from an empirical level of interpretation of Afro-Asian problems to the theoretical level. A textbook, after all, is not a reference book, it is not a "mine" of raw facts. It should define the general trend of all educational activity and offer forms for the presentation of educational material by the instructor. Second, it is essential to overcome outmoded stereotypes that by now do not conform to contemporary realities and to seek maximum objectivity and correctness. The student should see a real image of the country in the pages of the text through the contradictory and equivocal processes of socio-economic, political and cultural development, catch the struggle of ideas and understand the roots and origins of events that are proving to have the most marked influence

on the processes of social development. Finally, high scholarship and objectivity should be supplemented with attractiveness and vitality of exposition that elicits interest among students.

It seems that both lectures and seminar classes should be oriented more clearly toward the combination of topical problems of modern times and the key questions of theory. Every lecture should play the role of a laboratory of theoretical inquiry so as to impel the listeners toward independent analysis and attempts to investigate the multitude of complex issues in Afro-Asian reality. And the accent in the lectures must be placed clearly first and foremost on an analysis of alternative paths of social progress, the juxtaposition of various world views and positions, the role of the subjective factor and the like.

Until we restructure the instruction of the modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa, the easy superficial view of the processes transpiring there that was written of most impressively by V. Sheynis and B. Asoyan will continue to rule in our mass consciousness. What place in our historical memory and social consciousness, experiencing the complex process of restructuring, will be occupied by the original social experience and lessons of development in Asia and Africa depends first of all on us, the instructors and staff members of academic and higher educational institutions.

#### Footnotes

1. The 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Social-Sciences Departments. Moscow, 1987, pp 7, 9.
  2. See, for example: A Course in the Recent and Modern History of Asia and Africa for Higher Education.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1979, No 2, pp 128-129; No 3, pp 134-141; No 5, pp 119-130; Recent History of the Countries of Asia and Africa: Research and Instruction.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1985, No 1, pp 134-158.
  3. See: Ye.G. Plimak. The New Thinking and the Prospects for the Social Revival of Peace.—VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1987, No 6, p 85.
  4. Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (25-26 Jun 87). Moscow, 1987, p 7.
  5. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1987, No 8, p 48.
  6. PRAVDA, 17 Sep 87.
  7. See: V.L. Sheynis. The Developing Countries and the New Political Thinking.—RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR, 1987, No 4, p 77.
  8. NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1985, Nos 5-6; 1987, Nos 1-3.
- COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki" Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

**RSA Political Parties' Plans Examined**  
*18070092d Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in  
Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 83-89*

[Article by V.I. Tikhomirov: "The Parties of the White Population of South Africa: Plans for the Political Development of the Country"]

[Text] The end of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s were marked by an appreciable strengthening in the crisis of the system of apartheid. The struggle among the reactionary right-wing and liberal generally democratic forces became quite heated in that regard.

The policy of apartheid, which has become the chief direction of the activity of South African governments after 1948, has led to a deepening of the social differentiation of society. The implementation of this policy became the chief cause of the schism of the politically active population of South Africa into two principal parts: white and black. The South African political arena is a complicated system consisting of at least three elements: a traditional bourgeois parliamentary multi-party structure (the majority of the organizations of the whites, and as of late some organizations of colored and Indians); organizations uniting representatives of all racial and ethnic groups in the population that have legal status but are for various reasons deprived of the opportunity of participating in the parliamentary system; and, groups of illegal organizations representing primarily the black population of South Africa.

The South African mechanism for implementing political power, based on the alienation of the overwhelming majority of the blacks from legal forms of political struggle and the deprivation of their political rights, secures the ruling position of the white population and its leading parties in the process of administering the country. The immediate executors of state policy are the white political leaders. Research into the approaches of the parties they head toward the resolution of the problems of South African society is thus extremely important for a better understanding of the contemporary domestic political situation in South Africa.

There are currently about 3,000 different parties, organizations and groups active in South Africa that express the interests of these or those segments of the white population. Five political parties have the greatest political weight: the National Party (NP), which has held the ruling position since 1948<sup>1</sup>; the ultra-rightist Reconstituted National Party (RNP) and Conservative Party (CP) that split off from it in 1969 and 1982; the liberal-bourgeois Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP). The first three parties primarily represent the interests of the Afrikaaner group of the white population (about 60 percent of all whites), while the other two those of white English-speaking South Africans. All of these parties are bourgeois, although the population groups that support them are heterogeneous in social composition.

The National Party came to express primarily the interests of the large South African bourgeoisie after the schism in 1982.<sup>2</sup> Having been liberated from their former class allies—the petty-bourgeois groups of the Afrikaaner population inclined toward extreme opposition to any deviations from “orthodox” apartheid—the Nationals have preserved their political “legacy” nonetheless. As before, they do not agree with the abolition of the system of apartheid, preferring individual reforms within the framework of this system. Having created a system of rule of the whites in all realms of social life and cultivated more than one generation of whites in a spirit of nationalism and racism, the NP cannot not destroy it “with a wave of the hand” and introduce the full equality of all national population groups without thereby encountering bitter resistance on the part of the overwhelming majority of whites. The resistance of the whites is explained not so much by their conservatism and adherence to accustomed traditions or the narrowness of their political world view as it is by causes of a purely economic nature; they fear that powerful competition on the part of the blacks will appear with the abolition of both official and unofficial discrimination against them that will ultimately lead to a drop in the standard of living of the whites.

After the schism of 1982, the political policies of the NP underwent a series of important changes. Its chief slogan became ensuring rapid economic growth. This slogan replaced calls to reinforce white unity in the face of the “black danger.” The basic core of NP domestic policy was a policy of replacing racial discrimination with other forms of discrimination, first and foremost economic ones. This is accompanied by a search for class allies in the non-white population of South Africa (first and foremost the non-white bourgeoisie and bureaucracy). The policy of “seeking allies” has acquired such a purposeful nature that it would probably be more accurate to speak of a policy of creating them.

The political course of the NP is also defined by fear of the “total offensive of communism” on South Africa. This theory permeates all of the program documents of the NP and speeches of its leaders in recent years. Fanning the fear of “communism” (i.e. of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of southern Africa) has facilitated to no small extent the strengthening of a militant psyche among the whites that has reinforced the unity of the white camp and eased the implementation of the government’s plans. Finally, the political ties of the government and businessmen have become especially strong with the coming to power of P. Botha; businessmen hold many crucial posts in state planning and administrative organs. The policy of former prime minister H. Verwoerd of a complete “separation of state power” between the whites and blacks has been replaced by a policy of “joint implementation of power” by whites, coloreds and Indians, and soon, possibly, partially by some Africans.

The distinctions between the policies of the current nationalist leadership and those of all the governments

that have preceded it that were headed by NP leaders flow largely out of the provisions of the doctrine of "total strategy" that was advanced by P. Botha even before coming to power in 1977. Refined and expanded, this doctrine became the official program document of the NP and the South African government in the 1980s. It was formulated for the first time in complete form by P. Botha in his appearance at the annual congress of the Natal NP<sup>3</sup> in Durban on 15 Aug 79. If we leave aside the propaganda part of the document, its most material elements include a continuation of the policy of Bantustanization in relation to the African majority of the country's population, the creation of a constitutional system in the "white" part of South Africa that extends to whites, coloreds and Indians, changes in the procedure for utilizing manpower (chiefly black), a continuation of the policy of struggle against the national-liberation movement in the country and the region and the creation of a neo-colonialist association of South Africa and the south African countries (including the "independent" Bantustans)—the "constellation of South Africa states" (CONSAS). In subsequent years some clauses in the doctrine of "total strategy" have been partially realized. With the adoption of the laws on labor relations of 1979 and 1981, the reserving of jobs for whites was partially abolished, limitations on the professional training of Africans were removed, the creation of registered trade unions of African and mixed composition was expanded and the situation of Africans living in the cities was eased somewhat. A quite significant change in the state legal structure was implemented with the coming into force of the constitution of 1984—a three-chamber parliament with the participation of representatives of white, colored and Indian population groups was created. The foreign-policy activeness of the regime increased appreciably near the end of the 1980s: the Nkomati Treaty was signed Mozambique along with agreements with some other South African countries.

The intra-party struggle in the NP that grew stronger and the changes in the correlation of forces in the white camp that followed it in 1980-82, however, as well as the sharp rise in tensions in the country after the introduction of the constitution in 1984, greatly affected developments and changed the initial plans of the government of P. Botha. The strengthening of the "*verlichte*" ("enlightened," liberals) facilitated a break by the NP leadership with the orthodox apartheid of the "*verkrampste*" ("diehards," conservatives) toward a more pragmatic treatment of it. Bantustanization ceased to be an end in itself, and became a means of achieving "political stability" in the country. Ever greater distinctions are being made between the Africans living in the Bantustans and those living on the territory of "white" South Africa. According to the initial plans, it was proposed that all Africans be resettled in the Bantustans and that a system of rapid transit providing for the daily migration of African workers be created between South Africa and the pseudo-states to satisfy the manpower needs of the economy. Today the chief emphasis has come to be placed not on the most rapid possible

granting of "independence" to the Bantustans, but rather on the creation of a broad subsegment of political allies among the Africans—a bourgeoisie, bureaucracy, "working aristocracy" and pro-government-inclined intelligentsia.

The changes in the policy of Bantustanization were reported officially for the first time at a joint conference of government and business circles in November of 1981. Speaking there, P. Botha announced the recognition by the South African government of the right of an ever greater number of Africans to live in the "white" cities along with the adoption of a five-year program of housing construction in the African Johannesburg suburb of Soweto and the abolition of laws impeding the activity of the private sector in the construction and renting of apartments and houses to Africans in urban areas.

The change in approach to solving the problem of the political rights of the black majority—from their state delimitation that predominated earlier (Bantustanization) to political and class segmentation ("the search for allies")—was the chief substance of the speeches of NP leaders in the second half of 1981. The party crisis that developed in 1982, however, froze the solution of this problem. As early as a month after the split of the NP, the South African prime minister, ceding to the ultra-reactionaries, declared that the "city Africans" would never be included with the whites, coloreds and Indians in a unified state system. The report of the constitutional commission of the presidential council that was soon presented<sup>4</sup> nonetheless contained a proposal to create a four-chambered parliament—one of the chambers would be allotted to representatives of the "urban Africans." Notwithstanding the fact that the views of the "*verlichte*" were reflected in the report, the nationalist leadership, fearing a deepening and expansion of the split in the NP, rejected this draft, substituting a draft for the creation of a three-chambered parliament.

The question of the legal status of the urban African population demanded resolution nonetheless, and in February 1983 the government created a special committee to consider it. In September of 1984 P. Botha announced that the government hoped to find a solution to the problem in the course of negotiations with the leaders of the Bantustans and the heads of "African urban organs of power." After a month the government declared the Association of Municipal Councils (Africans) "the official representative" of Africans in these planning negotiations.

The development of the domestic political situation in the country in 1984-86, however, introduced corrections into these plans. First of all, the "municipal organs" of the Africans created at the bidding of the government were not recognized in a single region of the country. Second, popular uprisings forced the government to take further steps to expand the rights of the urban African population: the violent resettlement of Africans to the

Bantustans was halted, "free trade" zones (for representatives of all races—V.T.) were opened in the white cities and some discriminatory rules in the realm of family law were abolished. At the same time, it followed from the declarations of P. Botha that the government had no intention at all of eliminating the system of Bantustans; the discussion concerned concluding some sort of "union" of them with "white" South Africa on the basis of "dual citizenship." The government proposed offering some political rights to Africans living in the cities that the "citizens" of the Bantustans did not have, but they were not to be permitted any participation whatsoever in the work of the parliament in existence at the time, and their problems would be taken care of by some planned "central government." Decisions on specific issues of the functioning of this system would, declared P. Botha, be made by an interracial "forum" created for that purpose—the National Legislative Council—where the principal ethnic groups of the African population would be represented in this or that form. These principles contained nothing new at all compared to the plan that was advanced earlier for the creation of a "confederation of South African states" united by a common citizenship but separated by national affiliation.

In November of 1985 the South African government published a declaration of its intention to create "federal-confederative structures" in South Africa.<sup>5</sup> A series of steps have even been undertaken in the last two years to implement the new constitutional plans: the provincial councils have been disbanded, the "pass laws" have been abolished and the assimilation of eight "development regions" that are to comprise the economic foundation of the future state has begun. Organs of financial and administrative administration have been created—a bank and a secretariat—and the capital of the "confederate South Africa" has been determined—the city of Midrand. It has been proposed that the plans for a confederate structure be approved at the 5th NP National Congress that was held in August of 1986.<sup>6</sup> The development of events within South Africa and surrounding it, however, forced changes in the agenda of this congress. As a result, a speech at it by President Botha on the plans for the government made practically no mention of it, and it was just declared that the interests of the "urban Africans" were to be taken into account in the development of a domestic political strategy for the future. The principal substance of the speech was reduced to criticism of the policies of Western countries in relation to South Africa and furious attacks on "terrorists"—the fighters of the national-liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia. This focus is explained by the fact that the question of sanctions against South Africa was being strongly discussed around the world in the summer of 1986: the demand for sanctions had caused a "crisis in the Community" and clashes between the prime minister and queen of England, and the United States Congress was pressuring the Reagan administration by insisting on a more strict policy in relation to racist South Africa.

But the refusal to discuss reforms and the return to the "policies of the whip" caused a rise in dissatisfactions among the former "*verlichte*" allies and led to ferment in the NP and the formation of various factions within the party. The influence of a new group of Afrikaaner intelligentsia—the "*neo-verlichte*" or "new Nationalists"—began to be felt more and more strongly, demanding the immediate destruction of apartheid and racial discrimination and the extension of bourgeois-democratic freedoms to the entire population of South Africa. The worsening of crisis phenomena in the NP forced the leadership of South Africa to postpone the elections scheduled for the fall of 1986 to the spring of the following year. The leaders of the NP took steps to reinforce their ranks (moreover on the basis of a rejection of the policies of reform) and demanded a return to the old discipline.<sup>7</sup> Such a retreat before the onslaught of the "*verkrampste*" had as its result a rise in ultra-rightist sentiments among South African whites. These trends also had an effect on the results of the elections held on 6 May 87. Their chief result was a serious defeat for the bourgeois-liberal (and primarily English-speaking) parties—the PFP and the NRP—which lost a third of their seats in parliament; the positions of the right-wing bloc—the NP and the CP—were strengthened.

The political development of South Africa demonstrates how difficult the situation of the country's leaders is today. Any attempts to take a step toward one of the two principal groups—the "*verlichte*" or the "*verkrampste*"—immediately evokes protest from the other and leads to a rise in its influence. The reformist development of South Africa before 1984 thus led to the schism of the NP and the formation and reinforcement of the CP, while the retreat from reformism led to the growth in the influence of the "left" wing of the National Party and the formation of an extra-party union of white liberals.

It is becoming apparent that the plans for confederation are absolutely unacceptable from the point of view of the movement and democratization of society; under the conditions of South Africa, they can only worsen the socio-economic, political and national contradictions that exist there. Based on the idea of "cultural and national autonomy," the nationalist plan for the creation of a confederation is the fruit of this reactionary state and legal conception; as in many other cases, it has as its practical aim camouflaging and justifying the rule of the colonizers over the enslaved peoples. The most important precondition for the implementation of the pluralistic concept of a "confederation," as for the racist concept of "apartheid—the separate development of nations" that preceded it, is the profound national differentiation of society. Herein is concealed the chief contradiction between the proclaimed political course of the current government and the economic interests of those segments of society that it is called upon to defend. Nationalism and the national fragmentation of society, comprising the core of the policies of the South African government, theoretically (and historically) correspond

to the economic foundation of pre-capitalist and early-capitalist institutions, and not to the monopoly capital that holds sway in the economy of South Africa today. Monopolies have a vested interest in the internationalization of capital,<sup>8</sup> and not in the fragmentation of the economic and political structures into autonomous small parts.

This contradiction is explained with somewhat of a shift in the focus of the policies of the office of P. Botha that has become evident of late. With the coming to power of this government simultaneously with the continuation of a policy of national differentiation of South African society, a course was taken toward the social division of the black population. The events of the first half of the 1980s, and especially 1984-86, left the government no time to implement the planned social processes. The chief emphasis came to be placed on the political segmentation of the black population as a result. It is namely toward this—undermining the unity of the forces opposed to the regime—that a series of steps undertaken by Botha's office in recent years is directed: allowing the legal activity of some organizations, the "flirting" of business, student, religious and other liberal circles with the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), the suggestion to release ANC President N. Mandela from prison upon the condition that he renounce armed struggle against the regime and the like. The government even tried to make use of the unstable situation that arose after the adoption of the constitution in 1984. The ruling circles provoked appearances by racist extremists from among the black population, artificially fanning national hostility. Botha's office is counting on such methods to reinforce the unity of the whites and convince them that the reforms are the sole way out of the current situation.

The program principles of the largest opposition party in the white camp in South Africa—the Progressive Federal Party—are also based on the concepts of pluralism. In 1977 American political scientist A. Lijphart published a book under the title "Democracy in Pluralistic Societies: A Comparative Exploration," which set forth the basic provisions of the theory of "consociationalism,"<sup>9</sup> which later comprised the foundation of PFP political policy. "Consociationalism" proposes the creation of such a model of a state legal structure wherein the formation of a "union of political leaders" of all groups of the country's population is proposed. Each of the national groups therein should obtain veto power in resolving the most important issues, and the distribution of material resources and positions in government service are proposed to be handled in proportional dependence on the national composition of the population, and each racial and ethnic group would obtain broad autonomy within the framework of a unified state. The theory of "consociationalism" apropos of the conditions of South Africa was developed by PFP Chairman F. van Zyl Slabbert in a book he wrote in conjunction with the liberal political scientist D. Welsh.<sup>10</sup> The principles they formulated for

the state legal structure include the creation of a multi-racial supreme executive organ where all significant parties and organizations would be represented politically, the introduction of universal election rights in the country, the formation of a parliament with the proportional representation of all population groups in it (deputies to it would have veto power), the publication of a "bill of rights" and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in South Africa. The creation of this system should be achieved via negotiations. The authors of these drafts hold unrealistic positions in feeling that the solution of the South African political problems can be achieved via the introduction of "voluntary apartheid."

The crisis caused by the mass disturbances of the black population after the 1984 constitution went into effect led to a considerable activation of the politicians of the PFP. Party leaders undertook a series of attempts to arrange contacts with the leaders of the largest legal democratic social organization—the United Democratic Front (UDF)—and the leading national-liberation organization of South Africa—the African National Congress (ANC). The attempts of van Zyl Slabbert to take on the role of intermediary in negotiations with the opposition and the regime had already collapsed as early as the beginning of 1986 due to the inaccessibility of the latter. As a result, van Zyl Slabbert was forced to retire from the post of PFP leader, and then left the parliament as well, heading the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. In July of 1987 this institute, with the aid of a number of Western public organizations, held a conference in Dakar with the participation of a delegation from the ANC. The delegation of white and colored figures (each of whom represented only himself) from South Africa was headed by van Zyl Slabbert, while the delegation of the ANC executive committee of 17 people was headed by the congress Secretary for Communications with Public Opinion, T. Mbeki.<sup>11</sup> The conference adopted a joint "Dakar Declaration" that condemned the apartheid regime and proclaimed as its goal the achievement of a "non-racial democracy in South Africa."<sup>12</sup> The Dakar conference showed that notwithstanding the worsening of the struggle in South Africa, the possibility of peaceful negotiation continues to exist and that the chief impediment on the path to them is the reluctance of the apartheid regime to begin such negotiations.

The New Republic Party continues to have quite a strong ideological influence on some of the nationalists close to the government. It is thus of interest to analyze the program tenets of that party. In its recommendations presented to the governmental commission of A. Schlebusch,<sup>13</sup> the NRP came out against the rule of individual groups only by virtue of their numerical preponderance and in favor of the division of Africans into "urban" and residents of the Bantustans, confederation as the overall state structure and a federation in the "white" regions of the country. Overall, the views of the



new republicans are reduced to the "voluntary apartheid" of the PFP with the inclusion of the urban African population in the "white" regions in this system. In relation to the rest of the African population, the NRP is for a continuation of Bantustanization and the creation of a confederation. The racist-idealistic position of the NRP, as well as those of the PFP and the NP, are based on the concept of constitutional pluralism.

Some corrections in the plans for state development proposed by the NRP and PFP were made by the "Indaba" ("roundtable") interracial conference that was held in Durban over 3 April-28 November 1986, organized by representatives of those two parties. A draft for the unification of the province of Natal with the Bantustan of Kwazulu that was developed at the conference envisaged the creation of a two-chamber parliament on the unified territory.<sup>13</sup> The lower chamber should consist of deputies elected on the basis of proportional representation, and the upper from an equal number of deputies from the four principal ethnic groups and one interracial group. All decisions were subject to joint adoption by both chambers. Although this plan was rejected by the Botha government, which was at that time caught between the demands of the "*verkrampste*" and the "*verlichte*," it visibly demonstrated to what the principles of "consociationalism" and pluralism that were actively propagated by the whites bourgeois-liberal parties in South Africa, as well as some political scientists and businessmen, came down to.

As opposed to the programs of the white liberals, the principles that comprise the foundation of the policies of the ultra-rightist parties—the CP and the RNP—in practice coincide completely with the basic provisions of the old and unmodified program of the NP. Somewhat of a distinction in the approaches of these parties consists of the fact that the conservatives, without repudiating apartheid, acknowledge the necessity for at least the appearance of "reform," while the advocates of the RNP are demanding a return to the society of "pure apartheid" of the beginning of the 1960s. The ideologists of these parties propose the resolution of the contradictions that arise between "pure apartheid" and the tasks of capitalist development via the "restraint of growth" of the country's economy at a level where its demands could be completely satisfied by local capital and white manpower.<sup>14</sup> The reactionary and utopian nature of such propositions is obvious. The process of decline in the living standards of the whites associated with the gradual move away from apartheid in the socio-economic sphere after the reforms of the beginning of the 1980s, however, is creating favorable soil for growth in the influence of these parties, as well as for the widespread dissemination among whites of the pro-fascist sentiments propagated by organizations of the Afrikaaner Resistance Movement type.

This comparative analysis of the programs of the principal parties of the white population shows that there exist no plans for fundamental changes in the prevailing

political system in the white "camp." In defending the interests of the privileged and power-holding social segments and groups of South African society, the white parties do not wish to move toward the abolition of political discrimination until discrimination in the socio-economic sphere is eliminated with the least losses for the whites. The plans for confederative and consociationalist structures being advanced by the liberals and nationalists are an attempt to create some appearance of democracy with the preservation of the economic system based on racist principles in unchanged form. The profound social changes could become a precondition for a radical restructuring of society "from above." A long time is needed for this, however, of which less and less remains for the ruling regime under the conditions of the growing revolutionary demonstrations of the broad masses of the oppressed population of South Africa.

#### Footnotes

1. This name has been adopted in academic literature as most accurately reflecting the essence of the ideology of the party, although in literal translation it is called the "National" Party.

2. For more detail on the evolution and social foundation of the NP see: V.I. Tikhomirov. The Party of Apartheid: The Socio-Political Evolution of the South African Nationalist Party. Moscow, 1987.

3. The NP formally unites four seemingly independent parties: those of the Transvaal, Cape, Natal and Orange provinces.

4. Created in 1981 (a 1980 law) to plan constitutional policy, as well as to resolve disputed issues. See: Staatskoerant van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Vol 218. Cape Town, 12 May 82.

5. Sunday Times. Johannesburg, 1 Dec 85.

6. National Party. Federal Congress for Freedom and Stability. Durban, 12th and 13th August 1986. Speeches. Mobei, 1986.

7. See the pre-election documents of the NP: Nasionale Party. Beginsels en Beleid van die Nasionale Party. Fordsburg (Johannesburg), 1987; Nasionale Party. NP-Beleid: Die Feitel Verkieping 6 Mei. Kaapstad, 1987.

8. See: V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 24, p 124.

9. From the Latin *con*—"together"—and *societas*—"society." See: A. Lijphart. Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration. New Haven, 1977.



10. F. van Zyl Slabbert, D. Welsh. South Africa's Options; Strategies for Sharing Power. London-Cape Town, 1979. See also: Progressive Federal Party. Constitutional Policy: A Realistic Plan for the Future. Salt River (Cape), 1987.

11. IDASA. Meeting the ANC, July 1987, Dakar. Johannesburg, 1987.

12. See: The Republic of South Africa. Interim Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the Constitution. Pretoria, 1980.

13. Sunday Tribune (Durban), 30 Nov 86; Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 11 Dec 86.

14. Die Konserwatiewe Party van Suid-Afrika. Program van Beginsels en Beleid. Soos Goedgekeur deur die Algemene Kongres van die KP van Suid-Afrika op 4 Augustus 1982 en Hersien op 27 Oktober 1984. Pretoria, (s.a.); Konserwatiewe Party. Ontmoet die KP. Pretoria, 1987.

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**USSR in PRC's Historical Science of 1980s**  
*18070092e Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 113-122*

[Article by Yu.V. Chudoveyev under the rubric "Academic Life": "Historical Science in the PRC (First Half of the 1980s)"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It is not difficult to observe that the nature of the problems in the research of Chinese historians are in many of their aspects connected with the topical problems of contemporary China and the politics of the PRC leadership. The illumination of the history of the USSR occupies a special place in this regard. Features on the history of the USSR take up, as an approximate estimate, 15-20 percent of all features in general history. Their topics can be divided into three areas. The first could include the group of works that were deemed to depict the Russian state in a biased spirit. The theme of articles in the second area relate to issues of the socio-economic development of Russia and the Russian revolutionary movement. The works in this area have the most academic-knowledge significance for the Chinese audience, since the authors are prosecuting the aim of really investigating the specific features of the historical past of the Russian people and to a certain extent comparing and juxtaposing some social phenomena in the history of the two countries. Finally, the works in the third area are connected with the history of the USSR after the October Revolution. Here the principal attention of Chinese researchers is concentrated on the policy of military communism, the agrarian policies of the Bolsheviks in the first years of Soviet power, Lenin's fight against bureaucratism, the New Economic Policy, specific features of economic policy and class struggle in

the 1920s, the implementation of industrialization and collectivization in the USSR and, finally, the intra-party struggle and the politics of the opposition in the 1920s (and first and foremost the activity of N.I. Bukharin<sup>1</sup>). The interest of Chinese historians in this period is no accident, as it is linked with the realities of today's China and a desire to analyze and evaluate many issues of socio-political history in the post-October period so as to extract the needed lessons from them.

The revival of historical science in the PRC today is obvious: an expansion of the scope of academic-research activity and the organizational formulation of a many-thousand-strong detachment of historians are underway. It is too early today, of course, to draw final conclusions on the ultimate results of the processes that have developed on the Chinese historical front in the first half of the 1980s. We are principally concerned with the "quantitative" aspects of that process. The study of qualitative parameters naturally requires a more profound and comprehensive analysis. Such an analysis would especially help in uncovering many negative elements in the current development of Chinese historiography, which has inherited a series of fixed concepts from the 1960s and 1970s and is continuing to develop them. Healthy trends would also be revealed at the same time connected with the democratization of science, an attitude toward history as a complex process and an aspiration to surmount the vulgar equating of class nature and historicism.

Today's shift in historical science is closely linked with the basic directions of contemporary politics. But at its heart is the natural desire of scholars to deepen academic knowledge of the historical process and approach the illumination of the phenomena of the past from the viewpoint of historicism. More favorable conditions currently exist for the further profound study of historical science in the PRC. It seems expedient in this regard to establish permanent and efficient contacts between the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute and a number of the leading academic-research centers of the PRC for the exchange of specialists and the holding of joint creative discussions.

#### Footnotes

1. Several symposia have been devoted to the views of Bukharin, in the course of which the questions discussed have included the development of Bukharin's ideas in 1921-26, whether the fall of N.I. Bukharin was anecessity or by chance and contradictions in the economic views of Bukharin.

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**African and Oriental Studies at Kuban State University**

18070092f Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 137-139

[Article by A.V. Achagu, N.I. Kirey and V.G. Kukuyan: "African and Oriental Studies at Kuban State University"]

[Text] Kuban State University (KubGU) was created in 1970 on the basis of the Krasnodar Pedagogical Institute. Since not a single institution of higher learning had existed in Krasnodar (formerly Yekaterinodar) before Great October, the university naturally could not rely on any solid traditions in either the realm of academic research or instruction in the Oriental-studies disciplines. Historians were thus invited to work at KubGU—N.I. Kirey from Rostov University (RGU), Yu.G. Smertin from the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and F.V. Vatulyan from MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations]—who essentially had to create anew a general course of instruction in the history of the countries of foreign Asia and Africa along with special courses and to set about the training of historians with an Oriental-studies bent. For these purposes they made use of the experience of African- and Oriental-studies scholars from other universities and academic institutes (Oriental Studies and Africa). As early as 1975, course instruction in the general history of the countries of Asia and Africa was being accomplished, as a rule, by specialists also conducting academic-research work in a given area of science. The following special courses could be taken starting in the 1980s: "Problems of Medieval Sub-Saharan Africa" and "Spiritual Culture of the Peoples of Asia and Africa in the Middle Ages" (V.G. Kukuyan, Yu.G. Smertin); "Ideology of the Contemporary National-Liberation Movement in Africa" (Yu.G. Smertin); "Historiography of the Medieval History of the Countries of the Orient" and "Ethnography of Africa" (N.I. Kirey); "Socio-Economic Problems of the Developing Countries" (Yu.V. Filippov); and, "Cultural and Religious Traditions of the Countries of the Orient and Modern Times" (F.V. Vatulyan). The instructors of the history department take part in the preparation of methodological recommendations and textbooks on history, ethnography and archaeology,<sup>1</sup> participate in all-union conferences of Oriental and African scholars and maintain close contacts with the specialists of academic centers and higher educational institutions in the USSR.

The research work of the African- and Oriental-studies historians of the KubGU is coordinated by the Academic Council "Contemporary Problems of the Developing Countries" of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Academic Council on African Problems, as well as the section for Oriental studies that was created in the department of history and law within the framework of the North Caucasus Academic

Center for Higher Education (SKNTsVSh). The coordination that exists today, however, is not effective. Efficient methods for attracting all of the African- and Oriental-studies scholars in higher education in the northern Caucasus to participation in collective research and all-union discussions will still have to be found.

More than 20 scholars of KubGU are engaged in academic research on problems in African and Oriental studies, working primarily in the history department, as well as in political economy, economic geography and Russian language. The chief direction of academic research has become the study and summary of experience in the development of the socialist-oriented Arab and African countries and the study of international relations, ethnic history, historiography, the cultures of African peoples, cultural and historical mutual relations with the peoples of Europe and the effects of the ethnic factor on their socio-economic development. The spectrum of research on the national-studies plane is quite broad: Algeria, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Turkey, China, Vietnam and India.

The research of N.I. Kirey is devoted to source study, historiography and the socio-economic problems and foreign policy of Algeria.<sup>2</sup> The academic interests of Yu.G. Smertin are centered on the socio-political and ideological problems of West Africa.<sup>3</sup> V.G. Kukuyan specializes in the history of domestic Algerian studies.<sup>4</sup>

Instructors in the department of political economics also take part in the development of topical economic problems of Africa. They have published a collective monograph<sup>5</sup> and a series of brochures and have defended several master's dissertations (Yu.V. Filippov, N.V. Ostapenko, Zh.-S. Tolno from Guinea). The training of graduate students, including from the African countries, is underway in the department.

The interest of the university's scholars in researching the history of the countries of foreign Asia, as well as their historical mutual relations with the peoples of our country and other peoples of the Orient, has grown stronger. Among the priority topics of academic work for Kuban archaeologists are thus the antiquity of the Sarmato-Alan tribes (Iranian-language nomads), who played an important role in the ethnic history of peoples for the span of several centuries, as well as the Oriental world of ancient times and antiquity. T.M. Feofilaktova is developing the theme of the northwestern Caucasus in Russian-Turkish relations in the second half of the 18th century. A.V. Achagu and Z.S. Shelomentseva are also developing in a Turkish-studies direction. F.V. Vatulyan is studying the foreign policy of India in modern times and the historiography of that question, while A.S. Klinov and Chan Khan (Vietnam) are studying the historiography and history of China and Vietnam.<sup>6</sup>

The scholars of KubGU have had some positive results in academic-research and teaching-methodology work as well as in the training of African- and Oriental-studies

personnel and in publishing. It will be necessary, under the conditions of the restructuring of higher learning, to continue the development of problem-based lectures, strengthen their methodological thrust, renew the special courses, attract a broader circle of instructors from the higher educational institutions of the Don and the northern Caucasus to researching Afro-Asian topics, and work on popularizing knowledge of the peoples of the Orient. It is also necessary to attract the leading Oriental scholars of the country to KubGU to give lectures and consultations.

The results of the academic and teaching-methodology activity of the African- and Oriental-studies scholars of KubGU could, of course, be more considerable. There are, however, no few obstacles on that path. The university does not have the essential publishing base in particular. Its editorial and publishing department is limited in staff and does not have modern reproduction equipment. The curriculum for the lecture courses, published centrally, is largely obsolete. The exchange of academic anthologies and methodological recommendations with other universities in the country is poorly developed. The training of historians and Oriental scholars is moreover essentially being done without regard for the actual needs for these personnel.

#### Footnotes

1. N.I. Kirey. Anthropological Classification of the Peoples of the World and the Formations of Races. Krasnodar, 1982, 38 pp; idem. Derivation of Historical Names of Parts of the World, Countries and Peoples. Krasnodar, 1983; N.I. Kirey, Yu.G. Smertin, Yu.V. Filippov, A.S. Ivashchenko. Islam and the Afro-Asian Countries: Dogma, Strains, Contemporary Evolution. Krasnodar, 1983; idem. Islam in the Afro-Asian Countries: Effects on Economics, Politics, Ideology. Krasnodar, 1983; A.M. Zhdanovskiy, I.I. Marchenko, N.M. Milyuk. The Use of Archaeological Terminology in the Process of Studying History. Krasnodar, 1984; Yu.G. Smertin. Medieval Sub-Saharan Africa: Problems of History. Krasnodar, 1986; idem. Medieval Sub-Saharan Africa: The History of States. Krasnodar, 1986; Synchronic Tables of the History of the Ancient World in the Middle Ages. Krasnodar, 1987, 35 pp; et al.

2. See, for example: N.I. Kirey. Algeria and France. 1962-1971 (Problems of Economic and Political Relations). Moscow, 1973; idem. The Trade Ties of Algeria with the Capitalist and Socialist Countries.—Ac. works of KubGU. Issue 192. Krasnodar, 1975, pp 37-70; idem. Algeria: Economic Policy (1962-1974).—Ac. works KubGU. Issue 211. Krasnodar, 1976, pp 3-198; idem. The Policy of Industrialization and the Organization of Management and Control of Production in the Public Sector of the Industry of the ADPR (1965-1977).—The Arab Countries. History and Modern Times. Moscow,

1981, pp 126-155; idem. Socio-Economic Policy of Independent Algeria (Methodology, Sources, Historiography).—Historiographical Research in African and Oriental Studies. Krasnodar, 1986, pp 120-148.

3. Yu.G. Smertin. Soviet Historiography on Ideological Problems of the National-Liberation Movement in Sub-Saharan Africa (Literature of the 1960s-1980s).—Historiographical Research in African and Oriental Studies, pp 57-85; Y. Smertin. Kwame Nkrumah. Moscow, 1987, 312 pp.

4. V.G. Kukuyan. The Topic of the Caucasus and Algeria in Russian Historical and Ethnographic Literature of the 1840s.—Archaeological and Ethnographic Research of the North Caucasus. Krasnodar, 1984, pp 186-191; idem. At the Origins of Domestic Algerian Studies.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1986, No 5, pp 72-77.

5. V.M. Gotlober, L.F. Poluektov, Yu.V. Filippov. Economic Problems of the Socialist-Oriented Developing Countries. Krasnodar, 1973, 136 pp.

6. See, for example: A.M. Zhdanovskiy. History of the Tribes of the Central Kuban Region in the 2nd Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D. (From Kurgan Burial Materials). Candidate's dissertation. Moscow, 1985, 20 pp; T.M. Feofilaktova. The Northwestern Caucasus in the Foreign Policy of Russia in 1780-1783.—Proc. of the North Caucasus Academic Center of Higher Education. 1980, No 1, pp 68-74; A.V. Achagu. Soviet Historiography of the 1960s-1980s on Some Aspects of Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire.—Historiographical Research in African and Oriental Studies, pp 86-97; Z.S. Shelomentseva. The Interaction of Russian and Turkic Languages. Krasnodar, 1980; F.V. Vatulyan. The Bourgeois Parties of India on Soviet-Indian Relations (1960s).—Ac. Notes of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute. Issue 3. Moscow, 1973, pp 108-114; idem. Blgaro-indijski vrzki prez 50-70-te godini na XX v.—Istoricheski pregled. Sofia, 1986, No 3, pp 31-50; A.S. Klinov. The Problem of Sinocentrism in Illuminating the Bourgeois Sinology of the United States.—Historiographical Research in African and Oriental Studies, pp 163-173; Chan Khan. The Problem of the Formation of an Ethnic Chinese Community in Vietnam in Vietnamese Historiography.—Ibid., pp 173-183.

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**Academic Conferences on Oriental, African, Near East Studies**  
18070092g Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 143-148

[News items under rubric "Chronological Notes" attributed to V.T. Veselov, Ye.V. Perekhval'skaya, A.Yu. Rusakov, T.L. Strizhak, N.V. Yeliseyeva, V.V. Kushev, V.N. Kislyakov and B. Kazakov]

[Excerpts]

**Moscow—Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR  
Academy of Sciences**

**Academic Council for Coordinating Scientific-Research  
Work in the Realm of Oriental Studies**

The academic council summarized the results of academic activity in the realm of Oriental studies for 1987. About 280 works were executed according to the composite five-year plan for Oriental-studies research (individual and collective monographs, anthologies of articles, textbooks and reference texts, handbooks) with a total volume of about 3,900 printer's sheets. They include works on economics, socio-political problems of the developing countries of the Orient, the history of the workers' and national-liberation movements, international relations, ancient and medieval history, the history of social thought of foreign countries and the cultural history of the peoples of the foreign Orient, historiography, Oriental language studies, literature and folklore.

The preparation of the most significant research on the problems of Asia and North Africa in the academic and practical sense, as in prior years, was accomplished on the basis of the cooperation of the scholars of academic institutes, higher educational institutions, the institutes of the union republics and practical organizations. "The History of Asia From Ancient Times to the Present Day" (six volumes) is being created by the scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental studies Institute in collaboration with the specialists of MGU [Moscow State University], the Hermitage, the USSR Academy of Sciences IMLI [Institute of World Literature imeni A.M. Gorky], the USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations], the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History, the AON [Academy of Social Sciences] of the CPSU Central Committee, the GSSR Academy of Sciences and the Belorussian State University; among the Oriental-studies scholars involved in the writing of a series of sections for the four-volume "History of Afghanistan" are some from Leningrad and the union republics. Reference works on Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Australia, New Zealand, Oceania and North Korea among others are being created at the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI [Oriental Studies Institute] through the joint efforts of scholars from the USSR Academy of Sciences IMSS, the USSR Academy of Sciences IYA [Institute of Language Studies], the USSR Academy of Sciences IMLI, MGU, the USSR Academy of Sciences LO [Leningrad Division] IE [of the Institute of Economics] and institutes of Oriental studies in Armenia and Uzbekistan.

A series of works was prepared in 1987 in conjunction with the scholars of academic institutes in Moscow and scientific-research institutes of union republics and universities (MGU, LGU [Leningrad State University],

TajGU [Tajikistan State University] and AzGU [Azerbaijan State University]) within the framework of a comprehensive program of research on topical problems of contemporary Islamic studies. The preparation of a three-volume "Eastern Turkestan in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (Sketches in History and Culture)" was continued in collaboration with scholars from the academies of sciences of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI continued to take part as authors in the creation of such basic works as "The Modern History of Africa" (USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute), the "Labor of the Free in the Ancient Orient. Economic, Social and Political Status" (LGU), "Ancient Archaeology of Tajikistan" (TajSSR Academy of Sciences II [Institute of History]), "Mongolia During the Period of Feudal Fragmentation and the Manchurian Yoke (16th—Beginning of the 20th Centuries)" (USSR Academy of Sciences SO [Siberian Division]), "History of the Tajik People" in five volumes (TajSSR Academy of Sciences OSI), "Muslim Communalism in the Ideological and Political Life of India in the Modern Era" (USSR Academy of Sciences INION [Institute of Academic Information on the Social Sciences]) and others.

Internships and graduate teaching by staff members of the academic and scholarly institutions of the union republics is conducted every year for the purpose of preparing skilled academic personnel for the Oriental-studies institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI. A number of staff members of the institute have gone on to the academic and scholarly centers of the country to render academic and methodological assistance on various problems in Oriental studies.

Sections and commissions of the Academic Council held 33 conferences, plenary working conferences, seminars and symposia in Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union in 1987. The commission for the study of the medieval and recent history of the countries of the foreign Orient held the working conferences "Problems in the Periodization of the Historical Process in the Orient" (January, Moscow) and "Problems of the Socio-Economic Development of the Countries of the Orient in Recent Times" (February, Moscow) along with the academic conferences "Key Problems in the History of the Orient. Initial Accumulation of Capital in Europe and the Orient" (May, Moscow)<sup>1</sup> and "State Structure in the Countries of the Orient in Recent Times" (June, Moscow).<sup>2</sup>

The problems that were discussed at these meetings were exceedingly topical. They make possible not only a new illumination of individual aspects of the historical development of the countries of the Orient, but also the tracing of the origins of their appearance. Considerable attention was devoted to various problems of history of transitional periods, as well as the effects of the environment on the development of this or that regional structure and questions of the mutual relations of "Western" and "Eastern" civilizations during medieval and recent times.

The commission to research and publish literary texts of the peoples of the Orient held the conference "Bartoldov Readings-87" (June, Zvenigorod) on the topic "Oriental Historical Source Studies and Special Disciplines (Methods, Specific Research)." Collective work on the compilation of an Encyclopedic Reference (Onomasticon) of Persian poets continued with the participation of specialists from Tbilisi, Yerevan, Dushanbe, Baku, Frunze, Samarkand, Leninabad and Bologna University (Italy).

The section on Islamic studies that is operating on the basis of the Department for General Theoretical Problems in the Socio-Political Development of the Countries of Asia and North Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI is working in several areas: academic research according to the academic-research plan of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI and the comprehensive program of academic developments on topical problems of contemporary Islamic studies; the development of methodological textbooks on Islam and the course of instruction "Islamic Studies" for higher educational institutions; academic organizational functions (conferences and working seminars); practical academic functions (lecture and propagation work, participation in the work of methodological councils, the preparation of popular and methodological publications) etc.

The coordination of Islamic research was accomplished in accordance with the comprehensive program of academic work on topical problems of contemporary Islamic studies that was adopted at the 3rd All-Union Coordinating Conference in Tbilisi (October of 1986). The program includes the development of over 100 topics, in which 26 academic institutes and other academic and practical organizations are taking part. Among the things held under the leadership of the section were the Second Republic Conference "Islam in the Ideology and Politics of the Countries of the Near and Middle East and North Africa" (May, Baku) and the symposium "Atheism and Religion in the Contemporary Struggle of Ideas" (June, Sevastopol).

The section for Oriental literary studies held a session on 30 Sep-4 Oct 87 in the city of Turkestan at which a five-year composite plan for researching the literature and folklore of Africa and foreign Asia was discussed. An academic debate on the topic "Method of Historical and Typological Research of the Literature and Problems of National Distinctiveness in the Literature of the Orient" was also held. Leading specialists of Moscow, Leningrad, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan took part in the discussion.

The conference of young academic staff members and graduate students "Topical Problems of Oriental Language Studies" was held from November 30 through December 2 in Moscow. The problems of the historical study of the languages of the Orient, problems of linguistic typology, the role of semantics and pragmatics in linguistic descriptions and problems in discussing the

structure of the languages of the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Near and Middle East were considered. Representatives of the commission of Oriental language studies took part in the work of the 4th All-Union School for Young Oriental Scholars,<sup>3</sup> as well as the working conference "Predicates of Propositional Placement in the Logical and Linguistic Aspects" (organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Languages).

A paper on the management problems of Japanese firms was discussed at a session of the Commission on Language Studies (August, Moscow). An expanded session of it was held in November devoted to questions of standardizing the writing of Japanese words, names and titles in publishing and library work and attracted the participation of workers from a number of research centers, publishing houses and libraries in Moscow and Leningrad. It was decided as a result of the exchange of opinions to develop recommendations for their utilization in the work of practical institutions.

The Chinese Studies Section held its next annual 18th Academic Conference "Society and the State in China" on February 4-6 (Moscow).<sup>4</sup>

The section on the countries of the Near and Middle East held two working conferences on the Kurdish problem (Moscow), the academic conference "Iranian Society of the 1980s" (Moscow), two working conferences on the economic and political problems of Pakistan (Moscow) and the working conference "Soviet-Turkish Economic and Technical Collaboration: Contemporary State and Prospects for Development" (Moscow).

A standing Turkish-studies seminar operated in the Memorial Office imeni V.A. Gordlevskiy. Among the papers presented at its sessions were "The Creative Legacy of Nazym Khikmet and the Ideological Struggle in Turkey in the 1980s," "Turkey Today" and "Literary Texts of the Ancient Turkic Writing on the Territory of the USSR" among others.

Sanskrit scholars taking part in the work of the All-Union Conference of Buddhist scholars (November, Moscow) presented a series of papers devoted to specific features of studying Tibetan Sanskrit texts, which are important sources of the history of Buddhism. The history of Buddhist schools in the Kushan era was also illuminated. The conference adopted a resolution on cataloging all Tibetan Sanskrit manuscripts that are preserved in the USSR.

In October the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI held the conference "The Socio-Political Development of Thailand in Modern Times" and the anniversary "Rerikhov Readings" devoted to the 85th anniversary of the birth of that eminent scholar.<sup>5</sup>

A series of organizational academic functions was held within the framework of the Academic Council that were devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October

Socialist Revolution. An anthology of articles titled "The Great October Socialist Revolution in the Near East," prepared by specialists from the Near and Middle East Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI (editor-in-chief Yu.V. Ganovskiy), was published in India and Pakistan at the end of 1987.

The Academic Council and its sections and commissions maintained contacts with their colleagues from the socialist countries and with Oriental-studies scholars from Asia, Africa and the Western countries.

In 1987 a delegation of Soviet Oriental scholars took part in the work of a number of international congresses and conferences: the 5th International Congress of Mongolian Scholars (September, Ulan-Bator)<sup>6</sup>; the 5th International Congress of Semitic and Hamitic Research (September, Vienna); the 8th International Congress on the Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science (August, Moscow); the 14th International Congress of Linguists (August, Berlin); the international academic conference "Great October and the Non-Capitalist Path of Development" (October, Ulan-Bator); the international conference "Problems in the Peaceful Unification of Korea" (November, Pyongyang); the 7th International Conference on Sanskrit Studies (August, Leiden); and, the Soviet-Indian seminar "The Indian Revolution in a Historical Perspective" (August, Leningrad).

#### Leningrad—Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute

The work of the 12th Annual Academic Session of Leningrad Arab scholars was underway in October of 1987. The papers presented were associated with the basic topic of the session—"The Koran in the History of Arab Culture"—and problems in Islamic studies, Arab philology and source studies were also discussed along with some questions of modern times. Opening the session, P.A. Gryaznevich emphasized the topicality of studying the role of the Koran and the appearance and development of Muslim culture, traditions and mores, religious and philosophical strains and political ideology. He noted the importance of research in this realm for a suitable comprehension of both the medieval culture of the Muslim Orient and contemporary ideological strains and the everyday life of the Muslim peoples. The Leningrad Arab scholars rely not only on ancient traditions in the study of the Koran, but also have at their disposal real opportunities for expanding and deepening this research. The Koran is widely quoted in the works of medieval authors. Three papers were devoted to this topic: "Koranic Quotations of Mas'uda b. Namdarad" by V.M. Beylis, "Quotes from the Koran in the Lexicon of the Egyptian Dialect of Yusuf al-Maghreb" by O.B. Frolova and "Koranic Quotations in Medieval Judaical Texts" by V.V. Lebedev (GPB [State Public Library] imeni Saltykov-Shchedrin). Also presenting papers were A.A. Dolinina (LGU), "The Imitation of the Koran of Amin ar-Raykhani. Experience in Translation" and

"The Childhood and Adolescence of I.Yu. Krachkovskiy," P.A. Gryaznevich, "The Ancient Peoples of Arabia in the Koran" and V.V. Polosin "What is the 'Tarjumatu' of Kitabi-o-Lakhi?" Ye.A. Rezvan reported on a new Russian translation (1987) of the Koran; the topic of the paper of I.Sh. Shifman was "The Koran and a Typology of Sacred Writings," and that of M.B. Piotrovskiy was "The Motivations of the Hijri in the Koran."

A.D. Knysht related the results of studying field materials on the cult of the sacred for the Hadramaut. A.D. Petrosyan dedicated his paper to the role of preachers in the religious and political life of Baghdad in the 12th century. A.B. Khalidov illuminated the history of studying the "Kitab al-Avrak" of as-Suli. O.G. Bolshakov reviewed the composition of the Pseudo-Vakidi as a historical source. The topic of the paper of A.S. Bogolyubov was "The State Structure of the Caliphate According to the 'Kitab al-Kharadj' of Kudama b. Ja'far," and that of N.G. Garayeva "A Comparative Analysis of the Information of al-Kufi, Bal'ami and Ibn al-Asir on the Arab-Khazar Wars of 104-121/722-739." S.M. Prozorov related an anthology of Shiite traditions in manuscript A 857 from the collection of the LO of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI. V.N. Blondin (LGU) described the Arab medieval historical chronicle as a product of literature, confirming it with texts from the "Reports of the Contemporaries of Yakhiyi b. Khusayn." M.A. Rodionov (LO IE) presented a paper on the Druze religious texts, "The 'Epistles of Wisdom' as a Historical and Cultural Literary Text." The paper of D.V. Yermakov "The 'Concordance' of A.I. Vensink and the Fate of Islamic Studies in the 20th Century" was devoted to an Islamic-studies theme. V.V. Matbeyev (LO IE) ("The Arab Conquest of the Maghreb") gave an evaluation of this event using factual historical material. The Arab tradition of the origins of the Himyarites were considered by Shakib al-Asbakhi (a graduate student from the Yemen Arab Republic). The papers of V.S. Khrakovskiy, "The Arabic Verb: Functions and Forms," and G.L. Kurguzov (LGU), "Problems of the Prothetic 'Waw' in Arabic Technical Terminology," were devoted to linguistic topics. Contemporary themes were reflected in the papers of I.L. Piotrovskaya, "The Problem of International Indebtedness and the Oil-Exporting States of the Arabian Peninsula," graduate student G. Martad (Syria), "The Damascus Academic Conference of 1985 on Problems in Comparative Literature," and G.Z. Pumpyan (BAN [Library of the Academy of Sciences]), "Bibliographic Activity in the Arab Countries."

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The founding session of the Seminar of Leningrad Afghan Scholars, organized by the LO VAV and the LO of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI, was held in January of this year. LO VAV Chief and VAV Presidium Buro member Yu.A. Petrosyan noted the importance of creating a seminar for Afghan scholars for the purpose of

coordinating their efforts and for regular academic interchange and exchange of information. In the report "The State and Tasks of the Development of Academics on Afghanistan," A.L. Gryunberg expressed sympathy on the score of the absence or lateness of information important to specialists and the lack of an Afghan-studies journal, as well as publications of translations of topical Afghan research. The level of propagation of the principal languages of Afghanistan—Pashto and Dari—is too low, and the overall national-studies training of specialists graduating from the country's higher educational institutions is poor and almost no attention is devoted to Baluchi studies. The speaker made suggestions for developing Afghan studies, improving the teaching of languages and national-studies disciplines, preparing textbooks and expanding research in the realm of the culture and language of the Baluchis. A.L. Gryunberg also emphasized the importance of developing Soviet-Afghan ties in the sphere of academics and rendering assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan in training academic personnel. G.P. Yezhov (ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa] of MGU) shared his considerations for improving the training of Afghan specialists at the country's higher educational institutions. He noted that a revision of the curriculum and the introduction of essential disciplines, including Islamic studies, are essential for this.

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A session of the Leningrad Division of the Russian Palestinian Society was held on January 15 of this year in conjunction with a set of historical and cultural research in the Near East Sector devoted to the memory of USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member N.V. Pigulevskaya. Opening the session, LO Russian Palestinian Society Chairman and group chief K.N. Yuzbashyan noted that the "Pigulevskaya readings," now traditional, are a unique memorial to that eminent researcher, who headed a number of areas in the study of the Near East for many years. In the paper "Agricultural Production in Southern Palestine According to Papyrus" (PNess, 40; 82-84), A.G. Grusheva analyzed a group of Greek-language papyrus from the 7th century from southern Palestine. V.V. Lebedev (GPB imeni Saltykov-Shchedrin), in the paper "The History of the Formation of the Store of Syrian Manuscripts of the State Public Library imeni M.Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin," reported on a list of manuscripts he had found that had been acquired by A.S. Firkovich in Aleppo and Antioch in November of 1863 that mention the Four Gospels of 1467 with parallel texts in the Syrian and Arabic languages. The place and time of acquisition of these gospels by Firkovich was unknown earlier. The paper of A.G. Lundin "On the Interaction of Cultures in Ancient Southern Arabia" was devoted to the specific features of the use of languages in southern Arabian culture and the practice of compilation of parallel texts in closely related languages. In the paper "The True Bread," Ye.N. Meshcherskaya showed that the word combination "true bread," which replaces the expression "vital bread" in the ancient

Syrian synoptic Gospels, goes back to the Capernaum sermon of the Gospels of John. The paper "Theosophy in the Life of N.V. Pigulevskaya" was presented by K.B. Starkova. I.Sh. Shifman showed in the paper "Collective and Individual Responsibility in Biblical Law" that in Judeo-Israeli law, as attested in Biblical tradition, along with depictions of the responsibility of the collective for the acts of its members, contained ideas on the individual responsibility of the person for his own deeds.

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A session of the India studies seminar was held on January 15 of this year at which the report of South and Southeast Asia sector chief G.A. Zograf on an academic trip to India in December of 1987 as part of a Soviet delegation was presented. One of its tasks was to coordinate questions of the organization of the "Friendship—Dosti. Ties Between the Peoples of the USSR and India over the Centuries" exhibition planned within the framework of the Soviet-Indian festival in New Delhi. Taking part in those discussions were the director of the National Archives of India, R.K. Perti, and the manager of the National Center for the Arts imeni Indira Gandhi, Kapila Vatsyayan. They made suggestions aimed at the development of cultural and academic ties between the USSR and India. In the opinion of Kapila Vatsyayan, the Center for the Arts and the LO of the USSR Academy of Sciences OSI have broad prospects for joint academic collaboration: information on the manuscripts preserved at the LO OSI and in India, research in the realm of references and encyclopedia and the study of terminology and folklore.

G.A. Zograf talked about the library of the Jawarhalal Nehru Memorial Museum, the work of the language-studies department of the University of New Delhi and the state of New Delhi publishing.

#### Footnotes

1. See: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1988, No 1, pp 133-137.
2. See: Ibid., No 3, pp 127-136.
3. See: Ibid., 1988, No 1, pp 138-141.
4. See: Ibid., 1987, No 4, pp 138-141.
5. See: Ibid., 1988, No 5.
6. See: Ibid., No 2, pp 118-122.

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**Capitalism in Developing World Discussed**  
*18070092h Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 pp 150-167*

[Article by M.A. Cheshkov under the rubric "Criticism and Bibliography": "The Growth of Capitalism and a General Theory of the Developing World—Discussion"]

[Text] *From the editors—Materials from a discussion of the three most significant—in the view of the editors—monographs on the problems of the evolution of the developing countries to come out in the USSR in recent years were published in the pages of the journal in 1985-87.\* M.A. Cheshkov's article continues the discussion of the most important provisions formulated in the monographs and expressed in the course of discussing them. The author of the article analyzes the achievements of Soviet Oriental scholars in this realm and proposes his own methodological and theoretical principles for constructing a general theory of the developing world.*

**Introduction.** The rise of capitalism in the developing countries in the 1970s proved to be such a sweeping and profound process that existing general theoretical conceptions on this topic were shaken: capitalism eroded multi-institutionality in a number of countries; today its development relies more and more on internal growth mechanisms and has become, to a certain extent, more autonomous from the centers of the world capitalist system; transitional and early capitalist relations have been consolidated in the area of the capitalist mode of production; and, it is difficult to define the concept of "backwardness" for a number of countries, especially in Latin America and the Far East, to the extent of the rise in the level of their development in the course of industrialization.

The lack of correspondence of these shifts to the former theory of the developing countries<sup>1</sup> has stimulated the appearance of new concepts in which the developing countries are presented as being inexorably drawn into the processes of capitalist transformation.<sup>2</sup> Such an understanding calls into question the theory of the developing countries as a subject with a commonality that generates **historically differing** paths of development<sup>3</sup>; if the difference in paths is not denied, then it is ascribed either to backwardness or to influence from without, according to which the theory of the developing countries comes out as a theory of forms or manifestations, some common outward general laws. The theory of the developing countries, in other words, is appearing more and more on the positive-content plane as a theory of an individual instance or instances of capitalist growth.

The contradictory and relative nature of the aforementioned shifts in the channel of capitalist development, however, had been revealed by the beginning of the

1980s: a dualism of contemporary capitalist and traditional structures concealed by an overall form of capitalist productive relations had replaced multi-institutionality in a number of countries; tendencies toward autonomy were impeded to a certain extent, especially when they were founded on the monopolistic disposition of energy resources (oil); the development of a second wave of scientific and technical revolution once again raised a barrier separating the centers of the world capitalist system from its periphery. The reality of other—non-capitalist—paths and methods of development, including seemingly most unexpected forms (neo-traditional, for example) was manifested anew. Depictions of the developing countries as a backward and—insofar as they remain within the framework of the world capitalist system—dependent community are being revived by virtue of the limited nature of the shifts in capitalist development and the globalization of all the contradictions characteristic of the developing countries<sup>4</sup>; whence the new impetus for theories of transitionality, multi-institutionality and especially dependence.

Against such an objective background, the theory of developing countries has proven to be at a crossroads: it is either preserved as a general theory (albeit in an old form) or it ceases to be a general theory and becomes a partial (albeit with a new look) theory of capitalist development. The problem of the substantiveness of the theory and the extent of its generalizing power for the developing countries overall arises. Attempts to resolve this dilemma—relegating some of the developing countries to the sphere of the theories of capitalist development and others "departmentally" to the old theories (dependence/backwardness) or some to the sphere of theories of capitalist development and others to the theory of socialist orientation—transform the theory of developing countries into the sum of heterogeneous—by subjects—concepts associated only by a commonality of derivation of their objects. The basic problem of the existence of a theory of developing countries as such also remains open with such an approach.

I see the solution of this problem, first of all, through the development of a theory that reflects the historically different transformation of the developing countries within the framework of the overall appearance of the topic; second, the development of this overall approach via the synthesis of existing concepts; and, third, the realization of this synthesis through summarization and, more precisely, access to higher levels of Marxist theory—general sociological and historical-philosophical ones. In other words, I will proceed from the fact that the theory of developing countries is not a theory of capitalist or socialist development and is not a theory of backward (multi-institutional, transitional) forms that still do not possess a formational quality, but rather a theory summarizing these phenomena as individual instances, as variations of the community of the developing countries. An elaboration of the general features of the genesis of this community and its operations and



transformation comprises the theme of a truly general theory in the scientific-research "area" of studying the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This depiction of a general theory can be accepted if we are able to show that such a theory is essential and possible, define its level of abstraction, origins and constituent elements and describe the principal features of the subject and its external environment.

**The necessity and possibility of a general theory of developing countries.** Such a form of theory becomes essential in direct proportion to the degree of diversification of the knowledge of the developing countries in connection with their involvement in this set of new disciplines (cultural studies, ecology, global studies, philosophy of anthropology) and the growth in practical aspirations. Although practice needs not so much a general theory as partial ones, to organize—at least—all this knowledge and the process for obtaining it is possible only with the availability of a general theory. Otherwise, knowledge of the developing countries breaks up among a series of sector sciences which, as experience demonstrates, provide nothing for either science or the sector and are just a reference apparatus for this or that department.<sup>5</sup> Practice raised in the broad sense, and especially political practice, experiences a need for just such a general theory, since without it the conflict of the developing countries in state-monopoly capitalism is reduced to inter-capitalist contradictions, while the demands of the developing countries (the struggle for a new world economic order among others) prove to be no more than ordinary bourgeois-democratic slogans devoid of any connection with the global problems of modern times. It is no accident that our political practice in all these situations, recognizing and supporting the distinctions among the developing countries, relies on the concept of the developing countries overall, which intrinsically comprises the subject of a general theory of the developing countries as well.

In Soviet literature, however, the question of the **specific nature of this community** compared to communities of other types—socio-economic, cultural and national among others—has not been posed. The question of the type of this community, i.e. the question of whether it was formed—primarily—by some single type of social relations (economic, social etc.) or by an aggregate of various and different sorts of relations (economic—political—social) has not been posed either. Finally, the question of whether this community is a formation or not remains open. A lack of clarity thus continues to exist on the score of how the traits of this community interrelate: as basic and derivative (dependence—backwardness) or on equal footing and equivalent; what is the essential set of traits of the community of developing countries and what are its types, if such traits do not include an indicator of the nature of the formation or the specific nature of this community does not comprise one. A simple listing of questions not posed and matters that are vague shows that the subject of a general theory

of the developing countries has not been theoretically revealed, and without it it is difficult (or even impossible) to resolve the issue of the integral nature and differentiation of this community and to assume, say, its disintegration in the course of differentiation, since it remains unclear just what it is that is disintegrating.

The need for a general theory is no less insistent when the discussion concerns studying the **historical boundaries** of the community of developing countries. Academic thought in recent years is striving more and more not simply to link the contemporary developing countries with pre-colonial societies, but also to extract the community of developing countries from "Oriental society," proposing an initial, i.e. beginning, form of existence for the developing countries.<sup>6</sup> This position diverges sharply from the view of the birth of the contemporary developing countries in the course of the capitalist colonization of pre-colonial societies.<sup>7</sup> A general theory can (and should) resolve the question of the initial—not chronological, but actual—boundary once again.

The turn to a general theory is stimulated by the development of quantitative and local research. Multivariate statistical work thus demonstrates the specific nature of the productive forces in the developing countries compared to the developed countries of the West, noting the high proportionate share of "spiritual productive forces" (indicators of education) compared to material factors (things).<sup>8</sup> The question thereby arises before the theory of developing countries: can this distinction be ascertained as a distinction in the types of productive forces and is it substantiated in this regard to speak of a type of productive forces suited to the community of developing countries? A general theory at the same time puts these problems before quantitative research, pointing out that the concept of the "productive forces" they utilize does not reflect the worldwide social division of labor, in this case serving the function of the most important productive force.

A general theory is called upon to summarize theoretical conclusions obtained using local materials in connection with the growing diversity within the community of developing countries. Soviet Indian scholars, for example, have advanced the concept of dualistic capitalism. The task of a general theory consists of establishing whether this concept has universal force, i.e. extending to the whole Third World, as well as correcting the concept itself, which, evidently, has a dual substance describing both the type of capitalism (unified productive relations with various types of productive forces—per G.K. Shirokov) and a dualistic social structure which is recognized as a specific type of society and not as a transitional state (per A.P. Kolontayev).

Without a suitable general theory, the organization of knowledge about the developing countries by discipline is also made more difficult. Whereas within the framework of a general theory, today's developing countries

are removed from "Oriental society," then consequently, this scientific-research "region" is also organized as part of Oriental-studies disciplines with a traditional humanities profile. Whereas the community of developing countries is linked with the colonial expansion of capitalism, knowledge of it is formed in a set of disciplines that are primarily social ones ("science of development"). Although both modes of organization do not rule each other out, their inclusion in a general—"natural habitat" (per B.M. Kedrov)—science of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America assumes some coordination of the two visions of the subject with a general theory of developing countries.

A general theory of developing countries makes it possible to correlate the theoretical knowledge obtained in this area of social science with knowledge at the level of historical materialism and to ascertain the status of that theory in relation to general Marxist sociological theory. Amalgamating our conceptions of the developing countries and correlating them with general theoretical concepts (the concept of the formation, for instance), a general theory of developing countries will constitute a solid basis for a comparative description of Marxist and non-Marxist theoretical thought for the developing countries being studied; it will make it possible, in ascertaining their profound methodological and world-view differences, to find at the same time that which is common in the structure and dynamics of the knowledge of developing countries (for example, in splitting off a special theory of developing countries from general sociological theory). This will provide more complete grounds for judging the degree of universality of the knowledge of developing countries and the actual role of Marxist theory in the science of the developing countries.

The need for a general theory of developing countries is thus defined by the needs of both political practice and intrinsic academic knowledge. Without a general theory, it is thus impossible to determine the subject of research of developing countries (and, in essence, its historical boundaries, its quantitative measurements and its local varieties); to solve methodological problems (the correlation of the historical and the logical); to organize the knowledge at hand by disciplines; and, to correlate the theoretical knowledge of developing countries with general Marxist sociology and universal knowledge of developing countries. A question, however, inevitably arises: what are the **real opportunities** for both the theory of developing countries and general theory (including so-called academic-wide approaches, especially systemic ones) to devise a general theory of developing countries?

In the realm of the theoretical study of developing countries, this opportunity is provided by the dynamics of theoretical knowledge of the basic problem—the formational nature of the community of developing countries. Conceptions of its formationality (including identification of formations and the laws of their replacement) in general outline—without dwelling in

detail on prevailing points of view<sup>9</sup>—can be fixed in the form of two ideas: multiple-form and single-form formationality. The former assumes that the community of developing countries devises no fewer than two different formational qualities simultaneously (capitalism and non-capitalist development leading to socialism); the latter postulates a single thrust in the transformation of the community of developing countries and the unequivocal nature of the formational identity acquired (either non-capitalist or capitalist development). The formationality of the developing countries in both ideas is expressed through the philosophical category of the "particular," which is thought of as a form or manifestation of the universal.<sup>10</sup>

Whereas in the 1960s the idea of multiple-form formationality predominated in domestic literature on developing the countries (with an emphasis on the promise of non-capitalist development), in the 1970s (especially after the appearance of N.A. Simoniya's book "The Countries of the Orient: Paths of Development." Moscow, 1975) the idea of single-form formationality in its capitalist versions has gradually come to predominate. Taking as a reference point the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, when the theory of developing countries took shape in its contemporary form, it can be asserted that theoretical thought (the idea of formationality) has passed through the stages of "thesis" and "antithesis" and that the logic of the triadic nature of knowledge is bringing the theory to the stage of a synthesis of both ideas of formationality.

The law of a triadic nature contains the possibility of synthesis only in most general form—in connection with the laws of gnosiological procedure. The theory of developing countries itself contains real possibilities, however: attempts to realize them were first undertaken on the basis of combining the concepts of multi-institutionality, dependence and transitionality—the first-generation concepts (A.I. Levkovskiy, V.G. Rastyannikov); then through a synthesis of the concept of capitalism and "Oriental society" ("The Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Modern." Moscow, 1984), tradition and world contemporary and endogenous development ("The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress." Moscow, 1983); and, finally, within the framework of the concept of a non-articulated secondary formation.<sup>11</sup> How successful were these efforts if we proceed from this understanding of a general theory of developing countries as a theory of a community able to generate historically different transformations? The synthesis of old concepts (first generation) is entirely realistic, since they are all complementary and do not rule each other out, but they do not reflect the growth of capitalism in new forms and on a new scale, while the choice of various paths of development is explained by the influence of world systems. A synthesis on such a theoretical basis has proven to be ineffective, and these attempts themselves have not left an appreciable mark on the theory of developing countries.

The first two of the three second-generation concepts, reflecting (albeit in different fashion) the processes of capitalist development, rule out all other paths (or directions) of development and, with all of their powerful aspects, cannot in principle become the basis of a summary synthesis; they are not even oriented toward such a synthesis, which has been set as the "triadic rhythm of theoretical knowledge." Only the concept of a non-articulated secondary formation is oriented toward a synthesis of this type, since it assumes that the community of developing countries is constituted by two societal principles (collectivist and private property)<sup>12</sup> and is thus immanent, i.e. inner, and not under influence from without, and simultaneously generates divergent transformations. This concept thereby includes on a new and broader theoretical basis—as individual ones—the concepts of capitalist (in various versions) and non-capitalist development, as well as depictions of other attendant versions of development. It also includes a first-generation theory: the concept of dependence is preserved to explain the mechanism of the disarticulation of institutions and modes of production; multi-institutionality is presented in the form of an idea (but not a concept) of the equal footing of various forms of social relations; transitionality, meanwhile, obtains a broader content (transition from a secondary to a tertiary macroformation).

Both the logic of the triadic nature of the knowledge process and the advancement of the concept of the non-articulated secondary formation seemingly provide grounds to consider that the development of the theory of developing countries is entering a phase wherein the principal method of knowing is becoming synthesis and not analysis.<sup>13</sup> This evaluation, however, would be premature. The fact is that the resurrection of the idea of multiple formationality within the framework of the theory of developing countries—as a synthesis of ideas of multiple and unequivocal formationality—is made more difficult by the fact that up to now, plurality was explained by the diversity of the conditions of each country, i.e. this concept was essentially formulated at a lower level of the theory of the formation—at the level of its concretization. Only at that level could the ability of the community of developing countries to develop simultaneously in several different directions—despite the postulates of formation theory<sup>14</sup>—be explained. By coming to the synthesis phase, a general theory thus should have solved the problem of the first stage of the process of theoretical knowledge, imparting a basic rather than an applied substantiation to the idea of plurality. A similar problem also arose in the case of the concept of the non-articulated secondary formation: in assuming the equal footing of alternative paths of development and the forms accompanying them, this concept came into contradiction with formation theory, or more precisely with the law of the successive replacement of formations. It turned out that **devising a general theory of developing countries comes up against its correlation with formation theory: the emergence of a general theory of developing countries is impossible without the solution of**

**this problem.** This theoretical situation could be defined as follows: analysis has already ceased, while synthesis has not yet become the principal method of knowledge in this realm of social science, which is making the synthesis through summarization that is so essential extremely difficult.

**Toward a synthesized general theory of developing countries.** The concept of the non-articulated secondary formation, in my opinion, could be utilized as the foundation for this—summary—synthesis; its expansion into a suitable theory depends on what its correlation with the theory of formations and general sociological theory (historical materialism) overall will be. This problem of correlation is very acute: if it proceeds from the most general concept of the "formation" (the successive-stage replacement of steps, or successive progress by stages), then this concept, having noted the possibility of synthesis of individual partial theories, shifts to the level of a model making concrete the concept and the theory of the formation. And this signifies the acceptance—as a general idea—of unequivocal formationality in its versions of the capitalist path and a rejection of a general theory of developing countries thereby. The problem of correlations is thus so much worse that **the theory of formations provides no opportunity for the development of a general theory of developing countries, while the development of a general theory of developing countries proves to be possible only outside formation theory.** And this contradiction is no accident: it seems that the theory of the formation in its most general form (leaving aside the identification of individual formational elements) does not permit an understanding of the profound reality of either the colonial or the post-colonial world, while its recognition as a general theoretical framework for studying the developing countries is the tribute paid by research on the developing countries to this theory by virtue of its persistence as a most important component of old—before the era of restructuring—historical-materialistic knowledge.

Without touching here on the problems of pre-colonial societies and the "Asian mode of production" as going beyond the framework of the view of the subject of a theory of the developing countries I am considering, I would emphasize that Marxist thought of the 20th century, having preserved the Marxian concept of the extremely contradictory development of the colonial world, acknowledged the possibility of its transformation in two social forms—through capitalism (M.N. Roy) and non-capitalism (V.I. Lenin), which was also consolidated in the political practices of the communist and national-liberation movement (2nd Comintern Congress, 1920).<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, having postulated its dualistic development as a phenomenon of the colonially dependent world overall rather than of individual countries, Marxist practice has ascertained a violated of the Marxist theory of formational development. Postwar development (1950s-1970s) has provided even more significant deviations from the postulates of the theory of formations<sup>16</sup>:

1. The transformation of the developing countries was clearly manifested as a dualistic and thus non-stage process.
2. The tendency toward regression (relative), despite progressive shifts, has grown so much stronger (hunger, for example) that it has adopted the nature and scope of a particular world problem ("backwardness").
3. Formations have appeared that are difficult to identify in conformity with the five-member classification of formations (non-capitalist, "transitional," neo-traditional and bureaucratic-capitalist societies).
4. The formational delimitation of paths of development has not undermined the community of developing countries, but has proceeded in parallel with its consolidation and institutionalization.

These digressions of reality from formation theory (or anomalies from the point of view of that theory) reflected some fundamental properties of the object, and moreover not only "individual" ones, but universal ones as well, expressing not only a specific feature of the universal, but also the universality of the particular.<sup>17</sup> The influence of world processes characteristic of the contemporary era had an effect on the properties of the latter type—world scientific and technical revolution, the co-existence of two systems and the birth of a world community with its own specific (global) problems. The role of ideal factors (science among others) in the system of new productive forces is growing to the extent of the development of world scientific and technical revolution, which signifies (at the very least) a relativization of the primacy of material production and material mechanisms of determination in the processes of social evolution. This foundation of formational development is thus becoming limited: the influence of material production and material mechanisms is more and more conditioned and mediated by the action of other factors and mechanisms determining social development in any case. The co-existence of world systems under the conditions of military scientific (or military-space today) revolution is becoming the inevitable and sole means for the survival of humanity, and it is not reduced to a temporary situation of "transition" from one formational era to another. The stage-by-stage replacement of formations in a context of military-space revolution cannot be just a means of development, but also a means of the survival of mankind; it can also become a path to its destruction. The way out of the dead end of formationality that has been detected bears within it the worldwide historical process itself, which, engendering various mechanisms of internationalization (contacts, production, culture), thereby creates the preconditions for relations of a world-systemic order and calls to life a new type of contradiction at the level of those relations—the so-called global problems.

All of these processes are reflected in the fate of the community of developing countries, but overall it demonstrates the limited nature—on a worldwide scale—of

formationality as a historically special type or mode of development characterizing ascending (progressive) movement in a system of successive replacement of stage structures based on a certain type of productive relations ("basis") and the primacy of material production. The limited nature of formationality as a type of expansion of worldwide history makes it possible to doubt that the community of developing countries will develop in a formational "mode" or, as some authors feel, it will move from non-formationality (multi-institutionality, backwardness) to formationality. The historical time frame for the formational type of development, it seems, has been exhausted. The objectively limited nature of this mode of development also signifies the limited nature of formation theory as a tool for general theoretical knowledge, including knowledge of the community of developing countries. The development of a general theory of developing countries can apparently proceed today just by moving beyond the bounds of formation theory as a result of just this limited nature.

"Going beyond the bounds" of formation theory is being realized in the development of a theory of developing countries at the level of general sociological<sup>18</sup> knowledge with its problems of society overall and types of it that have today been "rehabilitated" in historical-materialistic knowledge (the works of Yu.K. Pletnikov and V.N. Shevchenko among others). In any case, with such a vision the intrinsically historical-materialistic (general sociological) theory is not exhausted by formation theory, which corresponds entirely to contemporary aspirations to enrich historical materialism, having developed those elements of its structure that do not take shape in the concept of the formation (say, the theories of culture and the personality). At the new level of knowledge, the basic subject of a theory of developing countries becomes either a specific social entity in its historically different forms, a type of cultural activity or a type of personality (if we divide the problems of culture and the personality). In any of these treatments of the subject, its research requires a theory of the formation: the latter is **essential** but insufficient for the solution of the problems of the developing countries due to the limited power of summarization. In other words, formation theory is not jettisoned with the move to a new level of knowledge of the developing countries, it is relativized and transformed from a tool of universal cognitive force into a partial method of cognition.

In view of the current state of knowledge about the developing countries, the development of a general theory of them on this—conditionally—superformational<sup>19</sup> level is sooner realized on the basis of a **socio-historical** approach than a cultural-studies or socio-anthropological one. The latter is hardly suited to objective. The second is insufficiently divided in its general theoretical ("spiritual production") and concrete disciplinary functions; it is moreover impossible to find some fundamental traits of the community of developing countries as a whole (by reason of cultural distinctions within the framework of it) on the basis of it.

The socio-historical approach, on the contrary, can, using the Marxian idea of the "community" (*Gemeinwesen*), rely on the concept of the dualistic community,<sup>20</sup> as well as a number of other ideas and concepts that are selected proceeding from their conformity to the key concept—dualistic community—and not according to the principle of "something good from each." Among its preconditions or, more precisely, constituent elements are: the idea of non-formational development (A.I. Medovoy and V.A. Yashkin); the idea of the equal footing of institutions (in the concept of multi-institutionality of A.I. Levkovskiy) and the traits of the community of developing countries (within the framework of the multiple-criteria approach of V.L. Sheynis); the idea of global dependence (see: "The Developing Countries: General Features, Trends, Perspectives." Moscow, 1974); the concept of "non-articulation" (M.A. Cheshkov); the principle of the co-existence of formationally heterogeneous elements in colonial society (from the concepts of transitionality of A.I. Levkovskiy and the description of the "combined society" from "The Evolution of Oriental Societies..."); and, the concepts of the "development mechanism" and "the interconnection of economics and the social entity" (see: "The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress"). All of these tenets and principles can be included in an initial concept that can theoretically be called the **concept of societal dualism** (see: "The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity.: Moscow, 1983).

Very close to it in essence is the idea of non-formational development. It was interpreted, however, in such a way that the lack (still) of the traits of the capitalist formation in the developing countries in the face of the impossibility (by now) of the emergence of the socialist formation, while the community of developing countries had been broken up into parts, one of which was already not formational (multi-institutional, backward, dependent), while the other was already formational (primarily in the channel of capitalist development); the process of development is reduced to the replacement of non-formatinality with formationality. This dichotomous picture of the community of developing countries was based on the substitution of the problem of formationality as a type (mode) of development with the problem of concrete formational identification. Such a substitution became possible (and moreover essential) insofar as a concept of the formation had until recently not been formulated at all in formation theory itself.

In the process of the changes occurring in domestic philosophical and historical-materialistic thought, certain preconditions have taken shape that "work" in a general theory of developing countries. The latter relies not only on special academic knowledge (the concept of societal dualism and a number of other ideas), but also on preconditions in the sphere of philosophical and historical-materialistic theory. These include an understanding of the movement as an aggregate of processes in which regression and turnabout are on an equal footing

with progress, a recognition of several treatments of the concept of the "formation" in the works of K. Marx, the concept of the socio-economic formation in general, an understanding of the interconnection of the social entity and the formation as generic and specific concepts, an analysis of social production in its three hypostases (material, spiritual, social) and a recognition of mechanisms of determination that differ in their thrust (unequivocal, probabilistic) and nature (economic, non-economic).<sup>21</sup> The important preconditions also contain general academic knowledge (especially, a systemic approach and the concepts of being an organism and organic development) and a methodology of cognition (approach to cognition as a multi-level process in which the stages are distinguished by level of abstraction and their subject). Such are the constituent elements (societal dualism and ideas close to it) and preconditions for general theoretical knowledge of the developing countries (or, formulated more precisely, its highest level).

Before moving on directly to the basic provisions of the general theoretical concept, it is necessary to dwell briefly on a most important methodological problem—the correlation of the historical and the logical. It arises at two points: in determining the beginning (initial) boundary of the subject and correlating the internal and external factors of its objective reality. The logical and the historical coincide to the extent that the initial boundary is the colonial expansion of the West into pre-colonial societies.<sup>22</sup> Matters are more complicated with the second point: external factors determined the formation of the object itself, and we, it would seem, should begin the study namely with those that would have violated the logic of cognition. The problem can be resolved in this manner: external factors are considered not in their purely external objective reality, but rather as internalized properties of the object. After analysis of such immanent, i.e. internal, properties, it is justified to consider external factors as well, but now in the form that they take on as the **external environment** of the given object. An exposition of the concept should thus be broken down into two basic parts: a description of the immanent properties (genesis, functioning, dynamics) and an analysis of the influence of the environment on the object under study. The concept itself is set forth as follows: the basic parameters of the community of developing countries, the categories associated with them, substantive features, and remaining problems of study. The object is considered successively in such important aspects as genesis (the mode of appearance and time measurements), the mode of social organization, the type and scope of the community, elements and methods of interaction among them and dynamic processes, as well as their possible ultimate results.

#### **Specific Features of the Genesis, Functioning and Dynamics of the Community of Developing Countries**

**Genesis and specific nature of time.** The genesis (mode of appearance) of our object—the community of the developing countries—is different in principle from that

which is postulated in formation theory, since the community of developing countries arises not in a process of successive-stage replacement of formational articulations, but in the interaction of polar formations—both on the plane of their place in the five-part formational “ladder” (capital and “barbaric backwardness”)<sup>23</sup> and on the cultural plane. In the course of expansion outside, capital not only modifies, but also directly creates new “editions” of “barbaric backwardness” (for example, “Yavan communism”), slavery (West Indies) and feudalism (latifundios in Latin America). In the course of such a genesis, an inversion of major formational articulations (capitalism—pre-capitalism) and their inner subdivisions (“monopoly capitalism—pre-monopoly capitalism,” per Aya de la Torre, and “imperialism—capitalism” per B. Warren) is not manifested alone. Insofar as the reproduction of capital (within the framework of a certain type of emerging world division of labor) is conditioned by the reproduction of pre-capitalist forms in a new “edition” (and vice versa), in this case it is not only the principle of stages that is violated in this or that form (say, through inversion), and the “European type of stages” is irreproducible (V.L. Sheynis), while the **genesis itself develops according to the principle of stages**. This method of appearance also possesses a particular socio-historical time that is devoid of ascending vector singularity (time-arrow) and is realized in several directions with different vectors (i.e. have the look of a time-pulse). This specific nature of the time measurement has an effect on all remaining aspects of the object: from the interconnection of its constituent and forming elements to the type of development.<sup>24</sup> A description of the genesis requires the solution of some theoretical problems. First of all, its specific nature is not exhausted by the generally accepted theory of the decisive role of “external factors” in this process: a reference to the role of the external “environment” is essential but insufficient, since it does not permit the distinction of the community of the developing countries from the countries of the so-called second echelon of capitalism (see: “The Evolution of Oriental Societies...”). This factor should therefore be supplemented with an indication of a lack of stages, which radically alters the nature of this object and makes it possible to bring the first and second echelons of capitalism beyond the bounds of it. Second, it is necessary to pose the question of the initial boundary of the community of developing countries: despite the tendency to remove its “origins” into the deep past—to “Oriental society”—I date the beginning of this process at colonization, since the community of developing countries had not generated either the development, or the more so the disintegration, of “Oriental society.”<sup>25</sup> Such can be considered only a condition or a precondition, but in no way the origin of the emergence of the community of developing countries, a condition that was, albeit essential, far from sufficient (compare the southern United States). The problem of the initial boundary can be solved more precisely by determining the mode of social organization of the community of developing countries.

**Mode of social organization.** The nature of the community of the developing countries already cannot be defined in terms of productive relations by virtue of the level of abstraction (super-formational) that has been adopted. We will therefore be unable to express the organization (integral nature) of this community through the interaction of two types of productive relations—capital and “barbaric backwardness”—either, but we should rather seek more general categories. Such categories are societal, i.e. organizing society overall, the “origins” are collectivist and property-owning, as employed by K. Marx in analyzing the rural commune. Their transference from the *Gemeinwesen* to the developing countries has already been substantiated,<sup>26</sup> and it is enough to note here that there are no “origins,” as is sometimes felt, that are a purely axiological (value) category, but there is a “synthesized” description of social relations that combines evaluative-axiological and theoretical-cognitive functions, as is characteristic, for example, of the category of “alienation.”<sup>27</sup> Proceeding from the specific nature of the genesis of the community of developing countries, it can be considered that it is **constituted** of these “origins,” which were historically provided from without (property-owning) and within (collectivist in its Asian-patriarchal form) respectively. Dualism distinguishes this type of social organization from monist formations<sup>28</sup>; another distinction consists of the fact that this dualism is also stageless, as are all other elements or relations of the community of the developing countries, and therefore the alternatives here do not constitute clearly expressed successive stages. The combination of these “origins,” their mutual intertwining, and especially the internalization of the property-owning “origin,” is also the prime mover of the dynamics of the community of developing countries. The category “origin” has an undoubted heuristic value, since it makes it possible to note the impossibility of still-unknown forms of both “origins” and combinations of them (for example, of the type of state capitalism). The category of stageless dualism is also useful on the level that it can become a point of departure, if not for the solution of the problem of the actual historical boundary of the community of developing countries, then for an understanding of how pre-colonial and colonial societies are linked together. The nature of the former can be expressed through the category of natural-organic dualism, and the latter through the category of socio-non-organic dualism. Both the historical continuity and the historical schism of these types of societies can be considered through the prism of the replacement of these two types of dualism. This will make it possible to avoid two widespread errors: the direct removal of colonial society from a pre-colonial state (with references to their historical ties) and the transference of the traits of the colonial state (multi-institutionality, dualism) onto “Oriental society.”<sup>29</sup> The relations among the constituent “origins” are relations of alienation, the subject of which are the attributes of the collectivist “origin” (social functions and interests, values, needs, social



labor, national and other, including Third World, identity). These relations are realized through various mechanisms of exploitation (appropriation and alienation of labor and the personality of the producer), rule-subjection (alienation of will, including state sovereignty) and dependence (alienation of consciousness through an imitative style of thought and quasi-universal values among others).<sup>30</sup>

**The spatial aspect.** Since the "origins" that constitute the community of the developing countries are realized in the processes of world expansion and world interchange, the community itself is not reduced to contacts among social entities (a term of Yu.I. Semenov), but is a formation of a world-systemic type—both in scope and in genesis (history, becoming worldwide). The community of developing countries is both an expression of internationalization (contacts and structures) and a special entity for the articulation of this structural and procedural integrity (the world community). In its first historical form, it is a function of the world capitalist system and appears as a periphery of it; its second historical form has an effect on the processes of interaction of the two world systems and within the framework of the world community, including the community of the developing countries and both systems; in each of its forms it strives toward autonomy. The community of the developing countries does not rule out other, smaller articulations in its structure (regions, pan-regions, countries, international associations) and comes forth as super-societal, i.e. defined through the interaction between the different social organisms and the mode of formation of those entities, just part of which are the essence of truly national formations subject to consideration at more specific stages of research.

**Elements (essential relations).** The rudimentary makeup of the community of developing countries—aside from its constituent "origins"—includes two types of social relations—capitalist and pre-capitalist—the presence of which is essential and sufficient for the functioning of that community. These types of essential relations are only analogous to the relations of the corresponding specific formations, since as opposed to the latter they are devoid of stage definiteness. They also correlate with these formationally defined relations, as, say, industrial slavery in the United States in the 19th century with slavery in antiquity, or as latifundism in Latin America in the 19th century with the same slavery and with Western European feudalism. In other words, capitalism in the community of developing countries of the era of colonial dependence is not the normal stage of capitalism, but a unique traditionalized capitalism, in the same way as the pre-capitalist relations are not so much pre- as non-capitalist relations that are a modification, form or emanation of capitalism as a world system. As it is erroneous to equate these complexes (in the terms of modernization theory) with "contemporary" and "traditional," it is also erroneous to see "clusters" of modes of production (capitalist and pre-capitalist) in the community of developing countries. A common methodological

error lies at the basis of both of these symmetrically erroneous equations: the social relations are investigated only in their substationary form, outside of time measurement. And so elements of the community of developing countries are transformed forms of the relations, transformed not only on a temporal plane (stagelessness), but on a functional plane as well (capital in the function of pre-capital; the community in the function of goods producer).

**Mode of interconnections.** The transformed nature of the elements of the community of developing countries is also manifested in the specific nature of the functioning of the mechanisms of their mutual contacts, which are constructed in a parallel rather than sequential mode. The parallelism does not simply "make more difficult," but in principle makes problematic, the reduction of certain types of relations to others (ideologies or, more broadly, awarenesses—of economic or social existence) and the synthesis of the basic varieties of social relations (non-capitalist and capitalist; quasi-traditional and quasi-contemporary). The emergence of productive relations before the state of their integrity (institutions), the transformation of institutions into modes of production and the latter into homogeneous formations are thus problematical. This specific feature is manifested at the current stage of growth of capitalism as well and has been recorded by researchers (G.K. Shirikov, V.G. Rastyanikov) as "poly-stage capitalism," which in the terms used here is a manifestation of a stageless existence of all forms of capital. A parallel type of interconnections makes the norm of the functioning of the community of developing countries **into not a synthesis, but a symbiosis**; whence not so much a "lack of coordination" (as is erroneously noted in the literature on developing countries) of certain types of relations (social entity—economy) as their **coordination by means of multiple-stage mechanisms**, including a large quantity of links with the functions of contact, mediation and transformation (transformations or reformations). This orients us toward the rejection of thinking that relies on "unbroken and unmediated opposites,"<sup>31</sup> and a transition to thinking able to represent the object in all the wealth of its articulations, interconnections and transformations.

**Type of differentiation (the problem of "spheres").** The stagelessness (timelessness) of the genesis of the community of developing countries and the dualism constituting, it together with the effect of the mechanism of dependence, markedly alter the processes that differentiate certain types of relations from others (economics—politics—ideology; basis—superstructure) in this community. These relations, of course, are functionally and structurally specialized within the community of developing countries and in this sense are distinguished from each other by the **differentiation** of certain types of social relations as "spheres" or "levels" of the social entity, since the operative mechanisms functioning in parallel fashion determine the growing intertwined and built-in nature of these specialized relations. The specialization of "spheres" without their consolidation in the form of

"levels" of the social entity is conditioned and characteristic of the modern social entity in general (under the conditions of world scientific and technical revolution) by the relativity of the articulation of it on the basis and the superstructure. This functional articulation actually runs throughout for all types of relations, i.e. the basis is not reduced to productive relations, while the superstructure to non-economic ones, as the converse: productive relations are not exhausted by their basis function, or non-economic ones by their superstructure function. As a result, the community of developing countries, as opposed to traditional communities, is functionally specialized, but as opposed to other (Western) types of contemporary social entity, is not differentiated into autonomous subsystems; the effects of the mechanisms of alienation and the reaction to them more and more strengthen this "specialized non-differentiability" characteristic of the social entity of the community of developing countries. This conception, however, is in need of more precise postulation of the question of spheres and their existence as levels of the social entity and the types of relations essential for the given entity<sup>32</sup> or determining it (by analogy, for example, with politics in ancient society or religion in feudal society), which ultimately goes back to the nature of the given community (its non-organic nature).

**Genotype.** This theoretical-descriptive depiction of the genesis and functioning of a community of developing countries is summarized in a description of its genotype formed by the "gens" of stagelessness and duality, which, in my opinion, is more precise, since definitions of this object as a heterogeneous, conglomerative or "sum-mative" one do not make it possible to reveal the unique nature of the formation under consideration. I would emphasize that this non-organic genotype took shape in the colonial era. The view (B.I. Slavnyy) of the community of developing countries as a formation possessing a "traditional social model" with colonial heredity<sup>33</sup> is thus excluded here, as is the description of the developing countries through a "social genotype of the Orient" (Yu.K. Ostrovityanov). If the pre-colonial "gens" contains the genotype (dualism) as it is understood here, then it is in modified form.<sup>34</sup>

**Dynamics of the community of developing countries.** The transition from the study of the genotype to the study of dynamics has cardinal significance not only on the plane of methodology, but also for devising a non-contradictory general theory of developing countries. It is namely this approach, however, that comprises the problem, judging by the gaping logical gap between an analysis of colonial and post-colonial societies. Thus, in "The Evolution of Oriental Societies..." colonial society is described as a formed "co-existence of formationally diverse elements" and, at the same time—which, in my opinion, is ruled out—postulates its development (basically via state tools) as a one-way and unequivocal process. I will try to remove this contradiction, without the resolution of which, I repeat, an integral general theory of the developing countries is impossible.<sup>35</sup> A

non-organic or, more precisely, stageless-dualistic genotype also determines the specific nature of the dynamics of the community of developing countries: it appears devoid of self-development<sup>36</sup>—as that aggregate of processes and types of movement in which ascending or progressive movement (from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher) is just one of its possible varieties. Progress as a type of dynamic for the community of developing countries is accompanied by "deviations" (see: "The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress") and movements of other types, but in scope and significance they do not look to be simply deviations (dead ends, stagnation, backward, cyclical or directionless movement); all of these are components of the movement of the community of developing countries and its transformation equivalent to progress. Progress is in turn realized, as a rule, according to the principle of so-called regressive surmounting ("supposed return to the old," according to V.I. Lenin<sup>37</sup>). Such an aggregate of dynamic processes is more correctly defined as **transformation** than "development" (one method of movement) or "transition," especially because its "end" point is presented as several equally possible social forms.

Such an ultimate state of the processes of transformation is conditioned once again by the stageless-dualistic genotype, which imparts to it the appearance of a multitude of processes with differing historical vectors—alternative and attendant (see: "The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity"). The multiple, multi-directional and multi-valued (equivalent) nature of these processes expresses the **historical relativity** of each of them and their reversibility (as testified to by the experience of the collectivist transformations in the PRC, non-capitalist development in Egypt and capitalist modernization in Iran). The structures that arise in the course of such transformations ("development structures") are not only plentiful (polymorphous), but are also similar to each other (isomorphous), as is shown by an analysis of bureaucratic capitalism.<sup>38</sup> The dynamics of the community of developing countries, taking into account the multiple and multi-directional nature of the processes of transformation and the relativity and reversibility of all of the versions of it, appear to be probabilistic—distinct both from statistical-probabilistic and strictly deterministic dynamics. It is now becoming understandable that the results of such movement are set by the very probabilistic nature of the movement of the community of developing countries and cannot be explained by references to the "unusual diversity of conditions" of the developing world or influences on it from without.

I would emphasize that among a series of ultimate states, social forms that are more or less homogeneous and integral are possible (more precisely, probable). It is namely on that basis that the conclusion is drawn, as a rule, that these or those formational systems whose nature does not differ fundamentally from the nature of world formational systems (capitalism in a number of



developing countries, for example) arose in the course of the transformation of the community of developing countries. In acknowledging the possibility of the formation of homogeneous wholes and—moreover—extracting this possibility from the mode of transformation (stageless and probabilistic)<sup>39</sup> of the community of developing countries, we do not have sufficient grounds to equate such formations with the organisms of formational procedure. One cannot agree with such evaluations in the face of reservations of the sort that the formations arise just as part of the developing countries, while the remaining body (of countries? population?) remains (still) outside the processes making the formations. These reservations contradict the descriptions of the genotype and the dynamics of the community of developing countries that are being proposed here.

The equation of homogeneous wholes with formations, in my opinion, is based on a distortion of the concept of "formation,"<sup>40</sup> namely with a premature (and, of course, implicit) reduction of this category to an expression of just one aspect of the object—its substantiality—and the determination of its formational identity. The specifically dynamic aspect of the concept of the "formation" is entirely removed from it with such a treatment: the mode of expansion (ascending progressive movement), correlation of articulations in this movement (successive-stage) and mode of replacement of these articulations (strictly deterministic—one-way and unequivocal). We cannot find one of these fundamental dynamic traits of the concept of the "formation" in the course of transformation of the community of developing countries, where, as was noted above, progress is equivalent to regression, the principle of stagelessness rules and the replacement of "qualities" occurs in the form of multidirectional and diverse movements. Finally, the growing homogeneous wholes are the result of a stageless-probabilistic process, and not the essential by-products of the one-way, unequivocal and strictly deterministic movement that is formational development. We are therefore dealing with non-formational formations or—in a softer form—formations that have been created by a non-formational method that are close to formations embodying the natural historical process,<sup>41</sup> like artificial rubber to natural rubber,<sup>42</sup> in these homogeneous wholes.

Such a view of some of the possible results of the transformations of developing countries seems productive. First and foremost because it points out the marked differences of these quasi-formations from world systemic analogues and thus points toward the revelation of the specific contradictions between—theoretically—"natural" and "artificial" formations. The existence of both types of formations reflects, if not the withering away, then the **limited nature and historical limitedness of the formational type of development.**

The latter is also confirmed by the appearance of quasi-formations or formations created in a non-formational manner. In its most general form, this reflects the contradiction between the structural (substantive) and the

dynamic aspects of formationality that form the internally limited nature of this mode of development. Whence the necessity of delimiting new historical modes of development that move toward the replacement of formationality (including—and especially—on a global scale). Quasi-formationality also resolves the paradox noted by V.L. Sheynis: "The communities of East and West, advancing at different times from different points and moving along various trajectories, are encountered at a common point in contemporary capitalism." This "encounter" here looks like a meeting of analogues or similarities among which there is such a commonality as there is among non-organic and organic products.

And so, in the aggregate (genesis, functioning and dynamics), a description of the community of developing countries in its initial historical state looks like this: a non-organic and non-historical formation possessing a stageless-dualistic genotype and probabilistic mode of transformation: this is a community and not a structure (if we accept that a structure is an invariant, then the community of developing countries is an astructural community, i.e. does not have in principle some definite, unequivocal core). The question arises of to what extent such a community is modified upon entering into interaction with the external environment—world formational systems—and becoming a component of the world community as a whole.

**The community of developing countries in the external world environment.** The transition to these problems requires some methodological elaborations. First of all, is this community comparable with world formational systems, and second, what is the world community? The solution to the first problem is obvious: the formation and the non-formational community in and of themselves are not comparable. The solution of the second is more complex, since a conception of the world community has not yet been developed. In my understanding, it is a formation having as its foundation the aggregate of relations established among formational and non-formational communities, but the relations that cannot be reduced to the interconnections of these components (i.e. their interchange). The relations arising on this (planetary) level are relations on the score of devising new, non-formational, types of development on a world scale, development resolving the contradictions of that level (so-called global problems). Within the framework of this—global—community, all of its components are comparable, notwithstanding the differences of both societal organizations (two monist and one dualistic), "classes" (organic and non-organic), and formational qualities. The activity of mankind in devising a new and really universal and genuinely civilized mode of development that not only goes beyond the bounds of formationality, but surmounts it, albeit on different foundations—organic (in world formations) and non-organic (in the community of developing countries) with the disintegration of the limited nature of one order into the limited nature of another order (in world formations) or with the breakup of non-organic—organic natures,

astructurality—structurality, non-historicism—historicism (in the community of developing countries) serves as a general criterion for this.

These methodological elaborations are essential so as to substantiate the comparability of the developing countries with formations that are world-systemic but of other orders (formations) and avoid comparisons of incomparable values according to some general indicators (breakup of formationality). The criterion of formationality entirely logically excludes the community of developing countries from the interaction of formations or imparts to it the status of some appendage to this or that world formation, reducing it to the field of the struggle of those systems, i.e. puts theory in the position of systemocentrism contradicting the aspirations, interests and social consciousness of the developing countries. An incorrect theory here becomes the substantiation (and means) of erroneous policy.

On the basis of these observations, we will briefly consider the metamorphosis of the community of developing countries at both levels of world systemic relations (world formations—the global community). The relations of the community of developing countries with world formational systems, as was noted above, are the relations of an object and its "environment." Material herein are whether quasi-formationality (a potential variation of transformation) in the interaction of the community of developing countries with world formations taken both separately and in their interconnections becomes a reality. The influence of the world capitalist system on the community of developing countries on the plane of the realization of quasi-formationality (capitalist) is equivocal: in being drawn into the world capitalist system, the community of developing countries undoubtedly acquires a certain synonymity; at the same time, the influence of capital strengthens inequality (the gaps in the structure of growing capitalism, especially its polystagism), which violates not only the integrity, but also the qualitative homogeneity of this formation, making it "dualistic." The influence of the world socialist system on its analogues in the developing world is more unequivocal, although its influence on the developing countries proceeding along the capitalist path can diminish their homogeneity, as can the influence of the world capitalist system on the socialist-oriented countries. The interactions between both world formations also hardly facilitate greater homogeneity of the community of developing countries and sooner strengthen dualism and stagelessness, i.e. the properties characteristic of this community in its specific genotype. It is evidently well-founded to conclude that the influence of both world formational systems (both separately and in their mutual contacts) gives no decisive impetus whatsoever to the transition from potential to actual quasi-formational entities. It is true that with this conclusion we are not taking into account the formation of intrinsic mechanisms of economic growth in the developing countries (see: "The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress"), since such comprise the subject of

subsequent stages of research. Whereas this influence basically undermines neither the genotype nor the mode of transformation of the community of developing countries, the various processes of differentiation among countries must be considered—once again within the framework of the given level of analysis<sup>43</sup>—as an expression not of the collapse of the community, but rather of intrinsic reproduction or—at the maximum—movement beyond its boundaries. The latter phenomenon has an extremely specific form when this or that link, being an element of the community of developing countries, is linked at the same time not only with world formations, but also becomes part of their reproductive processes (especially the world capitalist system), or else is simultaneously coupled with both world formational systems. The appearance of entities with such triple affiliation has not yet taken on significant scope, but it seems promising, since the foundations (preconditions?) for the relations of the global community are taking shape thereby.

Leaving aside the undoubtedly important theoretical problem of the components of the world community, I emphasize that the principal problem for the community of developing countries at this global level is not at all reduced to whether the potential quasi-formational entities will become reality or not. The problem consists of the transformation of the very type of the community of developing countries itself from non-organic to organic. The link between the solution of this problem (the transformation of the community of developing countries from non-organic into an object of an organic class) and the emerging global community<sup>44</sup> are conditioned by the nature of the community of developing countries as a non-organic formation, in other words, a formation that is not self-sufficient. The community of developing countries is thus in need of this global formation of mankind: but the latter in turn is in need of it as an individual component equal to its other components—the world formational systems. The devising of a new non-formational type of development and the creation of a genuine (universal) civilization is impossible without the community of developing countries, since that also assumes the elimination of trends toward leveling and quasi-universality and a need for diversity in world civilization. It must also be acknowledged that in becoming a function of the world community, the community of developing countries in this sense does not differ from other components of it: in our time not a single world systemic formation, including world formations, is self-sufficient—only the world community overall and "world development" is.<sup>45</sup> The advantages of each of its parts will correspondingly be measured not by their ability to solve intrinsic problems (formational, quasi-formational), but rather by their contribution to the resolution of contradictions and problems at the global level, i.e. first and foremost the solution of the problem of the survival of mankind, which is the highest measure in evaluations of the comparative progressivity of each of the constituent elements of the world community.

\* \* \*

In conclusion I would like to note once more that the concept being proposed in no way pretends to construct a general theory of developing countries; it is called upon to fill in a lacuna in the theoretical knowledge of developing countries that has been discovered in connection with the limited applicability of formation theory toward this object and the need of the theory of developing countries itself for synthesis. The development of this higher stratum of theoretical knowledge on developing countries requires not only the criticism of old concepts and the advancement of new ones, but also changes in the mode of theoretical thinking and a transition to a probabilistic style of thought. An expansion (and thereby a verification) of this type of general theory of developing countries is, of course, essential, not only in the basic substantiations and parameters, but also via its expansion in the form of movement from the abstract to the concrete, where we will necessarily have to deal with formation theory, and moreover logically on an amalgamated scale (macro-formations), and then with its usual variety (five-part, applied, of course, on a more and more narrow scale). It seems, however, that in this form—extremely abstract and schematic—this concept is most useful in performing some tasks of theoretical synthesis without rejecting former theories of the developing countries, but rather relativizing them via raising the level of abstraction and introducing general academic concepts and methods.

The concept that has been advanced also shows what the basic complexity of an analysis of the developing countries signifies for the social sciences. The latter, after all, have been developed using the objects of an organic "class" with the natural historical type of development characteristic of it, while the community of developing countries is an object of a qualitatively new type with different processes. This scheme is not the usual explanation of the "development difficulties" with references—also the usual ones—to the "inability" (or "by now" or "yet") of these or those social forms to transform the given community. The idea consists of something else: the various "forms of society" (K. Marx) that arise in the course of transformation of the community of developing countries are just analogues of world formations and therefore possess relative abilities for the transformation of the community of developing countries into an organic and historical community; such a transformation of the community of developing countries is a function of the global community and world development.

#### Footnotes

\*—See: *The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress*.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1985, No 5, pp 149-174; I.V. Sledzevskiy; Yu.G. Aleksandrov, B.I. Slavnyy; Ya.G. Mashbits. (Reviews of:) *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*. Moscow, 1983.—Ibid., 1986, No 5, pp 153-171; The

*Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary*.—Ibid., 1987, No 1, pp 154-186; No 2, pp 141-169; No 3, 146-161.

1. See: *The Foreign Orient and Modern Times*. Moscow, 1984; *The Developing Countries: General Laws, Trends, Prospects*. Moscow, 1974; A.I. Levkovskiy. *The Third World in the Modern World*. Moscow, 1970.

2. See: *The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress*. Moscow, 1983; *The Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary*. Moscow, 1984.

3. And in this sense actually negates the general theory of the developing countries.

4. See the roundtable "The Prospects for Capitalism in the Developing World."—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1985, No 1, pp 81-94.

5. This is reflected in the mania of reference writing that has gripped the institute where I work—IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations] of the USSR Academy of Sciences—since the end of the 1970s, and the system of salaries here is oriented toward reference writing.

6. See: *The Evolution of Oriental Societies...*: This point of view is implicitly contained in the monograph *The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress* as well.

7. See: *The Developing Countries: General Laws, Trends, Prospects*.

8. See: *A Typology of the Non-Socialist Countries*.

9. For detail see: N.S. Illarionov. *The Problem of Formational Affiliation of the Afro-Asian Societies* (Soviet Literature of 1976-1980).—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1982, No 5, pp 158-168.

10. See: *The General and the Particular in the Historical Development of the Orient*. Moscow, 1966. National and regional factors are raised in historical literature as affecting only the form and specific factors of the formational order.

11. See: *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*. Moscow, 1983.

12. In Soviet literature these Marxian categories are used just for analyzing the rural community in the developing countries. See, for example: I.L. Andreyev. *Communal Structures and the Non-Capitalist Path of Development*. Vladimir, 1973.

13. See: B.M. Kedrov. *The Contradiction of Knowing and Knowing Contradiction*.—*Dialectical Contradiction*. Moscow, 1979, pp 12, 17.

14. Formation theory nonetheless seemingly retains its force, since the discussion concerns its concretization and, that means, essential deviations that do not contradict it. The latter, for example, in the form of the alternative nature of development, is realized not at the level of general sociological laws, but at the lower level of specific historical features (see: M.A. Barg. *Categories and Methods of Historical Science*. Moscow, 1984, p 140). With such a subordination of the general and the particular, the latter has as its own subject just the form of manifestation of general laws.

15. See: V.I. Lenin. *Complete Collected Works*. Vol 41, pp 242, 245-246.

16. It is essential to advance the distinction between the body of formation theory (first of all, the idea of successive-stage progress), its foundation (productive relations as the basis of any social organism) and its precondition (material production as the motive force of social development).

17. On their interconnection see: V.I. Lenin. *Complete Collected Works*. Vol 29, p 318.

18. This path of development of a general theory of the developing countries differs from the customary method—through the concretization of formation theory.

19. Specialists in formation theory do not reject such terminology. See: *The Theory of Socio-Economic Formation*. Moscow, 1978, p 105.

20. See: *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*.

21. See: *Marx—Historian*. Moscow, 1968; *The Dialectics of the Negation of Negation*. Moscow, 1983; Yu.M. Boroday, V.Zh. Kelle, B.G. Plimak. *The Legacy of K. Marx and the Problems of the Theory of the Socio-Economic Formation*. Moscow, 1974; *The Theory of the Socio-Economic Formation*. Moscow, 1983; V.P. Fofanov. *Social Activity as a System*. Novosibirsk, 1981; *Spiritual Production*. Moscow, 1983; I.N. Sizemskaya. *The Interaction of Material and Spiritual Factors in the Development of Civilization.—Civilization and Culture in the Historical Process*. Moscow, 1983, pp 16-21.

22. The task of constructing a general theory chronologically removes the research to the colonial period at a minimum, or more precisely, to the period of existence of the community of developing countries in the historical form of the agrarian periphery of the world capitalist system.

23. If "Asiatic" marks the beginning, and capitalism the peak, of the the five-part formational chain.

24. Which makes the community of developing countries a formation from the very beginning whose historical time period is "swallowed up" by space and should only just be formed.

25. Which is today generally accepted in Soviet historical science, despite the former aspiration to show the developed nature of feudalism or even its disintegration, or else the birth of local capitalism, in the pre-colonial era in the Orient.

26. See: *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*. Note the lack of equivalence of the collectivist "form" and its concrete forms, such as the state or the commune.

27. See: *The Interaction of Society and Nature*. Moscow, 1986, pp 107-108.

28. The organic system has at its foundation one "dominant principle." See: *Ibid.*, p 185.

29. For examples of such errors see respectively: *The Evolution of Oriental Societies...*; *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*.

30. The concept of "dependence" here has a narrower meaning than, say, a "dependent type of development" (see: *The Developing Countries: General Laws, Trends, Prospects*) or "mechanism of disarticulation," but the broadest sense, including alienation overall and not only individual types and methods of it, could also be imparted to it. Having linked dependence with the category of alienation, we are moving beyond the bounds of fruitless discussion of the correlation of the formation and dependence with equally fruitless decisions ("dependence is the replacement of the laws of formation," "dependence is just a manifestation of the laws of formation").

31. K. Marx and F. Engels. *Works*. Vol 20, p 21.

32. Aside from the division of any society into the basis, superstructure and spiritual sphere.

33. See: *The Economics of the Developing Countries. Theories and Methods of Research*. Moscow, 1979, p 295.

34. On this issue I wholly diverge from the concept of the socio-cultural code (see: *The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity*, Ch. 1), at the foundation of which lies the direct transference of the traits of pre-colonial society to colonial society.

35. Although in the natural sciences (biology, for example), the prolonged co-existence of the developed theory of genesis and the theory of evolution that contradicts it is possible.

36. And in this sense a non-historical community.

37. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works. Vol 29, p 203, 308.

38. See: A.V. Meliksetov. The Socio-Economic Policies of the Guomindang, 1927-1949. Moscow, 1977, p 267.

39. Both of these features differ from the criteria of formational development: successive stages and strict determinability.

40. The discussion concerns the "solitary" formation—a formation as such, outside of its concrete historical articulations (organisms). On this point of analysis we once again run up against the necessity of expressing the concept of the "formation" in a form more abstract than a five- or three-part classification.

41. I emphasize that formationality has its own foundation and is realized within the framework of a natural and historical (spontaneous, based in "internal" factors) process.

42. Whence the disjointedness of such components of capitalist formational wholes in the developing countries as the mode of production—the social entity—culture, which is described in some versions of capitalist development (in the works of V.L. Sheynis).

43. Since the influence of the world capitalist system is the strongest factor differentiating the developing countries.

44. The global approach to the community of developing countries obtains a suitable theoretical foundation insofar as globality is raised not only as a "system of interchange," but also as a system of relations having as its subject the problems of the survival of mankind.

45. A term in need of the most profound theoretical development. See: Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. Moscow, 1986, pp 4, 10.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

**Publication Data**

18070092i Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88

English title: PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

Russian title: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI

Editor: A. A. Kutsenkov

Publishing house: Izdatelstvo "Nauka"

Place of publication: Moscow

Date of publication: July-August 1988

Signed to press: 15 July 1988

Copies: 3,619

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki" Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

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