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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 2, MARCH-APRIL 1986

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26 AUGUST 1986

USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 2, March-April 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete 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.

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ENGLISH SUMMARY OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 219-221

[Text] THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S PROGRAMMES

P.M. Shastitko

The Communist Party's traditions include the enrichment and development of theoretical clauses and political conclusions of the Programme in conformity with the historical experience, which are accompanied by formulating the new tasks and a critical re-consideration of definitions which have not sustained the test of time.

The article notes that the new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU is characterized by the faithfulness to the Marxism-Leninism, an adherence to its principles and manifests the consistency and continuity in the development of the Party's theoretical positions. It shows that this approach of principle and the continuity have found their expression in the solution of important theoretical problems such as national relations and the progress in the struggle led by the peoples of liberated countries at the present stage.

The article considers the essential historical landmarks of elaboration of the Party's programme documents concerning the problems of struggle against the national oppression, the solution of the national question in the USSR, the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the national liberation movement against the imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the CPSU approach to that struggle. It gives the analysis of theoretical provisions of the Programme on non-capitalist way of development (socialist orientation), on the practice of relations of the Soviet Union with liberated countries, on the support of their struggle for consolidating the national sovereignty, on the expansion of relations with revolutionary-democratic parties, on the solidarity with aims and activities of the non-alignment movement, etc.

EXTERNAL MIGRATIONS OF LABOUR OF EASTERN COUNTRIES

G.I. STARCHENKOV

In the post-war period the migration of labour from developing countries has grown into an important factor of the world capitalist economy. Due to the import of labour the capitalist states of the West have raised the rates of their economic growth. From the mid-1970s the oil-producing states of the Middle East have started to invite foreign workers the number of which amounted to 12 mln in 1980, including 2.7 mln in the Middle East. The developing countries promoted this migration to alleviate poverty and unemployment at home and to increase the foreign exchange earnings.

Today, the level of exploitation of foreign workers is higher than that of the local labour both in the West and in the Middle East. Their discrimination became a routine matter. Having entered the period of crisis from the mid-1970s developed capitalist states started to deport Algerian, Turkish, Indian and other workers. From the early 1980s the import of labour was decreased in the Middle East.

It is the author's contention that the migration of labour has not resolved the problems pertaining to the foreign exchange and unemployment. The productive utilization of wage-earnings remitted from abroad turned out to be very low. The migration has not improved the quality of labour as much as it was expected. The article concludes that the migration encouraged production in the West and the Middle East but drained the productive forces almost of all the developing countries. At the same time, the migration of labour perpetuated their underdevelopment and economic dependence.

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA: THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

V.G. BUSHIN

The article notes that the racist rulers of the South Africa in their struggle against the national liberation movement of the oppressed indigenous population of the country seek to create or to find within the frame of the movement dissident and conciliating groupings of every kind: from their direct henchmen to elements parading leftist theses. Such groupings and groups emerge in a large number during the concluding period of the liberation struggle. Simultaneously organisations which have not sustained the hardships of many years of difficult struggle and have lost their influence, are being revitalized, usually with an external aid.

In the South Africa side by side with the search of moderate elements within the ranks of the African National Congress (ANC) more and more obvious became the rulers' strive to find a kind of "third forces" which could replace the ANC or at least to weaken its positions. In particular, in early 1980s they have taken efforts to enhance the prestige and liven up the activity of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). The article examines the history of this organisation, its principal aims and the nature of its activity contradicting, as the author emphasizes, the true aims of the national liberation struggle against the apartheid regime.

THE COUNTER-CULTURE SLOGANS IN THE SYSTEM OF RIGHT-WING RADICALISM IN INDIA

A.A. TKACHEVA

The article concerns a form of the ideological and religious interaction between the West and the East in modern circumstances. Examining the views of the reactionary religious ideologist Rajneesh, well known in India, who is an opponent to the progressive policy of the Indian government, the author shows how the rebellious romantic enthusiasm of the "new left-wing" ideology and counter-culture has been presented by Rajneesh in a traditional Hindu form, and how he has radically changed in the same time the social and class orientation of ideas of the youth protest movement, from a confrontation with the "consumption society" to its apology.

Speaking as an ideologist of the monopolistic bourgeoisie of India interested in the adoption of foreign models of capitalist development, Rajneesh tried to win the sympathy of the educated Indian youth which according to his programme was to become an agent of acceleration of the bourgeois modernization, a fighter against all the traditions hindering this process. The article emphasizes the features which are common for the consciousness of youth as a social and age category, on which Rajneesh has leaned in his slogans of counter-culture and "new left-wing" ideology, as well as the theses by which he meant to make his ideological formulae attractive for young Indians. Particular attention in the article is devoted to the unmasking of speculative methods of Rajneesh, the exposure of anti-humane, immoral essence of his teaching, its contrariness to positive aspects of the Indian culture and to the aims of youth protest movement in Western countries.

WORLD WAR II--A TURNING-POINT IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I.V. MOJEIKO

The article notes that during the years of the World War II the ruling circles of Japan, occupying territories in South-East Asia, meant first of all to get access to the sources of raw materials necessary for the war, sought to surround and to stifle China. Japanese strategists have taken into consideration in their plans the fact that the countries of South-East Asia in their time were deprived of independence and that Japan could pretend to the role of their liberator from the "white-oppression". But these plans and calculations have been defeated by a powerful development of the national liberation movement in the region influenced by the selfless struggle of the Soviet armed forces against Hitlerite invaders. The article elucidates some insufficiently known pages of the national liberation movement in Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Indochina, describes different stages of this movement. The author comes to the conclusion that the anti-Japanese struggle together with the developments at the fronts of the World War II, first of all at the Soviet-German front, has led to the attainment of independence by the States of South-East Asia.

FROM HISTORY OF SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS (1917-1922)

YE.F. KOVALYOV

The article uses ample factual data to examine the Soviet policy towards China from the first foreign policy acts of the Great October Socialist Revolution to the formation of the Soviet Union (December 1922). The Soviet Russia was the only state which in this troubled period proclaimed the policy of friendship among peoples and, inter alia, extended the hand of friendship to the Chinese people in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

The article deals with the steps taken by the Soviet government in this regard. It also analyses inconsistent and in many ways contradictory stand of the Chinese ruling circles on the Soviet-Chinese relations.

During the five years preceding the formation of the USSR the Soviet Russia had accumulated a great deal of experience in dealing with the Chinese Republic. This experience is notable for the sincere desire of the Soviet State to maintain peaceful relations on the basis of mutual respect, confidence, cooperation, fruitful implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism, moral and political support of the Chinese people in their struggle for national and social liberation.

ON FORMATION NATURE OF PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETIES OF TROPICAL AFRICA

G.S. KISELEV

The approach of the article lies in giving preference to the economic aspect of the "asiatic mode of production", a notion introduced by K. Marx.

Taking Marx's notion of the "tribal form of property" and "asiatic form of property" (which tackles the primary form of property as a naturally established appropriation of a collective of people, community of the nature as an objective condition of their reproduction and hence the appropriation of an individual by this collective), the article argues that the social and historical conception of K. Marx (which remained unelaborated to the end) interprets the "asiatic form of property" as a modified "tribal form of property" in the context of an early class society. In other words, the "asiatic form of property" underlies a specific type of an early class society, that is the "asiatic mode of production" distinguishable from slave-owning society which is based on the "ancient form of property".

JAPANESE INSTRUCTIVE WRITING OF 13TH CENTURY

Dogen (1200-1253), a founder of the Soto-Zen school in Japan, was one of the most sophisticated Japanese thinkers. His treatment of Buddhist problems was so independent that philosophically the Japanese Zen took a new form very distinguished from its Chinese original. At the same time, Dogen tried to establish a more austere atmosphere of monastic life than the one in the Late Sung Chinese Ch'an monasteries. His practical instructions rather than philosophical concepts are well expressed in his "Notes on Heard by me the Treasury of the Eye of the

True Law" (Shobo genzo zuimonki) compiled by Ejo (1198-1280). The text includes sermons delivered by Dogen in 1235-1238 while being the Abbot of the Kosho-ji in the Yamashiro province.

For a long time "Shobo genzo zuimonki" had been circulated as a manuscript. It was only in the 16th century that it was put in wood-block printing. It has been re-edited and annotated several times since after. At the present time the most standard version is considered to be the oldest extant manuscript of 1644 discovered by Okubo Doshun in Choen-ji temple and published in 1942.

"Shobo genzo suimonki" has been translated into German (Iwamoto Hidemasa, 1943), French (G. Renondeau, 1965) and English (Masunaga, Reiho, 1971). It is for the first time that some excerpts from this writing are being translated into Russian. The translation is made from the Japanese annotated edition in the "Nihon Koten bungaku taikai" series (1965).

The Russian translation is accompanied by a brief introduction that deals with Dogen's life and ideas and offers a general idea of "Shobo genzo zuimonki". Notes explaining some names and terms are also furnished.

Translation from the Japanese, Introduction and Commentary by A.M. Kabanov.

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LENIN, 1961, 1985 CPSU PROGRAMS CITED ON LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) p 3-10

[Article by P.M. Shastitko: "The 27th CPSU Congress and Continuity of the CPSU Programs"]

[Excerpts] The adoption by the 27th CPSU Congress of the new version of the CPSU Program, the changes in the party rules and the Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and the Period Ending the Year 2000 is a fact of tremendous historical significance. These basic documents formulate the fundamental aims of the party's general line and its strategy and tactics. The fundamental tasks of the party, the Soviet state and the entire Soviet people in the struggle for peace and social progress are determined on the basis of an in-depth and comprehensive interpretation of the current stage of world development, a theoretical elucidation of the changes which have occurred in the alignment of forces on the international scene and an analysis of the changes in Soviet society and its achievements and unsolved problems. The current and long-term goals of this struggle have been specified, precise reference points of the socialist society's movement toward the communist society have been outlined and a scientific forecast of the development of the Soviet society and the world revolutionary process has been made. The program has become a most important theoretical and political document of the world communist and workers movement of the latter half of the 20th century.

The new version of the program makes a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the current era as the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism and the historical competition of the two world sociopolitical systems, the era of socialist and national liberation revolutions and the collapse of colonialism and the era of the struggle of the main driving forces of social development--world socialism, the workers and communist movement, the peoples of the emergent states and mass democratic movements--against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for democracy and social progress. The new version of the program provides a specific characterization of the victorious socialist society in our country, reveals its indisputable advantages over capitalism and determines the paths, methods and forms of the plan-oriented and comprehensive perfection of socialism and the Soviet society's further advance toward communism based on an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

This document is based on the continuity of the fundamental theoretical and political aims of the CPSU. The new version of the program remains loyal to these aims and at the same time creatively develops the principles of scientific communism and specifies and enriches them with new propositions in accordance with historical experience.

This applies fully also to the party's program aims pertaining to the national question and its position in respect of the peoples' struggle for liberation from national oppression, for independence and its consolidation, for social progress and for overcoming the backwardness born of centuries of colonial slavery and the neocolonialist policy of imperialism.

Communists' program documents have always been distinguished by theoretical boldness, political realism, class certainty and historical optimism. When the great founders of scientific communism, K. Marx and F. Engels, wrote the "Communist Manifesto"--the first program of the proletariat, which had moved to the forefront of the political struggle--the intellectual power of the communists, who headed the class attacking capitalism, was immediately obvious. The "Manifesto" appeared in the mid-19th century, when the world was being partitioned among the capitalist powers and when oppressor and oppressed nations were only just appearing. Even then the communists declared that having taken power, the proletariat would do away with one nation's exploitation of another. A singularity of the Marxist approach to the national and colonial questions is that these questions have always been viewed from specific-historical standpoints. The national and colonial questions in various countries, in different phases of nations' formation, in specific international and domestic situations and in different eras have been raised and solved by the communists with regard for the specific features of the current state of affairs.

The main purpose of the Russian communists when they were setting up their own party of the new type and drawing up its program was overthrowing tsarism, which was hateful to the peoples. "The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) sets as its immediate political task the overthrow of tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic."¹ The fall of tsarism would help achieve the liberation of all the peoples of Russia. The Bolsheviks' pivotal, main demand on the national question was recognition of the rights of the nations of Russia to self-determination. Revealing the essence of this demand, V.I. Lenin wrote: "the clauses of our program (concerning self-determination of the nations) cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the sense of /political/ [this and subsequent words in slantlines in italics] self-determination, that is, the right to separate and form an independent state."² This clause of the program applied primarily to national groups of the Russian Empire, but it expressed (V.I. Lenin indicated this repeatedly in many of his works) the Bolsheviks' attitude toward the struggle for the liberation of oppressed peoples in any part of the world. No party prior to the Bolsheviks had posed with such certainty and precision the question of the right of nations to self-determination.

Following the 1905-1907 Russian revolution and under its influence came the period of "Asia's awakening". The Bolsheviks responded to these historic changes with the advancement of new slogans and the formulation of new tasks of the revolutionary struggle. The Sixth (Prague) RSDWP Conference was held in January

1912. Among the resolutions of the conference, two were devoted specially to events in Asia. The first was "The Russian Government's Assault on Persia," the second, "The Chinese Revolution". The resolutions expressed the Russian social democrats' support for the struggle of the oriental peoples and condemned the imperialist policy of tsarism. Such resolutions could only have been passed by a party which was true to proletarian internationalism and which knew how to evaluate at their worth the strength and progressive nature of national liberation revolutions.

A meeting of Leninists was held in the fall of 1913 in the Polish hamlet of Poronino at which an important place was assigned discussion of the national question. The report was delivered by V.I. Lenin. The resolution of the Poronino meeting on the national question was the party's program document. Having confirmed the proposition concerning the right of nations to self-determination, the resolution made an important amplification: "It is impermissible to confuse the question of nations' right to self-determination... with the question of the expediency of the separation of this nation or the other."³ Explaining this proposition in a letter to S.G. Shaumyan, V.I. Lenin emphasized: "We are for the /right/ of separation (but not /for the separation/ of all!).... Separation is not our plan at all. We are absolutely not preaching separation. Generally, we are against separation. But we are for the /right/ to separation in view of Black Hundred Great Russian nationalism, which has so defiled the cause of national cohabitation."⁴ A big place in the resolution is devoted to the need for the unification of all national workers organizations of the multinational Russian state in united proletarian organizations. "Only such a merger in united organizations of workers of different nationalities will afford the proletariat an opportunity to conduct a victorious struggle against international capital and reaction."⁵ The documents of the Poronino meeting on the national question were adopted in the period of the imperialist states' preparation for a predatory world war for a recarving of the world and the maturation of the revolutionary situation in Russia. The Bolsheviks resolutely condemned imperialist wars and created the prerequisites for the unity of all the nations of Russia in the period of the coming revolutionary explosion.

In the years of WWI the Bolsheviks adopted the program document which had been written by V.I. Lenin "The War and Russian Social Democracy". Whereas the party's program material which had appeared prior to the war had posed the national question as a Russian problem, under the new conditions, when many internal problems of the participants in the carnage which had begun had assumed international significance, the national question was posed as a world national-colonial question. "The seizure of land and the subjugation of foreign nations, the ruin of a competing nation, plunder of its wealth, distraction of the attention of the working masses from the internal political crises of Russia, Germany, Britain and other countries and the separation and nationalist bamboozling of the workers and the extermination of their vanguard for the purpose of weakening the revolutionary movement of the proletariat--such is the sole effective content, meaning and sense of the current war," V.I. Lenin observed.⁶

Following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Lenin Party became the ruling party. Tsarism and, subsequently, the bourgeois republic were overthrown. The party carried out its first program. For the first time in the

history of mankind a socialist country was born. A difficult struggle to build a new world and a society without exploitation and oppression began. The political conditions for implementation of the propositions of national building which had been advanced prior to the revolution in program documents appeared.

Bourgeois parties of many countries repeatedly demonstrated their perfidy and showed striking "forgetfulness" when it was a question of promises which they had given the masses prior to the assumption of office. With the Russian communists, the guardians of the fire of the revolution, word was not at variance with deed. On 2 (15) November 1917 the Soviet Government issued the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia"--the first legislative document of the proletarian state, which proclaimed the basic principles of national policy and national building.

The declaration stated that "the Council of People's Commissars has resolved to make the basis of its activity on the question of Russia's nationalities the following principles:

- "1. The equality and sovereignty of the Russian peoples.
- "2. The right of the Russian peoples to free self-determination, as far as separation and the formation of an independent state.
- "3. Abolition of each and every national and national-religious privilege and restriction.
- "4. The free development of the national minorities and ethnographic groups populating Russian territory."

The implementation of these principles ensured the political equality of the peoples and nations inhabiting the Soviet state and did away with the foundations of their economic and social inequality. The peoples previously oppressed by tsarism immediately saw that the Bolsheviks and the worker government had afforded them real opportunities for free development. This brought about their trust in the new power and their support for its policy. In January 1918 the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of the Workers and the Exploited People," which said, in particular: "The Soviet Russian republic is established on the basis of the free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national republics."⁸

In March 1919 the Eighth All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress adopted a new party program, which enshrined the gains of the revolution and outlined prospects for the further development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This program was not a utopian dream, not a beguiling promise but a bold, precisely calculated, realistic plan of socioeconomic and political transformations implemented in accordance with the will and under the leadership of a party responsible to the people. It demonstrated the scale of the plans and the huge reserve of energy of the Russian communists, who had chosen an incredibly difficult path of struggle. The party exerted the maximum efforts here to ensure that its program be a program intelligible to each working person of Russia. "In our program," V.I. Lenin said, "every paragraph is

something which should be known, assimilated and understood by each working person."⁹

The program characterized the aggressive nature of imperialism, from which "imperialist wars, wars for sales markets, for spheres of capital investment, for raw material and for manpower, that is, for world domination and for power over small and weak nationalities, inevitably ensue."¹⁰

As far as national relations were concerned, the program stipulated: "The removal of each and every privilege of any national group whatever, the complete equality of the nations and recognition of the colonies' and unequal nations' right to state separation are essential for the purpose of overcoming mistrust on the part of the working people's masses of oppressed countries toward the proletariat of the states which oppressed these countries."¹¹

By the start of the Great Patriotic War even socialism in our country had conquered fully and conclusively. The second party program had been fulfilled. The Soviet Union had become a country of the fraternity of the nations and nationalities which inhabited it.

The Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the successful accomplishment of the tasks of restoration of the war-ravaged national economy, the further consolidation of socialism within the country and the formation of the world socialist system, the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system and the formation on its ruins of many dozens of new independent states which followed the victory led to a qualitative change in the correlation of forces in the rapidly changing world. The authority and role of the Soviet Union and the CPSU in international affairs increased. These changes demanded changes in the program of the Communist Party, its alignment with the new situation in the country and the world and the formulation of new tasks. The new, third, CPSU Program was adopted by the 22d party congress in 1961. The first part thereof: "Transition From Capitalism to Communism--Path of Mankind's Development" contained a comprehensive analysis of the current situation and determined the main trends of development of the world liberation movement and international relations, outlined the strategic goals of the development of the economy, state building, national relations, ideology, education, science and culture and the strengthening of the cooperation of the socialist countries and also determined the party's growing role in the period of the comprehensive building of communism. It was emphasized that that "the party regards communist building in the USSR as the great international task of the Soviet people."¹²

A significant place in the 1961 program was assigned problems of the international revolutionary struggle of the working class and national liberation movement. The world, the document pointed out, is experiencing a period of national liberation revolutions. "Whereas imperialism suppressed the national independence and freedom of the majority of peoples and shackled them in chains of cruel colonial slavery, the emergence of socialism marks the onset of the era of the liberation of oppressed peoples."¹³

Several dozen young states were formed in the mid-20th century on the ruins of the world colonial system as a result of national liberation revolutions. A time of unprecedented change unparalleled in world history began for their peoples.

The program observed that "the existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of imperialism are affording the peoples a prospect of national revival, the elimination of age-old backwardness and poverty and the achievement of economic independence."¹⁴

The program analyzed the role of individual classes of the emergent countries in the national liberation movements, emphasizing the important role of the working class and peasantry and their alliance for the accomplishment of profound democratic transformations and for the economic and social progress of the emergent countries and the significance of the unification of all patriotic and progressive forces for successful struggle against imperialism.

The struggle against imperialism was the pivotal task of the forces of democracy and social progress of the emergent countries. The second front of the struggle was aimed against internal reaction endeavoring to limit the goals of the national liberation revolution to the winning of sovereignty. "The national liberation revolution," the program pointed out, "does not end with the winning of political independence. This independence will be shaky and will become a fiction if the revolution does not lead to profound changes in social and economic life and does not tackle urgent tasks of national revival."¹⁵

At the same time many major changes have appeared in the last 25 years in the life of Soviet society, the life of the other socialist countries and in world development as a whole. The period that has elapsed was packed with important events and is characterized by the emergence of fundamentally new processes and phenomena. All this required a collation of the diverse historical experience and the changed situation. New approaches to many questions of the CPSU's domestic and international activity were needed under the new conditions. It was essential to catch and analyze the new historical realities and reveal and explain the new facts of economic and social development. In preparing the new version of the CPSU Program the party proceeded from V.I. Lenin's instruction: "We must without the least exaggeration, absolutely objectively and with no departure from the facts say in the program what is and what we intend to do."¹⁸

As in the 1961 program, the new program document emphasizes when evaluating the world revolutionary process the great significance of the struggle of the peoples of the developing countries against imperialism. Imperialism was and remains the main enemy of their aspiration to progress and democracy. The CPSU's strategy in respect of the national liberation movement as a dynamic consistently anti-imperialist force has remained constant. But the 1961 program spoke of national liberation anti-imperialist revolutions which were shaking the world in the middle of the century, but in the 1980's they have been accomplished, in the main. A system of young states opposed to imperialism has been formed. This historical reality is reflected and theoretically interpreted in the new version. "An integral part of the world revolutionary process," it observes, "is THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE THROWN OFF THE COLONIAL YOKE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. A historic gain of the national liberation revolutions and movements which has influenced appreciably the correlation of forces in the world was the downfall of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence on its ruins of dozens of independent states."

The policy of neocolonialism, by pursuing which imperialism is endeavoring to emasculate the sovereignty won by the young states and preserve and even intensify control of them and the domination of their economy, is scientifically characterized in the new version of the program. A most important channel of imperialism's exploitation of the young states is their conversion into financial debtors. "Taking advantage of the economic and technological dependency and the unequal position of the emergent countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism is ruthlessly exploiting them, exacting a multibillion-dollar tribute which is exhausting these states' economy." The program makes in this connection a high evaluation of the significance of the just struggle of the peoples of the developing countries against neocolonialism, against the vestiges of colonialism and against imperialist interference, racism and so forth and declares communists' support for this struggle, noting that the peoples' resistance to the imperialists' actions is objectively linked with the common struggle of the progressive forces of mankind for freedom, peace and social renewal.

There is confirmation of the proposition concerning the possibility and great historical significance of young states' development along the noncapitalist path, which is promoted by the struggle of the working class and the people's masses and the presence of general democratic movements and corresponds to the interests of the absolute majority of the masses. The paths of development are, of course, chosen by the peoples themselves, and it is the result of specific features of the alignment of social forces in this emergent country or the other and the actual international situation. This proposition has shown its viability. "Broad prospects of social progress," the new version of the CPSU Program says, "are afforded by the noncapitalist development path, the PATH OF A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION, which has been chosen by a number of emergent countries. Their experience confirms that under current conditions, given the existing world correlation of forces, there are more extensive opportunities for previously enslaved peoples to reject capitalism and build their future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people." The new proposition is an important gain of Marxist thought and an important conclusion characterizing the possible historical prospect of the emergent states' development.

In the time of the existence and development of the emergent states, whose special position in the world was noted in the 1961 program,²⁰ a certain differentiation has occurred and continues to occur among them and differences in their evolution are growing. These differences are taken into consideration in the new version of the CPSU Program.

However the emergent countries may differ in terms of state system, level of socioeconomic development and the prevailing ideology therein and whatever path they choose, they are all united by a desire to develop in sovereign fashion, without outside interference. The CPSU considers it indisputable that "determination of the fate of the emergent countries and choice of social system is their sacred right." The CPSU and the Soviet Government adhere consistently to a policy of expanding friendly relations with all countries, building their relations with them on the basis of complete respect for their independence and equality. The new version of the program emphasizes that "the party attaches great significance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation WITH COUNTRIES OF A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION.... The Soviet Union has rendered and will continue to render as far as possible the peoples proceeding along this route

assistance in economic and cultural building, the training of national personnel, an increase in defense capability and in other spheres."

At the same time the Soviet Union, continuing and developing the good traditions, is prepared to continue to strengthen good, mutually beneficial relations with Afro-Asian countries which have opted for another development path also. "The practice of the USSR's relations with the emergent countries," the new version observes, "has shown that real grounds exist for cooperation with young states which are proceeding along the capitalist path also."

The new version of the program emphasizes that the CPSU pays particular attention to an extension of relations with the developing countries' revolutionary-democratic parties. This proposition enshrines the already evolved practice of the CPSU's cooperation with the parties which headed the national liberation movement. Close cooperation has taken shape with the revolutionary-democratic parties which "are endeavoring to organize their activity on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU supports the development of ties to all national-progressive parties occupying anti-imperialist and patriotic positions."

A notable feature of the new political situation in the world and the Afro-Asian region is the rapid growth of the political assertiveness of the masses. The struggle of the masses is influencing universally the formation of governments' policy course. Democratic movements, which are objectively directed against the reactionary, antipopular policy of imperialism, are joining with the common stream of the struggle for social progress. "A characteristic feature of our times," the new version of the program points out, "is the UPSURGE OF MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN THE NONSOCIALIST WORLD." Communists are directing the masses' struggle against the forces of reaction and war for in our day there is no more important problem than that of war and peace.

Imperialism's aggressiveness has grown in recent decades, its war preparations have become far more dangerous for mankind and the arms race is on a larger scale, which threatens the security and sovereignty of both the socialist states and the emergent countries, more, the present civilization's very existence. The understanding of the entire danger threatening mankind gives rise to the need for the unification of all peaceable forces and predetermines the Soviet Union's solidarity with all states and peoples repulsing the attacks of imperialism. A considerable influence on the alignment of forces on the world scene is being exerted by the nonaligned movement, which unites the majority of emergent states and has become an important factor of the anti-imperialist struggle. The CPSU, the new version of the party program observes, "approaches the goals and activity of the nonaligned movement with understanding and supports an enhancement of its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to be on the side of the nonaligned countries in the struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for the surmounting of disputes and conflicts which arise by way of negotiation and will oppose the enlistment of these states in military-political groupings."

Like all the party's preceding program documents, the new version of the CPSU Program regards alliance with the peoples which have cast off the colonial yoke as a cornerstone of its international policy. The party's general line remains

fundamentally unchanged. The party believes that "THE ALLIANCE OF THE FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IS THE GUARANTEE OF A BETTER FUTURE FOR MANKIND." A special section: "Strengthening Relations With the Emergent Countries" is devoted to this alliance in the new version. The CPSU proceeds from the fact that these countries' relative significance in the world economy and politics is growing constantly. This is a distinguishing feature of our era. The ideological wealth of the version of the CPSU Program adopted by the 27th congress undoubtedly imparts powerful new impetus to the development of the research of Soviet social scientists, including those studying problems of Afro-Asian countries.

In the first days following October V.I. Lenin said: "It is in our interests that we address the international proletariat not with ardent appeals and admonitory mass-meeting speeches and not with clamor but with the precise specific program of our party."²¹ The new version of the CPSU Program is just such a program of action both within the country and on the international scene in the struggle for peace and social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums," part 1, Moscow, 1970, p 40 (subsequently "The CPSU in Resolutions...").
2. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 23, p 314.
3. "The CPSU in Resolutions...", vol 1, p 358.
4. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 48, p 235.
5. "The CPSU in Resolutions...", vol 1, p 388.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 26, p 15.
7. "Decrees of Soviet Power," vol 1, Moscow, 1957, p 40.
8. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 35, p 221.
9. Ibid., vol 38, p 179.
10. "The CPSU in Resolutions...", part 1, p 491.
11. Ibid., p 45.
12. "CPSU Program," Moscow, 1961, p 6.
13. Ibid., p 44.
14. Ibid., p 45.
15. Ibid., p 46.

18. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 55.

20. See "CPSU Program," 1961, p 45.

21. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 60.

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PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS VERSUS ANC: HISTORY, NATURE OF CONFLICT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 21-30

[Article by V.G. Bushin: "Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania: Past and Present"]

[Text] History testifies that when colonialists are forced to consent to negotiations with representatives of the peoples fighting for their liberation, they try in every way possible for the participation therein together with the truly liberation organizations and movements of all kinds of splittist and class-collaborationist groupings--from their direct stooges through elements parading leftwing phrases. A large number of such groupings emerges in the culminating period of the liberation struggle. Organizations which failed to pass the tests of protracted struggle and which forfeited their influence are revitalized simultaneously, with, what is more, outside help, as a rule.

South Africa is no exception. Together with a search for "moderates" within the ranks of the ANC (and sometimes to dispose the ANC as a whole toward "moderation" even) an endeavor to find or create a "third force" which could, if not substitute for the ANC, at least weaken its positions at a future negotiating table is becoming increasingly noticeable here. The "Black Consciousness" supporters,¹ certain African trade union leaders and G. Buthelezi, head of the KwaZulu Bantustan administration, and his Inkatha organization are being "fitted" for this role. Many efforts were also made, particularly at the start of the 1980's, to enhance the prestige of the so-called Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC),² the more so in that together with the ANC it is recognized by the OAU as a national liberation movement in South Africa.

In order to evaluate the possible consequences of all this for the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa we have to turn to the history of the national liberation movement in this country over the past quarter-century.

The group of so-called Africanists was formed in South Africa in the latter half of the 1950's, but the ideas which characterize it were being propounded in the ranks of the ANC even earlier. A so-called "national bloc," which united chauvinist anticommunist elements,³ mainly persons stemming from well-to-do, conservative strata of the African population, had appeared back at the start of this decade in the ANC. Its supporters, in particular, opposed in November 1950 the election as president of the ANC provincial organization in Transvaal of J.B.

Marks--outstanding figure of the South African communist and workers movement and subsequently national chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP).⁴ The "nationals" objected to the ANC's alliance with progressive organizations of other racial groups--Whites, Coloreds and Indians. Their attacks on the policy pursued by the ANC leadership became particularly intensive following the adoption at its initiative in 1955 of the Freedom Charter--the program document of the struggle for a democratic South Africa, which says that "South Africa belongs to everyone who lives here--black and white."⁵

Certain figures of the ANC Youth League, who had begun in November 1953 to publish the journal THE AFRICANIST, also formed a bloc with these conservative elements. The following fact attests their political character: a leader of this group, P. Leballo, had criticized the League's leaders for having accepted an invitation to the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students held in 1953 in Warsaw, calling them "Eastern functionaries."⁶ The "Africanists" accused the ANC of having "lost its character" as a "purely African revolutionary organization" and of having "ceded its leadership to non-African sections of the liberation movement."⁷ As far as the Freedom Charter was concerned, it was claimed that this document did not express Africans' true cherished aspirations inasmuch as it had been "inspired by Moscow."⁸

When at the annual ANC conference in December 1957 the "Africanists'" attempts to change the Congress' policy line suffered a crushing defeat (their position was supported by only 5 of the 105 delegates⁹), they took the path of direct sabotage of ANC actions. The "Africanists" attempted to disrupt the general political strike called by the ANC leadership for 24-26 April 1958. For these strike-breaking actions, which were accompanied by an attack by their supporters on ANC headquarters, two prominent "Africanists"--P. Leballo and (Dzh. Madzunya)--were expelled from the Congress. Also unsuccessful was the "Africanists'" attempt to take control of the ANC by force, particularly its organization in Transvaal, and to pack the hall where a provincial conference was being held in November 1958 with their supporters, who had not been elected delegates.¹⁰

Following this, at a constituent congress held 4-6 April 1959 in the Orlando suburb of Johannesburg they set up a new organization--the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC),¹¹ elected president of which was R. Sobukwe, a lecturer in African languages at Witwatersrand University.¹² It should be noted that among the persons who switched from the ANC to the PAC there were virtually no prominent figures of the liberation movement. Thus of the 156 leaders of opposition organizations accused at the "high treason" trial which lasted from 1956 to 1961, only one joined the PAC.

What political positions did the PAC leadership occupy at the time of its formation?

First, its founders hastened to establish foreign ties which attested at least their political unfastidiousness. For example, the preparatory meetings for the creation of the PAC were held in the USIA (the United States' information service) library premises in Johannesburg, P. Leballo being an employee of the former at that time.¹³ The rightwing South African newspaper NEWS CHECK later explained the United States' interest in the creation of the PAC: "The CIA was

mixed up in the PAC's breaking away from the ANC at the end of the 1950's. Some Americans were sure that there would soon be a revolution in South Africa and they did not wish to see a communist-dominated ANC as a claimant to power and for this reason they assisted a movement which could weaken anticommunist (sic) influence."¹⁴

The reformist unions of the West, particularly the ICFTU, rendered union figures connected with the PAC big financial assistance in the creation of the so-called Federation of Free Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA) as a counterweight to the progressive Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) operating in alliance with the ANC.¹⁵ Although the FOFATUSA acquired no significant influence among African workers and soon ceased to exist, its "representative" spent many more years attached to the ICFTU in Brussels.

While having proclaimed as the basis of their foreign policy "positive neutrality," essentially from the very outset the PAC leaders imparted to it an anticommunist thrust, declaring that "colonialists from both communist and capitalist countries are fighting a desperate battle for influence over the indigenous African peoples."¹⁶ The anticommunism of the PAC leadership was interwoven with chauvinism or used it as a cover. Regarding the representatives of all other racial groups in South Africa, apart from Africans, as "foreigners," the PAC leaders asserted that "alliances with foreign groups are impious";¹⁷ they charged the ANC with its activity being directed by the Congress of Democrats--an organization which united progressive whites in whose ranks communists were operating actively.

However, the chauvinist frame of mind receded into the background when it was a question of the possibility of cooperation with South African whites known for their anticommunist views, particularly from the right wing of the Liberal Party. As V.P. Gorodnov rightly observed in this connection, "the PAC's nationalist form gave way to its anticommunist content."¹⁸ In turn, CONTACT, the journal of the right wing liberals, called for "tribute" to be paid to the anticommunism of the PAC leadership, which is "not disposed to change the tyranny of racial domination for the tyranny of communism."¹⁹ It was in no way embarrassed by the PAC slogan concerning the establishment of an "African socialist democratic order."

Second, a characteristic feature of the PAC was speculation on the terminology of pan-Africanism, which was highly popular in Africa on the eve and at the outset of the 1960's. For example, the PAC made extensive use of the "Africa for Africans!" slogan, which was widespread on the continent at that time, although under South Africa's conditions it had a resonance different and distinct from other African countries and became an expression of African chauvinism in respect of the other groups of the population. But such PAC actions helped it acquire a certain influence in Ghana, whose leader, K. Nkrumah, was at that time the main herald of pan-Africanism, and in a number of other African countries which had only just freed themselves from the colonial yoke.

From the very first days of the PAC's existence its leadership advanced claims to an exclusive role in the liberation movement. Back in April 1959, immediately following the constituent congress of the PAC, R. Sobukwe wrote: "From the time of the emergence of the Pan-Africanist Congress it was predestined (by whom?--

V.B.) to play the decisive part in the national liberation struggle."²⁰ At its constituent congress the PAC had set the task of bringing the number of members to 100,000 in 3 months, by July 1959. This goal was not achieved, and by the end of 1959, according to PAC leadership data, it had approximately 30,000 members.²¹

Thus the PAC had nonetheless found certain social support in South Africa. It was composed of the low-income strata of the African proletariat and lumpen, the number of whom had grown rapidly under the conditions of the cruel exploitation and unemployment among African workers and the land hunger in rural localities. It was not fortuitous that the PAC enjoyed the greatest influence in areas where there were many hostels for "bachelors," that is, migrant workers deprived of the right to live together with their families, particularly in the African townships in Southern Transvaal and Western Cape Province. The African intelligentsia, more precisely, the part of it which displayed impatience characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie, was more often than not installed as leaders of the PAC.

As distinct from the clamorous declarations, the PAC's practical activity was quite modest. Its first campaign was the so-called "civility campaign" or "status campaign" for the purpose of "releasing the intelligence of Africans," which began in February 1960. It was proposed that its participants demand to be treated politely in stores and other public places, but this campaign enjoyed no in any way serious support among Africans and quickly came to nothing.²² The PAC leadership then decided to take part in the movement against Africans' mandatory carrying of "passes" being organized by the ANC, and it hoped to seize the initiative, what is more. Plans for a mass campaign against the passes had been drawn up at an ANC conference in December 1959. In particular, a general strike by African workers had been scheduled for 31 March 1960. However, on 18 March, less than 2 weeks prior to the said date, the PAC leadership declared at a press conference that it would begin its own campaign on 21 March. The PAC leaders thereby attempted to use for their own ends the preparatory work which had already been carried out by the ANC, the more so in that Africans often called the ANC simply the "congress," and far from all of them were able to make out precisely which congress was calling for mass actions on 21 March.²³ The PAC campaign was to have incorporated the following elements: Africans' refusal to carry passes, their voluntary appearance at police stations as offenders and an indefinite general strike. However, the PAC appeal did not gain support on a national scale. Thus in Orlando, where R. Sobukwe himself lived, and other areas of Soweto only 170 persons "surrendered" to the police, and in the capital, Pretoria, 6 persons.²⁴

Africans participated en masse in the PAC campaign only in Sharpeville and also in the Capetown suburbs. And there were reasons for this. Thus, an extremely tense situation had been created in Sharpeville by March 1961. The threefold growth of the African population in 10 years had led to a sharp deterioration in housing conditions and the sanitary state of the community. The problem of unemployment, particularly among the youth, was acute here, and discontent with the forcible resettlement in the Bantustans of some Africans who had been unable to pay the increased rents in the "new communities" had grown. The local police operated with particular brutality. The actions of PAC activists, who prohibited bus drivers from transporting African workers and who also patrolled the road to the community, where the majority of Sharpeville residents worked, also played their part.²⁵

At midday, when approximately 5,000 persons had gathered around the police station, the police opened fire. Sixty-nine Africans were killed, many wounded. Several persons died in the Capetown suburb of Langa also.²⁶

This brutal reprisal caused a storm of anger both in South Africa itself and outside. And in the eyes of many people, particularly those not conversant with the complexities of the political struggle in South Africa, the PAC, as the organizer of the shot-up demonstration, became a symbol of resistance to the apartheid regime and leader of the Africans' struggle. Later the PAC leaders began to assert (they are doing so even now) that it was the PAC, as distinct from the ANC, which had displayed "militancy" and had been the first in South Africa to adopt a policy of armed struggle for freedom. But the facts indicate otherwise. The PAC leaders hoped to achieve their ends not by way of the ouster of the racist regime but with the help merely of strike actions; hoping that "the employers would put pressure on the government."²⁷ "The militancy myth which the Pan-Africanists managed to create in the minds of certain people," the journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST, organ of the SACP wrote, "is without foundation. The person who more than any other helped create this myth was the wretch who gave the order to fire and not Sobukwe with his extensively publicized letter to the police about 'hope that you will cooperate'."²⁸ Indeed, in the letter to General Rademeyer, chief of police, the PAC president had assured him of "nonviolent intentions," emphasizing that the upcoming campaign would be "the most peaceful and disciplined."²⁹ His "final instructions" to the PAC activists "not to do anything to hinder the police"³⁰ also had been sustained in the same spirit.

On 31 March 1960 the authorities imposed a state of emergency in South Africa, banning both the ANC and the PAC. A group of prominent African politicians, including ANC President A. Luthuli, called for the convening of a broad conference of Africans' representatives for discussion of possible actions under the new conditions. While originally part of the preparatory committee, the PAC figures soon declined to take part in it and then began to impede the fulfillment of the decisions adopted at the conference. In particular, they published and disseminated leaflets against a general strike, the purpose of which had been to force the government to consent to the convening of a national convention with the participation of representatives of all races to draw up a new constitution for the country.³¹ The PAC gave as the reason for its actions a reluctance to support anything that was not "purely and simply African," including the demand for the convening of a national convention. This position of the "Pan-Africanists" played into the government's hands, and it was not surprising that the police and the civil servants in the African townships took part in disseminating the PAC's antistrike leaflets.³²

In the atmosphere of brutal repression on the part of the white minority regime the concepts of "African exclusiveness" gained support among Africans, particularly among their politically backward strata. This found its most pronounced expression in the so-called "Poqo" movement.³³ The extent to which the Poqo movement was organizationally linked with the PAC remains an open question today even. Some Africans arrested for participation therein really were PAC members, but Poqo activity was basically of a spontaneous or semispontaneous nature. It was expressed not only in attacks on police stations and informers but also in murders of whites unconnected with the regime's organs of repression. And this

fact largely helped the authorities consolidate their positions among the white population, taking advantage of the "black threat" bugbear. The PAC leaders tried to accumulate the maximum political capital from the actions of embittered and desperate Africans. This was manifested particularly distinctly in the actions of PAC General Secretary P. Leballo. Following his brief detention in 1961, he was released and legally quit South African territory in August 1962. At a PAC conference held in the Basutoland (now Lesotho) capital of Maseru he was elected chairman of the PAC Presidential Council (PAC President R. Sobukwe had been in prison since 1960). In this capacity O. (sic) Leballo held a press conference at the end of March 1963 in Maseru with the participation of foreign, South African, for the most part, journalists at which he announced that the PAC had already mobilized in South Africa 150,000 men for an armed uprising and that the PAC was directing the operations of Poqo.³⁴ There is no doubt that the figure cited by P. Leballo was fictitious, but his threats, which were seized upon by South African propaganda, brought about in whites a state close to panic and created a psychological climate which contributed to an even greater intensification of repression on the part of the authorities.

In addition, learning that an order had been issued in Basutoland for his arrest, P. Leballo fled his home, leaving behind "two boxes of papers and documents," which contained lists of the names and addresses of approximately 10,000 South Africans who were allegedly PAC and Poqo members. These lists were seized by the British colonial police and became the property of the South African authorities, which provided a pretext for mass arrests of people, many of whom had no connection with the PAC whatever.³⁵ The conviction spread among PAC activists that this entire P. Leballo business had been provoked by the secret agent of the South African police H. Lombard, who was at that time his close friend. At all events, less than 6 months later the British authorities canceled the arrest order on P. Leballo, and the South African authorities authorized his free exit from Maseru across South African territory.³⁶ There is one further detail of considerable importance concerning the story of P. Leballo's ill-starred press conference. Having openly linked Poqo's actions with the PAC, P. Leballo simultaneously declared that he was assuming leadership of the PAC on behalf of R. Sobukwe, and he did this 3 days prior to the expiration of the latter's term of imprisonment. The South African authorities thereby acquired one further pretext--on this occasion for the adoption of a special amendment to the law³⁷ making it possible to extend R. Sobukwe's imprisonment indefinitely.³⁸

After the ban on the PAC its leadership was unable to create any in any way strong clandestine structure in South Africa. But at the same time, taking advantage of the popularity gained following the events in Sharpeville and slogans of pan-Africanism, PAC figures were initially able to enlist support on the international scene. A PAC "provisional headquarters" was set up in Dar es Salaam, and offices in Accra, Cairo and a number of other African capitals.

Together with the ANC the PAC was recognized as a South African liberation movement by the Liberation Committee set up by the OAU, whose headquarters was established in Dar es Salaam also. And this fact, in turn, enabled the PAC to establish ties to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid and other UN bodies involved with problems of colonialism and racism.

However, immediately following PAC leaders' appearance outside of South Africa, divisions and squabbles began in their ranks which are still going on more than 20 years later. There is no need to enumerate all the factions and groups which have been created in the PAC in this time. We shall dwell merely on the situation within the PAC in the period following the "Soweto uprising" (June 1976), which initiated a new stage of the national liberation movement in South Africa. Once again contradictions and friction among leaders in the PAC, as far as armed clashes, intensified in Dar es Salaam. With the support of new "recruits," that is, persons who had arrived shortly before in Tanzania from South Africa and who were as yet unfamiliar with the situation in the organization, P. Leballo sought the expulsion from the Central Committee of a group of his opponents³⁹ headed by Ntantala, leader of the PAC's "military organization"--the so-called "Azania People's Liberation Army" (APLA⁴⁰). Leballo's "victory" was subsequently enshrined at a PAC consultative conference in June-July of the same year in Arusha (Tanzania),⁴¹ at which he was elected chairman of the PAC Central Committee. The conference's organizers had pursued one further goal--they had attempted to portray the PAC as an organization capable of uniting around itself other political forces opposed to the apartheid regime.⁴² In particular, (Ts. Mashinini), who had for a certain time in 1976 headed the Council of Student Representatives of Soweto⁴³ and who had been an emigre at first in Nigeria and then in Liberia, was invited to Arusha.

However, not even a year had passed before, in May 1979, P. Leballo was ousted from his position and forced to leave Tanzania for London. The PAC came to be headed by a "triumvirate" called a "presidential council" chaired by (V. Make), although the most prominent figure on it was, perhaps, D. Sibeko, who had for a long time been PAC representative at the United Nations. But shortly afterward, in June 1979, P. Leballo's supporters organized his assassination.⁴⁴ The triumvirate was liquidated, and (V. Make) assumed the office of PAC president.

But far from all PAC activists recognized (V. Make) as their new leader.⁴⁵ What was needed was a different figure who had not been mixed up to such an extent in the factional struggle and who would help to restore the authority of the PAC leadership both among its members and on the international scene. Such a figure was found when J. Pokela, who, after long imprisonment on Robben Island, arrived in Dar es Salaam at the start of 1981. He was immediately elected PAC chairman,⁴⁶ and (V. Make) receded into the background, becoming vice president.

But even if at all, J. Pokela succeeded in strengthening the ranks of the PAC and upholding its shaken prestige only to a slight extent and not for long. The group led by Ntantala, who had succeeded, following the quarrel with P. Leballo, in setting up in London the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party, which had not, incidentally, shown its worth in anything at all, returned to the PAC. But, on the other hand, a significant proportion of "APLA fighters," in Tanzania, refused to recognize the new leadership. Demanding the restoration in office of P. Leballo, who, as before, was calling himself "PAC Central Committee chairman," they wreaked havoc on 14 April 1981 in the PAC headquarters in Dar es Salaam and killed several of P. Leballo's supporters (P. Leballo died in January 1986).

The conflicts in the PAC leadership intensified even further following the death of J. Pokela on 30 June 1985. It was the endless internal squabbling and not its

struggle against the Pretoria regime which attracted attention to the PAC abroad, although each change in its leadership was accompanied by promises to step up the struggle against the South African regime. Thus H. Isaacs, who had been appointed head of the PAC International Department and who had earlier been a prominent figure of the Black Consciousness movement, declared in October 1981: "Give us 2 years. Then you will see us in action."⁴⁷ But 2 years passed and 3 and 4, but nobody has seen the PAC "in action". As far as H. Isaacs himself is concerned, he quit the PAC leadership, having quarrelled with Pokela, and even published in London a book showing the PAC in a highly unattractive form.⁴⁸

As 25 years ago, a penchant for self-publicity remains characteristic of the PAC leadership. It asserts without any grounds, for example, that the Soweto Uprising in June 1976 was the "culmination of a campaign" organized by the PAC.⁴⁹ Immediately following the operation by Umkhonto we sizwe--the ANC People's Army--against enterprises of the SASOL Company producing liquid fuel from coal, a PAC representative hastened to attribute it to his organization. But then, when this version proved groundless, PAC figures began, on the contrary, to call such operations "reckless" and to counterpose to them the preparations which were allegedly under way for a "planned permanent and prolonged armed struggle with the full participation of the masses."⁵⁰

But perhaps the sole combat operation of the PAC (if it can be considered such) was the dispatch in 1968 of a group of activists into Mozambique's Tete Province in cooperation with the COREMO splittist organization which was operating against FRELIMO.⁵¹ It was quickly intercepted by Portuguese troops, but this episode provided the PAC leadership with a pretext for disseminating information concerning an "offensive" of its combat detachments toward South Africa.

The scale of the PAC's political activity on South African territory is highly modest also. For example, according to the data of a poll conducted by THE STAR newspaper among Africans in September 1981, some 52 percent did not know the name J. Pokela.⁵²

The characteristic singularities which have been typical of the PAC as of the start of its existence have been preserved also. The same STAR newspaper wrote: "Officially it (the PAC--V.B.) is committed to majority rule and socialism, but the most stable point in its vague ideology has been sharp opposition to pro-Soviet communism."⁵³

The spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in southern Africa, the growth of the authority of the Soviet Union in this region and the strengthening of its ties to independent African countries are making it politically impossible for any organization pretending to a revolutionary role to openly occupy anti-Soviet, anticommunist positions. However, while officially declaring allegiance to a policy of "nonalignment" the PAC leadership is reducing it to "equidistance" from the United States and the USSR, while progressive forces in southern Africa regard the socialist countries as their "natural allies". In practical activity, however, PAC representatives, particularly in Western countries, are frequently, as before, sliding toward anti-Sovietism.⁵⁴

It should be considered also that the PAC maintains ties to extremist elements in a number of Afro-Asian countries. Thus a group of PAC activists underwent training in Cambodia in the period of domination there of the Pol Pot regime. And after its collapse (F. Merau), a member of this group, publicly justified the actions of the executioners of the Cambodian people.⁵⁵

Continuing, essentially, the policy of splitting the liberation movement in South Africa, the leaders of the PAC are criticizing the activity of the United Democratic Front--the broad coalition of South Africa's legal antiracist organizations. At the same time, inasmuch as it is now difficult for the PAC to pretend to the role of "sole revolutionary" organization or, at least, leading liberation organization in South Africa, the figures who broke off from the ANC are currently emphasizing in every possible way that they advocate unity.

What position in respect of the PAC is occupied by the ANC leadership?

It should be mentioned first of all that the ANC already has highly negative experience of interaction with the PAC. Following the ban on the ANC and the PAC in South Africa, part of its leadership which was overseas reached agreement on unification of the efforts of the organizations opposed to the racist regime on the international scene. The creation of the South African Joint Front was announced at a press conference in London on 11 May 1960. The participants in the front adopted a joint appeal to the international community for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. However, the PAC representatives soon began to sabotage the collective efforts, pretending to the role of sole spokesmen for the interests of the oppressed in South Africa. Their actions in the ranks of the front were essentially analogous with and parallel to the PAC leadership's policy of disrupting the Pietermaritzburg conference. By mid-1961 even the South African Joint Front had virtually ceased to operate, and its disbandment was officially announced on 15 March 1962.⁵⁶

The ANC leadership emphasizes that "unification of all strata of the black population and progressive whites in a revolutionary movement for the seizure of political power" is a basic goal of the policy, program, strategy and tactics of the ANC. It understands the question of unity on a multiple level here. It includes "a strengthening of unity within the ranks of the ANC itself, a policy of the creation within South Africa of a joint front with other organizations opposed to the regime and a readiness for united actions with any group expressing a desire to cooperate with the ANC on specific issues" and also the creation of legal organizations in South Africa for the purpose of the maximum possible mobilization of the people's masses.⁵⁷

It should be emphasized that the South African revolutionaries do not equate the PAC leadership and all its supporters. Back in 1965 the journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST wrote: "All members of the PAC and the participants in its campaign cannot be measured by a single yardstick. After all, there are among them many people whose loyalty and devotion to the cause of the African people cannot be doubted and who have been deceived by the false and high-flown claims to militancy and true 'African nationalism'."⁵⁸

Assertive activity pertaining to the political mobilization of the masses and the successful military operations of the Umkhonto we sizwe have created for the ANC

high authority both in South Africa itself and overseas. In recent years the ANC's position on questions of unity in the struggle for national liberation have been encountering ever increasing understanding on the part of African countries also. This has been manifested, in particular, in the fact that PAC representatives were not invited to the March 1962 Maputo meeting of leaders of the Front Line states, which adopted a decision on "increased material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements--SWAPO (Namibia) and the ANC of South Africa,"⁵⁹--and to subsequent meetings held in the period 1983-1985 in Harare, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam and Arusha (Tanzania) and Maputo. Nor were PAC representatives invited to the conference on South Africa convened in September 1984 in Arusha on the initiative of the Socialist International and with the participation of the Front Line states and national liberation movements.

Voices are also being heard increasingly loudly against the traditional equal division between the ANC and the PAC of the assistance rendered by the OAU Liberation Committee and a number of specialized UN establishments. Furthermore, the organizational weakness of the PAC is preventing it making efficient use of the resources which have already been allocated. This, in particular, has been manifested in the delay in realization (in fact, frustration) of the plans for the creation of a PAC industrial training complex in the area of Bagamoyo (Tanzania) drawn up with the participation of the ILO. We would note for comparison that a similar ANC complex is already functioning successfully and expanding in the area of the Tanzanian city of Morogoro.

So, as a whole, both in South Africa itself and abroad the PAC's positions are currently quite weak. But has the attractiveness of the slogans with which it operated 25 years ago disappeared completely for the African population? Have the social strata in which it found support in the first years of its existence disappeared also? These questions can only be answered in the negative.

A prominent ANC leader--W. Sisulu--who was sentenced by the racists to life imprisonment in 1964, wrote in 1959, prior to the Sharpeville events: "It would be unrealistic to believe that a policy of extreme nationalism will in itself always be unpopular.... In a country like South Africa, where the whites dominate everything and where cruel laws are exercised by brutal methods, growing hostility in respect of the Europeans is a natural trend." Having noted "the growth of the barbaric repression of the Africans" on the part of the authorities and the "intentional elimination of all forms of normal human contact between people from different groups of the population" and also the "systematic bans and isolation from political activity of convinced and active antiracists among the Africans," W. Sisulu called the very appearance of the PAC "a serious warning to all South African democrats." "In some circumstances," he wrote, "the emotional conversion of the masses to destructive and exclusive nationalism could be a dynamic and indomitable force.... It would be stupid to imagine that the wave of black chauvinism provoked by the cruelty of the National Party (and, possibly, secretly encouraged and financed by it) could not someday sweep the whole country."⁶⁰

There have become even more "desperate and embittered" in South Africa in the last 25 years: among the Africans there are approximately 3 million unemployed, many of whom are in the position of Lumpen. The South African police reprisal against the inhabitants of Soweto in June 1976, the bloody repression in

subsequent years, the suppression, with the unconcealed participation of army units, of the protests against imposition of the new South African Constitution and against the apartheid regime as a whole in 1984-1986--all this has embittered many Africans even more. For this reason it can by no means be ruled out that a further exacerbation of the situation in South Africa could lead to an abrupt revitalization of "black racism" provoked by the cruelty of the white minority regime. And if the PAC itself has perhaps compromised itself unduly to be the organizational embodiment of such sentiments, African chauvinism in South Africa could be manifested in the activity of other organizations which will protest under similar slogans. A certain similarity is noticeable even now between the slogans advanced by the PAC in 1959 and the present program aims of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) (the ideology and practical activity of this organization merit special analysis).

For this reason the long experience of struggle of the SACP and the ANC for the cohesion of the revolutionary forces based on the "Freedom Charter," which proclaims equal rights for all South Africans, and struggle against splittist and chauvinist trends in the national liberation movement will retain its significance in the future also.

FOOTNOTES

1. See for more detail A.A. Makarov, "Struggle of South Africa's African Population," Moscow, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. "Information Report on the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa." Issued by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, 10th September 1961 (subsequently "Information Report...")
4. T. Lodge, "Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945," London--New York, p 37.
5. Quoted from A. Lerumo, "Fifty Years of Struggle. History of the South African Communist Party," Moscow, 1973, p 218.
6. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 81.
7. Ibid.
8. "Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa. Whom Does It Serve?" Document prepared by the African National Congress of South Africa, New Delhi, p 2.
9. Ibid.
10. V.P. Gorodnov, "The South African Working Class in the Struggle Against Reaction and Racism," Moscow, 1969, p 84.
11. The name of this organization is frequently translated in Russian as "Pan-African Congress," which leads to a mistaken identification of the ideology and

policy of the PAC with the ideology and policy of the pan-African movement. For more detail on the creation and first years of the existence of the PAC see V.P. Gorodnov, Op. cit.

12. "Information Report....," p 1.

13. "The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa....," p 1.

14. Quoted from "Statement of the African National Congress of South Africa on the Question of Unity With the Pan-Africanist Congress," Dar es Salaam, 1978, p 5.

15. K. Luckhardt, B. Wal, "Organize or Starve! The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions," London, 1980, p 384.

16. Quoted from "Information Report....," p 5.

17. Quoted from *ibid.*, p 4.

18. V.P. Gorodnov, Op. cit., p 90.

19. Quoted from "Information Report....," p 5.

20. Quoted from V.P. Gorodnov, Op. cit., pp 85-86

21. *Ibid.*, p 8; T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 85.

22. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 203.

23. "Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa....," pp 3-4.

24. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 205.

25. *Ibid.*, pp 206-208.

26. *Ibid.*, pp 210, 217.

27. Quoted from "Statement of the African National Congress....," p 2.

28. AFRICAN COMMUNIST, London, 1965, No 23, p 59.

29. *Ibid.*, T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 204.

30. Quoted from "Statement of the African National Congress....," pp 7-8.

31. At the decision of the congress, which was held 25-26 March 1961 in Pietermaritzburg, the date of the start of the strike was 31 March--the day chosen by the Pretoria authorities for proclamation of the South African Republic.

32. "Information Report....," p 3.

33. In translation from the Xhosa language this very word means "pure" or "alone" and was to symbolize Africans' aspiration to conduct a struggle for freedom.
34. "Statement of the African National Congress....," p 17.
35. Ibid., pp 17-18.
36. "Statement of the African National Congress....," p 21.
37. R. Sobukwe was released from prison only in 1974 and banished to Kimberley, where he took up the practice of law until his death in 1978.
38. "Statement of the African National Congress....," p 22.
39. "The Crisis in the PAC," 1978, pp 2-5, 10-12.
40. Azania is what PAC members and also supporters of the Black Consciousness movement call South Africa.
41. It is significant that among the mutual recriminations at the conference was the charge of continued cooperation with UNITA. In addition, since 1963 even the PAC had maintained close ties to another Angolan splittist organization--the FNLA.
42. "Salute the 2d Consultative Conference of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania!" New York, 1978.
43. Ibid., p 44.
44. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 344.
45. "The Profiles of Leballo's Gang," Dar es Salaam, pp 22-24.
46. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 344.
47. THE SUNDAY MAIL, Salisbury, 4 October 1981.
48. H. Isaacs, "The PAC: Anatomy of National Liberation Movement," London, 1984.
49. United Nations. Centre Against Apartheid Notes and Documents. Special Issue, October 1984. Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.
50. Ibid., p 7.
51. T. Lodge, Op. cit., p 312.
52. THE STAR, Johannesburg, 23 September 1981.
53. Ibid.

54. "Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa). Mission to the UK and Continental Europe," Press Release, 11 March 1982. "British Anti-Apartheid Movement Practices Apartheid on Liberation Movements," p 2.

55. HAKIKA (Sydney), vol 3, 1981, No 4, January-March, p 9.

56. Quoted from V.P. Gorodonov, Op. cit., pp 111-112.

57. "Statement of the African National Congress...", pp 11, 25.

58. AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No 23, 1965, p 65.

59. SECHABA, April 1982, p 8.

60. Ibid., November 1981, pp 22-23.

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SOVIET-CHINESE BORDER DISPUTES IN MONGOLIA, XINJIANG RECALLED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 54-64

[Article by Ye.F. Kovalev: "From the History of Soviet-Chinese Relations (1917-1922)"]

[Excerpts] The article examines Soviet Russia's internationalist policy in respect of China in the period from the first foreign policy acts of the Great October Socialist Revolution through the formation of the USSR (December 1922).

The years 1917-1922 were an extremely tense period in the life of Soviet Russia. Civil war and stubborn struggle against foreign interventionists was under way in the country. Chinese militarists were taking part in the intervention in the Far East. But even at this grim time for the Soviet state it was the sole country which had proclaimed a policy of peace between peoples and had extended, in particular, the hand of assistance to the Chinese people in their struggle for the freedom and independence of their motherland.

In the Decree on Peace adopted by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets on 26 October (8 November) 1917 the Soviet Government addressed to all warring peoples and their governments a proposal for an immediate start on negotiations for a just democratic peace without annexations and indemnities* which would put an end to WWI. On 15 (28) November 1917 the Soviet Government again addressed to the governments and peoples of the belligerents the proposal that they embark together with it on peace negotiations. On 19 November (2 December) 1917 China, which had declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary on 14 August 1917, following the imperialist allied powers, failed to respond to the proposal of the Soviet Government that it join in the armistice negotiations (vol I, pp 28, 31, 29, 708). Nor did the Entente powers, including China, respond to subsequent similar appeals of the Soviet Government (vol I, pp 32, 42).

The Soviet Government endeavored to enlist the Chinese Republic in negotiations opening the way to the establishment of peaceful, equal and good-neighborly relations between the two countries. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations was also a priority condition of the Soviet state rendering the Chinese

* "Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR," vol I, Moscow, 1957, pp 11-13. Subsequently references to this publication are made in the body of the article.

people foreign policy support and assistance in their struggle for national independence and freedom. This support objectively strengthened China's international positions and its resolve to resist the imperialist policy of violation of the Chinese people's sovereign rights.

In the very first months of the Soviet state's existence it attempted to establish normal relations with the Chinese Government by way of negotiations therewith in Beijing and its diplomatic representation in Petrograd. The Soviet Government displayed an initiative which was unprecedented in the practice of international relations of that time, proposing to the Chinese Government the start of negotiations with Soviet Russia concerning an annulment of the unequal treaties which tsarist Russia had imposed on China in the past, in particular the 1896 Treaty, the 1901 Beijing Protocol and all agreements with Japan from 1907 through 1916 (vol II, p 221).^{*} In November 1917 the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs began negotiations with Lu Qinzhen, China's emissary in Russia. Despite the advantageousness of the Soviet Government's proposals, the Beijing leadership, which was under the control of foreign powers which were not interested in a normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, had broken off the negotiations by March 1918.^{**}

Endeavoring to establish normal relations with foreign states, by an order of 26 November (9 December) 1917 the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs relieved of their positions the tsarist ambassadors, emissaries and members of their missions who did not agree with Soviet Russia's international policy (vol I, p 43). It was communicated in a supplementary note to the Chinese Government that Prince N.A. Kudashev, former emissary of tsarist Russia in China, did not represent the Russian Government. Gen D.N. Khorvat was dismissed as manager of the Chinese Eastern Railroad at the same time (vol I, p 46). Ignoring the note, the Beijing Government continued relations with the diplomatic and consular officers of the former tsarist and Provisional governments who had been dismissed by the government of Soviet Russia (vol I, pp 234, 715).

In instructions of 22 February 1918 to the provincial soviet international departments the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs gave the reminder that in relations with China it was necessary to take into consideration the fact that "the Beijing Government is not the spokesman for the will of the Chinese people and is conducting a struggle against the people of South China who have raised an insurrection against the reactionary North and who have formed the Federal Republic" (vol I, p 110). The Soviet Government declared that its sympathies were on the side of the Guangzhou (Canton) revolutionary-democratic government headed by Sun Yatsen in the fall of 1917 and not on the side of the reactionary Duan Qizhui government in Beijing.

A big place in Soviet-Chinese relations of the period in question was occupied by the Mongolian and Xinjiang issues.

^{*} M.S. Kapitsa, "Soviet - Chinese Relations," Moscow, 1958, p 11.

^{**} Ibid., pp 10-12; S.S. Khuseynov, "The Imperialist Powers' Interference in the 1917-1918 Soviet-Chinese Negotiations" in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 5, 1962, p 90; "Soviet-Chinese Relations. 1917-1957. Collection of Documents," Moscow, 1959, p 44.

The overthrow of the Chinese Ching Dynasty and the formation of a national independent Mongolian state headed by the bodgo-gegen (head of the Lamaist Church) were announced in November 1911 in Urga (present-day Ulaanbaatar). Mongolia's independence did not last for long. In accordance with an agreement between tsarist Russia, China and Mongolia signed in Kyakhta on 25 May (7 June) 1915, the autonomy of Outer Mongolia was recognized within the framework of vassalage on China.* The government of the bodgo-gegen gave a hostile reception to the October Revolution and Soviet Russia's policy of friendship with the Mongolian people. Having consented to the commitment to the country of troops of the Chinese militarists, it embarked in 1918 on the path of liquidation of the autonomy, which had been supported by the herdsmen, despite its abbreviated nature, and Mongolia's conversion into a springboard of anti-Soviet intervention, the ringleader of which in 1920-1921 was the Japanese stooge Baron R.F. Ungern von Sternberg.

After the crushing of Semenov's band in the Soviet Far East, certain badly beaten White Guard detachments began to retreat to Mongolian territory. Thus on 2 October 1920 an Ungern detachment intruded there operating under the demagogic "restoration of autonomy" slogan, but in fact carrying out the Japanese imperialists' plan for the seizure of Mongolia. The White Guards occupied Urga and joined up with local elements hostile both to the Chinese Republic and the Far East Republic and Soviet Russia. The Chinese troops in the Urga region were not in a position to liquidate the White Guard bands with their own powers and appealed for help to the military command of the Far East Republic and the military command of Soviet Russia (vol III, p 324). The Soviet Government expressed a readiness to commit its forces inside Mongolia and assist in liquidating the White bands on Mongolian territory.

The Chinese garrison was able to independently dislodge Ungern's band from Urga and adjacent territory. For this reason, as the RSFSR Government note to the government of the Chinese Republic of 28 November 1920 observed, the Soviet authorities considered it possible to hold up the entry of their armed forces onto Mongolian territory, assuming that "the Chinese Government would adopt urgent energetic measures for the full and rapid liquidation of the said robber bands hostile to Russia" (vol III, p 346).

The power of the Chinese militarists was established in Outer Mongolia. Having spurned the Soviet Government's wish, the Chinese side not only encouraged the activity of the counterrevolutionary bands hostile toward Soviet Russia but itself began to put up every conceivable obstacle to the Soviet organizations in Mongolia. The Chinese authorities in Urga seized Tsentosoyuz resources worth several million rubles, prevented it purchasing livestock, confiscated forage stocks, banned the pasturing of livestock, arrested several employees of the cooperative organization and so forth. The note of the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Chinese Republic Foreign Ministry of 15 January 1921 said that such actions by the Chinese authorities were viewed by the Soviet side as the "unconcealed destruction and plunder of the Russian public cooperative organization" and "are of a nature manifestly hostile toward Russia" (vol III, pp 473, 474). The actions of the Chinese authorities were to the benefit of Semenov's bands. On 4 February 1921 Ungern's bands once again occupied Urga.

* "History of the Mongolian People's Republic," Moscow, 1983, p 276.

The Chinese authorities and part of the Chinese garrison fled to Maymecha (vol III, p 673).

The situation changed as a result of the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement and the formation on 13 March 1921 of the Mongolian Provisional People's Revolutionary Government. At this government's request units of the Red Army and the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far East Republic entered Mongolian territory in May 1921 to combat Ungern's White Guard bands, which were threatening not only the Mongolian Government but also Soviet Russia and the allied Far East Republic. On 6 July 1921 Soviet forces and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army liberated Urga of the occupiers. A people's revolution had conquered in the country (vol III, p 674; vol IV, pp 179-180 and pp 259-260, 261, 331-332).*

The Soviet side regarded its struggle against Ungern as a form of assistance to China also. L.B. Krasin's telegram to G.V. Chicherin of 6 July 1921 said that the secretary of the Chinese Embassy in London had visited the official representation of the RSFSR in Great Britain and delivered a verbal note from the Chinese Foreign Ministry on 30 June 1921. The note said that as a consequence of the capture of Urga by Ungern operating in conjunction with unlawful Mongolian elements the Chinese Government recognizes that the Soviet proposal concerning the passage of Soviet troops through Mongolia "is imbued with the spirit of friendly cooperation" (vol IV, pp 216-217). B.Z. Shumyatskiy, commissioner of the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in the Far East, reported in a telegram of 3 September 1921 to G.V. Chicherin, people's commissar for foreign affairs of the RSFSR, that Ungern's 7,000-8,000-strong cavalry had been smashed and that Ungern himself and his staff had been taken prisoner (vol IV, pp 305-306).

Soviet troops entered Mongolia when the Mongolian Provisional People's Government had already been proclaimed. This changed appreciably the formulation of the Mongolian question in Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet Government recognized the Mongolian people's government as the sole legitimate government of the country. An agreement between the two sides on the establishment of friendly relations was concluded on 5 November 1921 (vol IV, pp 476-480). The question of Soviet forces' stay in Mongolia switched entirely to the competence of the Mongolian Government.

Under pressure from the imperialist powers the Beijing Government, not recognizing the people's revolutionary government of sovereign Mongolia and contrary to the will of the latter, insisted to the Soviet side on the withdrawal of its forces from Mongolia. A. Paykes, commissioner of the RSFSR in China, emphasized, responding on 7 February 1922 to a letter of Li Yuan, representative of the Chinese Government of 2 February 1922, that the Soviet Government had no aggressive intentions in Mongolia and was waiting merely for "the Beijing government... to regulate its mutual relations with the People's Revolutionary Mongolian Government, at whose request Soviet forces are remaining temporarily in

* According to other data, Soviet forces entered Mongolia in June 1921--"Large Soviet Encyclopedia," 3d edition, vol 16, Moscow, 1974, p 507.

Mongolia to wipe out the White bands and maintain order" (vol V, p 86). The Soviet Government thereby made it clearly understood that the question of the withdrawal of Soviet forces needed to be decided not with the Soviet Government but merely with the Mongolian People's Government.

The Soviet state paid much attention to the establishment of good-neighborly relations with China on the Soviet Union's Central Asia borders. The areas of China bordering the Soviet state here had long-standing traditional trade relations with the Russian market. For the development of these relations the commissar for domestic and foreign affairs of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Republic sent a letter on 3 January 1919 to the commander of Chinese forces in Xinjiang Province's Kashgar District which said that Soviet Turkestan set as its "main task the maintenance of friendly relations with neighboring states by way of the development of trade exchange" (vol II, p 13). A Soviet commercial agency, which continued in existence until November 1919, was opened in Kuldja (Iliyskiy Kray). In Kashgar District the local governor, at Beijing's orders, prohibited entry to a Soviet trade representative (vol II, p 731). A meeting of representatives of the RSFSR and the Chinese Republic (Xinjiang Province) was held on 27 May 1920 in Kuldja, as a result of which the so-called Iliyskiy Protocol was signed. It was contemplated, in accordance with the protocol, "opening in Kuldja an agency of Soviet power for deciding diplomatic and commercial questions," and for the Iliyskiy authorities "an agency for deciding diplomatic and commercial questions in the city of Vernom" (Alma-Ata) (vol II, pp 546-547).

At the start of 1921 the Soviet state's anxiety was aroused by the protective attitude of the Chinese authorities of the Kashgar area to bands of Russian White Guards from the detachments of Dutov, Annenkov and others. The bands were supplied with food, and the authorities took them into their service. In addition, in Zaysanskiy Rayon the Chinese authorities themselves seized close to the River Ulkud Ulast Russian territory approximately 40 versts deep, preventing the Russian population availing itself of the water of this river to irrigate its fields, and arbitrarily felled and transported timber from Russian territory (vol III, pp 473-474).

The White Guard bands were damaging not only Soviet Russia but China also. These bands' outrages on China's territory forced the local authorities to address to the Soviet military command a request for assistance in eliminating the White detachments in the Chinese Republic. Thus in May 1921 the military governor of Tarbagatay District of Xinjiang Province addressed a request to the commander of Soviet forces of the Turkestan front to help the Chinese authorities liquidate the White Guard detachments of Novikov and Bakich (they had crossed the Chinese border in 1920). Refusing internment on Chinese territory, they occupied a number of inhabited localities in Tarbagatay District. An agreement was concluded on 17 May 1921 at the border post of Bakhty on the Soviet-Chinese border between representatives of Xinjiang and the command of the Turkestan front on the temporary commitment of Red Army units within the confines of Tarbagatay District for joint operations with Chinese forces against the White Guard bands. The Soviet forces liquidated the White Guard detachments on the district's territory in the course of May-June 1921, after which they quit the territory of China (vol IV, pp 320, 788). However, Bakich, with part of his detachment, succeeded in

breaking out of the encirclement and fleeing to Xinjiang Province's Sharasuminskiy (Altayskiy) District, where he proclaimed himself ruler of the district. A serious threat to the sovereignty of Xinjiang Province had been created. Considering this, the Xinjiang authorities sent the government of Soviet Russia a telegram requesting once again the commitment of Soviet forces to the province. Soviet-Chinese negotiations began in Chuguchak and Urumchi ([Dikhua]), as a result of which a Soviet-Chinese agreement was signed on 12 September 1921 in Chuguchak on the commitment of Soviet forces within the confines of the Chinese Republic for the joint elimination of the White Guard detachments in Sharasuminskiy District (vol IV, pp 320-322). By the end of September 1921 Soviet forces had completely freed the district of White Guard bands (vol IV, p 382). At the start of October 1921 Yan Jinxin, governor general of Xinjiang Province, sent the Soviet authorities a telegram in which he expressed gratitude to them for the assistance they had shown the Chinese authorities in liquidating the White Guard bands. The more so, as the telegram acknowledged, in that "the assistance in the elimination (of the bands) on the part of China was slight" (vol IV, p 790).

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LITERACY, BETTER MARXIST-LENINIST INSTRUCTION FOR ETHIOPIANS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 104-109

[Article by S.V. Balashov: "Elimination of Illiteracy and the Development of Education in Socialist Ethiopia"]

[Text] An important direction of the struggle of countries of a socialist orientation against socioeconomic backwardness is the elimination of illiteracy and an upsurge of the general educational and cultural level of the broad masses of the population. The example of Socialist Ethiopia, which has scored tremendous successes in the said sphere in the course of implementation of the revolutionary transformations, is convincing testimony to this.

The Program of National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, which was adopted in 1976, observes: "A program will be drawn up in the sphere of education which will gradually provide the masses at large with free tuition. This program will be geared to an intensification of the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. All necessary measures will be adopted for doing away with illiteracy. The development of science, technology, art and literature will be encouraged in every possible way. Every necessary effort will be made to rid various spheres of culture of imperialist domination and also domestic reactionary manifestations. The necessary conditions will be secured to ensure the development, success and growth of diverse spheres of culture, employing modern means and resources."¹

In the prerevolution period Ethiopia had one of the highest indicators of illiteracy in the world--approximately 93 percent of its population could neither read nor write.² In 1961, according to data of a conference on education in Africa conducted along UNESCO lines in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia occupied in the sphere of education one of the last places on the African continent.³ The Amharization policy pursued by the imperial regime provided for the spread only of Amharic (and also European languages, primarily English) and completely ignored the development of the languages of the other peoples inhabiting the country (there are approximately 90 of them altogether). Prior to the 1974 revolution programs in the sphere of education had been adopted mainly for political and propaganda purposes.

The situation in Ethiopia changed radically after the revolution. From the very outset the implementation of the program to eliminate illiteracy was closely tied in with the accomplishment of the socioeconomic tasks confronting the country. A specific embodiment of this policy was the "National Development Through Cooperation Campaign," known by the name of "Zemetcha," which was proclaimed in December 1974 and which continued right up until mid-1976. The purpose of "Zemetcha" was to explain to broad strata of the population, primarily the peasantry, which constitutes approximately 85 percent of the country's population, the essence of the democratic transformations and render the rural population practical assistance on a number of specific questions, including the organization of business activity, land reform, cooperation, propaganda of progressive agricultural experience, instruction in the habits of public health and hygiene, elimination of illiteracy and such. Approximately 60,000 young men and women (mainly high school senior grade students and also students and lecturers of higher educational institutions), who worked in the rural areas until June 1976, took part in this campaign.⁴ In the course of the "Zemetcha" approximately 750,000 persons attended illiteracy elimination courses, and 160,000 completed them successfully.⁵ Implementation of the "Zemetcha" campaign played an appreciable part in the development of the Ethiopian revolution and the involvement of millions of people in active struggle for democratic transformations in the country.

However, the struggle against illiteracy conducted within the "Zemetcha" framework was merely the start of a national campaign to eliminate illiteracy. An important part in this process was played by the declarations adopted by the government concerning control of the private schools and the running and control of all schools by the people's masses. City and rural teacher associations became responsible for tuition. A national campaign for combating illiteracy (literally the "National Literacy Campaign") was officially announced in 1979. For its realization a National Coordinating Committee was set up under the chairmanship of the minister of education which incorporated the representatives of 28 different government establishments and social and other organizations. Subordinate to it was the National Executive Committee, which had branches in administrative regions, provinces, districts, associations of urban residents and peasant associations and at plants and factories. Thus from the very outset the very structure of the steering and coordinating bodies for combating illiteracy was organized such as to enlist all strata of the population in the campaign. The campaign was conducted under the slogan "Any Place May Be a Center of Literacy". The campaign was broken down into separate stages (two stages every 12 months). At the first stages the main attention was paid to the elimination of illiteracy in the city, but currently increasingly great emphasis is being put on the tuition of reading and writing to the population of rural areas. Twelve stages had been implemented within the framework of the campaign by the start of 1985 altogether, at each of which specific tasks had been tackled.⁶

Great attention is being paid to reading and writing tuition in the languages of the peoples of Ethiopia. Whereas at the first stages of the campaign tuition at the courses to eliminate illiteracy set up throughout the country was conducted only in the five main languages (Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, Wolayta and Somali), as of the present textbooks and teaching aids have already been published in 15 languages in an edition of approximately 28 million copies, and the use of other languages is not precluded either.⁷

The efforts of the central government were greeted by the people's masses with enthusiasm. Thus in the course of the first campaign to eliminate illiteracy alone over 6 million persons were enrolled at the courses instead of the planned 1.5 million.⁸ Tens of thousands of teachers (instructors) were mobilized additionally for their tuition. Of course, not all those who enrolled in these courses managed to complete them successfully. There were 2.5 million dropouts in the course of the first stage.⁹ However, as an editorial article in the newspaper THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD observed, "a psychological atmosphere was created promoting the assimilation of elementary education."¹⁰ Besides, the national campaign to eliminate illiteracy afforded educated youth a chance to take a direct, active part in national development.

From 1979 through 1983 alone over 9 million persons were instructed in reading and writing, which was approximately six times greater than the achievement of the decade preceding the revolution.¹¹ Altogether, on the other hand, according to recent statistical data, 16.5 million persons have taken part in the campaign to eliminate illiteracy, of whom 11.3 million have completed the courses successfully, while the remainder are continuing their instruction.¹² Thanks to the efforts made by the government and the people's masses, the percentage of illiterates in Ethiopia currently is only 13.¹³ The UNESCO prize was conferred on Ethiopia in 1980 for the successes achieved in combating illiteracy.

The successes of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy in the cities are particularly significant. For example, illiterates among the Addis Ababa population, according to press reports, constitute less than 2 percent.¹⁴ Almost 73 percent of the adult urban population is literate in Eritrea.¹⁵ As the Ethiopian press reports, in dozens of cities illiteracy has been eliminated completely. Simultaneously increasingly great attention is being paid to the intensive instruction in literacy of the population of the rural areas (illiterates are already less than 50 percent here¹⁶). The latest stage of the campaign began in the fall of 1985. In addition to the courses to eliminate illiteracy in the country use is also being made of other forms of adult tuition. Some 270,000 persons in the cities and rural localities attend classes in evening schools. A system of correspondence secondary education operates.¹⁷

Big and disinterested assistance in combating illiteracy is being rendered Ethiopia by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Thus the USSR has made available free of charge for this purpose teaching aids, paper, radio receivers, motor vehicles and so forth. The GDR has made available teaching equipment worth more than 1 million birr.¹⁸

The offensive against illiteracy continues, acquiring qualitatively new features. The tradition of "functional literacy," which was instituted back in the period of the "Zemetcha" campaign and which consists of a combination of instruction of the broad masses of the population (rural primarily) in reading and writing and the practical skills of running the household, observing personal hygiene and such, is, in particular, enjoying continued development. A network of rural occupational centers, where together with instruction in reading and writing the peasants assimilate knowledge pertaining to agriculture and learn metal working and pottery and carpentry skills, has been created also. For this purpose the

teaching aids incorporate material on agriculture, rural construction, health care and so forth. Over ¹⁹9 million copies of such literature in 15 languages have already been published.

Great attention is being paid to consolidation of the knowledge that has been acquired. A system is being created for this throughout the country of "reading rooms"--kinds of village reading halls (6,600 of them have been built already)--special radio programs for persons who have completed the basic course of instruction in reading and writing are being devised and so forth. Seminars are conducted regularly in the Ministry of Education and various administrative regions of the country which analyze the results of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy and determine tasks for the future.

The campaign to eliminate illiteracy is serving as an important addition to the development of the system of school education of Socialist Ethiopia. This system has undergone fundamental change in the post-revolution period. In 10 years the number of students in educational establishments of all levels tripled.²⁰ According to official data of the Ministry of Secondary Education, in the 1974-1975 academic year the country had 959,000 students of the elementary school (up to the 6th grade inclusive), but in the 1983-1984 academic year 2.795 million, the number of students of the incomplete secondary school (7th-8th grades) constituted 124,000 and 295,000 respectively and students of the complete secondary school (9th-12th grades) constituted 65,000 and 286,000. The number of teachers in the three said categories of school grew from 21,000 to 48,000, 3,800 to 6,600 and from 2,500 to 7,500 respectively, and the number of schools from 3,200 to 7,200, 507 to 829 and 125 to 201 respectively.²¹

Prior to the revolution schools of all levels were concentrated mainly in the cities. Currently the system of elementary and secondary education is being reoriented increasingly toward rural areas. The progressive transformations implemented in recent years have contributed to this to a decisive extent. These included the declaration on land reform, which was adopted in 1975 and which transferred the land from the landowners to the peasants. As a result of this an opportunity appeared for solving such an "insoluble" question under the imperial regime as the apportioning of plots of land for the building of schools. Whereas the landowners and churchmen, citing the "sacred" right to private ownership, refused to make land available for school premises, the peasant associations which were set up in the country consider this, on the contrary, one of their priority tasks. This policy enabled the Ministry of Education, given the active participation of the local authorities and the public, to secure a position where in 1983 rural areas accounted for 60 percent of elementary school students, whereas they had accounted for only 25 percent in 1974. There is simultaneously a gradual, but unswerving increase in the number of young girls being taught in the schools. Currently the proportion thereof among elementary school students amounts to 37 percent.²²

In the prerevolution period elementary school teachers were trained by just one small college in Addis Ababa, whose lecturer personnel was staffed by foreigners. The country currently has 10 institutes training future teachers.²³ The ranks of elementary and high school teachers are being supplemented also by graduates of the university in Alemaya, the agricultural colleges in Jima and Ambo and the

Bahir-Dar Polytechnical Institute. Whereas in the 1960's and start of the 1970's high school teachers in Ethiopia were mainly foreigners, currently they constitute only 15 percent.²⁴

The growth of quantitative indicators in the school education system is being accompanied by profound qualitative changes. Mengistu Haile Mariam observed at the constituent congress of the Ethiopian Workers Party (EWP): "The main goal of our educational system is raising the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and ensuring a high level of development of S&T and the flowering of new culture and art."²⁵ The Educational Programs Center has been functioning since 1974 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. In 1980 the center drew up a new experimental tuition program for 70 schools. Its principal task is tying in the tuition process as closely as possible with the country's practical requirements; raising the educational process to a qualitatively new scientific-theoretical level and ensuring that the students understand the tasks of the transitional period en route to the socialist society, which, Ethiopian specialists believe, is possible only on the basis of the in-depth assimilation by both the students and teachers of Marxist-Leninist teaching.²⁶ Short-term courses are being organized for this purpose on the basis of various colleges for high school teachers' more in-depth study of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

The successes which have been scored in the sphere of elementary and secondary education required substantial expenditure on the part of the state. In the 10 post-revolution years it amounted to almost 2 billion birr. Expenditure on education in the said period amounted to 12.1 percent of the budget of current state expenditure,²⁷ although the country has been confronted by a number of urgent problems also. This testifies to the great significance which the country's leadership attaches to a rise in the population's general educational level. The socialist countries are rendering Ethiopia appreciable financial assistance.

The long-term 10-year plan of Ethiopia's socioeconomic development adopted at the First, Constituent, EWP Congress (1984) sets the following tasks in the sphere of education: accelerating the development of the system of polytechnical tuition, increasing the number of high school senior grade students in all parts of the country and bringing the entire system of education into line with the economy's specific qualified personnel requirements. It is proposed allocating almost 7 billion birr for the development of education.²⁸

The successes of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy and also the rapid development of the school education system predetermine the successes of the higher school also. Thus whereas in 1950 the university college which had been opened in Addis Ababa had only 21 students (not one female student), who were taught by 9 lecturers²⁹ and in the first post-revolution years in the country there were 5,000 students, currently there are 16,000 of them, and by 1994 the number of students will have risen to 30,000.³⁰ Since the time of the formation of the Higher Education Commission (January 1977) higher school diplomas have already been obtained by 18,500 citizens of Ethiopia.³¹ There has been a qualitative change in the post-revolution years in the entire system of higher education. Proclamation 109, which was adopted in 1977, set the higher educational institutions the following tasks: universal study of the fundamentals of

Marxism-Leninism, the training of highly qualified specialist personnel in accordance with the socioeconomic tasks confronting the country and the fundamental and applied research which Ethiopia needs. Courses in the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy were introduced in all higher educational institutions in accordance with these tasks.

A reorientation of the entire system of higher education from the predominantly humanitarian to the S&T field is under way at the same time. Whereas in 1973 the graduates of S&T faculties constituted only 27.6 percent of total higher educational institution graduates, currently their proportion has risen to 54 percent.³² According to the long-term 10-year plan of Ethiopia's socioeconomic development, specialists in S&T disciplines will constitute 60 percent of total higher educational institution graduates.³³ A similar trend is also characteristic of the profile of tuition of students sent to study abroad along state lines: 70.5 percent of them are studying engineering, medicine, agriculture and different branches of the natural sciences.³⁴

The foreign professorial-lecturer personnel is being replaced by national specialist personnel very intensively. Whereas prior to the revolution national personnel represented only 48 percent of higher school lecturers, their proportion has now risen to 74 percent, given a sharp quantitative increase in the professorial-lecturer personnel.³⁵

The socialist states are rendering great international assistance in the training of Ethiopian specialists by way of granting scholarships along state lines and also along social organization lines. The vast majority of Ethiopian students sent along state lines for training abroad acquires higher education in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other socialist countries. Approximately 3,000 young Ethiopians are now being taught in the USSR alone.³⁶

The Soviet Union's assistance to the development of the system of higher education and research in Socialist Ethiopia is of a plan-based, long-term nature, which is supported by the system of agreements between the USSR and this country. Thus the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty Between the USSR and Socialist Ethiopia, which is supplemented by the appropriate documents in various spheres, was concluded in 1978. An agreement on recognition of the equivalence of the degrees of graduates of higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia is in effect, for example; a protocol on scientific cooperation and an exchange of scientists is being realized successfully.³⁷ The decision was adopted at the Eighth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa University (November 1984) to hold the next, ninth, conference in 1986 in Moscow.³⁸ Soviet specialists are working fruitfully in the Plant Pathology Laboratory in Ambo (built with the USSR's assistance). The 20th anniversary of the Bahir-Dar Polytechnical Institute, which was built and equipped with the Soviet Union's assistance, was solemnly commemorated in Ethiopia in November 1983. A V.I. Lenin memorial was solemnly unveiled on the grounds of the institute in honor of this anniversary.³⁹

An editorial article in THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD observed: "Education is the key to social progress."⁴⁰ The results of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy and the development of the educational system in Socialist Ethiopia fully confirm this proposition. The number of people in the country who are not simply able to read

and write but who are becoming in the tuition process to an increasingly large extent aware of their role in the fulfillment of the profound socioeconomic transformations outlined by the EWP is growing. All this is contributing to a further strengthening of the base necessary for the country's progress along the path of a socialist orientation.

Considerable successes have been scored in the 10 years of the revolution in the sphere of education. In the first 7 years of the revolution the main attention was paid to the reorganization of formal education. In recent years there has been a change toward the spread of different kinds of informal education for the purpose of covering a larger number of areas (rural primarily) and toward the development of polytechnical information. The plan of economic and social development (1984/1985-1993/1994) provides for even bigger achievements in the field of education. The party has proclaimed as the main goal of political-educational work the formation of a scientific, socialist world outlook.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia," Addis Ababa, 1976, pp 14-15.
2. "Every Ethiopian Will Be Literate and Will Remain Literate," Addis Ababa, 1984, p 8.
3. "Education in Socialist Ethiopia. Origins Reorientation. Strategy for Future Development," Addis Ababa, 1984, p 70.
4. THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 20 December 1984.
5. "Every Ethiopian Will Be Literate...", p 13.
6. Ibid., pp 17-18.
7. Ibid., p 22.
8. Ibid., p 30.
9. Ibid., p 32.
10. THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 27 April 1984.
11. "Every Ethiopian Will Be Literate...", p 41.
12. THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 6 April 1985.
13. Ibid., 14 April 1984.
14. Ibid., 2 June 1985.
15. Ibid., 17 January 1964.

16. "Every Ethiopian...", p 44.
17. PRAVDA, 21 October 1985.
18. "Every Ethiopian...", p 36.
19. Ibid., p 27.
20. KOMMUNIST No 13, 1984, p 97.
21. "Education in Socialist Ethiopia...", pp 54-55.
22. Ibid., p 45.
23. Ibid., p 33.
24. Ibid., p 35.
25. PRAVDA, 8 September 1984.
26. MESKEREM No 12, 1983, Addis Ababa, p 72.
27. "Education in Socialist Ethiopia...", p 53.
28. Ibid., pp 50, 53.
29. THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 19 November 1983.
30. Ibid., 28 May 1984.
31. Ibid., 31 October 1984.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. PRAVDA, 8 September 1984.
37. THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 10 September 1982.
38. Ibid., 2 December 1984.
39. Ibid., 5 June 1983.
40. Ibid., 7 July 1985.

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BOOK ON OIL'S ROLE IN IRAN'S ECONOMIC, HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 180-185

[R.N. Andreasyan review of book* on Iran and its oil]

[Text] The oil factor in many Persian Gulf countries has for a number of decades been a most important engine and inalienable component of social development. Not only the specific features of these states' incorporation in the world economy but also the singularities of the coming into being of an industrial system of productive forces therein and the formation of a modern-type socio-class structure are viewed through the prism thereof. Most instructive, perhaps, in this group of countries is the experience of Iran, in which struggle against the foreign oil concession developed for the first time in the history of the Near and Middle East into the main axis of social-political life and led in time to nationalization of the oil industry. Iran was also the first oil-exporting country to purposefully use the large oil revenues for the accelerated capitalist transformation of society on the path of industrialization. At the same time it was in Iran that the strategy assuming the possibility of "buying" development and progress with the oil income without a decisive struggle against precapitalist structures and relations and without the achievement of genuine national independence suffered a crushing defeat. Finally, it was Iran which was the subject of the sole experiment of its kind pertaining to use of the oil income for the building of an "Islamic economy" and a "just Islamic society," which, the country's leaders intend, are to serve as a subject for emulation worldwide.

The Iranian experience, with its unique and typical features, has long been attracting specialists' attention. But it was only with the publication of the monograph in question that our national oriental studies acquired a sound comprehensive study of the mutual influence of the oil and sociopolitical factors over more than 100 years of Iran's history (we recall that the first oil concession to foreign capital was granted in Iran in 1872). Precisely the fact that the author has traced the development of events of Iran's history from a perfectly definite and strictly sustained viewpoint has imparted to his work

* S.M. Aliyev, "Neft i obshchestvenno-politicheskoye razvitiye Irana v XX veke" [Oil and Iran's Sociopolitical Development in the 20th Century], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izd-va "Nauka", 1985, pp 302.

monographic wholeness and consistency. S.M. Aliyev has demonstrated here both a professional knowledge of recent and most recent Iranian history and an ability to find his bearings in the complex specifics of the oil industry and the capitalist hydrocarbons market. A valuable aspect of the book in question is the author's enlistment of a large number of sources in various languages and the use and introduction in scientific circulation of little-known or completely unknown documents, eyewitness testimony and memoirs.

To speak of the content aspect of the monograph, it should be mentioned that it adduces interesting data on the class structure of Iranian society at the main stages of its recent and most recent history, contains convincing evaluations of the political parties and organizations representing the interests of the most diverse social strata and provides striking and objective descriptions of the principal characters of the events in question, primarily such important figures as M. Mossadeq and Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Thus S.M. Aliyev has clearly shown the progressive and conservative features of M. Mossadeq as a person and as a politician, ideologue and organizer of the struggle for nationalization of the oil industry and painted convincing portraits of his temporary associates and adversaries--ayatollahs Kashani, M. Baqai, H. Makki, H. Maleki, H. Fatemi and others. The balanced and realistic interpretation of the personality of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi has to be considered a success for the author. He is portrayed, as distinct from the usual stereotypes, not simply as a puppet of American imperialism but as the authoritarian leader of the upper stratum of the exploiter classes who was concerned primarily for the interests of this stratum of society. True to these goals, he turned for assistance to the Western powers in order to put down the democratic movement and consented to concessions to them at the expense of national interests, turning his country into an American military springboard against the USSR. At the same time he did not miss an opportunity to conduct a struggle with imperialism for a redivision of the oil income to his benefit and acted counter to the interests of the United States and Britain, having begun the implementation of a vast program of Iran's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states on mutually profitable terms. It is not inappropriate to mention that at the end of the 1970's the volume of this cooperation was far greater than now.

The shah and his closest advisers displayed a certain boldness when they took a number of steps pertaining to the capitalist transformation of society and came into conflict with some of the feudal lords and a powerful coalition of the Shia clergy. That the "revolution of shah and people" pursued knowingly incompatible goals: transforming the basis on a capitalist industrial footing and simultaneously actually preserving the feudal superstructure, promoting the development of private-enterprise capital and at the same time strengthening the positions of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, expanding education and at the same time increasing despotic power and building a "new, mighty Iran" and continuing the unequal relations with the West was another matter. All these contradictions and collisions are profoundly illustrated in S.M. Aliyev's work.

As mentioned above, the author set himself the goal of showing the systemic connection between oil and Iran's social-political development. Of course, right up to the end of the 1940's it was hardly possible to speak of the systemic nature of this connection inasmuch as the revenues from oil exports accruing to

Iran were negligible and were not at that time playing an appreciable part in the accumulation process, although some of them were already being spent on the construction of industrial enterprises and the implementation of monetary reform, and the country's most populous detachment of the industrial proletariat had arisen in the south of Iran (pp 66-69). In illustrating this period S.M. Aliyev traces mainly the mutual relations of the monarchical power and the British oil concession, showing that the successes of the Iranian authorities in the struggle for an increase in revenues from liquid fuel exports were very modest.

At the end of the 1940's the aspiration of the national bourgeoisie to acquire important sources for financing production investments and the struggle of broad democratic forces against the plunder of the country by British imperialism developed into a broad movement for nationalization of the concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The monograph reveals how the national bourgeoisie and the spokesmen for its interests wished to confine the goals of this struggle to liquidation of the concession and a weakening of the role of the shah, while the progressive forces pursued a policy aimed at the overthrow of the autocracy and the creation of a democratic republic. The class and political narrowness of M. Mossadeq and his closest advisers contributed to a considerable extent to the defeat of the national patriotic movement: the popular protests of 1952 and 1953 were put down. As S.M. Aliyev rightly observes, despite the growth of the authority and influence of the Tudeh, this party could not have headed a national struggle not only on account of the repression which was rained down on it and certain mistakes which it made but also because at that time tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution were the order of the day. Ultimately the right wing of the national bourgeoisie broke with the popular movement, M. Mossadeq did not venture upon profound transformations and the religious masses, as a result of the treachery of Ayatollah Kashani, actually operated in alliance with reaction (p 134).

The book illustrates just as clearly the political process of the 1960's-1970's, when as a result of the gradual establishment of state control of the oil industry and the increased taxes on foreign companies and, in the 1970's, as a result of the manifold rise in oil prices by the participants in OPEC the revenues obtained from this source were the dominating factor of the entire reproduction process. Approximately one-half of gross domestic investments in fixed capital in the 1970's was formed and all the country's development plans were financed from these revenues. As a result Iran had by the end of the 1970's become the most economically developed state in the Persian Gulf.

At the same time S.M. Aliyev emphasizes that this development was accompanied by extremely contradictory processes. The policy of industrialization, which was positive in itself, and the proclamation of agrarian reform and certain other transformations in fact led to an acceleration of capitalist development "from above," subordinated it to the interests of the court, the shah's clique and the haute bourgeoisie, contributed to the consolidation of the authoritarian-bureaucratic regime and did little to further social progress in the true meaning of this word. In the countryside the capitalist transformation of the semifeudal landowners and the increase in the numbers of capitalist farmers and well-to-do peasants resulted in the mass ruin of the peasantry and its increased drift to the cities, where it reinforced the social lower orders (pp 169-171). Owing to

the inadequate development of the domestic engineering sectors the oil industry was unable to completely overcome its enclave role in the national economy. The persistent enlistment of foreign firms in participation in the capital of the industrial enterprises which were being created and the preservation for the participants in the cartel of the monopoly of the supply of equipment and machinery for the development of oil and gas industry predetermined, among other factors, the dependent nature of Iranian capitalism.

The author calls attention to the particularly acute disproportions which were manifested in the life of Iran such as the juxtaposition of the public sector and big private capital and the petty capitalist and petty commodity structures, which were neighbored by the subsistence structure; the unchecked enrichment of the upper crust of society and the increased well-being of part of the middle strata under the conditions of the impoverishment and pauperization of the broad masses of the population; the strong influx of financial resources in an atmosphere of inflation, which contributed to a rise in the cost of living; the intoxication of the shah's upper crust from the huge revenues and inability to make rational use of them in its own long-term interests; the formation of a new industrial-banking bourgeoisie and even local monopolies, given preservation of the authoritarian-despotic power of the shah; the Westernization of certain living conditions and simultaneously the infringement of the positions of the Shia clergy (pp 208-210). At the same time S.M. Aliyev rightly objects to the belittling or reduction to nothing of the significance of the reforms of the 1960's, believing that they had been brought about by objective requirements, but that they contributed just as objectively to the political crisis and revolution of 1978-1979 (p 214). We can agree fully with the author's substantiated conclusion that the influence exerted by the huge proceeds from oil exports on the emergence of the crisis of the end of the 1970's cannot be absolutized inasmuch as such an interpretation thereof pushes into the background two most important points: the failure of the program of reforms and the incompatibility of the accelerated development of capitalism and the preservation of the omnipotence of the monarchy and the predominance of religious ideology (p 238).

Characterizing the place of the oil factor in post-shah Iran and its role in the ideology and policy of the Islamic regime, S.M. Aliyev is critical of the regime's attempts to alleviate social inequality by means of the practical implementation of Shi'ite dogma and shows that the strengthened public sector has not become the driving force of development of post-revolution Iran (p 258) and that the new Iranian leadership has been unable, owing to its petty bourgeois social orientation and adherence to religious fundamentalism, to formulate a socioeconomic program corresponding to the interests of the development of the country's productive forces (p 268). At the same time the work correctly observes that the big revenues from oil have enabled the new regime to withstand the imperialist blockade, maintain an at least minimally tolerable living standard of the population, undertake economic building and even finance the war with Iraq. Thus the oil income has proved just as substantial a financial base for the new regime as for the previous one. Is this base sufficient for ensuring the stability of the Islamic regime in the future also? The author believes, and we have to agree, that "many of the problems which in the past brought about a deepening of the contradictions between the shah's regime and the people's masses are intensifying once again" (p 276). With this important conclusion S.M. Aliyev concludes his study.

It is difficult to expect, of course, a major work such as the monograph in question to contain no contentious assertions and individual oversights. I shall dwell on some of them.

Insufficient attention is paid, I believe, when enumerating the reasons for the defeat of the movement for nationalization of the oil industry (p 135) to such important external factors as the almost undivided sway on the capitalist liquid fuel market at that time of the international oil cartel and the lack of effective support for Iran on the part of the Arab oil-exporting countries, which were represented in that period by pro-imperialist regimes. Yet these conclusions are contained in the book "The Near East: Oil and Independence," which was published a quarter of a century ago and which contains quite a detailed analysis of the above-mentioned stage in Iran's history.* While understanding that an independent study of the causes and consequences of the energy crisis (pp 203-205) was not a part of the author's task I would note nonetheless that the book in question takes insufficiently into consideration the studies of this question available in Soviet scientific literature.

S.M. Aliyev is not always consistent in his analysis of the reasons for the crisis of the shah's regime. Thus while believing mistaken the views expressed by Western authors according to which the 1978-1979 revolution represented primarily a conflict between the shah's modernization and traditionalism (p 272) he believes, for his part, that "contradictions born of the accelerated development of capitalism had acquired considerable seriousness" (p 271) in Iran. Elsewhere S.M. Aliyev provides a somewhat different emphasis, pointing out (entirely justifiably, in my view) that the capitalist structure in Iran "had not become the dominating structure on the scale of the entire Iranian economy" (p 215), traditional forms and methods of business still retained significant positions and the bulk of the gainfully employed population was connected primarily with the petty bourgeois structure, which was undergoing an acute structural crisis. He goes on to write about the youthfulness, inexperience and weakness of the Iranian proletariat, which had maintained its allegiance to religion to a considerable extent, noting particularly that the leaders of the mass protests against the shah's authorities were primarily the "traditional" middle urban strata and the stratum of workers, paupers, students and trainees connected with it. Any ideology that was not religious and nationalist was unintelligible to these masses, with the exception, perhaps, of the students (p 246).

The latter assertion is not entirely accurate. The "leaders" of the mass protests were the Shi'ite mullahs, whose influence up to that point had been based on the prevalence of precapitalist and early capitalist structures and their corresponding social mentality. The repression of the shah's regime against the revolutionary forces of the left and the workers movement contributed to the growth of their influence, of course. The Shi'ite clergy made adroit use in its own interests of both the discreteness of the democratic forces and the obvious fact that the shah, as distinct from the Arab oil monarchies, simply lacked, apart from all else, sufficient revenues from oil to raise the living standard of the vast mass of the population and thereby dampen the incipient conflagration of social protest (in the Arab monarchies the political lack of rights was compensated by the satiation of the small indigenous population, while the clergy is an integral part of the political system).

* See R.N. Andreasyan and A.Ya. Elyanov, Op. cit., Moscow, 1961.

As far as the mass base of the Shi'ite movement was concerned, it was and to a considerable extent remains primarily the social stratum of the urban lower orders--the marginals and paupers--and also the lowest strata of the petty bourgeoisie, in other words, all those who remained on the sidelines of the "oil prosperity". It was from them and from enthusiastic youths with an inadequate grasp of politics--the trainees and students--that units of the "Revolutionary Guards"--the militarized bulwark of the new regime--were formed. It remains an incontrovertible fact that it was the traditional forces headed by the Shi'ite clergy which were able to head the revolution and seize power in the new Iran. They rejected not only the exploiter ideology of capitalist modernization but also ideas of modernization altogether, replacing them with the world outlook of medieval obscurantism, which inevitably had to have turned back the country's development in many respects.

While in no way denying the significant role of the contradictions occurring within the capitalist sector I believe it necessary to emphasize once again that it was not they which were the main cause of the revolution. Otherwise it would have been characterized by a different social base, different driving forces and a different nature of power. The main singularity and specific feature of the 1978-1979 Iranian revolution is precisely the fact that the shah's regime disintegrated not under the pressure of contradictions of the capitalist society but mainly under the burden of the strains caused by capitalist transformations which had not been carried through to the end. The Iranian revolution was a classic expression of the crisis of a dual structure of society exacerbated to the utmost. As a result power came to be in the hands of representatives of the traditional and petty bourgeois structures, who proved stronger than the main classes of the modern capitalist structure.

In conclusion I would like to mention that the merits of S.M. Aliyev's interesting work are its analytical nature, the independence of the author's position on important problems of the evolution of Iranian society and the cogency of the main conclusions.

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SOVIET-CZECH COLLECTION OF ARTICLES ON CHINESE HISTORY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 24 Mar 86) pp 185-188

[A.V. Pantsov, V.V. Malyavin review of collection of articles by Soviet and Czech sociologists]

[Text] Scholars of the socialist countries have for many years been cooperating actively in the study of various aspects of Chinese history. The work in question,* which represents the first experience of a joint scientific publication of Soviet and Czechoslovak sociologists, also testifies to the fruitfulness of such cooperation. The digest was prepared by the Department of Sciences of Asia and Africa of the Charles University (Prague) Philosophy Faculty and the History of China Department of the Asian and African Countries Institute of the Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov under the editorship of their leaders--M. Kubeseva and M.F. Yuryev. The book incorporates articles on central problems of the history, ideology and historiography of Chinese society--from ancient times to our day. The studies have been constructed on the basis of a collation of a broad range of material, interpreted anew and in a number of instances put into scientific circulation for the first time.

M. Kubeseva's article "Modern Chinese Historiography on CCP Policy of 1958" is of undoubted interest. In the author's opinion the event which exerted a determining influence on the formation in contemporary Chinese literature of the view of the 1958 "great leap forward" policy was the 11th CCP Central Committee Third Plenum (December 1978), which initiated a critical evaluation of the experience and lessons of the history of the PRC. In 1979-1980, however, only certain negative aspects of the "great leap forward" policy were subjected to reinterpretation: nonobservance of the principle of material stimulation, denial of the law of the plan-oriented, proportional development of the economy, the attempts at premature transition to communization of the countryside, the disregard for scientific, technical and professional knowledge and others (see p 44). The wide-ranging criticism, which developed into open condemnation of the theory and practice of "leaps forward," began as of the CCP Central Committee Politburo November meeting and the CCP Central Committee December Workers Conference of 1980. The criticism nonetheless touched only partly on the personality of Mao

* "Aktualnyye problemy istorii Kitaya. Sbornik statey" [Pertinent Problems of China's History. Collection of Articles], Prague, Charles University, 1984, pp 211.

Zedong, the organizer of the experiments which had earned the unfortunate notoriety. The latter circumstance, M. Kubeseva believes, testifies that "the new interpretation of the history of the political offensive of the leftist forces in China at the end of the 1950's reflects the complexity and contradictoriness of the attitude of different forces and currents in the CCP and in present-day China toward the experience of most recent history, which is inseparably connected with present-day life" (p 51).

M. Kubeseva's article is not only of a historiographical nature. Deserving of attention is the analysis made by the author of the methods which Mao Zedong employed to suppress the organs of the party and the state, form "synthetic policy models" and use the local party organizations against the center. M. Kubeseva shows that, having failed to obtain support in the central party and government bodies, Mao Zedong in 1958, just as subsequently at the start of the "cultural revolution," attacked the "central policy line," relying precisely on the provinces (p 41). This conclusion is confirmed by the newsreel of Mao Zedong's activity in 1958 put together by the author mainly from Chinese press material (see pp 55-82).

The work of the Czechoslovak social scientists M. Gruby subjects to a thorough critique the revisionist "Chinese model of socialism" concept presented on the eve and at the outset of the 1970's by R. Garaudy. The author develops the traditions of the Marxist evaluation of the views of R. Garaudy made in the works of I. Bauer and A. Lipert, Ye. F. Kovalev and Kh.N. Momdzhyan.* Adopting a negative attitude toward the revolutionary role of the proletariat in the modern era, R. Garaudy evaluated positively the nationalist course of Mao Zedong and his supporters and extolled the "cultural revolution," which is now characterized in China itself as a time of "discord and disasters" and a period of "feudal-fascist dictatorship". As M. Gruby emphasizes, the PRC's domestic development itself testifies to the fallacy of the "Chinese model of socialism" theory developed by R. Garaudy (p 96).

M.F. Yuryev's article analyzes the significance of the military factor in the Chinese revolution. The author shows the complex and contradictory process of the formulation of the CCP's Marxist-Leninist military policy and the creation and strengthening of the people's armed forces. Particular attention is paid to ascertainment of the correlation between revolutionary warfare and the mass movement of the proletariat and peasantry. The comparative evaluations of the speeches on this problem of a number of CCP leaders (Deng Zhongxia, Peng Pai, Mao Zedong, Qu Qiubai, Chi Hoshen and Chen Duxiu) are interesting. M.F. Yuryev emphasizes that it was the recommendations of the Communist International, in particular, the opinion of the Comintern Executive Committee Sixth, Enlarged, Plenum (March 1926) that the internal military forces of the Chinese national liberation movement "are called upon to strike the decisive blow at the military-feudal cliques and be the bulwark of China's national independence against

* See I. Bauer, A. Lipert, "The Insidious Preaching of a Renegade or the Abrupt Turnabout of R. Garaudy," Moscow, 1973; Ye.F. Kovalev, "The 'China Problem' in Roger Garaudy's Distorted Interpretation" in PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA No 2, 1973; Kh.N. Momdzhyan, "Marxism and the Renegade Garaudy," Moscow, 1973.

foreign imperialists,"* which contributed to the departure of many leading figures of the CCP from an underestimation of the role of the military factor and their recognition of the importance of revolutionary warfare. At the same time, however, as the article shows, the nationalist figures of the CCP absolutized the role of the military factor, disregarding other forms of struggle.

The specific significance of war and the army in China is explained primarily by the low level of development of the productive forces in the country, the insufficient formation of a uniform economic market and the insufficient development of modern social classes. All these factors have been illustrated in quite detailed fashion in Marxist literature.** At the same time a number of problems, primarily the singularities of the formation of individual detachments of Chinese workers, has as yet been studied insufficiently.

Yu.N. Kostousov's article partly makes good this lacuna. It investigates questions connected with a characterization of the Shanghai proletariat in the period of the 1930's-1940's. The author has collated and carefully analyzed a vast amount of statistical material concerning the distribution of workers and employees in 37 sectors of industry, transport, the trade sphere, service and culture (pp 30-31). The article shows the changes in the basic parameters characterizing the industry and proletariat of Shanghai over 12-15 years. Yu.N. Kostousov determines both the strong aspects of the Shanghai proletariat (high concentration at individual large-scale enterprises and the preponderance therein of factory-plant workers) and the weak aspects (territorial separation, close ties to the pauper-Lumpen masses of the city and countryside, low proportion of skilled workers and the illiteracy of the proletarians, the vast majority of whom were, moreover, women and children). Despite the significant weaknesses, the workers of Shanghai, as the article rightly emphasizes, could nonetheless have played a far more important part in the revolutionary processes in the country than was the case in reality. The Shanghai industrial proletarians were the most concentrated and organized social force under the conditions of the China of the 1930's-1940's--a natural participant in the anti-imperialist movement. However, the possibility of a stimulation of their social-political role was not realized as a consequence of the advancement to the fore of nonproletarian social forces in the national-democratic revolution and the predominant use of military forms of struggle.

Several articles in the digest in question are devoted to problems of the ancient, medieval and recent history of China. The article "Traditions of Armed Struggle of the Chinese Peasantry" was written by the deceased L.V. Simonovskaya, who was for many years head of the History of China Department of the Moscow State University Oriental Languages Institute (the present Moscow State

* "Strategy and Tactics of the Comintern in the National-Colonial Revolution in the Example of China," Moscow, 1934, p 123.

** See, for example, T.N. Akatova, "The Workers Movement in Kuomintang China. 1927-1937," Moscow, 1983; V.G. Gelbras, "Sociopolitical Structure of the PRC. 1950's-1960's," Moscow, 1980; O.Ye. Nepomnin, "Socioeconomic History of China. 1894-1914," Moscow, 1980; A.V. Meliksetov, "Socioeconomic Policy of the Kuomintang in China (1927-1940)," Moscow, 1977; A.S. Mugruzin, "Agrarian Relations in China in the 1920's-1940's," Moscow, 1970; and others.

University Asian and African Countries Institute). This work collates the results of the author's lengthy research in the field of the history of the peasant masses' antifeudal struggle in medieval China. L.V. Simonovskaya bases her conclusions on a wide range of historical material pertaining to a number of major peasant uprisings in feudal China, in particular, the Huang chao (ninth century), Fan La (12th century), Li Tzu-cheng (17th century), Taiping (19th century) and other rebellions. The article also takes into consideration the works of Soviet experts in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese peasantry: G.Ya. Smolin, Ye.B. Porshneva, V.P. Ilyushechkin and L.A. Borovkova.

As L.V. Simonovskaya shows, the main reason for the Chinese peasants' armed struggle was the high level of exploitation in medieval China. In the author's opinion characteristic features of the peasantry's antifeudal struggle were its spontaneity and lack of organization, vagueness of political goals, the local nature of this struggle and its religious coloration. Nonetheless, L.V. Simonovskaya observes, the insurgent peasants were characterized by an aspiration to introduce organization and order to the struggle and impart to it a distinct political and ideological focus. A significant place in the article is assigned an analysis of the social, economic and political content of the egalitarian slogans of the insurgent peasantry, which, as the author observes, represented the highest form of antifeudal ideology in China. However, L.V. Simonovskaya emphasizes that the insurgent masses were incapable of creating their own order and holding on to power.

The article by E.P. Stuzhina, assistant professor of the History of China Department of the Moscow State University Asian and African Countries Institute, "Certain Survivals of the Middle Ages in the Chinese City of the 19th-20th Centuries," was also published posthumously. Chronologically this work continues, as it were, E.P. Stuzhina's study devoted to the Chinese city of the era of developed and late feudalism.* It is based on the thorough processing of a vast body of sources, often very rare and difficult to get at. A previously unknown handwritten text of the shop charter of the (Shivanskaya) ceramics workshop is published as an appendix. The records of the stories of experts of handicrafts production made by E.P. Struzhina during her stays in China in 1959 and 1965 represent a special value.

The article shows convincingly that the urban structure on the eve of the creation of the PRC was characterized by a contrasting combination of general backwardness and elements of modern industrial production, and, furthermore, the evolution of forms of social organization lagged markedly behind the rate of development of the technological basis of production. The author's conclusion that by the 1960's this state of affairs had "developed into an acute conflict between progressive economic development and vestiges of the past" (p 126) is of a fundamentally important nature. E.P. Struzhina paints a picture of the domination of medieval vestiges in Chinese cities at the end of the rule of the Ching Dynasty even. The data adduced by the author on the preservation in the cities right up to the 1930's-1940's and frequently later of traditional corporative organizations with their institutions of shop elders and apprenticeship and their

* See E.P. Stuzhina, "Chinese Handicrafts in the 16th-18th centuries," Moscow, 1970; *ibid.*, "The Chinese City in the 11th-13th centuries," Moscow, 1978.

regulation of production and their religious functions are of considerable interest. The influence of the traditional urban institutions remained palpable even after the formation of the PRC. The material in E.P. Struzhina's article makes it possible to evaluate in a new light many economic and social processes in present-day China.

Z.G. Lapina's article examines the views of the eminent 11th century Confucian scholar Li (Gou) on the role and significance of education as an instrument of state policy. It is well known that Confucianism traditionally attached paramount significance to subjects' moral upbringing. We find in the works of Li (Gou), who was among the founders of the reform current in the Confucian thought of the Sung era, a most detailed study in the political thought of medieval China of this principle of the social program of Confucianism.

M.V. Kryukov's article "Chungguo: At the Sources of the Concept" is devoted to a central problem of the ethnic history of ancient China. It examines on the basis of the material of written sources the process of the formation of the ethnic self-awareness of the ancient Chinese reflected in the appearance and evolution of the "Middle State" (Chungguo) concept. Like many other ancient peoples, farming peoples particularly, the ancient Chinese considered the lands which they inhabited the center of the world. The sources of these ideas go back, as M.V. Kryukov shows, to the Yin era, although at that time ethnic self-awareness as such did not exist (p 190). As of the middle of the millennium prior to our era the ethno-centrist ideas of the ancient Chinese enjoyed further development under the influence of Confucian ideology. It was in the period of the Chan Kuo (5th-3d centuries before our era), the author believes, that the concept of a "Middle State" surrounded on four sides by "barbarian" peoples traditional for imperial China took shape. At the same time, however, the author observes, monuments to Taoist thought, in particular, the books "Zhuang-zi" and "Huai Nan-zi," contain a critique of the Confucian idea of the innate superiority of the Chinese to the barbarians.

As a whole, the digest "Pertinent Problems of China's History" represents successful experience of Soviet-Czechoslovak scientific cooperation in the field of oriental studies. I would like the publication of such digests to continue.

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