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JPRS L/9099

20 May 1980

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 11/80).

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USSR REPORT  
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INTERNATIONAL

ANALYSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CAPITALIST ECONOMIES

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 3, 1980 pp 93-102

[Article by V. Martynov: "The Basic Principles of the Economic Development of the Capitalist World."]

[Text] The definitive ruling principle of our era--the shift from capitalism to the communist structure on a world-wide scale--is manifested primarily in the following: the growth of the economic power of socialism and the profound changes in the class and political forces in favor of socialism in the world arena; the comparative deterioration of the positions of imperialism, the exacerbation of the economic, social and political conflicts in the capitalist system, and the growing strength of the international working-class movement; the intensification of the conflicts between the imperialist and the developing countries, the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle of the liberated states, and, accompanying this, an intensification of the processes of their social and political differentiation.

The revolutionary process of change from capitalism to socialism, a process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution, encompasses the entire historical era in which capitalism has been in the throes of a general crisis. As a historical principle, the general crisis of capitalism and its coming into being and development are the inevitable consequences of the exacerbation of the conflicts which are inherent in the very nature of capitalism. In our time this exacerbation of conflicts is redoubled by the character of those fundamental changes in the capitalist economic structure which involve the scientific-technical revolution [NTR]. The deep-seated interrelationship between the development of this revolution and the processes of intensification of the economic, social and political contradictions in modern capitalism was analyzed at the IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations], AS USSR-organized International Theoretical Conference held in Moscow in May 1979.

The revolution in science and technology and the perceptibly evolving unified "science-technology-production" complex, in which science functions

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as an indirect productive force, have led in the last third of a century to fundamental changes in many of the spheres of physical production. Essentially new equipment and technology in many of the production projects, atomic and space technology, robots, machines with programmed control, electronic equipment and its miniature forms, chemicalization of agriculture, incorporation of the achievements of biological science in this sector of the economic system, etc.--all this has qualitatively transformed production. There has been a sharp rise in the general educational, vocational, and skill level of the labor force--society's principal productive force; major changes have taken place in the very character of labor activity, making it more complex and more effective.

Application of the achievements of the NTR is the chief factor in the growth of national production in the recent decades. In the broad sense scientific-technical progress is what determines the current level of the equipment and technology of production, the changes in its sectorial and physical structure, the degree of production concentration and centralization (and thereby the resultant increase in the scale of production and saving in labor and material sources), the level of education and skill of the labor force, and the methods and system for the organization and management of production.

In the 1950-1960 period, as a result of scientific-technical progress, a number of the countries of developed capitalism significantly increased the rates of growth of the productivity of living labor (as compared to the 1920-1930 period), reduced the capital-output ratio for the output of the national economy as a whole and for industry in particular (on the basis of a qualitative improvement in the means of production and objects of labor), and significantly reduced the materials intensiveness of production (the proportion of physical input in the aggregate national product).

In the chief capitalist countries, by dint of scientific-technical progress as manifested in the new equipment and technology, at the beginning of the 1970's they had obtained a 70 percent increase in labor productivity as compared to 1950 and by increasing the skills of the labor force and improving the organization and management of production a 30 percent increase in the rest of the 1950's. In a number of countries (U.S. and FRG) there was a decline in the norm of production accumulation and a uniform development of the first and second subdivisions of physical production (with certain fluctuations in some periods). Primarily the intensive type of reproduction evolved in the United States but many of its aspects are seen in all the countries of developed capitalism.

The achievements of science and technology are used by the monopolies primarily for the purpose of insuring maximum profit. The capitalist production relationships preclude the use of all the fruits of scientific-technical progress in the interests of man and society or for overcoming the backwardness of the developing countries. At the same time, in its struggle with advancing socialism imperialism is attempting to employ scientific-technical progress for the creation of ever more destructive means of waging

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war and this is accompanied by a gigantic squandering of society's resources by the militarist machine. Capitalism stands in the way of solution of many of the problems common to all mankind, such as environmental protection, energy, raw material and food problems, the exploitation of the wealth of the world's oceans, etc.

At the same time, the relatively rapid rates of growth of domestic product and industrial output in the 1950-1973 period and the growth of labor productivity enabled the working class of the principal capitalist countries to obtain in the course of a persistent and bitter struggle with the monopolies, a significant rise in the level of real wages and consumption, which in turn had a stimulating impact on social production and its structure.

One of the natural attributes of the postwar development of world economics has come to be the acceleration of the process of internationalism and social production. This process has undoubtedly been furthered by the development of the NTR, by the stimulating effect of the intensification of the international division of labor, by the growth of the cooperative relations of the national economic systems, by the expansion of international production specialization and cooperation, and by the development of scientific-technical and economic exchange and intercourse among the states. The increasing importance of the world economic relations is indicated by the superior growth of international trade and export of capital, which in the postwar period have developed respectively 1.4 and 1.6 times more rapidly than industrial production. From 1950 to 1978 production and consumption of gross domestic product (VVP) in the developed capitalist countries have increased more than three-fold and the volume of their foreign trade more than six-fold.

However, despite the enormous expansion of the domestic and foreign markets and the development of a far-flung system of state monopolistic regulation of economics, the acuteness of the economic and social contradictions in capitalism has not diminished but rather has been sharply intensified.

#### Exacerbation of the Economic Contradictions in Present-Day Capitalism

The principal factor in intensification of the contradictions in the capitalist system and in its ultimate downfall, as K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin showed, is exacerbation of the conflict between the productive forces and the production relationships correlating with the growth of the former, a growth in which NTR plays a rather substantial role. These are precisely the reasons for the intensification of capitalism's basic conflict between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation of the results of the labor process.

In delineating the economic characteristics of imperialism, V. I. Lenin emphasized the fact that in this stage of capitalism some of its basic features become its contradictions and that there evolved and were observed

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the features of an era of transition to a higher structure. "Capitalism in its imperialist stage," wrote Lenin more than 60 years ago, "comes close to amounting to the most comprehensive socialization of production and it drags the capitalists, so to speak, against their will and consciousness, into some new social order, one which is transitional between full freedom of competition and full socialization."<sup>2</sup>

The development of the productive forces of the capitalist countries, a development accelerated by the scientific-technical revolution, resulted in the conversion of capitalist production in the postwar period of a qualitatively higher level of its socialization. This was manifested, first, in the transformation of science into a direct productive force and in an organic merging of science, technology and production in a single complex. It was manifested, secondly in the further increase of production specialization and cooperation, in the development of vertical integration and mutual build-up of the sectors and spheres of social production, in the formation of functional economic complexes (agroindustrial, fuel and energy, etc.), in a close dependence of physical production on the nonproduction sector of the national economy, and in the new economic role in the development of the economic system played by education, public health care, the tourist "industry" and recreation. It was manifested, thirdly, in the sharp acceleration of the internationalism of capitalist production on a worldwide scale, the colossal growth of the power of the international monopolies, and the development of integration of the national economies, a trend most clearly reflected by the EEC. This growth of the socialization of production is sharply intensifying the objective need for systematic management of the economy and it ultimately dictates the need to establish the status of social property for the means of production.

Under capitalism socialization of production proceeds primarily in the form of further monopolization of the economic system and subordination of it to the interests of finance capital. Without dwelling on all the aspects of this complex process, we would like to point out that the dominant position in the economics of the developed capitalist countries has been held by the diversified complete monopolist associations of the concern type and that the world capitalist economy is dominated by the international monopolies (the so-called transnational corporations--TNK), whose rapid growth in the recent decades is the most important phenomenon in the development of present-day monopoly capitalism.

At the present time the TNK are producing more output than any capitalist country, except for the United States. They control nearly three-fifths of the world capitalist trade and one-third of the commodity turnover is accounted for by intracorporation deliveries between the center and its foreign affiliates. While linking together the national economies of the various countries of the capitalist world, the TNK's at the same time lead to its increasing instability and to the deep-seated contradictions and crisis episodes in the world capitalist economy.

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Capitalism also adapts itself to the new level of socialization of production by a thorough expansion of the economic functions of the bourgeois state. Also, the impact of the bourgeois state on the capitalist state, as Lenin foresaw, is based on the constantly escalating process of interlacing and merging in a single mechanism the power of the monopolies and finance capital with the power of the bourgeois state. From one-third to one-half of the national income is now being redistributed through the state budgets of the principal capitalist countries. The bourgeois states, especially those of western Europe, are the largest owners of the means of production.

State regulation has a great impact on the entire course of economic life. The bourgeois state has taken on many of the functions pertaining to the development of scientific-technical progress, particularly with respect to the development and operation of major innovations which are beyond the capacities of private firms. At the same time, since the chief function of the bourgeois state continues to be the task of establishing the economic conditions geared for the acquisition of maximum profit by the monopolies, its interference in economic affairs not only does not lessen the acuteness of the basic conflict but instead intensifies it. The crisis processes of state monopolist regulation of economics become a new form of manifestation of this conflict.

The intensification of the basic contradiction in capitalism is most strikingly manifested in the following conflicts: the conflict between the increasing monopolization of economics and the vital interests of the working masses; the conflict between the limited capacities of state monopolistic regulation and the objective requirements for the systematic development of modern production; the conflict between the interests of the monopoly capital of the various countries and the self-seeking activity of the international monopolies on the one hand and the requirements for the development of the world economy as a whole on the other.

These conflicts were most vividly reflected in the economic crisis of 1974-1975, which had a staggering effect on the entire capitalist economic system and set it back several years. As compared to the precrisis maximum, the volume of industrial production fell off in the following amounts: Japan--21 percent, France--16 percent, U.S.--15 percent, FRG--11 percent, and England--10 percent. There was a significant escalation of the level of shortfall in production capacities. There was an enormous rise in mass unemployment, which encompassed all the strata of the worker population, especially the young people and the women. The march of the crisis greatly complicated the inflationary situation.

The course of the crisis was marked by the operation of the deep-seated structural crisis of relative underproduction, which also affected such very important sectors of the world capitalist economy as power engineering and production of raw materials and foodstuffs. The sharp rise in world prices for oil, raw materials and agricultural products led to a serious

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dislocation of the cost proportions in the reproduction of capital. A combination, on the one hand, of an enormous undersupply of production apparatus and the increase (or threat of increase) of nonsaleable commodity reserves and, on the other hand, the underproduction in various periods of some commodities, including oil, foodstuffs, equipment, etc., became a characteristic feature of the development of capitalism in the 1970's, one which greatly intensified its economic instability.

The crisis encompassed all the basic centers and the chief countries of capitalism and it dealt a shattering blow to the highly developed state monopolist economic system which evolved in the postwar period. "Now it is all there to be seen: it refutes one of the principal myths created by the reformers and bourgeois idealists," declared L. I. Brezhnev with emphasis at the 25th CPSU Congress, "the myth that the capitalism of our times is capable of ridding itself of crises. The instability of capitalism is becoming more and more evident. The promises 'to restore capitalism to health' and to create within its framework 'a society of universal prosperity' have suffered an unmistakable failure."

#### The Characteristics of the Postcrisis Cycle

After the crisis of 1974-1975, the economic system of capitalism went into a prolonged depression and a period of listless revival. The process of adaptation by some of the countries to the new circumstances of reproduction proceeded very painfully, unevenly and haphazardly. Thus, the United States attained the precrisis maximum of industrial production in 1976 and Japan not until March 1978. For most of the capitalist countries the transition to the phase of sluggish progress was an unsteady one; it was interrupted by constant fluctuations and prolonged depressions and was accompanied by new intensification of the inflationary processes, by exacerbation of the energy problem, by semicrisis which embraced a number of the sectors of industry, and by currency upheavals. In the industry of the United States there has been observed since the end of 1979 a slump in production, which, according to the assessments of a number of American economists, may develop into the next economic crisis.

The 1970's combination of profound crisis upheavals and inflation, a combination which in the West has been rather aptly designated as "stagflation," opened a new stage in the cyclical development of the capitalist economic system, a stage characterized by a serious decline in the reproduction of capital as compared to the 1950-1960 period. This was manifested, first, in a sharp slowing of economic growth. Thus, the rates of increase of gross domestic product in the countries of developed capitalism in the 1974-1979 period were 2.4 percent as compared to 4.5 percent in the 1950-1973 period and the rates of growth of industrial production were 2.1 and 5.4 percent respectively (See table).

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Average Yearly Rates of Increase of  
Production in the Developed Capitalist Countries  
(in percents)

	Gross Domestic Product		Industrial Production	
	<u>1951-1973</u>	<u>1974-1979</u>	<u>1951-1973</u>	<u>1974-1979*</u>
All the Developed Capitalist Countries	4.5	2.4	5.4	2.1
United States	3.9	2.3	4.2	2.4
EEC (made up of 9 countries)	4.4	2.1	5.6	1.3
Japan	8.8	4.1	13.2	2.0

\*1979 evaluation

The decline was manifested, secondly, in the intensification of inflation, which, in its depreciation of the real income of the population, became a severe and unavoidable sickness of capitalism. Now, unlike the past years, it is accompanying the economic development of capitalism both in the periods of growth of its production and in the depression periods, and even in a crisis recession and a period of widespread unemployment. For example, in the 1961-1970 period the cost of living in the developed capitalist countries rose an average of 3.4 percent a year and in the 1970's (1971-1979) the rise was now 8.6 percent. Also, in 1979 many of the capitalist countries began to measure inflation in two-digit figures: in the United States the rates were 13 percent, in France 12 percent and in England 15 percent.

The effect of inflation on the economic system is varied: it prolongs the crisis and depression phases of the cycle, significantly retards any increase in the purchasing-power demand of the population, inhibits economic growth, and impairs the stability of international economic exchange. Inflation is a factor in exacerbating the social and political contradictions in capitalism and consequently the bourgeois states attempt to regulate it. However, their measures, at least in the near future, cannot mitigate the harsh character of the inflationary process.

The new stage is reflected, thirdly, in the increase in mass unemployment while maintaining an enormous underloading of the production apparatus, a circumstance which demonstrates with particular clarity the illogicalness and antinational character of the capitalist system. According to the official data, the number of unemployed in the developed capitalist countries rose from 8.3 million in 1973 to 15.3 million at the height of the economic crisis in 1975 and to 16.4 million, the current figure. At the same time,

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for example, the workload of the production capacities in the processing industry of Japan was 86.5 percent in 1978 as compared to 98 percent in precrisis 1973. In FRG the figures were 81 and 97 percent respectively, in France 86 and 96 percent, and in the United States 84-88 percent.

The new stage is reflected, fourthly, in the significant weakening of the process of real accumulation of capital and the drastic slowdown in the rates of growth of labor productivity. Even in the 1977-1978 period in seven of the leading capitalist countries (U.S., Japan, FRG, France, England, Canada and Italy), the investment process accounted for approximately 0.7 percent of the growth of gross national product. Causing particular concern among the western economists is the decline in the rates of growth of labor productivity. In the 1973-1977 period the level of these rates fell off in the following amounts as compared to the 1963-1973 period: in U.S. industry from 2.1 to 1.0 percent, in Japan from 8.9 to 3.7 percent, in FRG from 5.3 to 3.6 percent, in France from 5.2 to 4.0 percent, in England from 3.9 to 1.3 percent, in Canada from 3.6 to 0.8 percent, and in Italy from 5.6 to 0.8 percent.<sup>3</sup> In the United States the trend toward a decline in the rates of growth of labor productivity has been noted since the latter half of the 1960's. In the 1947-1965 period in the private sector of the American economic system the average growth of labor productivity per hour of time worked was 3.2 percent; in the 1965-1973 period it was 2.3 percent, and in the 1973-1978 period it was 1 percent. Moreover, the year 1979 saw an absolute decline in output per man-hour.

"The lethargy of the economic system," declared the organ of U.S. business circles FORTUNE, "is manifested in two exceptionally deplorable symptoms: runaway inflation and stagnating productivity."<sup>4</sup> Also, according to this journal, the decline in labor productivity represents a more worrisome factor than inflation. The well-known American economist G. Kendrick believes that the sharp decline in the rates of growth of labor productivity was the result of the lessened effect of the "progress of knowledge" (from 1.4 percent in the 1948-1966 period to 0.8 percent in the 1973-1978 period), the bringing into cultivation of less fertile lands (from 0 to 0.2 percent respectively), the changes in the distribution of resources (from 0.8 to 0.3 percent), the decline in the rates of growth of production (from 0.4 to 0.1 percent), state regulation in respect to environmental protection and the development of an infrastructure (from 0 to 0.3 percent), and a change in the sex and age structure of the employed population (from 0.1 to 0.2 percent).<sup>5</sup>

The profoundly contradictory and extremely unstable development of capitalist economics following the crisis of 1974-1975 generated an enormous overaccumulation of fixed capital and this has an effect on both the production conditions and the realization of surplus value (in all of its converted forms and particularly profit) and on the level of consumption attained by the broad working masses. The realities of capitalism indicate that this relative overaccumulation of capital and its depreciation (decline in the

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norm of profit) becomes, in the context of inflation and the structural changes, the most prolonged and painful ailment of modern capitalism.<sup>6</sup>

The drastic slowdown in the investment process, particularly for investments in technically new, large-scale projects, is one of the chief reasons for the decline in the rates of growth of labor productivity and is linked with the overall state of the capitalist market. Assessing the interrelationship between the movement of investments, the productivity of labor, and inflation, Kendrick makes this pessimistic observation: "This is truly a vicious circle. The lower level of labor productivity intensifies inflation. Inflation resulted in reduced profit. And the reduction in profit generated a still greater reduction in the volume of investments and productivity."<sup>7</sup>

The admission of Kendrick does not reveal the real cause and effect relationships among the processes involved. Inflation, as we know, is widely used by the monopolies to maintain or even to increase profits. But what is undoubtedly true--and in this lies the dialectical contradiction--is that under the ensuing conditions it increases the riskiness of the large and long-term investments and disrupts the course of the business activity.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike the economic cycle of the 1950's, when the growth of the capitalist economic system was largely based on the low prices for fuels and raw materials, the new cycle, which opened with the crisis of 1974-1975, is proceeding in the context of relatively high prices for these products, particularly the prices for oil. This, to a considerable degree, determines both the entire process of accumulation of capital and its specific character with relation to the individual countries and industries. Also, the process of the capitalist economic system's adaptation to these conditions proceeds extremely slowly and painfully because at present and in the near future oil is and will continue to be the basic energy conveyer of the modern economy. The exacerbation of the energy problem--resulting from the more than doubling of the world oil prices during the year, the continued increase of U.S. import of oil (from 287 million tons in 1973 to 445 million tons in 1979), the scandalously fabulous profits of the transnational oil monopolies and the curtailment of oil production in Iran--all this is again engendering a very painful disruption of the cost proportions in capitalist reproduction.

There are continuing to be industry crises encompassing the world capitalist shipbuilding, metallurgy and textile industry. A complex and contradictory situation has evolved in the realm of international economic relations. There has been a sharp escalation of the deficits in the trade and payment balances of a number of capitalist countries, especially the United States, and these have led to a serious depreciation of the dollar. The trends toward protectionism have become stronger.

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The unusual character of the crisis of 1974-1975 and of the development which followed it is largely determined by the crisis in state monopolistic regulation of economics on a national and, particularly, on an international scale. The present time has revealed all too clearly, first, that the traditional forms of anticrisis and anti-inflation policy have become bankrupt and that the strategy of so-called "full" employment has been a dismal failure; second, that the record is one of utter futility or little effect in respect to the state monopolist measures for solution of the energy, raw material and other structural problems of economic development; thirdly, there has been revealed the bankruptcy and backwardness of the state monopolistic forms of regulation of the functioning of the world capitalist economy as a whole. The arms race continues to be an important factor in weakening the stability of the economic system of the capitalist countries. The enormous military expenditures are the chief reason for the deficits in the state budgets of the United States and the other NATO countries and one of the principal factors in inflation and currency upheavals. They limit the possibilities for the growth of production and they generate a decline in the living standard of the working masses. All these phenomena and processes not only undermine the mechanism of capitalist reproduction that has evolved but also exacerbates the social and political contradictions in bourgeois society and leads in this way to a deepening of its general crisis.

An important feature of the world economic relations of the 1970's and another manifestation of the unevenness of the economic development is the intensification of the rivalry among the main centers of imperialism--United States, Western Europe--primarily the countries of the European Economic Community--and Japan. According to the latest estimates, which include the increased proportion of new industries and the comparatively faster rise of the prices for their output, the U.S. share of the industrial production of the capitalist world (in 1975 prices) was 30.9 percent in 1978 as compared to 37.3 percent when computed in 1970 prices. The share of the Western European countries and Japan showed a considerable rise, amounting to 35.4 percent (31.5 percent according to the old figures) and 13.7 percent (9.4 percent) respectively.

Although the United States also retains its overall superiority to any country of the capitalist world, wielding as it does the greatest scientific-technical, economic and military-political power in the system of imperialist states, by the mid-1970's its relative positions had grown significantly weaker. In many of the economic sectors the leading West European states and Japan had attained positions equal or even superior to the United States (household electric appliances and electronics, production of plastics and resins). Now the West European and Japanese monopolies are not only competing successfully with the Americans in the world market and the market of the United States itself but they are also setting up their own enterprises on heretofore forbidden American territory.

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The growth of the rivalry among the three power centers of modern capitalism is, of course, proceeding within the framework of their military-political alliance and has advanced to the forefront in the face of the growing power of socialism and the world revolutionary movement. But the rivalry is marked not by a centrifugal but a centripetal course in the relations among the imperialist states. Evidence of this is, in particular, the fact of regular meetings of the leaders of the chief capitalist states.

One of the most important factors in the increased economic instability of capitalism in today's world is the crisis situation in the structure of capitalist production and in the system of international capitalist distribution of labor which has evolved. The situation manifests itself primarily in the continued backwardness of the liberated countries and their subordinate position in the system of distribution of labor which has come into being. Overcoming the economic and social backwardness of the young states is one of the most critical and most urgent problems in the development of mankind. It is aggravating the economic instability of capitalism and increasing the need to resolve a number of global problems, particularly the energy problem. Resolving this problem requires, for example, a substantial increase in the world consumption of the quota of inexpensive types of mineral fuel, chiefly coal; in the more distant future it requires "inexhaustible" energy sources (thermonuclear, geothermal and other kinds of energy) as well as the implementation of large-scale measures for energy conservation.

The situation in the young national states continues to be grave. In them 400-500 million persons are suffering from hunger and chronic malnutrition. The gap in the levels of economic development as between the industrial capitalist countries and the developing ones has increased from 11-fold in 1950 to 13-fold in 1977. There is a growing differentiation among the liberated countries themselves; in the group of the poorest of them consumer goods production (VVP) per capita is only one-twelfth of that in the most developed countries. As before, the former colonies occupy a subordinate and dependent position in the international division of labor. Moreover, this dependency is worsening as a result of the import of modern equipment and technology. The monopolies and imperialist states are exploiting this dependency of the developing countries and are pursuing a policy of "technological neocolonialism."

At the same time, there are also some counteracting trends; first, the struggle of the developing countries for their economic independence. As we know, in the 1970's many of the young states put into effect a wave of nationalization of foreign assets in the realm of extraction of raw materials. The natural wealth of the developing countries is now largely in their own hands. The OPEC countries have established effective control not only in the realm of oil production but also in respect to the prices for oil. This is evidence of an important change in the developing countries' role in world economics. Recent events indicate that developed capitalism too is to a considerable extent dependent on deliveries of raw materials.

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There has been a significant escalation of the developing countries' role in world politics. They have been united and persistent in their demands for the establishment of a new international economic order. And although at present their struggle has achieved no practical results and imperialism has as a whole been successful in maintaining its economic positions, the problem of restructuring international economic relations on an equitable democratic basis will affect the character of world development. As we know, this struggle, which is objectively directed against imperialism, is being stressed by the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialist concord.

#### Imperialism--Still a Powerful Enemy

Monopolistic capitalism continues to be a serious and dangerous enemy; it possesses a powerful industrial, technical and scientific base and enormous military potential. And underrating it would be a dangerous mistake; this point has been repeatedly stressed in the documents of the international working-class and communist movement and in the decisions of the congresses of the fraternal parties. "The communists," said L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "are by no means predicting the 'automatic collapse' of capitalism. It still has considerable reserves,"

Monopolistic capitalism is seeking a way out of its current difficult economic situation by mounting an offensive against the positions of the working class and other laboring sections of the population. This design is being served by the capitalist rationalization which is being widely practiced in the bourgeois states. At the same time, in the context of the antagonism between the two different social systems and the wide scope of the class struggle, the ruling circles in the countries of developed capitalism have been forced to maneuver and to resort to partial reforms and concessions to the labor masses. They are seeking for this purpose new means and methods for state monopolistic regulation of the economic system; this includes the field of economic integration and coordination of the economic policy of the chief capitalist powers. However, to resolve or alleviate their economic and social problems, state monopolist capitalism will try to exploit the achievements of scientific-technical progress. This also stems from the fact that the center of gravity of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism is more and more moving into the field of development of science and technology and also into the realm of enhancement of the effectiveness of introduction of the achievements of the NTR into the national economy.

Now being stepped up is the role of scientific research and experimental design work (NIOKR) in the economics of the United States, the countries of Western Europe, and Japan. In recent years these countries have begun anew to rapidly increase their expenditures in this field. The effectiveness of the research and development is increasing on the basis of reinforcement of the supply of scientific workers and engineers (for EVM [electronic

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computers), electronic instruments, etc.), expansion and improvement of the information base (national automated systems of information service are now being set up in the United States, FRG and Japan) and the state and interstate special-purpose programs, and enhancement of the skills of the scientific personnel as a result of the continuing revolution in the field of education. In the United States the capital-labor ratio in the field of NIOKR is expected in the near future to reach the level of the capital-labor ratio of the processing industry; the same thing is also happening in the other leading capitalist countries.

Developing at an accelerated pace are the new science-oriented sectors of the capitalist economy. In them are concentrated 75-80 percent of all the expenditures for NIOKR and 35-40 percent of the gross investments in industry. Particularly great importance attaches to the development of new sectors in machine building. Thus, in the United States in 1960 29 percent of all the machine-building output went for radio electronics, EVM production, and instrument building; in 1975 the proportion was 39 percent; and, according to the forecast estimates, the proportion will reach approximately 48 percent in 1985. These industries are now already determining and in the future will to a still greater extent determine the rates of scientific-technical progress and the effectiveness of capitalist economics.

In particular, it is anticipated that on the basis of improvement of the electronic computers, mass use of microelectronics (microprocessors, miniature EVM's, etc.) as well as increasingly more widespread use of robots, there will be a significant escalation of the level of production automation. The scale of production and the use of EVM's now represents one of the most important characteristics of a country's economic and scientific-technical potential. The supply of EVM's in the United States, Japan and FRG is expected to increase from approximately 210,000 in 1975 to 450,000 in 1985 and the supply of machine tools with numerical program control from 50,000 to 160,000. The number of microprocessors included in the production equipment will increase from 77,000 in 1977 to 3 million in 1985. Many experts believe that on this basis by the mid-1980's there will be mass replacement of the productive capital in most of the sectors of the processing industry.

Increased attention is now being given to the development of essentially new types of production technology, especially the energy conservation types; in the long term this may involve a fundamental restructuring of many of the sectors of industry, particularly the traditional ones. The continuing revolution in the biological sciences will help to increase efficiency in the production of food products. There will be a distinct expansion in the production of new materials as a result of possible successes in the realm of chemistry. There will be a significant increase in exploitation of the poorly developed zones of the shelf of the world's oceans and the Arctic and sub-Arctic territories.

On the basis of the development of science and technology, the capitalist countries will probably be able to accomplish the following in the 1980's

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and especially in the 1990's: First, step up the rates of growth of labor productivity as compared to the 1970's (although in the United States and particularly in the countries of Western Europe and Japan they will apparently be below the figures for the 1950-1960 period). Second, stabilize or even reduce the capital-output ratio for physical production (in the United States) with a significant slowing of its rise in FRG and Japan (despite the development of the highly capital-intensive measures connected with solution of the energy and ecological problems in these countries). The plans call for further increasing the effectiveness of the investment process (stepping up the proportion of the active portion of the fixed capital and reducing the time periods for the construction of installations) involved in improvement of the scientific-technical base of capital construction. Third, making a definite reduction in the energy and capital intensiveness of production.

According to the forecast prepared by the IMEMO of the AN USSR with respect to the development of world capitalist economics, the rates of economic growth of the chief capitalist countries, adjusted for cyclical fluctuations, before the end of this century will in all probability be substantially lower than the rates attained in the 1950-1973 period. However, we cannot rule out also a relatively substantial growth of the capitalist economic system: an approximately 2-2.3-fold increase over 1975 for the VVP of the industrial countries and an approximately 2.5-fold increase for their industrial output. In the compilation of this forecast consideration was given, on the one hand, to the factors which retard the development of capitalism--the inevitability of recurrence of profound economic crises (of the 1974-1975 type), continuance of a high level of inflation and constant unemployment, the probability of new outbreaks of energy and other structural crises, the intensification of the internal social contradictions, and exacerbation of a number of external economic conflicts and, on the other hand, the factors which further economic growth--scientific-technical progress, improvement of production organization and management, and expansion of the internal market on the basis of an escalation of personal and, especially, state consumption.

Imperialism is trying to defend its positions in the face of the multiplying forces of socialism, the national liberation and people's democratic revolutions of the developing countries, and the international working-class movement. Its strategy in internal economic policy is aimed primarily at resolving the problems entailed in structural rebuilding of the economy (improvement of the scientific-technical and production infrastructure, particularly in the fields of power engineering and transport, providing incentive for the development of science-oriented industries, and acceleration of modernization of the labor intensive and energy intensive production sectors), and reduction of the rates of inflation and the number of unemployed, thereby assuring the monopolies of the profitable use of capital.

The internal economic strategy of imperialism will be characterized by a striving for coordination of the policy of the chief capitalist countries

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(along these lines imperialism attempts to bridge the gap between the growing economic interdependence of the countries of developed capitalism and the narrow national bounds of the state monopolistic regulation of the economic processes); also by a search for new means and methods in relations with the developing countries: the tactic of minor concessions and the strategy of maintaining and strengthening their positions by means of "technological neocolonialism"; the intensified attempts to pursue a coordinated foreign economic policy in relation to the socialist states (refusal to sell new equipment and technology, a differentiated approach to the various countries of socialism, playing the so-called "Chinese hand at cards," etc.).

Recently gaining the upper hand in the United States and a number of other capitalist countries is the dangerous course of repudiating detente--a course of widening of the arms race. The aggressive imperialist circles hope that this foreign policy strategy, which they acquired from the "cold war" period, will enable them to hold off the progressive social changes in the world, weaken the Soviet Union economically, retard its movement on the path of enhancement of the material welfare and cultural level of the Soviet people, and thereby reduce our country's impact on world development. The ideologists of militarism are again dragging out the decrepit "theories" which hold that the development of military production can generate an increase in employment and an expansion of the market. However, life's experience has repeatedly demonstrated the bankruptcy of this strategy of imperialism. There is no reasonable alternative to detente. The policy of detente has deep roots. "It has the support of powerful forces," said L. I. Brezhnev, "and this policy has every prospect of continuing to be the principal orientation in the relations among the states."

Capitalism entered the 1980's torn by sharp economic, social and political conflicts: the low rates of economic growth and the crisis upheavals, mass unemployment and rising inflation, the prolonged character of the exacerbation of the energy problem and other global problems of world development, depreciation of the dollar and intensification of the conflicts among the imperialists, escalation of the struggle of the working masses of the capitalist countries and intensification of the anti-imperialist movement of the liberated nations in opposition to neocolonialism. All this is deepening the economic and political instability of capitalism and exacerbating its general crisis.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See [Russian] "World Economics and International Relations" No 6, 7 and 8, 1979.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol. 27, pp 320-321.
3. [English] "OECD Economic Outlook," July 1979, p 23, 25, 29.

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4. [English] FORTUNE, October 8, 1979, p 89.
5. [English] "Contemporary Economic Problems 1979." Washington, 1979, pp 33-34.
6. The bourgeois economists have always rejected Marx's doctrine on the reaccumulation of capital because it clearly reveals the profound irreconcilable conflicts which are internally inherent in the capitalist production relations. All the more significant is the conclusion drawn by W. Forrester, the well-known American mathematical economist, professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and author of a dynamic model of the development of American economics. He believes that the prolonged cyclical decline of the U.S. economic situation is due to "the surplus of capacities in the sector of capital." ("The Futurist," October 1979, p 357).
7. [English] BUSINESS WEEK, February 13, 1978, p 27.
8. According to the expressed opinion of American economist G. Stein, former chairman of the Committee of Economic Advisers under Presidents Nixon and Ford, "inflation is at best unpredictable and incompatible with the normal flow of economic life."

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INTERNATIONAL

POSPELOV BOOK ON MAOISM, WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Moscow MAOIZM I MIROVOYE REVOLYUTSIONNOYE DVIZHENIYE (Maoism and the International Revolutionary Movement) in Russian 1979 signed to press 7 Aug 79 pp 1-11, 185-190, 198, 199

[Excerpts from book by Boris Vasil'yevich Pospelov, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Far East, 13,000 copies, 198 pages]

The monograph is devoted to a critique of the views of the Maoists regarding the essence of the world revolutionary process. Much attention is given also to unmasking the ideological bankruptcy of Maoist groups in various countries of the world.

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## Introduction

The modern era is characterized by increasing expansion and deepening of the world revolutionary process. There is growth in the forces of socialism, which is having more and more influence on world development. Connected with the successes of the world socialist system are the successes of the international worker's movement, and the new victories of the national-liberation movement. These events of world historical significance confirm the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the inevitability of the triumph of socialism on the earth, they intensify the ideological and political influence of world socialism on international development, and they contribute to the growth of the prestige of Marxism-Leninism in the nonsocialist world.

The ever-intensifying influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the ideological-political situation in capitalist countries, and also in developing countries, the inspiring example of the workers of socialist countries making historic conquests in communist construction, and the economic and political successes of the countries of socialism force the ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie to throw all their forces into the struggle against socialist ideology, against the Marxist-Leninist ideas which make up the theoretical basis of the international communist and worker's movement.

In the ideological struggle against the forces of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, world imperialism is striving to use different revisionist ideas, to encourage the spread of nationalistic theories, hoping to set them off against the sole international teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Maoism has become one of such ideological currents. Maoism is closing in on the concepts of the imperialist bourgeoisie with respect to a whole series of questions of the theory of social development. Especially attracting the bourgeois ideologists in Maoism is its anti-Soviet, anti-socialist direction, the nationalism inherent to it, which has taken on the form of Great-Han chauvinism.

Such a trait of this ideology as the petty bourgeois ideological-political current dictates the necessity of a constant theoretical battle against its pseudo-scientific conceptions. Namely such a task has been placed before Soviet communists and social scientists by the 25th CPSU Congress.

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One of the important theoretical and practical questions of the international communist movement raised at the congress is the question of further strengthening the unity of the ranks of this movement. Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory sees namely in the unity of fraternal parties the condition for their high fighting efficiency, the basis for successful solution of all the problems of the revolutionary struggle.

What anti-Marxist currents at the present time are hindering the development of the process of further consolidation of the world communist movement? These are right-wing and left-wing revisionism, the struggle against which was considered by the congress as a common task for all communist parties. The congress also condemned concessions to opportunism, and stressed the damage which is being done to the revolutionary movement by the opportunistic practice. At the congress especial attention was given to defending the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The 25th CPSU Congress stressed that strengthening the unity of the communist movement is possible only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In light of the given situation a necessary condition for further strengthening such unity was declared by the congress to be an implacable, uncompromising struggle against the ideology and policy of Maoism. This goal ensues from the very essence of Maoism as a tendency fundamentally hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

However the 25th CPSU Congress did not limit itself just to a pronouncement of the task of the struggle against Maoism. Having stressed and substantiated the necessity of the ideological and theoretical struggle against this anti-Marxist tendency, the congress itself was a model of principled criticism of this tendency. The reactionary essence of Maoist ideology and policy was disclosed with ultimate clarity, and the damage which it is doing to the revolutionary movement was demonstrated in the report of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev, in the speeches of delegates to the congress, in the speeches and greetings of the majority of representatives of communist and worker parties and also national-revolutionary parties attending the congress.

The policy of the Maoists "not only is completely alien to socialist principles and ideals, but in essence has become an important reserve of imperialism in its battle against socialism," L.I. Brezhnev said in his report. "Such a policy from Beijing is deeply contradictory to the interests of all nations. We will rebuff this inflammatory policy, we will defend the interests of the Soviet state, the socialist commonwealth, the world communist movement. Now it is no longer enough to say that Maoist ideology and policy are incompatible with Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They are directly hostile to it" (21, p. 12).

The conclusions and positions formulated in the documents and materials of the congress refute the pseudo-theoretical concepts of Maoism. The evaluation of the essence of the modern era, developing under the determining influence of three revolutionary forces set forth in the report of L.I. Brezhnev and other documents of the congress; the statement about

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further intensifying the role of the socialist camp in world development; the concise statement of cementing the positions of the peace-loving forces and the irreversibility of the process of detente, which is having a favorable effect on the development of the world revolutionary process; and the statements set forth in the materials of the congress about the forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle and the ways of accomplishing socialist revolutions, about the tactical line of the activity of communist and worker parties at the present stage--all these and other conclusions confirm and develop the positions contained in documents of the world communist movement adopted at international forums in previous years. In other words, the 25th Congress of our party has confirmed and strengthened that theoretical foundation, resting on which the communist and worker parties of the world, the Marxist scholars have waged and are waging the struggle against Maoism.

At the 25th congress a principled evaluation of Maoism was given, presented by attending delegations of communist and worker parties and also national-democratic and leftist-socialist parties of the world.

Reflecting the position of the world communist movement with respect to Maoism, the representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties decisively condemned Maoism as one of the freaks of anti-communism.

Striving to disrupt the process of relaxation of international tension and to foist adventurist tactics on the revolutionary movement, the Beijing Maoists and their adherents outside of China have joined with the forces of reaction, staking on the weakening of the anti-imperialist front. The attack of the Maoists on the forces of national liberation has unfolded in the zone of national-liberation revolutions. The ruinous consequences to which following Maoist dogmas leads have been shown in the speeches of representatives of communist and national-democratic parties of the developing countries.

The Beijing leadership has unfolded undermining, schismatic activity against the communist and worker parties of the world with the aim of undermining the unity of the international communist movement, of weakening the fighting capacity of its ranks. Having met a decisive rebuff to its attempts to undermine the unity of the movement on the part of the absolute majority of these parties, the Beijing leadership has been forced to change its tactical line. The Maoists have set before themselves the goal of fostering the appearance of a neutralist relation to Maoism, of presenting the matter in such a way as if the existing differences are extended only to their relations with the CPSU and do not touch those with other communist parties. Maoism represents an ideology and policy hostile to the goal of revolutionary reconstruction of society. Following it means a complete departure from Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is no accident therefore that the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, G. Hall, stressed in his speech at the 25th CPSU Congress that to occupy a position of neutrality in the struggle against Maoism "means to accomodate oneself to opportunism."

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What does it mean to occupy a neutralist position in the ideological and political struggle against Maoism? In the ideological area this means silent agreement with those distortions of Marxism-Leninism which the Maoists pass off as its development, and agreement with the attempts of the Maoist leadership to foist its ideology which is fundamentally hostile to Marxism-Leninism on the world revolutionary movement. Among the arguments pushing the proponents of neutralism to avoid an open battle with Maoism, not in the last place is the desire to interpret Maoism as a "national" variant of Marxism-Leninism. This erroneous premise has such far-reaching consequences because it substantiates the possibility of the existence of "national" variants of Marxism, it justifies the attempts of proponents of such a position, who under the pretext of development of Marxist doctrine are attempting to introduce into it elements which are emasculating the revolutionary spirit of Marxist theory.

In the political area such a position means evading condemnation of the steps of the Maoist leadership on the international arena directed at increasing tensions and provoking a new world war, at disruption of the process of expanding the world revolutionary movement. It signifies a refusal to participate in joint, coordinated actions in defense of individual people, parties and organizations which have been victims of the arbitrary rule of reactionary forces, in defense of states which have been subject to imperialist aggression. Is it possible, if you are censuring the Chilean junta, not to censure at the same time the Chinese leadership, which has given it every assistance? Is it possible, condemning the intervention of racist and imperialist forces in the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, not to condemn the same for forming a block with these forces?

The appearance of neutralist tendencies with respect to Maoism and its concepts may create for its ideologists and propagandists additional conditions for implementing hostile activity against the revolutionary forces of modern times. Considering the significance which the imperialist forces give to Maoism in the struggle against world socialism, against the communist and worker's movement, it is possible to note that a weakening of the theoretical struggle against Maoist ideology will play into the hands of the forces of world reaction.

Neutralism with respect to Maoism is connected with nationalism and is one of the forms of its manifestation. It is especially dangerous for the national-liberation movement. At the present time, when the former colonial and dependent countries have achieved political independence, and in connection with their choice of the path of their further development, a delimitation of the class forces is occurring in them and the class struggle is being intensified. Nationalism, as the ideology of the national and petty bourgeoisie, is being filled more and more with reactionary, anti-communist content. Under such conditions agreement with Maoist directions, the refusal to fight against Maoist ideology are equivalent to the acceptance of a nationalistic course, signifying unification with the local bourgeoisie, and the loss of class positions.

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No less harmful for the communist and worker's movement, and also for the socialist countries are the consequences of nationalistic vascillations, the urge to deviate from condemnation of Maoism. One of Beijing's tactical methods to divide the world revolutionary movement is just exactly to play up nationalistic tendencies and manifestations of national egotism. Such a tactic consists also in the striving to single out the bearers of such tendencies, to accent their "special services" to the revolutionary movement in order to set them in opposition to other organizations, parties and countries participating in this movement. When evaluating the consequences of the policy of Maoism, aimed at splitting world socialism, the communist and worker's movement by means of galvanizing and inspiring nationalistic phenomena, it is necessary to keep in mind the presence of the objective basis for the emergence of such phenomena.

In socialist countries this basis can, for instance, be comprised of the complexity of the process of transforming bourgeois nations into socialist ones, the complexity of establishing national relations between individual nationalities of these countries, underevaluation of the existence of the tendency toward rapprochement of nations under the conditions of a national renaissance as a result of socialist changes.

In the communist and worker movement the objective basis for emergence of nationalist phenomena can be the following processes: the internationalization of capitalism, in the course of which the national interests of individual states and peoples are suppressed; intensification of the migration of foreign workers in connection with the formation of international corporations; the spread of bourgeois-nationalistic theories and views (Zionism, neofacism, racism, anti-semitism and others); and also the cosmopolitan character of imperialistic integration, the multinational make-up of the population of a number of capitalist countries, and others.

Considering all these facts, it is impossible not to see how urgent the struggle against the attempts of Maoism to further the appearance of nationalistic distortions is for the communist and worker's movement. The unacceptability of a neutralist attitude toward Maoism becomes especially clear in light of what has been said above.

Overcoming the neutralist position with respect to Maoism, attaching to the theoretical struggle against Maoist ideology all the new parties and organizations, the progressive scholars and public figures thus become one of the important conditions for consolidating the front of anti-Maoist forces and on this basis for the unity and solidarity of the world communist and worker movement.

After the death of Mao Zedong in September 1976 the new leaders of China, having made the policy directed at implementation of the goals declared by him more rigid, decided to follow a great-power chauvinist course.

"The new leadership of China, unfortunately, is following an old, I would say worn out rut," stressed General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

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L.I. Brezhnev in his answers to questions from the editor-in-chief of the Japanese newspaper ASAHI. "Certainly it is a fact that the campaign of attacks on the policy of detente is continuing, obstacles are being put in the way of any measures in the area of disarmament. Or take the thesis of the battle against 'hegemony.' Perhaps someone does not see anything dangerous in this. But can it be that they are not trying under the cover of this thesis to sow discord between the states or, at least, not to allow improvement in relations between them" (129, 7 July 1977).

In his subsequent speeches L.I. Brezhnev stressed again and again the hostility of the position of the present Chinese leaders to the interests of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. "By their unprecedented impertinent plunderous attack on a neighboring small country--socialist Vietnam--the present Beijing leaders have once and for all disclosed to the whole world the insidious, aggressive essence of the great power, hegemonistic policy being followed by them. Now everyone sees that namely this policy at the present time is the most serious threat to peace throughout the world," he declared in his speech at a meeting with the voters on 2 March 1979 (23a).

Thus, Maoism as an ideology and policy continues to exist. It has been turned into a counter-revolutionary tendency and the theoretical struggle against it remains one of the chief tasks of Marxist-Leninist science.

Very significant in the struggle against Maoism is the unmasking of the anti-Marxist essence of its fabrications relative to the nature of the world revolutionary process.

As a petty-bourgeois nationalistic tendency, Maoism distorts the nature of events taking place in the world, it gives an anti-Marxist interpretation of the tendencies and prospects of the revolutionary struggle. By its interpretation of the essence of the world revolutionary process, by its tactics in relation to the revolutionary forces of modern times it is attempting to make a schism in the ranks of the participants of the revolutionary struggle and to delay development of the world revolutionary movement. As a result the conception of the world revolutionary process in Maoism is called upon theoretically to justify the great power nationalistic course of the Beijing leaders, to provide a foundation for their hegemonistic desires. Maoism thereby undermines the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world, closing ranks with the forces of world imperialism on the grounds of a struggle with the revolutionary movement.

Nowhere is the anti-Marxist content of Maoism exposed so openly as in those views which it attempts to contrast to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding questions of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world, nowhere is the position of Maoism deeply hostile to the goals of the world revolutionary movement revealed with such clarity as in its theory and practice with respect to the basic revolutionary forces of modern times. Refutation of the Maoist distortions of the essence of the

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revolutionary process, under the cloak of which the Maoists are carrying on the undermining activity against the participants in the liberation movement, is thus a part of that theoretical struggle which is being waged by representatives of Marxist-Leninist science in all countries against Maoism, it is a condition making it possible still more successfully to develop Marxist-Leninist theory, consciously falsified by the Maoists.

In the present work the author has not set for himself the task of illuminating the whole complex of questions ensuing from the topic of study. A number of its aspects have already been dealt with in Soviet literature. The goal of the present work is to set off the most essential elements of the Maoist falsification of the world revolutionary process, to give a general picture of the opposition of Maoism to all revolutionary forces of modern times, to show with individual examples the fundamental hostility of the theoretical positions, advanced by the adherents of Maoism, to the interests of further expanding the front of the revolutionary struggle.

Chronologically the work covers the period from 1963 through 1976, when the Maoist conception of world development was finally formulated, when the anti-Marxist essence of the ideology and politics of Maoism with respect to the world revolutionary movement was manifested in full force. Naturally the criticism of Maoist falsification of the motive forces and the nature of the revolutionary process pertaining to this period is not the property of history. A critical analysis of the ideological-political foundations of Maoism at this stage of its development is the starting point for unmasking the reactionary essence of the aims following which the ideological, political and armed struggle is being waged against the revolutionary forces of modern times by the present Chinese leadership as well.

#### Conclusion

Examination of the different aspects of Maoist falsification of the world revolutionary process indicates that Maoism is an ideological-political tendency which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, that Maoist ideology is fundamentally hostile to all the revolutionary forces of modern times.

In coming out against world socialism, against the international communist and worker's movement, unmasking itself as a force which threatens national-liberation revolutions, Maoism is striving to hold back the development of the revolutionary process, to hinder the expansion of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. The petty-bourgeois essence of Maoism, the anti-Marxist nature of the "theories" pronounced by it have brought about the reactionary content of this ideological-political tendency, damaging the whole world revolutionary movement.

In the interpretation of the basic questions of the world revolutionary movement and world development the Maoists openly side with the ideologists

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of the bourgeoisie, they advance conceptions used by bourgeois theoreticians in the struggle against Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Maoism has entered the international arena as a force hostile to proletarian internationalism, to the interests of strengthening the solidarity of workers throughout the world in their liberation struggle.

In our time the significance of the internationalist solidarity of the international communist and worker's movement, manifested in the unity of socialist countries, of communist and worker parties, in the support by them of national-liberation movements, has increased as never before. Internationalist cooperation of the communists of the world is a command of the time, it is dictated by the increasing internationalization of the problems of world development, the interpenetration of external and internal factors affecting the world revolutionary process.

Namely thanks to the internationalist solidarity of all detachments of the international communist and worker's movement, thanks to the support given by them to national-liberation forces, the world revolutionary movement has had significant success recently. This also explains the constant attacks of the bourgeois ideologists on the principle of proletarian internationalism, and their unceasing attempts to undermine the internationalist solidarity of the international communist and worker's movement.

In carrying out the constant attacks on the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Beijing leaders are playing into the hands of the forces of reaction, they are joining with imperialism in its battle against the world revolutionary movement. The Maoist leadership sees in the policy directed at undermining the internationalist unity of the revolutionary forces of modern times the most important means for weakening the international movement for social progress, against the threat of thermonuclear war, with the provocation of which it links the achievement of its hegemonistic plans.

The acute policies of the Maoists have always been directed against the socialist commonwealth as the leading force of the international front of the anti-imperialist struggle, the main support of the world revolutionary movement. The Maoist leadership has attempted to weaken the united front of the socialist countries, to introduce disagreements and splits in its ranks, to set some countries of the socialist commonwealth against others. This goal has been served by the ideological and political diversions carried out by the Maoists against the countries of world socialism. In place of Marxism-Leninism, which is the world outlook of the workers in countries of the socialist commonwealth, the Beijing leaders have attempted to foist on them the "ideas of Mao Zedong," hoping to weaken in this way the ideological basis of the socialist internationalism linking them. Not the last place in the arsenal of ideological weapons used by the Maoists for undermining the principle of socialist internationalism is occupied by the attempts to encourage nationalistic tendencies in individual

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socialist countries, to promote the appearance in them of elements of national isolation in detriment to all-round internationalistic relations. The Maoists have constantly falsified the nature of the activity of interstate organizations of the socialist countries--the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and the Warsaw Pact Organization. Based on the principle of socialist internationalism, these organizations have made a large contribution to strengthening the economy and increasing the military might of the fraternal countries, which has allowed them successfully to withstand the attempts of the forces of world imperialism to weaken the positions of true socialism. By ascribing to these organizations goals which have nothing in common with their true purpose, the Maoists have hoped to introduce lack of confidence and a feeling of suspicion in the relations between the socialist countries participating in these organizations.

This is also served by the foreign-economic policy of the Chinese leadership, which has attempted by granting certain benefits and privileges to some socialist countries to weaken the economic relations existing between them.

Maoism also comes forth as a force hostile to the principle of proletarian internationalism with respect to the world worker's movement. The Maoists attempt to estrange the working class of the world, to introduce into the working environment attitudes of nationalistic prejudice, and exclusivity. Serving the cause of undermining the proletarian unity of the international working class are Maoist ideas about the inevitability of conflicts between the "large" and the "small" nations, about the "superpowers," supposedly fighting for possession of world hegemony. These ideas are intended to oppose the workers of some countries to others, to undermine the internationalist solidarity of the national detachments of the world proletariat.

A vivid indicator of the anti-internationalist essence of Maoism, staking on splitting the forces of the world communist movement, is the hostile action of Beijing with respect to the communist and worker parties of the capitalist countries, which are decisively rebuffing the attempts of the Maoist leadership to push them to reject the principle of proletarian internationalism. The goal of the undermining activity of the Maoists has been the creation of an international Maoist organization, which the Maoist leaders intended to place in opposition to the international communist movement. Beijing has constantly rendered support to groups of partisans of Maoism, created outside of the borders of China. Operating in accordance with the ideological-political principles of Maoism, these groups have carried out uninterrupted attacks on the true Marxist-Leninist parties, they have slandered the USSR and other socialist countries. In accordance with the policy of the Beijing leaders for undermining the internationalist solidarity of the international working class, they have followed a tactic calculated to estrange the workers of capitalist countries. This tactic was steadfastly implemented in Western Europe, where under the conditions of formation of international monopolies there is an intensive movement of manpower, accompanied by the formation of large groups of immigrant workers from among people of another nationality. The Maoists have attempted to conduct a policy of splitting the ranks of the working class according to the national characteristic in the United States as well.

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The anti-internationalist essence of Maoism has also been manifested in the attitude of the Maoist leadership to the national-liberation movement. Moreover, contained in the undermining of internal unity, of the international relations of national-liberation forces, in their isolation from the socialist commonwealth and the international working class was the main goal of the Beijing Maoists, who were planning to use the developing countries for implementation of their own hegemonistic plans. Advertising for demagogic aims the assistance to national-liberation movements, the Maoists in fact have given support only to reactionary-nationalistic forces, the ideological and political platform of which corresponded to the foreign policy aims of the Maoist leadership. This support was accompanied by an open struggle against the true national-liberation forces achieving real national and social liberation of their peoples. So it was, for instance, in Angola, where Beijing, having given assistance to the reactionary organizations, came out against the liberation struggle of the Angolan people, on the side of the forces of world reaction and racism. The Chinese leadership has come out against the unity of the national-liberation front also in other zones of the national-liberation movement. It has attempted to oppose ideological-political positions that are counter-revolutionary in their direction to the advanced, progressive ideology feeding the national-liberation struggle.

An object of special concern on the part of the Chinese leadership was the separation of the national-liberation movement from world socialism and the international working class. The main efforts of the Maoists were directed namely at achievement of this purpose. The Maoists, striving to weaken the attractive force of true socialism in the eyes of the participants in the national-liberation movements, distorted the essence of the state and political structure of the socialist countries, they tried to deny the successes attained in the course of communist construction by the workers of these countries, and distorted the goals of the policy followed by the countries of the socialist commonwealth with respect to the national liberation movements. In order to set the national-liberation forces in opposition to the international working class the Maoists spread the concept, devoid of class substance, about "poor" and "rich" nations, they tried to direct the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist strivings of the peoples of former colonial and dependent countries against the workers in capitalist countries. The striving to replace the principle of proletarian internationalism with the petty-bourgeois policy of forcing nationalism and racism has been graphically demonstrated in the attitude of the Beijing leadership to the national-liberation movement, in its attempts not to permit expansion of internationalist cooperation of national-liberation forces with world socialism and the international working class.

The actions of the Beijing leaders who came to power after the death of Mao Zedong were a new unmasking of the Great Han, nationalistic essence of Maoism, of its expansionist aims in relation to other nations, its pro-imperialist ideology and policy, counterrevolutionary in its content, and which are the antipodes of proletarian internationalism. The armed

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aggression against the forces of socialism and national liberation in Southeast Asia, the support of reactionary groups coming forth against revolutionary changes in the countries of the Middle East, the disruption of the agreement on friendship, alliance and mutual aid with the Soviet Union and simultaneously with this the formation of a bloc on an anti-Soviet, antisocialist basis with American imperialism, the conclusion of a treaty with Japan which has an anti-Soviet leaning, and the expansion of contacts with the aggressive imperialist NATO bloc--these and other actions of the present Beijing leaders are a logical consequence of the course selected by them for continuing the Maoist line in foreign policy questions, a result of those ideological-theoretical positions which they inherited from Maoism.

Thus, Maoism has come forth on the international arena as a force hostile to the ideology of proletarian internationalism. Embodied in it the world revolutionary movement has its most evil opponent attempting to retard the world revolutionary process with a tactic calculated to undermine the internationalist unity of the revolutionary forces. This binds the communists, all fighters for social and national liberation to wage a principled struggle against the ideology of Maoism, and for the Marxist-Leninist bases of unity of the world communist and worker's movement, cemented by the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism.

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NATIONAL

REGIONAL FORECASTING OF POPULATION, ETHNIC PROCESSES

Leningrad IZVESTIYA VSESOYUZNOGO GEOGRAFICHESKOGO OBSHCHESTVA in Russian  
No 5, 1979 pp 403-409

[Article by B. M. Ekkel': "The Regional Population Forecast and Ethnic Processes"]

[Text] One of the most important tasks where population geography is actively involved in a solution is the task of a long-range forecast for the distribution of the nation's population. The forecasting of the population which acts as a most important component in the spatial systems arising as a result of the interaction of natural conditions, the economy and population at present is assuming particularly important significance.

Considering that the aim of social production in a socialist society ultimately is the fullest satisfaction of all the needs of its members, as well as that the distribution of the population in the various parts of the country has formed in the process of extended historical development and is marked by a substantial "conservativeness" of the most general features of this distribution, a long-range forecast of the size of the population (and particularly the labor contingents) to a significant degree will correct the forecast for the development of the regional economies of the USSR. This in no way plays down the significance and possibilities of planning efforts on the optimum redistribution of the population between the regions of the country.

For forecasting the population of a region, a number of models can be used, and these include a demographic model, a model of the migration balance and a model of the population's employment which directly establishes the relationship between the number of jobs and size and structure of the population [4]. It must be emphasized that the demographic model is the most constant, "base" model, while the remaining models can have a more "flexible" nature, they are marked by multivariance, and to a greater degree are complimentary to the demographic model. This emphasizes its determining role for forecasting the already existing population of a region.

For constructing a forecast of the population in our multinational country and its individual parts over an extended period, a substantial role is

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played by the census, by the ratio and distribution of the peoples populating it and the change in the characteristics of these peoples over time [5].

The forecasting of the national composition of the population of the nation and its individual regions for the purposes of forecasting the population per se, and the population as a component of the man--economy--nature system has particular importance for the following factors.

1. The various peoples are in different stages of a "demographic transition" [3], and this determines the various types of the natural movement of the population, and, in turn, this influences the size of the nationalities, the age-sex structure, the size of the family, and so forth [5].
2. To a varying degree different peoples participate in migration processes. For this reason over the foreseeable future, the national composition of the USSR population to a significant degree will influence the possibilities of the redistribution of the population between the regions of the country, particularly those with labor surpluses and labor shortages [10].
3. As a result of the deepening process of the ethnic merging of the peoples in the USSR, the number of nationally mixed families is growing, and the indicators for the natural and mechanical movement for these families, as well as their difference from the corresponding indicators for the families of a unination composition, still have not been given proper attention by the researchers.
4. A majority of the types of human activity to one degree or another possesses an ethnic cast, be it the labor skills and domestic features which have accumulated historically in the ethnoses, or the specific features of the effect of the ethnoses on nature [1,5]. This, in turn, cannot help but influence the nature of the long-range employment of the population and the territorial structure of the economy, housing construction, the consumption structure, and the specific transformation and conservation of the environment in regions with a differing national composition of the population.
5. The guiding line of the party and government in nationality relationships is the flourishing and merging of all the peoples of the USSR and achieving the actual equality of peoples in all areas of state and cultural construction. In this context, the placement and level of socioeconomic development among the various peoples of our country for an extended time to come will influence the distribution of centralized capital investments.

Undoubtedly, the designated factors cover only the most important aspects which determine the necessity of forecasting the size, ratio and distribution of the Soviet peoples.

In addition to the differences in the natural movement of the population and the national composition of the migrants, the change in the national composition of the population in the different regions of the USSR is strongly

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influenced by ethnic processes (here and below in their narrow meaning, that is, the processes leading ultimately to a change in the ethnic affiliation of people). Let us examine in more detail the spatial aspects of these processes directly linked with the territorial features of the distribution of the peoples and their quantitative relationships.

Interethnic contacts and the related ethnic processes have occurred with varying intensity in all stages of human history. As a rule, interethnic contacts occur under the condition of a common or contiguous territory of the interacting peoples. Two basic variations of the territorial interaction of peoples are distinguished: border and integral contact [8]. With a border contact there is an interaction of the peoples in the zone of the ethnic border, and comparatively small groups of the peoples in contact are involved in the interaction. An integral contact arises with a major territorial shift of the peoples or their individual groups. The ethnic contacts which develop as a result of such a territorial shift involve large masses of the peoples in contact.

In our country both territorial varieties of interethnic contacts are widely represented, and in a number of instances they are superimposed one on the other and are difficult to differentiate.

Under the conditions of multinational regions, it is essential to know the direction and rate of occurrence of the ethnic processes depending upon the ratio of the number of peoples in contact and the level of "dispersedness" and the reciprocal penetration of the peoples "one with the other."

Let us examine a certain territorial unit in which there is an international contact of ethnic group (A) with a surrounding people of different nationality. For our purposes, it is most suitable to divide the territory into elementary cells of intensive population contacts (ETC) which are comprehensive regions having complete sets of the functional subregions necessary for the daily life and activities of the adult working part of the inhabitants [16]. Here we would assume that all the ethnic groups in the studied territorial unit live mixed together, and the probability of the establishing of contact between any two individuals does not depend upon their national affiliation. The first condition is best satisfied by the large industrial cities and new cities which create "international centers." The realizing of the second condition is a question of the distant future, and depends upon a weakening of the national aspect in the life of the population, although a whole series of researchers even now has noted a tendency toward its weakening. The established ETC are the operational units for the regional forecast of the population, since for precisely these territorial cells it is possible to construct balance models of population employment; the demographic and ethnic structure of the population in the ETC (considering the long-range changes in its territory) are the real basis for the remaining types of forecast models. The most suitable for the ETC is the procedure proposed by ethnographers for calculating the theoretical probability of the concluding of international marriages between the representatives of different ethnoses [2, 11] and which has already been tested out and amended in a series of research [6, 7, 14].

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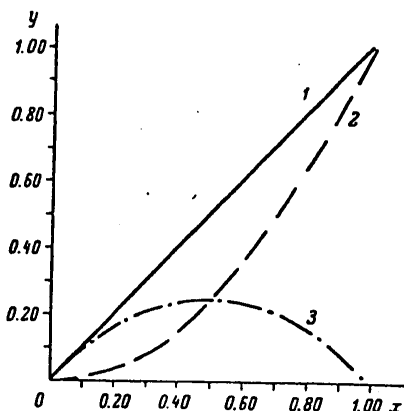


Fig. 1. Theoretical probability of the establishing of interethnic contacts for an ethnic group depending upon its share in the population of a region.

All contacts in the region can be considered as 1.00.  $x$ --the share of the ethnic group in the region's population;  $y$ --the share of contacts of the ethnic group in all the contacts of the population in the region; 1--the total number of contacts in the given ethnic group, 2--intraethnic contacts, 3--interethnic contacts.

The designated studies were based on the notion that the theoretical probability of a combination of two independent phenomena equals the product of the frequencies of each phenomenon individually, that is, the product of the share of bachelors of nationality  $i$  in all the bachelors of the region by the share of brides of nationality  $j$  in all the brides of the same region [2]. In practice we often do not have data available on the national affiliation of those entering marriage, and the ethnic processes in no way can be reduced to just the marriage and family contacts. Proceeding from this, the theoretical probability of the establishing of interethnic contacts between the representatives of ethnic group (A), independently of their national affiliation, can be calculated as the product of the share of the ethnic group (A) in the entire population of the ETC ( $P_A$ ) by the share remaining for the remaining population of the ETC ( $1.00 - P_A$ ):  $B = P_A \cdot (1.00 - P_A)$ .

For example, if the share of ethnic group (A) in the population of the ETC is 0.35, then considering all the possible ethnic contacts in the region as 1.00, and the number of possible contacts of ethnic group (A) equal to 0.35, we find the theoretical share of the interethnic contacts for ethnic group (A):  $0.35 \cdot (1.00 - 0.35) = 0.2275$ .

The theoretical share of the intraethnic contacts of ethnic group (A) is determined as  $0.3500 - 0.2275 = 0.1225$ .

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Fig. 1 traces the theoretically probable share of interethnic contacts for ethnic group (A) depending upon its share in a region's population. The curve for intraethnic contacts is described by the equation  $y_1 = x^2$ , and the curve of interethnic contacts is described by the equation  $y_2 = -(x-0.5)^2 + 0.25$ , where  $0.00 \leq x \leq 1.00$ . The graph illustrates well the pattern that the smaller the share of the ethnic group in the population of the ETC, the greater the share of the contacts of this ethnic group which falls on the surrounding foreign groups.

The obtained pattern cannot be used directly to postulate the results of the ethnic processes, since in addition to the already indicated constraint conditions, among the ethnic groups in contact the sex and age composition can not only vary significantly (this in principle could be eliminated in examining the ratio of assumed bachelors and brides), but also the resulting national composition of the population in the ETC is determined in two stages: 1) the nationally mixed marriages, 2) the national self-determination of children born in nationally mixed families.

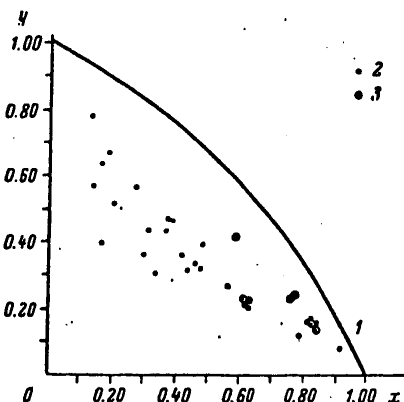


Fig. 2. Ratio of theoretical probability and actually occurring number of births in nationally mixed families (Udmurt ASSR, Russians).

x--share of ethnic group in population of territorial cell;  
 y--share of births in nationally mixed families; 1--theoretical probability of the birth of a child in a nationally mixed family, 2--administrative rayons, 3--cities.

But still, if the theoretical probability of the interethnic contacts does not fully describe the ethnic processes, it is significantly correlated with them. As an illustration of the above stated, let us examine the ratio of the theoretical probability of the interethnic contacts and the actually occurring share of the number of children born in nationally mixed families among the children born for which at least one of the parents was Russian,

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in the rayons and large cities of the Udmurt ASSR (Fig. 2). Since each 10 youths of one nationality can create 10 nationally mixed families, but not more than 5 uninational ones, the theoretical probability of birth in a nationally mixed family will be calculated from the following formula:

$$y_A = \frac{2-2x}{2-x} 100,$$

where  $x$ --the share of the ethnic group (A) in the population of the region.

Regardless of the existing dispersion of points on the graph and the significant deviation from the theoretical values, it is beyond dispute that the actual number of births for Russians in the nationally mixed families in the Udmurt ASSR rather well correlates with the share of Russians in the population of an administrative rayon or city, and this applies particularly to the large cities. The correlation dependence is most successfully described by a second-order parabola. However, we assume that the actual dependence ascertained on the basis of the ETC on a graph will be closest to a hyperbola with a symmetrical axis  $y = x$ . This reflects the intensification of the ethnic processes, when the share of the ethnic group in the population is either completely insignificant, or decisively predominates over the share of the foreign groups around (the processes of assimilation or assimilating).

The nature of the foreign surroundings of a people also influences the amount of the deviation of the actual frequency of births in nationally mixed families from the theoretical probability of interethnic contacts, in addition to the choice of the territorial cell for studying these contacts. For considering the latter factor, using the concept of a "coefficient of desirability" of interethnic contacts could be of great significance [6,7,11], and this should be calculated for each pair of peoples in a territorial aspect.<sup>1</sup> This is a subject of special research.

The concept of the theoretical probability of interethnic contacts makes it possible to approach another important problem, that is, assessing the complexity or patchyness of the national composition of a region's population. The concept of the patchyness index of national composition was for the first time proposed by V. V. Pokshishevskiy [12], and of the works on the constructing of a patchyness index for cities we could mention the article of L. F. Monogarova [9]. We have used a patchyness index for the national composition of a region's population<sup>2</sup> (in the ideal of the ETC) reflecting

<sup>1</sup>One of the first statistical indicators of this sort is the indices of "attraction" and "aversion" of M. V. Ptukha [13], with which it is possible also to analyze ethnic contacts.

<sup>2</sup>Without considering the territory of contact under the name of the socio-

ethnic density in the form  $S = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^K (n_i)^2}{N^2} 100$ , where  $n_i$ --the size of national group  $i$ ,  $K$ --the number of national groups,  $N$ --the size of the population in the region, the index formulated by E. Piasecki in 1964 [17].

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the theoretical probability of the interethnic contacts, if the intensity of these contacts were caused solely by the ratio of the ethnic groups in contact [15]

$$M_j = 1.00 - \sum_{i=1}^n \pi_i^2$$

where  $M_j$ --the patchyness index for the national composition of the population of region  $j$ ;  
 $n$ --the number of ethnic groups living in region  $j$ ;  
 $\pi_i$ --the share of ethnic group  $i$  in the total number of the population living in region  $j$ .

Using the given patchyness index, it is possible to compare the level of the multinationality of a population on different territories, and to judge the patchyness of the national composition of the population in the regions over time. Moreover, using the patchyness index of the national composition of the population it is possible to compare the theoretical and practical spread of interethnic contacts within the limits of the ETC.

On the basis of the published materials of the 1970 All-Union Census, we have examined the ratio of the patchyness level of the national composition of a population in the national-autonomous formations of the USSR with the spread of nationally mixed families (Fig. 3). Regardless of a certain hypothetical nature of the comparison made (the patchyness index and the share of nationally mixed families are given not for the ETC, but rather for the entire undivided territory of the national autonomous formation), out of the aggregate of national autonomous formations we have selected those where a significant portion of the population is comprised of representatives of peoples which because of particular features of everyday life and culture and the existing experience of international contact, as a rule, take a rather active part in the various forms of interethnic interaction up to including family and marriage relations. Thus, the northern and Far Eastern national-autonomous formations stand out in an increased share of nationally mixed families, and here the population has been formed predominantly of migrants from the European portion of the country (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, peoples from the Volga Region, and others) and representatives of the indigenous nationalities. At present, here there is occurring a process of the assimilation of the ethnic groups and a reduction in the values of the patchyness index of the national composition of the population [15].

We assume that in constructing the regional population forecasts, the employed demographic model can be broken up into a series of models according to the nationality principle. The forecast of a region's population should consist of the population forecasts for the individual nationalities with an obligatory subdivision into urban and rural inhabitants. This corresponds to the differing types of the natural movement of the population. The elaboration of the forecasts for the individual national groups requires a thorough reorganization of current statistical reporting and census data which to a maximum degree should be presented in an ethnic breakdown.

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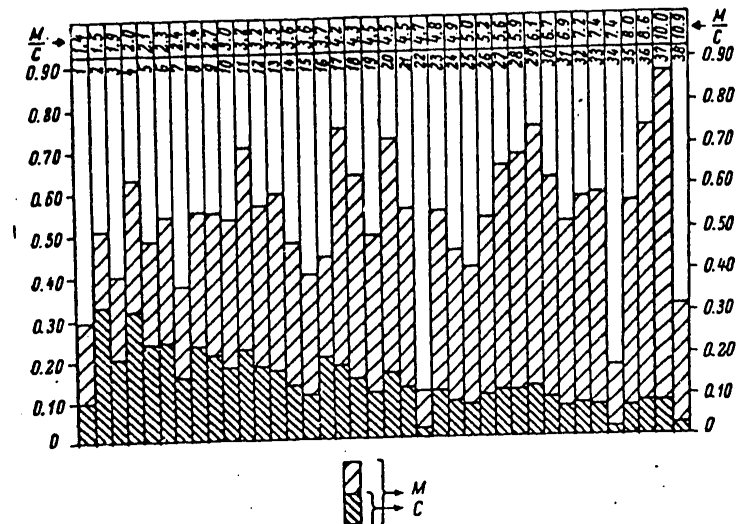


Fig. 3. Ratio of the patchyness level of the national composition of the population in the national-autonomous formations of the USSR with the spread of nationally mixed families.

M--patchyness index of the national composition of the population, C--the share of nationally mixed families in all families; 1--Jewish AO [Autonomous Oblast], 2--Karelian ASSR, 3--Khanty-Mansi AO, 4--Komi ASSR, 5--Chukchi NO [National Okrug], 6--Karyak NO, 7--Khakass AO, 8--Nenets NO, 9--Taymyr NO, 10--Komi-Permyak NO, 11--Yamalo-Nenets NO, 12--Evenk NO, 13--Yakut ASSR, 14--South Ossetian AO, 15--Adzharian ASSR, 16--Adygey AO, 17--Abkhas ASSR, 18--North Ossetian ASSR, 19--Gornyy Altai AO, 20--Bashkir ASSR, 21--Udmurt ASSR, 22--Nakhichevan ASSR, 23--Ust'-Ordynskiy NO, 24--Chuvash ASSR, 25--Buryat ASSR, 26--Mordvinian ASSR, 27--Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, 28--Karachai-Cherkess ASSR, 29--Karakalpak ASSR, 30--Kalmyk ASSR, 31--Tuva ASSR, 32--Mari ASSR, 33--Tatar ASSR, 34--Gornyy Badakhshan AO, 35--Aginskiy (Buryat) NO, 36--Checheno-Ingush ASSR, 37--Dagestan ASSR, 38--Karabau AO.

For the possibility of considering the results of ethnic processes in the forecast (in 1970, 13.5 percent of the families in the USSR were nationally mixed, and this percentage was significantly higher among the families being formed), it is essential to work out a special model of the ethnic processes. In our article a possible approach to constructing such a model has been presented in a general form.

We must particularly caution against a mechanistic approach to analyzing ethnic processes. For simplifying the model, we have viewed them in the narrowest sense. In actuality in addition to the "abrupt-shift" transition

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from one national affiliation to another, there are equally essential "ethnoevolutionary changes in the ethnos" ([1], p 153). And the latter play possibly not such a marked role in changing the characteristics of peoples, but over the long run the failure to consider them can to a significant degree influence the accuracy of the forecast. In the ideal the model of ethnic processes, like a demographic model, should consider: 1) the processes of a weakening of national aspects in the life of the population (like the temporary strengthenings of these aspects at certain stages); 2) the spread of the features of the urban way of life and the evening out of national features by them; 3) the reciprocal penetration of the national cultures of the Soviet peoples and the selection of the particular features of everyday life and the economy which are most successful for the existing social and natural milieu, and certain other aspects.

It is essential to point out that both in the migration model and to a great degree in the model of population employment, the fixing of ethnic aspects is also of substantial significance. At present, without considering the national composition of the population, we cannot construct either a population forecast or the particular forecasts of the natural movement of the population, migration, urbanization, environmental conservation, and much else.

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