Excerpts from "XX Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of the scientific research workers in the area of philosophy"

by

Academic P. N. Fedoseev,

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For characteristic processes which take place in social life at the present time, the necessity has become imminent for the investigation of such new problems as the problem of the coexistence of mutually excluding opposites and their struggle, as well as the of resolution of such antagonism. There also arise such questions as overcoming opposites [20] by means of their combination (merging [sliianie]).¹ For example, the overcoming of the differences between physical and mental labor takes place particularly by means of combination (merging) of mental and physical labor. Evidently, such a new posing of the question became possible by the creation of new social conditions. Indeed in antagonistic class societies, torn by class contradictions, talking about the question of combination (merging) of opposites -- this means falling into opportunism. However, in our country, were antagonistic classes have been liquidated, the problem of overcome some opposites by means of combining (merging) them not only can arise but must do so. This is a vital problem, put forward by our new socialist reality.

It is impossible not to consider specific peculiarities of the action of the law of the unity and struggle of opposite under socialism. Already in the first years of the Soviet power, Lenin turned his attention to the peculiarities and pointed out the danger of forgetting them. He wrote "Antagonism and contradiction are not one and the same. The first will disappear; the second will also remain under socialism."

Meanwhile Stalin did not realize the difference in understanding of contradictions in conformity with socialism. After the liquidation of the exploiting classes he came out with the theory that after the victory of socialism, class struggle becomes more intense, becoming even more bitter.

At that same time Stalin advanced the thesis of that which with us established full correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production. But indeed the intensification of class struggle always had as its basis the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production or the survivals of these relations. That Stalin simultaneously produced confusion in the understanding of the correspondence of the forces of production and the relations of production and in the Marxist theory of class struggle.

The affirmation of the intensification of class struggle after the victory of socialism was dictated not by a theoretical analysis of reality, but the tendency "to intensify" mass repression, gross violations of socialist legality.

¹ This statement is attacked by Zhou Yang [Chou Yang] as a radical and false revision of materialist dialectics. See Zhou, "The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences," *Beijing Review*, January 3, 1964.

It would be false to assume that in our society, in which antagonistic classes have been liquidated, development takes place without struggle, without overcoming contradictions. Contradictions always are the moving force of progressive movement, including social progress. It is necessary for us to study the real contradictions in our lives deeply and concretely. However, speaking of the investigation of contradictions, it should also be said pointed out that some dogmatists, instead of an all-sided investigation of the nature of contradictions and the laws of their resolution, go in for recording and writing down this or that contradiction, even artificial, sought out contradictions, and in that way to replace the Marxist, dialectical approach to contradictions with a petty bourgeois, metaphysical approach.

The Marxist understanding of dialectics must be differentiated from the petty bourgeois. In Marx's expression, the petty bourgeois deifies contradictions. The fact is that he himself is woven from contradictions. He collects contradictions and seeks to balance opposites or bring them into harmony. The [real] task, [however,] consists in revealing real contradictions in life and overcoming them.

Usually antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions are distinguished. But it is impossible to fall into an oversimplification. Antagonism has various and always concrete phenomena. Non-antagonistic contradictions also change, can be worn down [stirat'sia], and can also intensify, if there is no counteraction to the conditions which animate them.

The experience of socialist construction shows that overcoming nonantagonistic contradictions has its stages and corresponding [21] forms and means. Thus during the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the contradictions between the working class and the working peasantry have a nonantagonistic character. But after socialist remolding of the petty bourgeois economy, these contradictions became all the more worn down, a qualitative change took place in the relations between the working class and the peasantry, the union of these classes became stronger, although differences [between them] existed and some contradictions between them remained. With the full and final victory of socialism, the further rapprochement [sblizhenie] of classes leads to the complete obliteration [stiranie] of class boundaries and to the disappearance of every mark of departed contradictions.

Thus it is necessary to approach the development and overcoming contradictions dialectically, avoiding all forays into dogmatic oversimplification.

Working out the questions of the real laws of dialectics under socialism-this is the most important task of philosophical workers.