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### Next COUNTRIES OF ASIA: STATE POLICY TOWARDS SMALL BUSINESS

W.J. POLYAKHIN

In Oriental countries the state actively influences the development of small enterprise, ensuring in fact equal possibilities for evolution for all sectors of economy, in all fields of activities, as concerns deliveries of raw goods, allocation of investments, training of qualified personnel and the taxation, both direct and indirect. Facing the necessity of priority development of science- and capital-intensive branches which would pay for themselves in the long run, developing countries of Asia finally succeed in finding such a compromise solution that foresees in the long-term perspective a join of increasing quantities of living and materialized labour, i.e. is based on combination of labour-, capital- and science-intensive productions and intended for well-balanced growth of small-scale, big capitalist and state sectors.

From this point, the experience of Asian countries is of a certain importance for developing small (in particular, co-operative) sector in the USSR. The recently adopted laws on the state enterprise, the co-operation and the individual labour activities meant a legal acknowledgement of such objective reality as the multi-sector nature of Soviet economy. However, the perestroyka in general has not shaken the monopoly of state property, and this makes possible negative processes in economy to grow without hindrance. The state sector still stays apart from any competition. Only secondary roles are still assigned to co-operative and self-employed workers. In the existing conditions they are not able to organize any important production while co-operators could successfully ensure, for instance, a small-series production of mini-tractors, mini-combines, electronic equipment and electrotechnical devices, as well as the small enterprises perform this function in practically all countries of Asia. But this way is still firmly blocked by a deep-rooted dogma in our consciousness that proclaimed the state property to be a priori the height of perfection.

### STANDARD OF NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

M.A. OLIMOV

One could not deny that the building of socialism in majority of socialist-oriented states was realized under strong influence of the Soviet experience which was advocated by our theorists as the basic model of socialism. They wrote piles of works pretending to give analysis of the non-capitalist way of development in Central Asian Soviet republics, recommended as a standard for young states of the "third world." However, these works were completely out of touch with reality, ignoring existing problems and difficulties. But recently,

when more true distortions of socialist principles in Soviet Asian republics came to light, they puzzled many theorists of social sciences and party workers, unmasked complexity and contradictions of the real socialism and its ways.

In the author's opinion, we should admit that problems actually faced by the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan are similar to those of developing countries of the East (to some extent this includes also countries which develop on the capitalist way). Dangers that threaten these peoples in general are connected with accelerated path of historical development, negative influence of the whole underdevelopment in the pre-socialist period, the heritage of feudalism. The article scrutinizes a key problem of this heritage—the conservation and functioning of the traditional society in Soviet Asian republics.

The socialism built under Stalin's direction was itself a model of feudal community. Its features were paternalism, hierarchic and caste structure, use of a powerful compulsion machinery. In Central Asian republics the hierarchy of Stalin's socialism joined the hierarchy of the old feudal system. Institutes of traditional society which still remain attractive for masses, in the epoch of stagnation became a good camouflage for money-grubbing and corruption. Forcibly spread wage-levelling also contributed to the conservation of the feudal type community. The wage-levelling of the barrack-like socialism was close by nature to the feudal levelling and therefore easily took root in mass conscience.

### AFRICA. DIFFERENT ORIENTATIONS AND COMMON PROBLEMS. ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY IN COUNTRIES OF ALTERNATIVE ORIENTATIONS

Yu.V. POTYOMKIN

Scepticism towards possibilities of socialist-oriented policy in developing countries, which became widespread lately among Soviet researchers, is a sort of retroactive reaction to the overestimated realities in the past. However, considering the capitalist and the socialist orientations of development we should not exaggerate their difference, which is strict enough in the political and ideological field but is less important in the social and economic sphere. This is quite natural, because the main tasks of overcoming backwardness faced by developing countries are similar if not identical. Their essence is the accelerated creation of the potential for this overcoming, all possible development of productive forces, both material and human. This circumstance inevitably reduces the social and economic difference between the two alternative lines to non-significant variations in proportions of certain aims and methods of policy in countries of both orientations at the present stage. This thesis is confirmed in the article by a review of the policy of African states on main problems dealing with vital people's interests, i.e. the essential, human component of productive forces.

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In the author's opinion, the degradation of social and economic situation on the continent in 1980s, connected in fact mainly with objective factors, cannot be explained merely by the socialist-oriented way. It would be wrong also to compare results achieved in countries of such types for a too short historical period; to consider measures of normalization as a deviation from the socialist orientation; to interpret this orientation as a stage of "building of socialism." This is a long-range policy, and its destinies are not determined by factors of conjuncture. Its necessary pre-conditions are the existence of a solid economic basis—the public sector of the economy, while not necessarily predominant, and the conviction of political leaders in a historical need for socialist orientation.

#### **TURKISH ASPECTS OF TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND SOME MISTAKES OF STALINIST DIPLOMACY**

A.Sh. RASIZADE

While Greek events and the situation about Turkey were the occasion to proclaim the doctrine, its Greek and Turkish aspects haven't been yet a special subject of study in our country. However, the Truman doctrine played a crucial role in American-Turkish relations, in the choice by Turkey of its place in the post-war world, and this influenced, of course, the Soviet-Turkish relations as well. The principles of the doctrine still stay the basis of bilateral relations between Turkey and the USA.

The author tried to reconsider the Soviet interpretation of the Truman doctrine. Now, when we review our past, it is useful to show consequences of the wrong approach by I.V. Stalin and his associates to the Soviet policy in the region.

The Soviet-Turkish relations reached a high level of tension during first post-war years. In course of the second world war Turkey took in fact anti-Soviet positions, and after the war the Soviet government denounced the Treaty on friendship and neutrality between the two countries, signed in Paris in 1925, and suggested to prepare a new treaty. However, Soviet proposals that followed, aggravated even more the bilateral relations, contributed to the western orientation of Turkey. With approval of Stalin, Georgia and Armenia put in claims on the adjacent parts of Turkish territory. In the course of the diplomatic discussion on the regime of the Black Sea straits between USSR, USA, Great Britain and Turkey, the Soviet party also raised claims unacceptable for the Turks, which resulted in drawing up of a common British-American-Turkish position.

#### **SYNCRETISM OF RELIGIOUS AND MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF PRE-MOSLEM TURKS**

I.V. STEBLEVA

The article deals with insufficiently explored problem of various religious and mythological pre-Islam systems which functioned among Turkic peoples of Central Asia,

Southern and Eastern Siberia. From the 6th century Turkic peoples began to form military, political and state unions of tribes. On their territories written texts were created, dealing with shamanism, Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity. The adoption of Islam by Turks in Central Asia began in 10th century, but this process was long, and during several centuries Turkic peoples lived in the sphere of other cultural and religious traditions.

Turkic manuscripts available for studying these pre-Islam conceptual systems are written by runic, Manichaean and Uighur scripts. They include special religious texts (prayers, hymns, instructions and norms of religious behaviour) as well as literary works (epitaphs, historical and heroic poems, didactic parables and novels).

A most peculiar feature of these works is the interaction of various religious and mythological traditions. Shamanic texts are influenced by the Manichaean religion (the runic fortune-telling book). Manichaean hymns are created under the influence of Buddhism. The syncretism of Manichaean and Buddhist ideas and notions reaches the level where Mani is identified with Buddha. Manichaeism receives as well an impact of Christianity: in the prayer addressed to "Mani-Angel (and) Buddha" the word equivalent of "angel" means also "apostle." Turkic Christian texts were influenced by shamanism (the ritual formula of space description) and Manichaeism which included in its turn some features of zoroastrianism.

#### **SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS OF ABU-L-HASAN AL-MAWARDI (NEW TRENDS OF STUDIES)**

A.A. IGNATENKO

Works created by this eminent Moslem medieval lawyer, expert on problems of the state, have been studied for a long time by orientalists. Modern islamists interpret the heritage of al-Mawardi, this distinguished theorist of the Islamic state—caliphate, as being purely theocratic concept.

The notion of "concord" (*uifa*) takes a key place in his concept aimed at giving explanation to the existence and functioning of society. This "concord" is necessary for people to receive "sufficient matter of their life" in the course of "development of the world" (*imara*). Human society is considered by the medieval theorist to be innately differentiated: "unity in difference" is a precondition of "union" (*ittifak*) of people performing various functions in the process of "development of the world" (tillage, handicraft etc.) and therefore needing one another.

Mutual hostility inherent in people by nature requires the existence of power to consolidate this union using the "religion" (*din*). Al-Mawardi reconsiders the notion of "religion" interpreting it as any set of society-organizing norms and rules, including even "dishonesty" (*kufir*) if it

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performs the function of uniting people. Norms of the "religion" interpreted in this way are obligatory both for subjects and the sovereign (*malik*), the supreme ruler who is to take measures to ensure the community life.

The article calls in question the authorship of the "Sermon to sovereigns," a well-known treatise whose manuscript is kept in the National Library of Paris, traditionally attributed to al-Mawardi.

#### ROLE OF SCALES OF TIME AND SPACE IN MODELLING OF HISTORICAL PROCESS

G.S. POMERANTS

Rationality or irrationality of the history depends to a considerable extent on the scale applied to it. This idea was put forward in 1784 by E. Kant who noted the trend to all-world political unification. F. Schlegel, leaning upon the Indian experience, argued that there were no planetary time; each great culture went the way from revelation to rational constructions leading to a loss of creative impulse and to a decline. The model by Kant, in the final analysis, can be traced back to Augustus and Jewish promise of Messiah, and the model by Schlegel—to the Indo-European mythologem of four centuries (golden, silver, copper and iron). These models are not mutually excluding. Total historical movement has a complex inner structure including a number of movements, each of them being evident on a certain scale of articulation of historical time and space. The article distinguishes five scales of the time and the same number of scales for the cultural space. On the super-large scale of Indian mythology, the history in general is an illusion and only eternity is real. On a global large scale accumulated changes (growth of productive forces, of population, differentiation of society and intellect; growing alienation, ecological tension etc.) are first and foremost. A middle global scale discerns wave movements, the "eternal return," the revival of archaic features in the Middle Ages and of the classics in the modern history. In Chinese historiography this is expressed by an alternation of dynasties *in* and *yan*. On a middle local scale the most important are cycles of rise and decline of various cultures. These movements, while they are different enough, can be considered as being rational, easily modelled. They are opposed to explosive movements directed by a charismatic leader (M. Weber) or a group of "passionaries" (L.N. Gumilyov). Here only anthropomorphic scale is possible. There are no reasons to explain Mongolian conquests besides those interlaced in Gengis Khan's personality. It is impossible to foresee what new "passionary" (Hitler, Khomeini) will frustrate all plans of sober-minded people. However, the course of time smoothes away traces of explosions and all the logic of history is restored to its rights.

#### ROUND TABLE

#### FUTURE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE EAST

Participants: N.A. IVANOV, M.F. VIDYASOVA, L.S. VASIL'EV, YU.G. ALEKSANDROV, A.D. DIKARYOV, V.A. YASHKIN, A.V. AKIMOV

This Round Table concerns problems of development of the economic history of the East in the USSR. The article by A.M. Petrov "New Tasks of Ancient Science and Some Materials for Study of Economic History of the East" (1989, No 2) gave rise to the present discussion. The participants put the question: what is the reason of such a lag in the field (history of economy) which was traditionally considered by the marxist science as a priority? A number of solutions is suggested. In the authors' opinion, use of quantitative methods would allow to reject some dogmas which need to be reviewed, e.g. the dogma of the "robbery" of the East as a source of primary capitalist accumulation. The economic backwardness of the East was, first of all, a result of the non-ability of statist economy to ensure the extended reproduction, and not that of the "colonial robbery."

A negative influence on the East, exerted by the West, was rather that the East actively rejected all western elements, becoming more and more archaic. However, one should not consider that modernization of the eastern economy is inevitably to lead to the death of traditional structures, pre-industrial civilization. The study of economic history of the East would help understanding economic problems of the USSR.

Results of the study of economic history could be applied for forecasting trends in the following fields: global problems, studies of economic growth and analysis of precedents.

#### UNIDENTIFIED FLYING OBJECTS (UFO) IN ANCIENT CHINA

A.D. DIKARYOV

The process of emancipation of thought in China in 1980s is particularly impressive after the spiritual vacuum of the epoch of "cultural revolution." The thirst of the whole society for knowledge based on the economic reforms, takes in a number of cases the form of unofficial science. An example of such organizations is the scientific societies of UFO fanciers with corresponding periodicals as the revue "Feidie Tansuo" ("Studies of Flying Saucers"). The efforts by Chinese scientists to find in ancient Chinese sources "historical evidences" of UFO existence are of particular interest for Sinologists and experts in science of science. The activities of adherents of this new scientific trend in China demonstrate methodology and tasks of the Chinese historical science in general.

The article considers a number of concrete modern versions of interpretation of historical materials on extraordinary flying phenomena. A number of works criticizing the attempts to place a historical basis under this problem, as a rule, does not dispute the main modern concept of UFO as a product of alien mind.

## Journal Design and Layout Review

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Under the leadership of Karl Oken under the name "Socialism in the Future," a standard of Non-Exploitation Development was set.

The foundation of traditional society in Central Asia had remained a cruel and abjectness among the masses despite a good cosmology for good during the time of migration. Aditya, for example, tried to ground the legitimacy of his "rule" through purely feudal methods, i.e., based his genealogy back to Tamerlane. The strongly feudal leveling facilitated the preservation of consumers of a feudal type. This was not a consequence of the Marxist socialism that was propagated by the first Stalin socialist Owen, Saint Simon, and Fourier and implemented in our country by the revolutionaries infected with "the infantile disease of hyllism" above. The leveling of Marxist socialism is genetically close to feudal leveling and thus easily entered the mass consciousness.

The question of socialist orientation and the non-capitalist path of development is creating heated disputes in Oriental studies of late. Debates that were held on this problem at the Oriental Studies Institute and Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a number of articles published in the pages of the journals *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*, *AZIYA I AFRICA*, *SEGODNYA* and *MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIYA*<sup>1</sup> confirm the undoubted topicality and underdeveloped nature of these problems.

The enormous quantity of new materials that are finally accessible to researchers and the opportunity to express oneself openly and honestly and to discuss in the press topics that were closed before have elicited a need to review many of the views on the most difficult problems of the developing countries that have chosen the non-capitalist path of development.

It cannot fail to be seen that the building of socialism in the majority of the socialist-oriented nations was and is being conducted under strong influence from the experience of the USSR, which was propagated by our theoreticians as the basic model for the building of socialism and was perceived to be the standard. The model of development of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, which did not undergo the stage of capitalism, was taken as the foundation. Attempts of adaptation were written in which the non-capitalist development path of the Central Asian republics was separately analyzed and recommended as a prototype for the young Third World countries. All of these ways, however, suffered from common shortcomings: an enormous

distance from reality, a skewer regarding real problems and difficulties and an idealization of the process of building socialism in national regions that had earlier been backward. When distortions of the principles of socialism that were monstrous in scope began to be encountered in the republics of the Soviet Union, they forced many Soviet scientists and party workers into a dead end, viewing the complex and equivocal nature of real socialism and ways of building it, all of this declares the perennial necessity of studying and interpreting the experience of the non-capitalist path of development of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. The need for such research is evident, say, the one hand, by the development needs of the republics themselves—since without an objective analysis of the situation, it is impossible to move forward or to correct the multitude of errors and omissions that have now become tangled in a tight knot of almost insoluble problems—and, on the other hand, it is essential for a deepening of our notions of contemporary socialist orientation, since our former ideas, founded on an uncritical approach toward Soviet experience, have not been confirmed by life?.

It must be ~~acknowledged~~ that the problems facing the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan today are largely similar to the difficulties that the developing countries in the foreign Orient are experiencing (as relates partly to the countries that have chosen the capitalist developmental path as well).

Our academicians had tried to convince us that the development path of the Oriental republics of the USSR differs radically from the evolution of the socialist-oriented economies of the Orient. Acute conflicts of a national, economic, political and cultural nature have been detected today, however, that are a consequence of the profound processes that we have successfully closed our eyes to over this whole time. Some economists have dared to acknowledge that Tajikistan, for example, is a developing republic with problems that are common to the Third World. They include a high birth rate, i.e. a population explosion, and the problem of a surplus of labor resources that is associated with it, as well as the adaptation of a traditional society founded on the feudal-type rural commune to modern times and the entry of traditional feudal social structures into a modern infrastructure. These issues have been raised in the course of debates that have taken place in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia and have been reflected in the pages of the republic press.

The majority of researchers engaged with these problems are coming to the conclusion that the credit of effigery lying in wait for socialist revolution and the building of a new society is determined principally by the "straightening out" of the historical path, the negative effects of the overall lack of development in the pre-socialist period and the "barbarism of feudalism." While accepting this point of view in general, I would like to direct the reader's attention to one of its key elements—