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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 6, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1986

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USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 6, November-December 1986

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## CONFERENCE ON WORKING CLASS IN PRESENT DAY HELD IN MOSCOW

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 12, November-December 1986 carries on pages 3-41 a brief account of the conference "The Working Class and the Present Day" held 8-10 October; as well as abridged versions of seven presentations given at the conference. The conference was held under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its Institute of the International Workers Movement. The papers published in RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR are: "Problems of the Workers' Movement at the Current Stage" by Amat Dansoko, general secretary of the Sengalese Party of Independence and Labor; "The Chief Social Force of the Present Day" by Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary (full translation follows); "Laborists on the Problems of the Struggle for Disarmament and Turning the Pacific Into a Non-Nuclear Zone" by Stuart McAffali, first deputy chairman of the New Zealand Labor Party (full translation follows); "The Working Class in the Nuclear Age" by Shigeo Hatada, president of the Association on Questions of Educating Workers in Japan; "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and its Potential" by Claude Billard, member of the French Communist Party Politburo; "The Working Class and the Scientific-Technical Revolution" by Silvano Andriani, member of the Italian CP Central Committee, director of the Economic Problems Research Center; and "The Working Class--Leading Force of Social Progress of the Asian and African Countries" by Pieter Keuneman, chairman of the Sri Lankan CP.

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## DOBRYNIN ON ROLE OF WORKING CLASS UNDER CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 9-18

[Paper of A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Main Social Force of the Present Day"]

[Text] The concept "present day" is associated in our country primarily with the incredibly complex, dramatic and event-packed international situation in which all mankind, with its anxieties and hopes, is living.

On the one hand we are witnesses to events which have reflected the world's strengthening conviction that the time has come to put an end to the threat of nuclear war by way of specific, practical action. On the other, reasons for profound concern remain. The solution of the central problem of the present day--that of general security--has still not been moved from standstill. Militarist forces are pulling back to the blind alley in questions of nuclear and space-based arms. They are, as before, gambling on the creation of new, increasingly sophisticated types of weapons, spinning the flywheel of the arms race and preparing to transfer it to space. And this is increasing the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

But the present day means not only highly important current events. It means deep-lying processes and changes connected with the day-to-day life of hundreds of millions of people.

Without an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the new problems connected with the position and development of the working class, and a reinterpretation of certain old, settled notions thereof, it is difficult, simply impossible to understand the historical situation of the end of the 20th century.

The modern world is at a pivotal stage. New, profound social processes are ensuing in the different sociopolitical systems--socialist and capitalist. And qualitatively new problems have arisen in relations between them. There is a different look today to the growing contradictions between the handful of imperialist states and the Asian, African and Latin American developing countries. The S&T revolution, which has initiated a giant increase in man's material and spiritual possibilities, is unfolding before our very eyes--possibilities of a dual nature: of a qualitative leap forward in society's productive forces and, simultaneously, in weapons of destruction.

Naturally, Marxists and everyone who links prospects for social progress with the world of labor cannot fail to ponder the role of the working class in this complex, contradictory and at the same time largely integral world of the final decades of the 20th century. To what qualitative and quantitative changes is the development of the working class itself and its position in society being subjected? What will be the appearance of the working class at the start of the third millennium, on whose threshold we essentially find ourselves? What is the place of the working class in the accomplishment of the most important general task currently--self-preservation of the human race and the survival of civilization--and in the solution of other global problems such as protection of the environment, the elimination of hunger and poverty and so forth?

Such is a far from complete list of the most important questions being animatedly discussed today in all parties and organizations linking themselves with the working class.

Essentially new elements are being introduced to the position of the working class, the conditions of its struggle and its development prospects on the eve of the 21st century by the S&T revolution. This is a revolution which directly excites the main productive force--the working man. K. Marx foresaw this when he wrote about the level of S&T progress when the means of labor take the form of an automatic system of machinery, and man servicing the automatic machinery "stands in relation to the production process itself as its controller and regulator" (1). Indeed, facts which are widely known indicate that man's place in the production process and the nature and content of his labor are changing and that shifts are occurring throughout the totality of social relations.

Although these changes are in some respects of a general nature, their social consequences are different and opposite even when we speak of the different social systems. The circumstance noted by Marx that capital "makes one-sided, limits and so forth the main productive force--man himself" (2) is becoming increasingly visible in the light of the current S&T revolution. The opposite social consequences of the S&T revolution deserve to be the subject of in-depth theoretical study based on a specific analysis of the actual situation.

In actual fact capitalism's use of modern technology is essentially aimed against man. Turning millions of working people into "superfluous" people, it is at the same time serving as a means of strengthening the authoritarian, despotic power of capital at the enterprises. The aspirituality which capitalism entails, literally leaching and washing away the human being in man, in the soil of ideology and the practice of consumerism included, is becoming increasingly apparent with every passing year. Capitalism is also using the latest technology in order to plunder the "third world" in a more "up-to-date" and efficient manner. Present-day capitalism, like the old capitalism, is living to a considerable extent thanks to the "tribute" which it exacts from peoples which have lagged behind economically.

But granted all the changes which the present-day working class has undergone, it remains the main character of mankind's progressive development. It is, as

M.S. Gorbachev observed, the class whose labor, intellect and skill are essential today in all walks of human life.

The working class is the main social force of Soviet society. Profound changes have occurred in its composition and social appearance in the postwar period, specifically in recent decades. Its numbers, skills and professional expertise, degree of education and general culture have grown. The ranks of the working class are being reinforced increasingly by representatives of highly skilled labor, which is not only and not so much physical but to a considerable extent mental also. The new, contemporary workman is characterized by higher vital requirements, and his aspiration to participate directly in the solution of all questions both of production and social life as a whole is greater than ever.

The political appearance of the working class is characterized, for example, by the following data: 8.6 million workers (45 percent of the party's numerical composition) are members and candidates of the CPSU, and millions of workers, of the party and nonparty people, participate in this form or the other in social control: over 1 million as deputies of the soviets, approximately 5 million in the people's control authorities and 4.4 million workers as members of permanent production meetings.

Of course, the processes which are occurring in our country's working class under the influence of economic, S&T and social development and its very numerical growth are also engendering certain problems--both theoretical and practical. We are working on their solution, although, of course, we do not have ready answers to all questions.

Many problems are arising connected directly with the S&T revolution. But they are being solved under socialism in a fundamentally different way than under capitalism--not at the expense of the working people but in their interests. It is well known, for example, that there is no such phenomenon in our country as unemployment. Of course, we understand that the application of new technology will in time confront us also with the question of ways to ensure full employment. We are keeping this problem in view, proceeding from the fact that socialism has its own, inherent methods of solution. There will never be unemployment in our, Soviet society.

Other problems are arising also. What new social categories currently come within the bounds of the "working class" concept? What place in the structure of society is occupied by the rapidly growing stratum of brain workers and specialists of high and average technical qualifications? How is the growth of the working class being combined with the objective process of the formation of the social homogeneity of society? Debate is under way among our scholars in respect of these and other questions. This is perfectly natural. But there can be no delay in answering them, of course.

Marx once foresaw that in line with S&T progress, production would develop from a simple process of labor into a scientific process putting the powers of nature at the service of human requirements (3). This forecast is being justified in the life of the socialist countries, in the life of Soviet society.

The 27th CPSU Congress firmly determined a policy of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and a radical restructuring of all spheres of social life in order to achieve a qualitatively new state of Soviet society. The congress made a sober, self-critical analysis of the state of affairs in our country. We see as a task today making more extensive use of the tremendous possibilities and advantages of the socialist system, combining them in practice with the achievements of the current S&T revolution and revealing more fully the superiority of the socialist system. This is a truly revolutionary task.

The principles of the 27th congress concerning the revolutionary, all-embracing nature of the restructuring have now been specified in respect of different spheres of social life--the economy, social relations, the political superstructure, spiritual life and party, state and economic work. The restructuring is not a one-time act of the moment but a process which will advance within the framework of a particular historical period. This is the main lever of the mobilization of the intrinsic potential and possibilities of our socialist system. And here also the CPSU is counting firmly on the Soviet working class. "On each occasion that Soviet power is confronted by difficulties in the exceptionally difficult cause of the building of socialism," V.I. Lenin said, "Soviet power knows of only one means of combating them: turning to the workers..." (4).

The main lesson which the CPSU has learned from the experience of our development in the past two decades is that the decisive prerequisite of success in the realization of any large-scale economic program is the assertiveness and consciousness of the masses and their genuine socialist initiative and independent activity. In directing and organizing the restructuring processes the party proceeds from the vital creativity of the people's masses and their profound interest in the transformations which are being accomplished.

For this reason we connect the acceleration and restructuring primarily with the further development of socialist democracy. The CPSU has conducted an open struggle against formal administrative and command methods, which are still typical of some executives of the party and state machinery. The working people are unwilling to rest content with yesterday's achievements and be reconciled to shortcomings and negative phenomena. Serious changes are occurring in the life of our society. The party is convinced that the tremendous intellectual, creative potential of the people may be used in full only on the path of a broadening of democracy and the democratization of all spheres of our life.

Understandably, this is not an easy question. An incomplete comprehension of the significance of a broadening of democracy is still encountered. Its further development is causing some confusion among some executives. Although society as a whole is emphatically attuned toward the changes, the restructuring process is proceeding slowly and unevenly and coming up against various socio-psychological and organizational barriers. Bureaucratic distortions in the work of the management machinery, indiscipline and lack of responsibility are an impediment to the restructuring.

Such inertia of the past needs to be persistently and emphatically overcome. Learning to work under the conditions of expanded democracy--this is what the party is calling for. "We," M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes, "must incorporate people in the restructuring process via the democratization of society. If we were to say what the essence of restructuring was, it could be reduced to simple form: we must create the prerequisites in each workforce, in each party organization, in each oblast, republic and sector, in each central department and throughout the party wherein the individual feels himself to be master of the country."

Much is being suggested here by the experience of the masses themselves. Worker initiative has summoned into being new forms of the brigade organization of labor. The leader and council of the brigade are elected, and the workers themselves decide questions of the organization and remuneration of labor. Such a new form of self-management as enterprise workforce councils has appeared also. The elaboration of a new law on the socialist enterprise, which enshrines the policy of a reorganization of management methods and protection of the workforce from petty tutelage and regulation on the part of higher authorities, is being completed currently.

Socialist people's self-management does not amount merely to the working people's participation in the management of the enterprises at which they themselves work. It is a question of a broadening and deepening of democratic and self-management principles throughout the life of society. This is enriching the content of democratic centralism and enhancing its efficacy.

An important role in the system of socialist democracy belongs to the unions--the most mass organization with 137 million members. The unions in our country have big rights, performing the functions of defense of the working people's interests. Due attention has not always been paid to this function in practice. But it is necessary that the unions know how to defend the interests of the collective and each working person firmly. Such is their task.

Also being reorganized is the activity of the soviets of people's deputies, 44.4 percent of whom are workers. Their functions are being extended and their role in the life of society as the organs of power of the working people is being enhanced.

The entire social atmosphere which has taken shape in our country under the influence of the 27th CPSU Congress, the reforms being implemented in the country and the struggle for reorganization are aimed at stimulating the human factor, achieving a restructuring in people's mentality, prompting them to realization of their role of proprietor, and ensuring simultaneously both the greater efficiency of centralized management and a broadening of the independence, initiative and responsibility of enterprises, local organs of power, social organizations and so forth. It is important to mention here that economic, production efficiency is seen not as an end in itself but as a means of tackling major social tasks of communist building.

Openness, discussion, criticism and self-criticism are essential to the working class, the class which is the creator of socialism, by its inner

nature. It is a method to ascertain and solve urgent problems, to surmount shortcomings and to rectify deformations, which is organically inherent in the socialist system. It is a method of mobilization of the social consciousness and effective means of the masses' participation in the control of society. This is why criticism is for us not a temporary campaign but a permanent factor of development and advancement.

Much depends, of course, on how rapidly the CPSU itself and all its components--from the primary party organizations through the CPSU Central Committee--are reorganized. Our party is a workers', people's party; as the ruling party, it is at the service of the people and must set an example to all of society--an example of correct comprehension of the policy of acceleration, an example of scrupulousness, openness, self-criticism, democratism,, initiative, discipline and responsibility.

An aspiration to consistent compliance with the standards of social justice is inherent in the working man. Measures are being adopted currently to rectify the distortions which have arisen, to ensure primarily strict observance of the principle of payment according to labor, remove elements of leveling and and at the same time close off the channels for unearned income. When we set the task of purging our society of all manifestations of ownership, petty bourgeois mentality, we raise still higher the ideals of socialist morality, worker, proletarian morality.

The policy of an acceleration of S&T progress is being combined with a vigorous social policy and with day-to-day concern for people and for perfection of the social infrastructure. The party has condemned the procedure whereby resources for social needs are allocated per the principle of "what is left" following the fulfillment of production plans. Concern for a rise in the working people's well-being, not sometime in the future but now, today, is a most important task of our society. Simultaneously the solution of social problems is viewed also as an essential condition of the increased efficiency of social production.

Positive changes may now be ascertained in literally all walks of our life. But only the first steps in the restructuring process have been taken as yet. Practice shows that realization of the adopted decisions is no less creative and difficult a matter than the elaboration thereof itself. It may be said that the months which have elapsed since the 27th CPSU Congress and literally each day have been suffused with the quest for new approaches to the solution of urgent problems in our society. "We are proceeding from the fact," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "that we need more dynamism, more social justice, more democracy, in a word, more socialism."

The CPSU clearly sees the international significance of each of its achievements in socialist building. The Soviet country's successful advance along the path of October is our party's principal international duty. At the same time Soviet people are displaying great interest in how tasks of economic and social building in other socialist countries are being tackled and what kind of original ways are being found there to stimulate the working class and all working people. The main criterion here is their usefulness and efficiency and the strengthening of socialism in practice.

Our party and our working class have considered and continue to consider themselves part of the international workers movement. Specific mention was made of this at the 27th CPSU Congress. The basic documents of the congress and the new version of the CPSU Program which it adopted view the problems of the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people in the broadest context of contemporary world development.

The question of the fate of the working class in the nonsocialist world under the conditions of the S&T revolution would seem to us the most important primarily. Is it really disappearing, as our ideological adversaries claim? Or, on the contrary, is it growing, absorbing new forces and acquiring new potential?

The structural-technological reorganization of production brought about by the contemporary S&T revolution is being accompanied, of course, by appreciable changes in the composition of the working class. Statistics testify that the numbers of the industrial proletariat are showing a tendency to decline in the capitalist countries. There is a particularly rapid decline here in the numbers of workers of physical labor (relatively, and in some places, absolutely). The proportion of workers of predominantly mental labor is growing. The number of persons employed in the service sphere is growing at a preferential pace. The essence of the question is how to evaluate the class membership of these new groups of wage workers. If they are approached as some "middle class," it transpires that the S&T revolution is calling in question the prospects of the very existence of the working class.

As is known, this is serving as a subject of lively debate, among Marxist scholars included. And there are nuances of viewpoint among our scholars also. But the "common denominator" of our reflections amounts to roughly the following.

In the fundamental, main aspects the position of the new groups of wage workers in the system of capitalist exploitation is essentially no different from the position of the workers of physical labor. Therefore it is not the "disappearance" of the working class which is occurring, as our ideological opponents claim, but a change in its composition, a complication of its structure (sectoral, professional and so forth) and a modification of its social mentality.

The accelerated structural-technological reorganization of production here means promotion to the fore, as leaders, of a number of the newest sectors and the superseding of the old sectors, which were for a long time the main base of the workers movement. On the one hand a new type of workman of high qualifications employed in the servicing of intricate equipment, which requires a relatively high level of education, is taking shape. On the other, the crisis of employment is intensifying and the number of working people without work altogether or forced to accept the most ruthless hiring conditions within the framework of the so-called "underground economy" is growing. Frequently pertaining to these are people of oppressed nationalities and racial groups and foreign workers from the poorest countries.

As a result the differences in the working class and its heterogeneousness are increasing. We should not, of course, underestimate the seriousness of the political consequences of the present changes for the workers movement and for the activity of the workers parties and the trade unions. They are confronted by a number of new problems.

Taking advantage of the new situation which has taken shape on the labor market, in the 1980's rightwing-bourgeois, neoconservative circles have purposefully been pursuing a policy of dismembering and stratifying the working class, "eroding" its traditional nucleus and counterposing some detachments thereof to others. They are endeavoring to weaken the influence of the unions and isolate the most organized and militant detachments of the working class like the British miners and French steelworkers. The bourgeoisie is attempting to direct the social protest of the masses into the channel of conservatism and rightwing extremism even.

All the features of the current moment, which is marked by a kind of counteroffensive by capital against the working class, should, of course, be carefully studied and soberly, realistically evaluated. It is important to see here not only the difficulties but also the new possibilities of the workers democratic movement.

The very reality of life and struggle cannot in one way or another, sooner or later, fail to shake the barriers of group exclusiveness, prompt unification and create a craving for active political protests of the working class, including the new stratas thereof. There is no doubt that socioeconomic processes and the growth of the army of wage workers will in the future afford new opportunities for combating the domination of capital.

The new, better educated and more skilled groups of wage workers are characterized by a heightened perception of the problems connected with access to spiritual values and encroachments on personal rights and liberties. Typical of them is an aspiration to participate in the adoption of decisions affecting their vital interests. Under these conditions particular significance is attached to the struggle for minds and the creation of new detachments of the working class and their ideological-political orientation.

The giant potential of the knowhow, education and technical skill which is being acquired by the working class as a whole is an effective weapon in the struggle for realization of the goals of the workers movement. If the "grapes of wrath" growing in the destitute masses are organically combined with the traditions of proletarian solidarity and the new potential of knowhow mentioned above, the workers movement will be able not only to beat back the onslaught of capital but also once again develop a broad offensive against the positions of the monopolies and reaction.

There has been a sharp growth in the composition of the international working class of the share of the Asian, African and Latin American developing countries. The total numbers of wage workers in these countries has exceeded 200 million and continues to grow. It is clear what a big part could be played by this force not only in the accomplishment of the national tasks of their states but also in all world development.

The problems of the workers movement of "third world" countries are, and this is obvious, largely different from those in the West. In some respects they are similar to those which the Russian working class encountered at the start of the century. Defending its class interests under multistructural conditions and the extraordinary variety of social relations, the working class is confronted there by the need for the creation and strengthening of an alliance with all working people and the oppressed, primarily with gigantic masses of the toiling peasantry. Safeguarding the interests of these masses, specifically, solution of the agrarian-peasant question on the basis of democratic principles, objectively represents, evidently, a key component of the struggle for social progress in the developing countries.

Understandably, approaching with a single yardstick the situation in all developing countries is practically impossible. The problems of the proletariat have their specific features in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. At the same time a most important singularity of the present situation everywhere is that the working class of the developing countries cannot successfully defend its interests without upholding with all due energy the national cause of a strengthening of the state independence which has been won and the struggle against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, which is relying on the local bourgeois-landowning oligarchy.

A further and also general singularity is that problems of development and the surmounting of economic backwardness are vitally important for the working class of the emergent countries.

The research thought of the workers movement of the countries in which it originated, strengthening the elaboration of these specific features, could render the working class of the new independent states which has emerged on the broad historical scene great assistance.

An important range of questions is connected with new aspects of the internationalization of production and capital which have been manifested in recent years.

The growth of transnational monopoly complexes signifies the creation of an international system of exploitation encompassing both the developed imperialist states and "third world" countries. There has been an unprecedented expansion of the possibilities of capital's international maneuver. This is being reflected considerably in the conditions of the life and struggle of national detachments of the working class.

But it is a question of more than just this. Changes in the production structure of the world capitalist economy which are leading to a concentration of the technically simpler and ecologically "dirty" types of production in countries with cheap manpower are coming into view increasingly. While the imperialist centers are endeavoring to specialize in the production of particularly complex, intricate products and, what is most important, in the production of knowhow and the development of the latest technology. We thus see a strategy of "technological imperialism," which is designed to impart a new material basis to neocolonialist exploitation.

And all this is being combined with a policy of social revanche on a global scale and an undermining of the independence of the peoples of the former colonies and semicolonial territories--as far as the forcible ouster of democratic governments not to the liking of imperialism. This is a basic singularity of the United States' so-called neoglobalism.

Particular importance is attached to the elaboration of problems of countering the new imperialist strategy. This includes, naturally, a strengthening of the working people's international solidarity and, specifically, the close interaction of persons employed at enterprises of the transnational monopolies in different countries.

But the question is, obviously, broader than this. It is a question of the growing significance of the struggle against neocolonialism and for surmounting the economic backwardness of the emergent countries for the entire international working class and for each detachment thereof. They all have a vital interest in a restructuring of international economic relations on democratic principles, in the elimination of the huge debt dependency of the developing countries and in an end to the tyranny of the transnational monopolies.

And one more point, last but not least, as they say. It is a question of the struggle against militarism being cultivated by imperialism and such a monstrous creation thereof as the military-industrial complex. To look the truth in the eye, it has to be said that a certain proportion of the West's working people is still under the impact of the "prosperity via arms" myth created by the defenders of military business.

Imperialist propaganda is instilling the idea concerning the stimulating impact of military orders on employment and endeavoring to link in the workers' minds the prospects of their material well-being with the arms race. To a certain extent this explains why in a number of countries the working class has as yet associated itself insufficiently with the antiwar movement. In addition, the very atmosphere of international confrontation is giving rise to and encouraging chauvinist sentiments and pushing part of the working class toward the right and extreme right even.

Exposing the disastrous impact of militarization on economic development, states' policy, the position of the working people and the sphere of ideas and thinking, Marxists' research thought can and must be of considerable assistance to the working class' struggle for its rights, including its primary right--to life.

The Soviet working class and its party regard the struggle for a strengthening of peace and the prevention of a thermonuclear war as their most important foreign policy task, without the accomplishment of which the accomplishment of tasks of the economic and social progress of all mankind is inconceivable also. This approach represents an inalienable part of the new thinking appropriate for the conditions of the nuclear age. It organically combines

Marxist-Leninist principles of international policy with the humanitarian and democratic ideals of the most diverse social forces--social democrats, liberal circles and all others seriously concerned for man's self-preservation.

We are endeavoring to embody this new thinking in our foreign policy initiatives also. The Soviet people value highly the support therefor and the support for the constructive foreign policy of the socialist community by the international workers movement.

The great S&T revolution of our age has created truly gigantic possibilities for the solution of problems of the economic progress of all peoples of the world, for the complete surmounting of starvation, poverty and economic backwardness and for raising hundreds of millions of people to the pinnacles of civilization. But full use of this potential can only be made in the event of mankind being delivered from the monstrous burden of militarization.

Only socialism can be the alternative to capitalism, which is driving civilization into an impasse of insurmountable contradictions and engendering a threat to its very existence. Taking as the basis the experience of real socialism, we are convinced that a genuine solution of the problems confronting mankind toward the end of the 20th century can be secured only by the socialist organization of society, given the comprehensive revelation of its potential. Of course, this does not preclude but presupposes a variety of forms of the development of socialism and ways of approach and transition thereto. The main exponent of and spokesman for the socialist alternative is the working class.

The position of Marxism has primordially been that the fundamental interests of the class of wage workers coincide with those of all mankind. According to Marx and Engels, the proletariat cannot liberate itself without at the same time liberating all of society from exploitation and oppression. Lenin also emphasized and developed this basic idea of Marxism.

In our time the humanitarian essence of the proposition concerning the world-historical mission of the working class is acquiring new, more in-depth meaning and being enriched with new content. In the face of the threat of nuclear catastrophe looming over mankind we have a right to assert that the historic mission of the working class also incorporates deliverance of mankind from the prospect of destruction in the flames of nuclear war. We have a right to assert that it also incorporates the accomplishment of tasks connected with the salvation of the environment and other global problems confronting the world community.

An understanding of these problems and their depth and seriousness is becoming the property of increasingly broad circles of the workers movement. This can be seen from the documents of both communist and social democratic parties and also the unions. At the same time the fact that there is at times quite active debate concerning the question of the correlation of the struggle for peace and against war and the struggle for current, urgent socioeconomic interests and demands of the working people also calls attention to itself.

Under the conditions of the offensive of capital and conservative forces the socioeconomic demands of the working people assume both special seriousness and special significance. However, they not only are not counterposed to the struggle for peace but, on the contrary, merge with it, as it were, in a single whole. After all, the arms race and the cutback in social programs, the growth of military spending and mass unemployment, militarization and the offensive against the rights of the working people in capitalist society, imperial ambitions and the policy of discrimination and prohibitions in trade with the socialist countries--all these are links of a single chain. Struggling for its socioeconomic interests, the working class thereby objectively opposes the process of the militarization of social life. And in opposing the threat of war it is defending its current vital interests.

This may be put even more broadly: internationally the struggle to prevent a world war, for a halt to the arms race and for new political and economic international relations is the fundamental, main prerequisite of success in the solution of the social problems currently confronting all detachments of the international working class. This idea was expressed with great force in the documents of the 11th WFTU Congress, whose participants represented almost 300 million organized working people from all parts of the world.

The correct formulation of all these problems makes it possible to unite very broad circles of working people far beyond the confines of the proletariat proper. And this, in turn, ensures for it realization of the aspiration to act as a national force rallying together all the healthy forces of a nation.

The concurrence at the present stage of the interests of the working class, socialism and all mankind as far as fundamental questions of the existence of civilization are concerned is creating an essentially new historical situation and affording new opportunities for an expansion of the influence of the working class and its organizations on the life and aspirations of all of society. It has to be stated, however, that far from full use is being made of these opportunities and that they are not always recognized even.

The socialist workers movement took its first steps proceeding from the notion of the fundamental class community of the basic interests and goals of the working people of different countries. Since that time the numbers of the working class in the world have increased many times over. It now exists practically everywhere, in all countries. This also means an unprecedented diversity of specific situations in which its various detachments and groups find themselves and of the types of production, labor and culture with which they are connected. But however the position of this group of workers or the other may differ, they experience the impact of international factors, everywhere, to this extent or the other, directly or indirectly. And this, in spite of the attempts of conservative circles in the West to assure us of the opposite, makes it possible to speak of the working class as a worldwide community.

The diverse processes of internationalization in different spheres of life--economic, political, cultural--are contributing to a strengthening of the trends favoring the further internationalization of the workers movement. The objective community and concurrence of fundamental interests of the

international working class, although it represents today a complex, contradictory heterogeneous force in the political and world-outlook respects, are not simply preserved but are growing. Whence the objective need for and objective possibility of the closer interaction of the various forces, currents and sectors of the workers movement both within a national framework and on an inter-nation scale and in the world arena.

The history of the workers movement and its successes, defeats, mistakes and its exceptionally diverse experience remind us that class solidarity is not a tribute to an eloquent phrase and not just words, it has served and continues to serve as an effective means of worker mutual help and mutual assistance and a factor of multiplication of the forces of peace, progress and prudence. But history reminds us of something else also: class solidarity has nothing in common with an aspiration to monopoly in the workers movement, to its ideological or organizational unification and to whatever overlordship and hegemonism therein.

It is from such positions that the CPSU approaches a determination of its place and policy in the international workers movement. The decisions of the 27th congress and the provisions of our party program confirm this completely unambiguously and unequivocally.

The problems confronting the international workers movement cannot be solved by any one of its ideological-political currents alone. The common efforts of all its constituents are required for this. Of course, we evaluate realistically the differences and disagreements among them. But they also have important points of contact in the approach to many problems. It is from this that the CPSU and the Soviet trade unions proceed, building relations with other parties and organizations belonging to different currents in the workers movement.

The CPSU advocates an expansion of contacts and relations in the workers movement, implying by this both a constant, candid exchange of opinions and equal, respectful cooperation and joint or parallel actions in the struggle for this practical task or the other, primarily, of course, for removal of the nuclear threat and the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

Dialogue in the workers movement, we are convinced, is now extraordinarily necessary and important in itself: this is the best means and best way to strengthen the positions of this movement in the world and an essential prerequisite for the international working class' successful accomplishment of its historic mission. It is also a most essential factor of the expansion and deepening of the dialogue in the international arena in general and of the formation and multiplication of the potential of the forces of peace, reason and good will.

# FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 46, pt II, p 213.
2. Ibid., pt I, p 403.
3. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 46, pt II, p 208.
4. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 37, p 425.

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## NEW ZEALAND LABOR PARTY OFFICIAL ON NON-NUCLEAR STATUS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 19-22

[Paper of Stuart McAffali, first deputy chairman of the New Zealand Labor Party: "The Labor Party on Problems of the Struggle for Disarmament and Conversion of the Pacific Into a Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] On behalf of the Labor Party and fourth labor government of New Zealand I wish to thank the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute for the invitation to take part in this exceptionally important conference.

The New Zealand Labor Party, which was founded in 1916, is the country's oldest political party. Throughout its 70-year history the New Zealand Labor Party has invariably proceeded in questions of defense and security from the following standpoints:

an aspiration to greater independence in New Zealand's policy;

an aspiration to disarmament and the peaceful solution of international contentious problems;

recognition that New Zealand's security should be guaranteed by the economic and social development of the Asia-Pacific region;

an endeavor, as of 1945, to ensure that the United Nations be stronger and might guarantee the security of its members;

and also recognition that, as of the mid-1960's, New Zealand's security has not been guaranteed by its allies and that in questions of defense it is essential to rely more on itself.

Greater emphasis on the independence of its course in international affairs is becoming something new in New Zealand's foreign policy under the fourth labor government. This May I had the honor of expounding the labor government's position at an exceptionally well organized conference in Tokyo. Representatives of socialist parties of Australia, the Philippines, South Korea, Guam, the United States and, of course, Japan participated. The conferees represented the most diverse strata of society: industrial workers,

scientists, trade union figures, activists of the movement for nuclear disarmament, groups of peace fighters and teachers, numerous women's groups and a broad spectrum of people aspiring to peace and fighting for it.

The New Zealand Labor Party is characterized by an aspiration to an expansion of its participation in the struggle for peace, which is confirmed by our presence at this conference. The independence of our position on questions of nuclear strategy, which is expressed particularly clearly in the policy aimed at the conversion of New Zealand into a zone free of nuclear weapons, has led to the severance of defense agreements concluded long ago. These agreements were based on recognition of the interdependence of the armed forces of New Zealand and the armed forces of its allies. New Zealand is now confronted with the question of a revision of these defense agreements in order that they reflect the aspiration to greater independence expressed in our government's foreign policy.

The development of our party's position on nuclear issues has had a tremendous impact on its attitude toward New Zealand's alliance with the United States. Impetus for the formulation of a policy unambiguously aimed against nuclear weapons was the start of France's implementation of its nuclear testing program in the Pacific. But New Zealand's Labor Party understood that was it to be consistent, it had to oppose nuclear weapons in the Pacific in general, whosoever's they were. Pressure was put on the third labor government on the part of the electorate for the purpose of prompting it to do away with what was most directly linking New Zealand with nuclear arms--the visits of foreign ships carrying nuclear weapons. The government announced that such ships would not be admitted to New Zealand's ports, and, as is well known, such ships did not call at New Zealand ports during the term of office of the third labor government.

As of 1978 Labor Party election manifestoes included a mention of the fact that were the Labor Party to take office, New Zealand's ports and airfields would be closed to all ships and aircraft with nuclear power plants or nuclear weapons on board. This policy line has been fully supported at all subsequent Labor Party conferences.

While pursuing its official policy, in accordance with which New Zealand was to be a country free of nuclear weapons, up to the end of the 1970's the Labor Party at the same time dissociated itself from those in its own ranks who were calling increasingly insistently for the country's withdrawal from military alliances. By the start of the 1980's, however, the party conference had concluded that such a policy was in itself insufficient. Detente in relations between the biggest powers was approaching an end, and the international situation, in the common opinion, had begun to deteriorate sharply. In New Zealand and beyond there was growing concern in connection with the possibility of the start of a nuclear war. There was a growing desire in New Zealand and its Labor Party circles to ensure that the country would be assigned no role whatever in the nuclear strategy of any power. A conference of the Labor Party adopted a resolution, which was incorporated in full in the 1984 election manifesto.

"The next labor government will conduct new negotiations concerning the terms of our relations with Australia and the United States to ensure the economic, social and political stability of the Southeast Asian and Pacific regions, taking as the basis of such an updated agreement the following propositions:  
"our unconditional antinuclear policy;

"active promotion of the conversion of the South Pacific into a nuclear-free zone;

"acceptance of the condition of absolutely equal partnership on all questions covered by this agreement, with all decisions on these questions having to be unanimous;

"an absolute guarantee of the plenitude of New Zealand's sovereignty."

Our party's viewpoint has always been internationalist, and never, isolationist. It has from the very outset identified itself with worker internationalism and also with the broad British Commonwealth. The party has always aspired to New Zealand playing an active part on the international scene on the basis of decisions adopted in Wellington and not in other capitals. It has always insistently advocated the complete disarmament of all countries and long since recognized that the security of New Zealand, as a Pacific state, is closely connected with the economic and social development of the Asia-Pacific region. As of 1945 it has endeavored to ensure that the United Nations develop its potential as an international guarantor of the security of small states.

In the 1960's Norman Kirk, who was subsequently to become New Zealand's first labor prime minister who was born in this country, called insistently and loudly for its independent role in the world arena. The call for fuller reliance on ourselves and preservation of independence in New Zealand's opinions and actions was always present in Kirk's speeches throughout his term as party leader. Kirk's successor, W.E. (Bill) Rowling, supported his ideas and developed them further. The basis of our foreign policy was precisely and clearly expressed in our resolve to preserve absolute independence and political integrity. Therefore our task was to elaborate a foreign policy line which emphasized that this was a policy which told the world that our decisions would be adopted in Wellington and not in Washington, not in London and not in Canberra. The independence which we would champion under a labor government would be inviolable. The same would apply to our policy of freedom from nuclear weapons, which would constitute an important component of this foreign policy line.

In general the Labor Party has always aspired to the affirmation of New Zealand's clearly expressed distinctiveness and its historical outlook and to this quality being inherent in its policy both in the sphere of defense and security and in domestic policy.

The Labor Party conscientiously formulated its policy in respect of the ANZUS Treaty for 1984, proceeding from the fact that the framework of the treaty was broad enough to accept our unconditional nonnuclear position. The present U.S. Administration emphatically disagreed with this premise. However, the New

Zealand Labor Party declared that the question of its nonnuclear position was not negotiable. The resumption of military cooperation within the ANZUS framework at the former level could not be made conditional upon New Zealand's agreement to the importation of nuclear weapons.

The Labor Party advocates New Zealand playing a constructive part in contributing to disarmament and arms control measures inasmuch as it is convinced that "ultimately nuclear war is the greatest threat to the existence of New Zealand and the whole world."

New Zealand's nonnuclear position affords us a sure platform enabling us to assist the disarmament process both regionally and internationally. The New Zealand Government has declared its intention to associate itself at the first opportunity with the UN Disarmament Conference. The New Zealand Labor Party is convinced that nonnuclear states not only have the right but are obliged to advocate both singly and jointly nuclear disarmament. Although nuclear weapons are the possession of only a few, they are a threat to all.

The upgrading of nuclear weapons has already cost the peoples of the Pacific region dear. Nuclear tests in French Polynesia, on the U.S. trust territories, in the Northwest Pacific and in the South Australian desert have caused the local population tremendous harm. Death and damage to human health caused by radiation as a result of nuclear testing cannot be compensated by any amounts.

The sufferings of the peoples of the Pacific are inordinate, but they pale in comparison with the consequences of nuclear war.

Many people are asking how a small state such as New Zealand can force its voice to be heard on such an important issue as international disarmament. The answer to this question was given by Norman Kirk. He was convinced that small countries, acting together, could exert a considerable influence on international affairs. Our goal in the Pacific region should be the creation of a nuclear-free peace zone. Our tasks, if we wish to see the region free of nuclear weapons, nuclear warships, nuclear tests, the burial of nuclear waste and the mining of uranium, is to force the nuclear powers to heed and respect the will of the peoples of countries of the Pacific region that it not be converted into a zone of conflict in the future.

The Labor Party assumed office in 1984 to pursue a political course based on the concept of a nuclear-free Pacific. The Rarotonga Treaty may be seen as the first step on this path. The New Zealand Labor Party would like to see a strengthening of this treaty and an extension of the zone free of nuclear weapons in order that the Pacific be free of nuclear weapons, the presence of warships with nuclear power plants, tests of various types of nuclear weapons and the burial of nuclear waste, in short, in order that this be a peaceful Pacific free of superpower interference.

A few words about the activity of the Antinuclear Committee of a Thousand and the work of the International Forum for Making the Pacific a Nuclear-Free Zone (30-31 May, Tokyo, Japan). The committee was organized in 1984 for the purpose of the creation of opposition to the accelerated revival of militarism in Japan. The activity of this committee is financed mainly by the SOHYO trade

union association, which renders socialist parties financial support also. The forum, which was excellently organized (by SOHYO), was attended by approximately 500 persons. Great attention was paid to New Zealand, primarily by virtue of its ban on the importation of nuclear weapons. The declaration adopted at the symposium and the debate and discussions encompassed a large area of issues. They included:

how to seek the Pacific's conversion into a nuclear-free zone;

problems of calls at ports of nuclear-powered ships and those carrying nuclear weapons;

how to be rid of the threat and dangerous consequences of the presence of nuclear military bases;

the problem of radioactive contamination;

how to stop the testing of nuclear weapons conducted by France on Mururoa atoll;

how to achieve a ban on the burial of nuclear waste in the ocean;

how to achieve renunciation of participation in the "star wars" project.

Although my stay in Japan was brief, I was able to avail myself of an invitation to make a 2-day trip to Hiroshima. This trip affected me profoundly and persuaded me even more how right New Zealand has been to ban the importation of new weapons and calls at its ports of nuclear-powered ships. The Socialist Party and the movement of fighters for disarmament in Japan are displaying a profound interest in the preservation of relations with the New Zealand Labor Party.

I evaluate the forum's work as exceptionally interesting.

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## CEMA TASKS TO IMPLEMENT PROGRAM FOR SCI-TECH PROGRESS VIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 54-65

[Article by G.A. Abolikhina and O.D. Bakovetskiy: "Key Component of the CEMA Countries' Economic Strategy"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress determined the main frontiers of the political, socioeconomic and spiritual development of Soviet society, and a vast program of acceleration of socialist peaceful building was outlined. The congress answered the fundamental questions which life had set the party, society and world socialism and showed how correctly the party had acted in advancing at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum the concept of socioeconomic acceleration. The idea of acceleration is the main feature of the congress' entire work and permeates all its documents.

The abrupt turnabout toward acceleration and an increase in the pace of economic growth by way of the utmost intensification of production based on S&T progress and the application in production of the latest achievements of science and technology is not being accomplished by our country in isolation but together with the fraternal socialist countries. All the leaders of the ruling communist and workers parties of the socialist community countries who spoke at the congress demonstrated a profound understanding of this historically important task and observed that this was the common course of all the fraternal socialist states.

By historical yardsticks not that much time has elapsed since the start of the development of the economic relations of the socialist community countries. However, a strong planning foundation of the multilateral cooperation of the fraternal parties, countries and peoples has been created in this time. Socialist integration has become a most important foreign economic factor of the efficient development of the national economy of each fraternal state and the entire community as a whole and the rapprochement of their economic levels. The facts indicate as obviously as can be that an appreciable acceleration of the CEMA countries' socioeconomic progress and their successes in economic building may be connected only with consistent use of the advantages of integration.

The socialist community is today the most rapidly developing group of states of the world and the most dynamic zone of socioeconomic progress in the world.

In the period 1971-1985 alone national income grew in the community states by an average of 4.6 percent annually, yet in the industrially developed capitalist countries, 3 percent. The production of industrial products grew 5.3 and 2.8 percent respectively. In this period national income in the CEMA countries almost doubled, but in the capitalist countries grew only 1.6 percent. The production of industrial products grew respectively more than twofold and approximately 1.5-fold.

It should be mentioned specially that for many CEMA countries integration relations are the main condition of their further economic growth. Work for the community market, primarily for the vast and stable Soviet market (the USSR is, after all, the main economic partner of all the socialist states), and the development of production cooperation with the CEMA partners represents a unique opportunity for the specialization of production and its transfer to the mass, large-series manufacture of products. And without this currently high efficiency cannot be expected. The Hungarian large-series "Ikarus" and the rear axles for all the buses manufactured in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovak equipment for heavy industry and streetcars and trolleybuses, Bulgarian electronics and truck loaders, Polish ships, railroad cars and equipment from the GDR and so forth are in steady demand on the Soviet market. A multitude of examples may be adduced of how, thanks to socialist integration, the CEMA countries are developing their production successfully. It is sufficient to say that, for example, Hungary, Bulgaria, the GDR and Czechoslovakia sell on the markets of the community countries from 30 to 40 percent of the machinery and equipment which they manufacture. A substantial proportion of their national income is formed thanks to cooperation.

Energy, farsightedness, initiative--all these qualities are determining to an increasingly great extent the system of mutual relations between the socialist countries. In a word, much has already been done to ensure that the development of the CEMA countries be more efficient. But, as R. Rolland observed, conquering once for all is impossible, it is necessary to conquer every day. Our country and the entire socialist community has to reach new frontiers, when the advantages of socialism will be revealed with the greatest fullness, both nationally and internationally, and the problems inherited from the preceding stages will be resolved.

The purpose of the Comprehensive Program consists, as the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to our party's 27th congress observed, of the CEMA countries' transition to a concerted economic policy (1). The socialist states link therewith the solution of fundamental economic problems--an intensification of social production, an upsurge of its efficiency and emergence at the foremost frontiers of science and technology. The Comprehensive Program of S&T Progress (CP STP) will be the pivot of all work pertaining to the further development of integration and its intensification based on the extensive cooperation and specialization of production affording, as the 27th CPSU Congress observed, new prospects for the continued comprehensive expansion of economic relations between the fraternal countries and an acceleration of the accomplishment of the task of acceleration common for all of us (2).

A key role in realization of the CP STP will be performed by the USSR, and in all areas thereof, what is more. This is determined by its powerful science-production potential. At the same time scientists of Czechoslovakia will participate in the vast majority of joint operations, of Poland, in 90 percent, of Hungary, in 70-80 percent and so forth. The program consists of 93 problems, in respect of each of which the leading role is performed by the USSR. More than 700 research organizations, the majority of which are Soviet, have been enlisted in fulfillment of its assignments. From the very outset their outfits have been oriented toward final production results and the closest cooperation within the CEMA framework. The results derived by our partners from realization of the CP STP will, naturally, be no less than the results obtained by the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, no one intends deriving any unilateral advantages. The point being that participation in each specific measure of the program is purely voluntary. In CEMA, as distinct from organizations of the capitalist states, there is, as is known, no supranational control. Each country participates only in the measures which are necessary primarily to its economy.

In terms of the degree of complexity and scale the tasks set in the program go beyond the framework of all the CEMA S&T programs adopted previously. Whence it should not be concluded that the work in accordance with the program is starting from scratch. It has taken into consideration the significant successes and process stock which the CEMA countries have in various fields, specifically in the creation of modern computers and equipment for nuclear power stations and in the exploration of space for peaceful purposes. Multilateral agreements on the creation of microprocessors and robots, automated design systems and flexible manufacturing systems have been concluded and are being realized. The program provides here for a considerable acceleration of the process of the gradual equalization of the levels of economic development of the CEMA countries and an appreciable increase in the efficiency of the S&T and economic assistance on the part of the European CEMA countries to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic. At the same time, however, realization of the program demands a further extension of the CEMA countries' cooperation and its transition to a qualitatively different level. The task arising today is that of a considerable reorganization of the CEMA structure, a considerable change in the style and methods of its work, the development and application of new forms of cooperation and so forth.

In what way does the new CEMA program differ from previous ones? From, for example, the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration adopted in 1971 or the long-term specific cooperation programs drawn up at the end of the 1970's. It had come to be understood by the start of the 1980's that all sectoral and intersectoral problems could be resolved successfully only via the strong acceleration of S&T progress, via the speediest transition to fundamentally new technology. The necessary steps pertaining to extensive S&T cooperation had been envisaged in the CEMA program adopted back in the 1970's also. But it was precisely the point that the S&T revolution had so closely interwoven science and production that the need had arisen not simply for S&T cooperation but for the close cooperation of the efforts of our countries pertaining to an acceleration of S&T progress and the speediest emergence at vanguard positions not only in the sphere of fundamental and applied research

but in production also. It is now particularly important not to lose time for the mass determination of the release of new highly productive generations of equipment and technology. Whence the need for comprehensive forms of cooperation in respect of the entire cycle of S&T progress--from research and the creation of a model through mass production, sale and use.

The CP STP sets a really revolutionary task: achieving the highest goals in the key areas of S&T progress and production. This determines its particular importance in the solution of fundamental problems of the present day. But the significance of the program amounts to more than just this. Its realization will contribute to a decisive extent to the further strengthening of socialism as a socioeconomic and political system and a strengthening of its positions in the world competition with capitalism. It will demonstrate to the whole world the fraternal socialist countries' resolve to make increasingly full use of the advantages of the new social system and the possibilities of the unification of efforts to reach the foremost frontiers in science and technology in the interests of general peace and progress.

The program permits the use of the achievements of science and technology for the accomplishment primarily of two large-scale tasks. First, the accelerated development of the most progressive, revolutionary directions of S&T progress. Second, the maximum use of the economic and social results of the development of these directions in the interests of strengthening the socialist lifestyle and accelerating the process of equalization of the levels of socioeconomic development of the socialist community countries.

The first task is being tackled by means of the concentration of S&T efforts, capital investments and other production resources in the key, arterial, priority areas of the development of science and technology--the main points of the configuration and application of joint efforts for the purpose of a cardinal acceleration of S&T progress, which were determined by the 1984 CEMA Economic Summit: electronization of the national economy; comprehensive automation; the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering; new materials and their production and processing techniques; the accelerated development of biotechnology. Their particular strategic significance is that they characterize the "forward edge" of contemporary S&T progress and afford opportunities for the extensive use in practice of the highest achievements of fundamental science. In addition, they are exerting a revolutionizing influence on all sectors of the national economy, ensuring a sharp rise in labor productivity and social production efficiency.

The second major task is maximum realization of the possibilities of an acceleration of S&T progress in the priority directions and its increased impact on the growth of the efficiency of reproduction and the development of social relations. The need for the accomplishment of this task was stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress. A central problem here is a sharp reduction in the time taken to switch from scientific research and planning-design developments to the extensive assimilation in production and organization of the mass manufacture of progressive types of products, particularly, new progressive technology. In order to solve this complex and difficult problem planning and management in respect of the entire reproduction cycle, including research, planning-design developments, production, marketing and operation of the

equipment, was for the first time made the basis of the Comprehensive Program. This is a fundamental principle when organizing the fulfillment of all measures.

What is the essence of the main problems which are highlighted within the framework of the arterial directions? What are the most significant economic and social results toward which the cooperation is oriented?

Primarily electronization of the economy. It is even today exerting a growing influence on literally all spheres and sectors of production and also on many other aspects of the life of society. The extensive use of microprocessor technology and the automation of equipment and production engineering processes envisaged by the program are leading to the point where even in the life of the present generation the number of operating microprocessors in the world will have grown by the end of the current century to 5-10 billion and will exceed the number of electric light bulbs. The CEMA members' joint efforts will be geared to the creation of a new-generation supercomputer with a speed of more than 10 billion operations per second with application of the principles of artificial intelligence and upgraded means of man's communication with machinery and the accomplishment of particularly complex scientific tasks and management tasks.

The task of organizing the mass manufacture of PC's with software for use in various sectors of the economy and research and design organizations and solving the problem of computerization in the sphere of education and everyday life has been set.

Among the priority tasks is the creation of a uniform system of hardware for the transmission of digital information, new-generation high-speed fiber optic means of communication, satellite communications and television broadcasting systems, high-quality digital television and stereophonic radio broadcasting and digital video and sound recording facilities. Thus it is a question of an appreciable qualitative change in means of communication between people and between machines.

Comprehensive automation is inseparably linked with electronization since its basic components are also computers and microprocessors. The CEMA countries have already achieved a great deal in this sphere: progressive industrial robot designs, systems for controlling engineering processes and production, flexible manufacturing systems (FMS) and so forth have been developed and applied in production.

Work is extensively under way in the CEMA countries on the creation of FMS for machine building. Approximately 50 such systems for processing the solids of revolution of base members and spur-gear wheels were operating in the GDR by mid-1985. Some 36 FMS at machine-building and electrical equipment enterprises were operating in the CSSR at the start of 1985.

The program provides for the comprehensive automation of various processes--from research, planning-design and production engineering operations through production processes and equipment maintenance. The application of automated design systems will make it possible, according to preliminary data, to

increase labor productivity in the planning and design organizations 20-50 percent and lower the material consumption of products 3-10 percent. The introduction of FMS will afford an opportunity for increasing labor productivity by a factor of 1.5-4 and raising the equipment load to 18-20 hours per day. The use of textile industry automated control systems will secure a growth of labor productivity of 5-10 percent and the manufacture of products of the top-quality category of 10-15 percent. Energy consumption here will decline 3-5 percent, and the consumption of raw material and source material, 5 percent. The automation of scientific research and experiments will enhance the productivity of the labor of research personnel and reduce the time taken to realize fundamental solutions by a factor of 2-4.

Creating a savings, both electronization and comprehensive automation are changing the content and nature of labor, reducing manual uncreative labor and enhancing the prestige of the production professions.

At the same time the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering is creating conditions for a rebuilding of the structure of the production of energy and heat. Oil and fuel oil and, subsequently, gas also will be ousted from the fuel and power "budget". There will be a corresponding considerable reduction in environmental pollution.

At the present time even the capacity of the CEMA countries' nuclear power stations is in excess of 35 million kilowatts. In the next decade it will reach the 100 million-kilowatt level. By the end of the present 5-year plan more than 40 percent of electric power will be obtained at nuclear stations in Bulgaria, 30 percent in the CSSR, 20 percent in Romania and more than 20 percent in the USSR. In the future the development of nuclear power engineering in the CEMA countries will be based at nuclear power stations equipped with 440-1,000-megawatt water-cooled reactor vessels built in the USSR. A great deal of experience of joint work, which has produced good practical results, has been accumulated here. The socialist community countries and Yugoslavia have since 1980 been implementing on the basis of a multilateral agreement the specialized production of more than 140 types of equipment for nuclear power stations equipped with the said reactors. Approximately 50 industrial enterprises and organizations of the eight countries are participating. The specialization and cooperation of production in the field of nuclear instrument making are also being undertaken within the framework of the "Interatominstrument" international economic association.

Considerable importance under the conditions of an intensification of the national economy is attached to the development of new materials and their production and processing techniques. The application in production of high-strength composition and ceramic materials and new plastics, the application of powder metallurgy methods, industrial lasers for welding and heat treatment and plasma, vacuum and detonation technology, the use of impulse excitation and explosion energy for the synthesis of supersolid materials--such is a far from complete list of the tasks outlined by the program. Their realization will ensure the higher reliability and service life of machinery and equipment, a reduction in their material consumption and prime costs and the saving of rare and valuable metals. For example, powder metallurgy makes it possible to manufacture parts of any configuration without

waste. Given the manufacture of 1,000 tons of products by this method, up to R15 million and 2,500 tons of rolled ferrous and nonferrous metals are saved, 190 persons and 80 machine tools are released and 1 kg of construction plastics saves no less than 4-5 kg of rolled products.

One further important sphere in this priority field is the creation of new semiconductor materials, which are essential for the new generation of components and products of electronic, computer and other equipment. In a number of cases these are fundamentally new materials, including metals and alloys. Preliminary estimates show that in the next 5-10 years even the average annual increase in the consumption of such metals will constitute from 3 to 8 percent. The new materials will make it possible to replace and use for other purposes platinum, cobalt, nickel, chromium, molybdenum, tungsten, niobium and other rare metals.

The program attaches great significance to the accelerated development of biotechnology. Whereas at the start of the 20th century the use of biological processes and agents for production purposes (and it is this that is meant by biotechnology in the broad meaning of the word) was confined to the baking of bread, cheese-making, wine-making, fodder silaging and so forth, in recent years biotechnology has become a powerful sector of production. Gene engineering methods have made it possible to switch to the designing of the genetic apparatus, that is, a purposeful alteration of the properties of individual types of cells. Ways of creating hybrid cells, the fusion of cells and cultivation of the hybrid thus obtained under artificial conditions are also feasible by cell engineering methods. Protein engineering methods are making it possible to design proteins with prescribed quantitative parameters, which may subsequently be synthesized with the aid of gene engineering methods. The task of the creation of efficient biological catalysts and microbiological synthesis and the industrial use of enzymes is entering the realm of the tasks being tackled by engineering enzymology. It is difficult even to imagine all the possibilities which are being afforded by the enumerated methods, which as a whole constitute the basis of modern biotechnology.

Biotechnology is being applied for the production from cellulose of sugar and starch, is efficient in the creation of purification installations and is being used increasingly to recover metal from ores and industrial waste, increase the oil yield of the beds and to obtain fuel. According to available estimates, a large part of the product may be produced in chemical industry as a result of the application of biotechnology. An analysis shows that it will shortly be possible with the aid of biological processes to obtain 10-12 percent of organic raw material and manufacture over 100 types of various products. As specialists anticipate, the creation of microcomponents on the basis of organic molecules will perform a decisive role in the transition to so-called bio-computers. Their memory will be a billion times greater, and their speed, 100 million times faster than models operating on conventional computer chips.

The unification of the CEMA countries' efforts in the development of biotechnology will contribute to the more efficient prevention and treatment

of serious illnesses, the creation of highly efficient medicinal preparations, a sharp increase in food resources and a considerable improvement in the environment.

The highest goal and purpose of the adopted policy of acceleration of S&T progress consists of a rise in the living standard and quality of life and the utmost expansion of people's possibilities under the conditions of socialism for availing themselves of the material and spiritual benefits. We are developing technology not for technology's sake but for the sake of satisfying the working people's growing needs and tackling major social tasks. This is a law of the life of the socialist society.

Under socialism S&T progress does not entail unemployment, there being a constant demand for a substantial number of workers to assimilate new regions and develop services, education and health care. The stable plan-oriented development of the economy of the USSR and all socialist community countries affords a real opportunity for linking the development of science and technology with the working people's requirements, preparing in planned manner for the release of workers in this sector or the other and balancing programs for technical renewal with available and newly created jobs.

S&T progress is setting large-scale tasks in the sphere of education and personnel retraining. The program in this sphere takes into consideration the importance of the training both of those who have just started or will soon start work and those who are already working.

A state-run system of the retraining of worker personnel functions in the CEMA countries. Requalification or mastery of a second occupation are practiced at the expense of the state and given retention of the worker's average earnings (if time off from work is necessary). However, the needs of S&T progress demand the expansion and improvement of this system. In the future up to 4 million workers will be retrained, almost as many will acquire a second occupation and up to 20 million will improve their skills annually in the USSR national economy, for example. This is two-three times as many as now.

A common national personnel improvement system, whose main task is the pursuit of a common policy in the sphere of worker improvement at different levels of management and also the improvement of executives and top and middle-level specialists, has been created in Bulgaria for an improvement of the system of the training and retraining of skilled personnel. A system of state assistance for the retraining of manpower, within whose framework the enterprises where worker retraining is undertaken are granted by the national budget the necessary monetary resources, has been formed in Hungary. Similar measures are being implemented in other CEMA countries.

However, the enumerated sources for catering for the economy's need for highly skilled workmen to service the new complex equipment will, we believe, be manifestly insufficient. It would seem that for the accomplishment of the tasks of the S&T revolution a new approach encompassing the entire system of education is needed. An extension of the CEMA countries' cooperation is called upon to play a big part here. The CP STP also is geared to the accomplishment of these tasks.

Naturally, realization of the program's measures will contribute to a rise in the people's well-being, which will be expressed in the fuller saturation of the domestic market of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries with high-grade industrial goods. The program will also contribute to a solution of the food problem. An important direction of the development of biotechnology is, for example, contributing to a solution of the fodder problem and the breeding of more highly productive breeds of animals and cultivation of agricultural crops resistant to the impact of unfavorable weather conditions.

Finally, mention should be made of such an important social consequence of implementation of the Comprehensive Program as the overall improvement in man's living conditions in the broad meaning of the word, the development of health care, the implementation of large-scale nature-conservation measures and an improvement in education.

The CPSU regards implementation of the Comprehensive Program as a political task--state and party. Our party is orienting the party, soviet and economic authorities and labor outfits toward the unconditional fulfillment of all the Soviet Union's commitments ensuing from this program. The communists and all working people are called on to participate most energetically in the joint activity of the research establishments and enterprises of the community countries pertaining to the development and use of modern technology. The creation of the technology of the 21st century demands purposefulness, room for creativity and initiative. A broad field is also opening here for a display of the initiative and gifts of all working people, the youth particularly.

Incorporation of the assignments of the CP STP in the 5-year and annual national economic plans of the CEMA countries is a firm basis for their precise, complete and on-schedule realization.

The organizing role in the development of the priority problems of S&T progress will be assumed by the head organizations--the strongest research, design and science-production outfits. They are called upon to ensure the inseparable connection of all phases of the production of products--from scientific developments through the organization of their specialized manufacture, marketing and maintenance.

For tackling the tasks confronting them the head organizations are endowed with the right to conclude business agreements and contracts with partners from other CEMA countries and engage in a mutual transfer of the results of joint work. They will help to solve the main question--establishing direct relations between the practical executants of the programs in our countries. For this the head organizations must themselves, of course, dispose of major S&T potential. In the USSR the functions of such organizations are entrusted to the most authoritative research, planning-design and science-production associations and the recently created 16 organizations of a fundamentally new type--intersectoral S&T complexes (ISTC) formed on the basis of a number of leading research establishments, academic primarily, for the most important directions of S&T progress. For example, for PC's, light guides, powder metallurgy, synthesis of new construction and special materials and

biotechnology for medicine and agriculture. The ISTC include those such as "Biogen," which is developing problems of biotechnology, the "Svetovod," which is oriented toward the creation of fiber computers, and others. The development of direct relations between enterprises and organizations of the CEMA countries is assuming new specific forms and beginning to serve the most important goals of a further intensification of integration.

The most favorable conditions will be created for the development of direct close contacts between the scientific and production organizations of our countries. This will make it possible to decide operational questions of S&T progress rapidly, considering that the time factor is now becoming a determining condition of success.

The most important thing now is converting the energy of big plans into the energy of specific actions. The success of the entire business will depend on this to a large extent. It needs to be noted in this connection that work on the program proceeded simultaneously with the preparation of agreements on its realization. This made it possible to save time and take its demands more fully into consideration when coordinating plans. The signing in the course of the CEMA 41st Session (1985) of the General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation in the Sphere of the Creation, Production and Operation of a Common System of Data-Transmission Light Guide Facilities was the first step on this path.

Work in accordance with the CP STP is already on a practical track. Of the 67 new agreements scheduled for signing in the first half of 1986, 37 detailed programs therefor have already been prepared, and 42 have been handed over as supplements to current agreements. Thus more than half the projects are being worked on. This year alone it is planned transferring to production approximately 26 topics, and more than 50 percent of all the developments envisaged by the program are to be introduced in the 5-year plan as a whole.

Decisions of the CPSU and the Soviet Government clearly determine the sequence of work in accordance with the program and the principles of the interaction of all the components participating therein. The organization of the work in the country as a whole has been entrusted to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. It is planned exercising leadership of the realization per each of the five priority areas at USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman level. Responsibility for the solution of individual problems incorporated in the program is entrusted in our country to approximately 30 ministries and departments designed to play the part of head organizations. Their leaders are obliged to ensure the proper pace of the work, the achievement of high S&T end results and the immediate assimilation in production of new equipment, technology and materials on the basis of specialization and cooperation with the CEMA countries. Direct practical work pertaining to a solution of the problems, on the other hand, is to be performed at the level of the research and planning-design organizations acting as head organizations.

The rapid and largely unexpected nature of the development of contemporary science, engineering and technology is moving to the fore the demand for maximum flexibility. This means that the organizational forms and system of

relations and financial and resource support must provide for possibilities for maneuver enabling the head organizations to opportunely redirect forces and resources in the most promising direction. Considering the international nature of the program, all this needs to be embodied ahead of time in the appropriate contracts and agreements.

As a whole, fulfillment of the CP STP will be a serious test of the system of collective leadership of the CEMA countries' mutual cooperation. CEMA's work should be targeted at an acceleration of S&T progress based on the international specialization and cooperation of production, and considerable changes to the entire structure and style and methods of work should be made with regard for this. The need for this was emphasized in the party Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress. "In our view," it observed, "changes are also necessary in the activity of the headquarters of socialist integration itself--CEMA. And the main thing is to ensure that in the realization of this program there be less bureaucratic administration and all kinds of committees and commissions and more attention to economic levers, initiative, socialist enterprise and the enlistment of the labor outfits in this process. This will be the profoundly party-minded approach necessary for such an exceptional undertaking" (3).

Realization of the Comprehensive Program is of most important strategic significance for the socialist community countries. Employing the mechanism of every conceivable restriction, "sanctions" and embargoes, the organizer of which is the United States, imperialism is waging an ever increasing economic and technological war against the socialist countries. With its policy of social revanche it is flouting the elementary principles of international relations. For this reason, as the new version of our party's program emphasizes, the CPSU believes "...that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the technical-economic invulnerability of the community to the hostile actions of imperialism" (4). The same positions are held by the other countries of the socialist community. An efficient means of ensuring this is implementation of a concerted S&T policy.

The fraternal parties have agreed that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the technical-economic invulnerability of the community to the hostile actions of imperialism and the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism. The way to do this is an improvement of collective foreign economic strategy and fuller use of the opportunities of socialist economic integration. The CP STP corresponds to these requirements in full. It unites their efforts in the efficient use of the possibilities of the new stage of the S&T revolution on the basis of the advantages of which socialism disposes.

This does not, of course, mean an aspiration to some autarky of the socialist countries, of which we are accused completely without proof by some figures in the West. The socialist community countries' policy of strengthening technical-economic security and technological invulnerability has nothing in common with autarky. It was not we who thought up CoCom--the international organization of the capitalist countries under the aegis of NATO compiling lists of prohibitions on trade with the socialist countries, in accordance with whose orders virtually only obsolete goods and technology may be sold to

the socialist countries. The definition of "strategic commodity" is interpreted so freely here that if a basket ball may be used to raise the martial spirit of soldiers of NATO countries, this is also a "strategic commodity". Finding the logic behind the inclusion on this list of individual commodities and licenses is frequently simply impossible.

Also absurd is the viewpoint that trade with the socialist countries is a "one-way street" and the "pumping" of advanced technology from West to East, without which, allegedly, our plans are doomed to fail. Life confirms that this is far from being the case. We can agree with the assertions of some foreign business people that imports of modern Western technology could to a certain extent be a factor for the acceleration by the USSR and the other socialist community countries of their own scientific developments. However, it is also true that this has no in any way appreciable impact on the economic situation of the Soviet Union, for example, since the proportion of products manufactured on Western equipment in its gross industrial production does not amount to 1 percent even.

Business circles of Western countries have been convinced that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries possess tremendous S&T and industrial potential. There are many areas where socialism occupies the foremost positions in the world and where other countries are availing themselves extensively of our technological developments. We have everything necessary to counter any discrimination and any attempts to impede our development and participation in international economic cooperation.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries also, makes no secret of its S&T achievements. We are rendering the developing countries all-around economic and S&T assistance. We are developing trade, economic and S&T relations with the industrially developed capitalist states prepared to cooperate with us on an equal mutually-profitable basis.

This year it will be 30 years since the Soviet Union made accessible to scientists of the whole world its research in the field of controlled thermonuclear synthesis. This initiated the development of international cooperation in the development of technology affording an opportunity for a radical solution of the world energy problem. Development of the project of an international thermonuclear reactor based on the Soviet "Tokamak" system began on the initiative of the USSR with the participation of specialists of various countries. Recently the Soviet Union proposed the stimulation of this important work, which met with a positive response. In scientists' opinion, commissioning the first thermonuclear reactor will be possible before the end of this century.

The achievements of Soviet scientists and engineers are creating a sound foundation for the development of mutually profitable cooperation in many spheres. The combination of our technology and the experience of leading firms of developed capitalist countries could in many instances lead to the development of technology and equipment of a fundamentally new type. And it is merely up to the politicians in the West who are as yet heading in the direction of a further tightening of export controls.

The adoption of the CP STP was a major event in the life of the socialist community. It is not a question here, of course, of the mere fact of the compilation and signing of an international program. Virtually all countries avail themselves of S&T programming in our day to this extent or the other.

We may attribute to it also the notorious American SDI program, which is aimed mainly at the use of S&T achievements for the purpose of an arms race and its spread to space. The Eureka program developed in West European countries is also an attempt to unify the potentials of the West European countries and concentrate the efforts of scientists and specialists for the purpose of accelerating S&T progress. Active efforts for the rapid assimilation of efficient new technology are being made in Japan in the form of the creation of the Technopolis program.

As distinct from the programs of the capitalist countries, implementation of a wide-ranging transition to new generations of highly productive equipment and technology in the socialist community countries is not being accompanied by man's exploitation of man, competition, unemployment and so forth. The CP STP is not connected with the arms race and, consequently, corresponds to the interests of all mankind. This is its fundamental particularity.

The results of S&T progress in the capitalist countries are the opposite, the focus of the corresponding national and interstate programs is also the opposite. The new conditions are forcing, compelling capitalism to adapt to them and gamble specially on science and technology. But the private-ownership essence of management is inevitably leading not only to certain production and economic successes but also to an exacerbation of the innate, fundamental antagonisms of bourgeois society.

Under capitalist conditions technical progress acts the part of a kind of catalyst contributing both to an exacerbation of its class contradictions and the emergence of new centers of tension manifested not only within the framework of individual capitalist countries but also globally. The militarization of the economy represents the most striking example of the capitalist monopolies' conversion of the latest technology from a means of creation into an increasingly dangerous (and costly), destructive force threatening the very foundations of the existence of human civilization.

The new technology is releasing an increasingly great amount of "live labor," leading to the disappearance of many types of occupations and thereby engendering "technological unemployment" and a further reduction in employment. In the last 5 years alone, when the United States, Japan and West Europe have been persistently introducing new equipment and technology, the number of unemployed persons there has grown from 19 million to more than 30 million.

In addition, despite the recovery of business life in certain periods, a trend toward a decline in the capital accumulation norm and a slowing of the pace of economic development is being manifested increasingly often in the imperialist world. Thus in 1985 the GNP of the developed Western countries grew only 2-2.5 percent compared with the 4.5 percent in 1984. Its increase in Japan, for example, slowed by a factor of 1.5.

This is one aspect of the problem. But there is a second, no less important aspect: to what are the results of the S&T revolution geared, what do they serve--peace and creation, which is inseverable from the progress of all mankind, or preparations for the most devastating war in history and, consequently, the destruction of everything living on the planet?

The question of the purpose for which the fruit of the S&T revolution will be used has become a principal question in the contemporary sociopolitical struggle. The science and technology of our time afford an opportunity for ensuring on earth an abundance of blessings and creating the material conditions for the burgeoning of society and the all-around development of the personality. But they also, these creations of man's intellect and hands, are, by virtue of class egotism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite holding sway in the capitalist world, being turned against himself. Such is the glaring, intolerable contradiction with which mankind has arrived at the threshold of the 21st century. It is not science and technology in themselves which are a threat to peace, it is imperialism and its policy--a policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of the present day.

Upon a study of questions of Western countries' S&T cooperation, objections of such a kind may appear: whereas an avowedly militarist policy predominates in the SDI, Eureka--the program of technological cooperation of West European countries--according to the assurances of a number of Western politicians, has nothing in common with the "initiative" of the militarization of space and that the scientific research and developments envisaged by Eureka are of a purely peaceful nature and are aimed at the achievement of S&T results in production and the solution of such global problems of the present day as the fight against disease, environmental protection and so forth.

Truly, the main content of the Eureka program, as its initiators intended, amounts to the realization of measures for the development of 12 key directions of the development of science and technology providing for a qualitative spurt of the technological level of West European industry: optical electronics, laser technology, the creation of new industrial materials, microelectronics, the development of new means of transport and communications, the creation of artificial intelligence, information technology, biotechnology, the use of space, oceanography and deep-sea drilling and improvement of the systems of education and vocational training. The program has been set the following tasks here: a lessening of West Europe's technological dependence on the United States and Japan and the increased level of development of technology, an increase in the competitiveness of West European industry by way of a strengthening of its technological base and assistance to the restoration of lost export positions on the world market (in the sphere of microelectronics and information technology, for example), promotion of the further development of economic integration within the EEC framework and the all-around consolidation of the participating countries engaged in preparations for the creation of a European Union and also countering the brain drain from West Europe to the United States.

At the same time while warming up in every possible way the idea of the "peaceful, humane focus" of this program, Western ideologists do not deny that the results of the joint research could be used for military purposes also. After all, many areas of the research being conducted in accordance with this program coincide with the SDI project. And one further point, last but not least: it cannot be ruled out that Eureka, like the SDI and other state and interstate S&T programs being created in the West, is aimed at the achievement of technological superiority to the socialist community countries.

The collective project of the socialist community countries--the CP STP--is of an entirely different nature.

While creating a barrier to imperialism's plans to achieve permanent superiority to the socialist countries it has a profoundly peaceful focus. Its main goal is ensuring by collective efforts the rapid development of science and technology in the socialist community countries and on this basis a considerable upturn in the efficiency of the economy and creating the conditions for an even greater increase in the working people's well-being.

"The program," the document points out, "pursues humane peaceable goals and is not aimed against the interests of any people or any state" (5). It is designed to make use of man's intellectual potential for a multiplication of material and spiritual values and not means of destruction. The CEMA countries pointed directly therein to the need to ensure that the greatest achievements of the S&T revolution be applied for the good of all peoples and help the disappearance of such phenomena of the modern world as starvation and disease, poverty and illiteracy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 71.
2. Ibid., p 256.
3. Ibid., p 71.
4. Ibid., p 172.
5. PRAVDA, 19 December 1985.

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## AFL-CIO STANCE ON UNION, DOMESTIC, FOREIGN ISSUES ASSESSED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 100-113

[Article by M.I. Lapitskiy: "AFL-CIO: Problems Old and New"]

[Excerpts] Traditions and the Present Day

The American trade union movement of our day continues to be characterized by two confrontational trends. One--the predominant trend--is geared to the unions' adaptation to the two-party system and the expansion of cooperation therewith, the second--which is slowly, but steadily making a way for itself--is geared to the unions' emergence from the political and ideological control of the bourgeois parties and their advancement of their own political action program.

For the 100 years since the time of the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1886 the first trend has been connected with the official policy of the conservative leadership of the country's main trade union center. Pursuing a policy of class cooperation, the federation's leaders largely remain in the ideological positions of so-called unionism pure and simple. The United States is the sole highly developed capitalist country where such an ideology continues to occupy the predominant positions in the workers movement. The reformist leadership of the country's main trade union center has contributed to the consolidation of "economist" trade-unionist illusions in the worker environment. These and a whole number of other conditions under whose influence the workers movement has developed in the United States have created numerous obstacles to the development of the independent political actions of the working class. F. Engels' words concerning the fact that the U.S. workers movement "will move by no means along a classically straight line but by abrupt zigzags and will in places appear to be retreating" (1) are valid today also.

The second trend is connected with the growth of the assertiveness of the working class and decisive protests of the organized workers movement against the sluggish, conservative leadership and the radicalization of the trade union masses. There have been periods in the history of the American organized workers movement when this trend has manifested itself particularly strikingly and graphically. Such were the 1880's--a period of upsurge of the mass workers movement, on the crest of which the May Day holiday of working people's

international solidarity was born (2); the start of the 20th century, which was connected with the emergence in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World militant organization; 1917-1921, to which a stimulation of the struggle of progressive forces in the U.S. workers movement pertains; the "red thirties"--the classical period of the unions' increased political role, the powerful movement for the enlistment of nonorganized workers therein and the creation of mass industrial unions; the latter half of the 1960's--start of the 1970's--a time of the growth of mass social protest movements and the radicalization and stimulation of the political activity of the broad working masses.

For the U.S. workers movement these "central" periods were characterized by a strengthening of the left current in the unions, an intensification of the joint actions of this current with other progressive forces of the country, a growth of the opposition of the "masses" to the conservative ruling stratum of the AFL and, following the merger of the two trade union centers--the AFL and the CIO--in 1955, the deepening of the split in the leadership of the federation itself.

Examining the union movement in the present-day United States with its undoubted achievements and obvious weaknesses, it should be borne in mind that it is largely garnering the fruit of its distant and recent past. The dissimilar historical fate of each of the detachments incorporated within it is the reason for the difference in approach to the most important domestic and foreign policy problems in our day. Without regard for this it is difficult to understand, for example, why the socioeconomic platform of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union for many years served as a reference point for other detachments of organized workers in the struggle to achieve socioeconomic demands or why the construction worker unions represent a largely apolitical, unaware part of the workers, those whom V.I. Lenin called "elements of public ignorance" (6).

Underestimation of the traditions of individual detachments of the organized working people entails an incomprehension of the causes of the discrimination against blacks in some unions and vigorous protests against it in others and the active involvement in the antiwar movement of a number of unions and at the same time the patently insufficient participation therein of others. Disregard for traditions clouds an understanding of this political sympathy or antipathy or the other of the unions, and the reasons for the gravitation of the majority thereof toward the Democratic Party, and of the minority, toward the Republican Party and, finally, the absence in the country of a mass workers party.

Even this far from complete list of the unions' different approaches to the "eternal" problems which the unions encounter, at least in the last century, testifies to the diversity of the components from which an organized workers movement--one which is developing in accordance with the general laws of the class struggle and at the same time possessing a number of specific features compared with the workers movement of other developed capitalist countries--takes shape. These features are connected both with the singularities of its formation (the availability of vacant land, immigration and others) and with other circumstances, under whose influence it developed. They have taken shape

largely thanks to the fact that the United States has remained, as F. Engels colorfully put it, "the promised land of capitalist production" (7).

And although, as the practice of the American unions themselves often shows, traditions are not something eternal and frozen, a knowledge thereof is essential in any analysis of the contemporary union movement. A close linkage of the past and the present affords greater confidence of a correct evaluation of the future. It is with good reason that in recent years many American investigators of the U.S. workers movement have frequently been turning to the 1920's, finding therein a certain analogy to the present time, and to the popular slogan at that time of the prominent union leader John Lewis "Not a Step Backward," referring to the present-day unions, who under the pressure of the monopolies and the administration have had to agree to numerous concessions (8). It is with good reason that, referring to the periods of sharp upturn in the American workers movement of the 1930's following the temporary setback in the 1920's and the 1960's after the temporary stagnation in the preceding decade, certain American scholars are predicting that the retreat of the unions along the entire front in the 1980's will inevitably lead to an upsurge, significant, possibly, thereof (9).

#### AFL-CIO Convention: Search for New Solutions

As is known, since the start of the present decade there have been hard times for the U.S. unions connected with the exacerbation of sociopolitical and financial-economic problems and the broad offensive of monopoly capital and the highest bodies of executive and legislative authority against their rights. As the 16th AFL-CIO Convention in October 1985 pointed out, the Republican administration "is attempting to turn back the clock of the history of social and economic progress. The so-called economic recovery of a number of corporations and certain sectors of industry is, as before, a myth for the more than 8 million Americans who cannot find work" (11).

The significant deterioration in the unions' position under the conditions of the stimulation of the offensive of the employers and the administration against their interests and rights was reflected by the AFL-CIO report issued at the start of 1985 entitled "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions" (12). The report had been prepared by a commission made up of more than a dozen union leaders and several consultants. It emphasized that the present administration has undermined much of what had been gained by the unions and the workers as a whole as a result of the battles of the past 50 years.

The journal RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNIY MIR has adduced considerable evidence of the coordinated actions of the monopolies and the present U.S. Administration aimed at undermining the American organized workers movement. We would note in this connection that in the campaign of persecution of the unions an active part is being taken by the U.S. Supreme Court and other judicial authorities. Not lagging behind them either is the National Labor Relations Board, which was set up in the 1930's as a department designed "to guarantee workers' right to participate freely in labor unions," but which is acting vigorously in the interests of the employers. The latter, on the other hand, as, for example, an analysis of the campaign to attract workers and

employees to union ranks in the private sector shows, are in their overwhelming majority (95 percent) opposed to the creation of union organizations. In the period 1985-1986 there were many flagrant and illegal attempts to eliminate local union organizations. Such attempts occurred in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia and elsewhere.

To put down worker protests the authorities and corporations make open use of repressive measures. Thus attempting to quell a long strike by 2,500 miners at copper mines in Arizona, in 1985 the owners of the Phelps Dodge corporation dismissed 1,700 workers. Police details repeatedly used nightsticks and tear gas to break up pickets. Armored cars even were used against the strikers. Not surprisingly, both at the start of the 1980's and in the middle of the decade relations between the majority of unions and the administration have remained tense, if not to say hostile.

A portentous event for the country's union movement was the winter session (February 1985) of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at which an attempt was made at an objective analysis of the federation's position at the present stage and the task set was that of a reorganization of its activity in accordance with the demands of the time and the changes occurring in the workers movement. A kind of barometer of the new trends therein was the 16th AFL-CIO Convention in Anaheim (California). Representatives of the 96 unions making up the federation participated. The forum was meeting in an anniversary year for the unions--1985 was 30 years since the unification of the AFL and the CIO. However, the report of the Executive Council and the congress' resolution, which strikingly reflected the position of the upper stratum of the federation and the unions incorporated therein on cardinal domestic and international problems, was devoid of anniversary show.

The documents adopted (and those which were not adopted to an even greater extent) at the congress are imbued with sharp criticism of the administration's socioeconomic policy. The report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council approved by the forum acknowledges that the ruinous economic policy oriented toward the arms race hits first and foremost the workers and has already led to a level of unemployment "for which there is no justification". The living standard of American workers is, as the document emphasizes, seriously threatened owing to "the unfair, antiworker, anti-union, anti-people policy of the R. Reagan administration, which is profitable to big business."

The fruits of the policy of the White House, the report observes, have been "the biggest federal budget deficit in the country's history, the highest foreign trade deficit in the world and the first increase in 20 years in the numbers of the poor." In the socioeconomic plane, according to the authors of the document, the period since the preceding AFL-CIO convention in 1983 has been characterized by "the further offensive of the archconservative elements predominant in the Reagan administration and the leadership of the Senate" against the workers movement. The report of the Executive Council and other documents of the congress reflected the workers' discontent with White House policy in the social sphere. "The Reagan administration," the report says, "aspires, as before, to eliminate the legislative guarantees of civil rights in the country won in the struggle and provide the corresponding legal enactments with the narrowest interpretation or completely revise them" (13).

It should be noted that while sharply criticizing the administration's socioeconomic policy the AFL-CIO leadership does not, nonetheless, set as its task the elaboration of specific proposals aimed at overcoming the economic difficulties. Thus the convention confined itself to an exposition of general principles of a vague nature. It was noted, specifically, that the basis of the country's economic policy should be an aspiration to achieve full employment, the creation of a fair and effective system of taxation and a reduction in bank discount rates.

The congress' documents paid particular attention to the exacerbation of the problem of racism in recent years and the increasing discrimination on the job against women and representatives of the national minorities. The Executive Council report emphasized the need for the creation of more efficient relations with the farmers', negro, religious, women's and other social organizations and their enlistment in the common struggle against the company bosses.

The congress studied problems of the organization of nonorganized workers. The strengthening of union ranks has become for the AFL-CIO, as a resolution adopted by the congress says, "an urgent necessity" (14). Indeed, a process of reduction in the proportion of organized workers in the total strength of the U.S. work force has lasted continuously since 1975. When the AFL-CIO leaders attempt to explain the reasons for the decline in the numbers of organized workers, they refer primarily to the elimination of a considerable number of jobs in such sectors of industry extensively encompassed by the unions as auto manufacturing, steel, rubber, trucking and others. But this only partly explains this phenomenon. A most important reason for the ineffectiveness of the unions' efforts to expand their ranks (it is mentioned in the congress' documents only in passing) is to be found in the antiworker policy of the monopolies, on whose side are the Washington administration and the U.S. Congress. Part of the blame also lies with conservative figures of the AFL-CIO themselves adhering to "economist" trade-unionist methods of struggle and until recently adopting a highly passive attitude toward the problem of strengthening union ranks.

Responding to the objectively growing political assertiveness of the organized workers, the congress advocated the increased role of the union movement in the political life of the country. The Executive Council report approved the practice verified by the unions in the 1984 election campaign of union support for any U.S. presidential candidate at the early stages of the election campaign. The leaders of the federation see this practice as the unions' "new political strategy". The decision to support a specific candidate, this document points out, should be preceded by extensive consultations in the local union organizations for the purpose of "enhancing the political education and assertiveness of the union ranks and strengthening the solidarity and efficiency" of the workers movement. At the same time, to judge from the material of the last AFL-CIO convention, the leadership of the union center intends adhering to the former course of limitation of the unions' independence and reducing their political assertiveness merely to assistance

at elections, presidential and mid-term, to their "friends," representatives of the Democratic Party, as a rule. The 1986 mid-term elections confirmed for the umpteenth time the traditional priorities of the union leaders.

In its main report the federation's Executive Council also outlined steps to stimulate propaganda work on the part of the AFL-CIO, including the extensive use for this purpose of television advertising. It is highly significant that it reflected the growing anxiety of millions of rank and file in connection with the sharp exacerbation of international tension and the continued arms race. "The AFL-CIO," the document says, "welcomes the resumption of negotiations in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States and supports the idea of a balanced reduction in nuclear arms." The fundamental purpose of the U.S. union movement in the international plane, the report emphasizes, remains concern for lasting peace based on political, economic and social stability (15).

At the same time the report of the executive body of the AFL-CIO, whose general focus was determined by the reactionary majority in the leadership of the union association, contains many reservations largely detracting from the positive significance of a number of formulations. For example, its "Peace and Disarmament" section speaks of support for a "strong national defense," the "need" for which the administration is using to justify its policy of escalation of the arms race. The section begins with a call for a strengthening of NATO. The document contains a multitude of propositions of an antisocialist and anti-Soviet nature in connection with the so-called "human rights" problem.

The collection of drafts of 223 resolutions presented at the 16th AFL-CIO Convention by both the federation's Executive Council and individual unions which are a part of this association is of a certain interest, particularly from the viewpoint of the union association's attitude toward international problems. Of these, 35 resolutions submitted by the Executive Council were adopted by the congress, the remainder being rejected.

Familiarizing ourselves with the resolutions of a number of unions on most important questions of domestic and foreign policy, it is not difficult to discern that their position largely fails to coincide with the official policy of the leaders of the union center, and the demands contained in their resolutions, furthermore, reflect to a considerably greater extent, as a rule, the interests of the union members. They are distinguished by greater consistency, and the criticism of government policy which they contain has a sharper and more specific ring. It is not surprising that many of the proposals of these unions (particularly on international problems) were not adopted. Indicative in this respect are the resolutions of the International Machinists and Aerospace Industry Workers, the Auto Workers Union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers and certain other unions.

As a whole, the congress' documents reflected the aspiration of the rightwing majority in the AFL-CIO leadership to achieve a compromise between the

traditional policy of "class cooperation" of the federation's leaders and the demands of the union rank and file for an active struggle for the workers' socioeconomic and political rights.

### The Unions and Society

The difficult situation in which the American unions have found themselves in our day is being made worse by the unfavorable political climate being created around them by the employers and the administration. Under the present conditions of the domination of the ideology of neoconservatism with its negative attitude toward any worker organizations and also the distaste for the unions cultivated by rightwing circles for decades, it is not difficult to explain the anti-union sentiments of a substantial proportion of Americans. These sentiments are reflected by official opinion polls. Thus six polls conducted by the Corporation for the Study of Public Opinion testify that in the decade between 1975 and 1985 trust in the unions in society fell 7 percent (19).

The poll data show that Americans judge the unions, as a rule, by the activity of their leaders, more often than not, furthermore, those who are particularly loud in making themselves known. Distinguished among such union bosses are primarily those who have been mixed up in clamorous scandals and large-scale machinations like Jackie Presser, leader of the International Teamsters and Warehousemen Union, and his predecessors in this position. In 1984 some 54 percent of people polled by the Harris service agreed with the opinion that "a large number of union figures have become famous for their ties to the Mafia and organized crime" (20).

Other questions put by the same service (in 1976, it is true) reveal no less strikingly Americans' attitude toward union leaders and, consequently, the unions. Some 76 percent of those polled, for example, supported the opinion that "many union leaders use their position for purposes of gain". Some 59 percent agreed with the assertion that the majority of union leaders are "arrogant and do not represent the rank and file" (21). As polls conducted by researchers of the University of Michigan in 1979 testify, "approximately two-thirds of those polled agree with the opinion that union leaders are more concerned for their own interests than the interests of their members". By the mid-1980's there were more people sharing this opinion, which was reflected, for example, in the data of a poll conducted in March 1985 by the Corporation for the Study of Public Opinion. According to its calculations, approximately three-fifths of those polled believe that for a union leader his selfish interests are higher than public interests (22). Questions connected with the ethical and moral attributes of the union leadership arouse manifest skepticism among those polled, and these attributes are quoted at a "very low" price.

Granted that certain union leaders really have "dirty hands" and that others are connected with the Mafia and mixed up in various criminal machinations, the sociologists conducting such polls deliberately equate such leaders and many honest union figures, who are sincerely attempting to help their members and are themselves trying to combat manifestations of corruption in the unions. We cannot fail to note that the very formulation of such questions

offered to those polled predetermines their negative attitude toward union leaders and the unions as a whole. "Having monopolized the mass media," the American journalist and sociologist Michael Parenti writes, "business portrays the unions in the most unfavorable light possible. In business' portrayal the unions are "for the most part an irrational force" which is greedy and which defends merely its own selfish interests "and which is of no benefit to either the economy or society as a whole but merely increases prices by its constant demands, thereby appropriating what could belong to another part of society" (23).

This position of business is also reflected by certain works of contemporary bourgeois investigators of the workers movement in the United States evaluating the significance of the unions, proceeding from the criterion of their "usefulness" or "harmfulness" to American society (24). They are inclined to regard the unions as a "monopoly entity" (25). From their viewpoint the unions, as a mass and organized force, use their resources in the struggle for an increase in wages, achieving considerable and, these researchers believe, even too big results. This purely bourgeois view of the economic struggle of the working class and its unions does not reflect its significance for all of society and for the development of all its productive forces, the main one of which is it itself.

It should at the same time be noted that despite the negative attitude toward the activity of the unions and their leaders imposed from above, the majority of Americans believes the unions to be an important, necessary institution for the struggle for the interests of their members. In 1984 some 66 percent of persons polled by the Harris service declared that the unions were an effective weapon in the struggle against "big business" (there were 5 percent fewer who agreed with this opinion in 1975). In 1985, according to the calculations of the same service, 73 percent of Americans believed that the unions contribute to an increase in wages and an improvement in work conditions for their members (26). According to AFL-CIO data, 75 percent of workers--union members and nonmembers--were of the same opinion, while 80 percent agreed that the unions are necessary for society to know the workers' demands (27).

The data adduced by a number of economists and sociologists testify that union members as a whole are better-off than nonorganized workers. At the same time polls show that union members to no less an extent consider themselves "more deprived by society" than those outside of union ranks. This paradox is evidently explained by the fact that union members expect more from their organizations and want the latter to defend their interests better and more efficiently.

Concerning the question of union members' attitude toward their organizations, account also has to be taken of the general anti-union atmosphere with which political life in the country is saturated. In 1981 a poll conducted by the NEW YORK TIMES recorded, for example, that 60 percent of those polled considered the unions "too influential a force," and 53 percent believed that "the unions have too much political power" and that "people should vote at elections for a candidate who would support a reduction in the political influence of the unions". It is significant that 51 percent of union members

supported the view that their organizations represented "too big a force," thereby reflecting the opinion held by the opponents of the organized workers movement (30). Back in 1970 the bourgeois scholars Derek Bok and John Dunlop wrote: "The hostile atmosphere created around the unions will influence public opinion, which could lower members' loyalty to their organizations, reduce their political assertiveness and evoke prejudice among the new groups of potential union members" (31).

As can be seen from the data adduced above, the anti-union mood which has been implanted by the ruling circles for ages and which has flourished in the term in office of the Reagan administration, has not left unaffected the union members themselves even.

#### Certain Positive Changes

Worried by the current situation, the American unions have considerably expanded their propaganda activity. Among the large amount of literature disseminated by the AFL-CIO and individual unions, a large place has been occupied by publications which provide a variety of recommendations as to how, their authors believe, the unions should emerge from the state of defensiveness, get rid of the "concessions syndrome" and get back what has been lost. The short book "Concessions and How To Beat Them" is distinguished among these publications. Its author is the journalist Jane Slaughter, whose publications can be seen in the press organs of the Auto Workers and Steel Workers unions.

Many union publications of the mid-1980's reflect the numerous and frequently highly contradictory changes occurring in the mood of the broad masses of American workers and in their social mentality. In the past year or two the word "resurgence" has been appearing increasingly often in the union press.

Truly, overcoming a protracted period of retreat, the unions are gradually beginning to switch to offensive operations. Militant, bitter strike protests such as, for example, the strike of several thousand steelworkers at plants of the Landmark Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel and Phelps Dodge companies, of the miners of the A.T. Massey coal company and certain others testify to this. In many cases strikes are occurring as the result of employers' attempts to wrest new concessions from the workers--a pay cut, adoption of a "two-tier" pay system, elimination of workers' benefits depending on length of service and so forth.

The most characteristic feature of the workers' protests of recent years has been solidarity. Thus the Auto Workers Union organized effective assistance for the striking miners of Appalachia. In August 1985 a convoy of motor vehicles under the slogan "Motor City to Mineworkers City" consisting of 217 vehicles delivered the Detroit autoworkers' assistance to the striking miners. Many unions rendered the steelworkers of the Landmark Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel company material assistance.

Such a clearly expressed aspiration to unity and solidarity in the ranks of the United States' organized workers movement as in 1985 and 1986 has not, perhaps, been seen in recent times. Calls for the cohesion of union ranks in

the face of the threat looming over them have been heard from high union platforms, authoritative leaders of the organized workers have spoken about this and this has been written about in editorials of official union publications. "Union unity in our day is more necessary than ever," the AFL-CIO NEWS, organ of the AFL-CIO, wrote on 10 August 1985. L. Kirkland, chairman of the AFL-CIO, spoke about the urgent need for unity of action in June of the same year at a local union leaders' conference in Indianapolis. "There are forces in our country," he declared, "which wish to reduce union activity merely to the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements. They would like us to quit the political scene, affording them sole possession of this territory." And, subsequently: "The unions must rally their ranks in all sectors of our movement for a spirit of solidarity is essential for overcoming the barriers in their way" (36).

And although it is obvious that in urging unity the union leaders by no means have in mind the class solidarity of the organized workers, fearing their genuine unity, the speeches in support even of limited joint actions in the mouths of the leaders of the American union movement have a highly noteworthy and symptomatic ring. Endeavoring to keep abreast of events, the union leadership sometimes takes up the slogans of the rank and file. However, unfortunately, things do not in the majority of cases go beyond words as yet.

There have been many indications in recent years of the increased assertiveness of the unions both locally and nationally. The unions have sought and often found ways to establish ties to the farmers', religious, women's and other organizations, enlisting them in the common struggle against the company bosses. The unions and the Afro-American community have established relations in the struggle against the administration's further emasculation of civil rights legislation.

There has been somewhat of a stimulation of union activity among the working youth also. As the NEW YORK TIMES wrote on 1 September 1985, "union leaders are recognizing increasingly that if the unions wish to prevent their decline, they must attract young workers to their ranks." Many American unions have developed a whole number of new methods aimed at expanding their ranks thanks to the 52 million American workers under 35 years of age, the majority of whom are not embraced by the unions. Endeavoring to attract the youth to assertive activity, the unions are including more than previously in their demands clauses taking into consideration the specifics of young workers, enlisting them more often as union organizers and conducting a wide-ranging campaign to enlighten the working youth as to the advantages with which the union could provide them. The service, communications and food industry and trade sphere union workers and many others are operating particularly energetically in this respect.

"The attraction of a larger number of young people to our ranks is the most important problem confronting the unions currently," G. Hubbard, chairman of the Texas branch of the AFL-CIO, declared. And C. McDonald, deputy leader of the AFL-CIO for organization, added: "Young people are more prepared to rock the boat to bring about change." However, despite the efforts which are being made (very inadequate, evidently), only 14 percent of the work force aged 35 and under has union membership (37).

There has been a marked resurgence of union activity in the election arena in recent years. On the eve of the 1986 congressional November mid-term elections the unions conducted an intensive campaign in support of the Democratic Party candidates up for reelection (38).

During the two preceding election campaigns the unions had resorted to an extensive dispersal of the resources obtained for the election campaign in a vain attempt to oppose the pressure of the generous cash contributions of the military corporations to Republican Party funds. And these actions contributed to a certain extent to a reduction in the Republicans' representation in the Senate at the 1984 elections; in the course, however, of the elections for seats in the House on which the union political education committees had spent considerable sums they succeeded in getting only 2 out of the 11 candidates elected and failed to get their candidates elected to vacant seats altogether.

This time the union leaders increased their spending on the mid-term elections, concentrating efforts on the struggle for 8 Senate seats in which the Republicans' positions appeared the most vulnerable. The AFL-CIO leaders set themselves the goal of rendering the Democrats effective assistance in the struggle for approximately 40 seats in the House.

The peace movement in the union ranks is contributing to their increased assertiveness to a considerable extent. Many unions, large ones included, support the demand for a bilateral freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. These include the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Industry Workers, the National Education Association, the Joint Food and Commercial Workers Union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers. Each of them has approximately or more than 1 million members. These and certain other unions are a part of many peace organizations and participate actively in them.

It should be mentioned in this connection that on questions of "war and peace" many union leaders have begun to adopt a more flexible position. The times have passed when the AFL-CIO leadership unreservedly supported Washington's foreign policy. As the American journal THE NATION wrote, "in our day a new generation of leaders not in agreement with the policy of the 'cold war' has come to lead the major unions." According to the journal, "there has been a pronounced liberalization of the union center's Executive Council even" (41). The author has exaggerated somewhat, possibly, the significance of the changes which have been discerned in the federation's leadership recently, but we cannot fail to see the positive shifts occurring in it. Some of them have been mentioned earlier. We would add here, however, that a number of major union figures, including members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, have joined actively in the peace movement.

The development of the union movement in the United States in recent years shows that healthy forces in its ranks are strengthening under the conditions of the planned offensive of the monopolies and the administration against the interests and rights of the broad worker masses. The enhancement of the role

of the unions in American society will largely depend on their more efficient actions in the socioeconomic sphere and also the surmounting of political weakness.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 36, p 578.
2. For more detail see S.M. Askoldova, "At the Sources of May Day (Centennial of the Chicago Events)" in RK i SM No 2, 1986, pp 156-169.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 10, p 360.
7. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 37, p 83.
8. See J. Slaughter, "Concessions and How To Beat Them," Detroit, 1983, p 5.
9. See R. Freeman, J. Medoff, "What Do Unions Do?" New York, 1984.
11. "Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Sixteenth Convention, Anaheim, California, October 28, 1985," Washington, 1985, p 4.
12. "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions. AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work," Washington, 1985.
13. "Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO," pp 147, 4, 199, 5.
14. "AFL-CIO Resolutions. Number 1 to 223. Sixteenth Convention, 1985," Washington, 1985, p 2.
15. "Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO," p 259.
16. "AFL-CIO Resolutions," pp 175-176.
19. "Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century," ed. S.M. Lipset, San Francisco, 1986, p 289.
20. Ibid., p 296.
21. T. Kochan, "How American Workers View Labor Unions" in MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, April 1979, p 24.
22. "Unions in Transition," p 296.
23. M. Parenti, "Inventing Reality," New York, 1986, p 84.
24. See, for example, S. Lipset's articles "Labor Unions Mind," pp 287-321; "North American Labor Movements: A Comparative Perspective," pp 419-450 in "Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century," ed. S.M. Lipset, San Francisco, 1986.

25. This assertion--a most important element of the anti-union theories particularly prevalent in the United States following WWII--has its origins in the bourgeois-conservative "rugged individualism" concept of the turn of the century emanating from the idea of the permanency of the unregulated and unlimited right of private ownership and the "sanctity" of the "freedom of covenant" doctrine (for more detail see I.M. Saveleyev, "Unions and U.S. Society at the End of the 20th Century. Critique of Bourgeois-Reformist Concepts," Moscow, 1983).
26. "Unions in Transition," pp 300, 303.
27. "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," pp 12-13.
30. "Unions in Transition," pp 309-310.
31. D. Bok and J. Dunlop, "Labor and the American Community," New York, 1970, p 12.
36. AFL-CIO NEWS, 15 June 1985, p 8.
37. NEW YORK TIMES, 1 September 1985.
38. It is well known that since the start of the 1980's American unions have supported the Democratic Party more than any other organized group in the country. Almost 90 percent of this party's candidates in this period gained the support of the unions (C. Cotter, J. Gibson, J. Bibby, R. Huckshorn, "Party Organizations in American Politics," New York, 1984, p 139).
41. THE NATION, 1 January 1986, p 9.

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## DIFFICULTIES OF ORGANIZING TRADE UNIONS IN ASIA DISCUSSED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 114-121

[Article by A.P. Davydov: "Difficulties of the Formation of Unions and the Struggle for Union Rights in Asian Developing Countries"]

[Excerpts] The main, determining trend in the development of the union movement in Asian developing countries is that the unions are growing numerically and becoming stronger organizationally and politically, their influence in all strata of the working people is growing, their position in society is stabilizing and they are winning increasingly more rights and becoming an increasingly important factor of socioeconomic and political development both in their own countries and in the region. Over a historically long period of time this development of the unions would seem natural and normally inherent in the process of the formation in the region of the new, capitalist, production mode. At the same time it should be considered that each victory of capitalism over precapitalist production relations is also naturally accompanied by the acute struggle of the working people against capital for their interests. The growth of unions and the development of union rights and liberties is not a gift of capital but the result of harsh struggle against the antiworker and anti-union practice of capital and bourgeois governments. And it is important for the working people to see clearly the goals of their struggle, verifying the course at each stage by preceding experience. A principal task of the unions is collating this experience and determining the goals and methods of struggle at the new stage. This article examines the difficulties and problems being encountered by the unions of countries of the region en route to their formation and in the struggle for the interests of the working people and for the accomplishment of socioeconomic tasks of the strategy of national development.

### Problems of the Organization of Trade Unions

A serious problem for the union movement in countries of the region is the fact that their national legislation directly or indirectly prohibits many groups of working people uniting in trade unions. These are, as a rule, workers and employees of the state sector (Pakistan), plantation workers (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand), workers of the managerial machinery (the Philippines), working people of enterprises in the "free trade zones" (South Korea, Sri Lanka) and workers employed at small and tiny businesses of

all developing countries of the region. In many Asian countries union activity is harshly suppressed, as far as the use against the unions of police forces and judicial reprisals against their leaders. The employers use criminal, terrorist methods in the struggle against union activists. Dismissals, arrests and assassinations of union activists have become a customary phenomenon in the Philippines and in Thailand, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan.

We shall cite just some examples of the repression of unions taken from the complaints to the ILO at the start of the 1980's of unions incorporated in the WFTU, ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor. In October 1981 in Thailand the management of the Sak-ae Farm Company Poultry Factory, which works for export, dismissed the trade union leaders, and two of them were soon after killed and one wounded (1). Union activists in Pakistan were subjected to persecution and mass dismissals in 1982. The activity of union organizations was subsequently banned there within the framework of the television corporation, the radio corporation and Pakistan International Airlines and also in hospitals and educational institutions. Fifteen railroad worker unionists were dismissed in this country in May 1983. On a fact-finding pretext they were arrested and put in prison, where they remained from 2 to 7 months (2).

Trade union activity is very often banned at enterprises of transnational corporations, particularly in such neocolonialist enclaves of the TNC as "free trade zones" and "export production zones," where the governments of countries of the region aspire to create for them an "auspicious investment climate" aimed at ensuring for these international monopolies high profits thanks to particularly cruel forms of plunder and superexploitation. In South Korea national legislation sharply limits the activity of trade unions at TNC enterprises. In Singapore certain new sectors of industry created by overseas TNC acquire special status for 5 years, in the course of which they are "protected" against union activity. In Malaysia legislation has established very strict conditions of union registration at enterprises of the TNC. Such a normal form of union activity as the holding of worker meetings without the prior authorization of government authorities was banned in the Philippines at the end of the 1970's. It is fitting to recall in this connection that Convention 87 of the ILO (article 2) proclaims the right of workers employed at enterprises of TNC, just as at national enterprises, to form unions and join them "at their discretion without prior authorization". They also, as ILO Convention 98 (article 1) proclaims, "should enjoy proper protection against any discriminatory actions aimed at infringing freedom of association in the labor sphere."

It should be noted that the unions which exist in countries of the region unite, in many of them, mainly urban workers. And although they aspire to represent all workers and are attempting to spread their influence to the workers of rural localities, they are having to overcome tremendous difficulties in this activity. These difficulties are largely connected with the fact that it is in the rural localities, where the majority of the population of the countries of the region lives, that illiteracy is the highest. They are also connected with the nonpermanent nature of the employment of wage workers in agriculture, the very high level of unemployment and hidden unemployment in the rural areas, the remoteness of the latter from

the industrial centers and the specific features of labor relations in farming. There is a number of other complicating factors also.

First, although union legislation in the majority of countries of the region does extend to the workers of the tea, coffee, sugar, pineapple, coconut, banana, rubber and other plantations, which, as a rule, belong to the modern sector of the economy, it at the same time makes extremely difficult or impossible the organization of the bulk of the "traditional" wage workers in agriculture, farm hands, sharecropping tenants, dependent petty proprietors and many other categories of working people, whose labor in fact also enriches the major landowners, but is not wage labor in the accepted meaning of the word.

Second, the unions' efforts to expand their influence in rural localities frequently give rise to the opposition of the government authorities and wealthy landowners, who themselves prefer to organize the rural poor into cooperatives dependent upon them or other organizations via which they exercise control over them.

Third, it is not always easy to persuade the organized workers employed in the modern sector of the economy that part of their membership dues should be channeled into assistance to the unification of agricultural workers; the display of such solidarity requires a certain level of class self-awareness.

Fourth, it is difficult inspiring and uniting the rural poor without implementing democratic agrarian reforms and without launching an emphatic struggle to eliminate the feudal and semifeudal land relations and large-scale holdings belonging to the TNC and big capital.

A most difficult problem confronting the union movement of Asian developing countries is how to organize the workers of small businesses, that is, the bulk of the working people of the region. The point being that national legislation governing labor relations does not in the majority of countries of the region extend to the workers of small and tiny businesses. Even certain ILO conventions and recommendations pertaining to questions of union rights incorporate the special reservation that they extend only to enterprises with a relatively large number of workers. In other words, the right of the workers of small businesses to associate in trade unions has yet to be proclaimed even formally. The problem of trade union rights at small businesses was on the agenda of an Asian regional conference on labor relations in industry held in March 1981 in Tokyo. The discussion and the conclusions drawn by the conferees showed that the unions do not as yet see effective ways of solving this problem.

Another urgent problem for the union movement in Asian developing countries is organization of the struggle for the lifting of the prohibition on union activity and the limitation of union rights at enterprises of the state sector of the economy of a number of countries of the region. In Indonesia, for example, certain populous groups of workers of this sector are deprived of the right to form unions. Since 1977 trade union activity has been banned at the vast majority of state enterprises in Pakistan. In the Philippines and in other countries national legislation imposes on the unions additional

restrictions on the pretext that they are operating in "vitally important sectors of the economy" and that their actions could "threaten the interests of national security". In Malaysia unions are permitted in the state sector, but they lack the right to conclude collective bargaining agreements.

The state sector of the economy with its tremendous employment potential is today the biggest employer in countries of the region. It contains inexhaustible potential for the enlistment of huge masses of working people in the process of the accomplishment of socioeconomic tasks of the strategy of national development. But in order that they may be manifested it is first of all necessary to do away with the practice of limiting and suppressing union rights and liberties in the state sector. Such practice is incompatible with the interests of a strengthening of the national independence of countries of the region. It runs counter to the need for the removal of the causes of their underdevelopment on the paths of economic and social renewal. The governments of the countries which are depriving the workers of state enterprises and establishments of the right to association and freedom of trade union activity are thereby barring to them access to collective participation via the unions in the elaboration and implementation of the strategy of national development. In acting thus these governments are in fact defending the policy dictated by imperialism and the TNC. This is why the task advanced by progressive figures of the union movement of the developing countries of Asia and Oceania of the official recognition and observance by the governments and employers of all international labor regulations, conventions and recommendations of the ILO pertaining to questions of trade union rights is so urgent.

Under the conditions of the lack of legislative protection for the unions and employers' persecution of workers who are union activists the unions' enlistment in their executive bodies of "outsiders," that is, persons not working at the enterprise or in the sector where the union which they head operates, has become widespread in countries of the region.

The unions have an interest in the assistance of "outsiders" for a number of reasons. "Outsiders" do not face the threat of dismissal. They may be very useful in the leadership because they are, as a rule, lawyers, politicians and people with an education, experience and connections and with free time. To this should also be added the fact that the inadequate financial base of the unions caused by the low wages of the workers and the impossibility for many of them of paying membership dues prevents them releasing from work a sufficient number of enterprise workers and employees and maintaining them on union funds as their leaders and active members. The majority of "outsiders," on the other hand, do not need pay. They are the target of constant persecution and defamation on the part of the employers and the mass media. Unconnected with production, they are accused of using the unions for their own ends, implanting nepotism and thereby distorting the idea of the union movement.

And although among the "outsiders" people are sometimes encountered who really are abusing the trust placed in them by the organized workers, this does not cancel out the indisputable fact that without the "outsiders" many of the unions of countries of the region would hardly have been able to emerge and strengthen.

In connection with the extremely difficult financial and other conditions of the activity of unions in many Asian developing countries, particular significance for them is attached to alliance with the cooperative movement. The unions are endeavoring to use cooperative forms of the workers' association to improve their position and expand the sphere of their activity. They frequently set up supply and consumer cooperatives and other mutual assistance establishments and organizations. They practice extensively the creation of small cooperative associations and stalls for the sale of foodstuffs and petty consumer commodities. Bigger union enterprises are formed also.

### Collective Bargaining and Labor Contracts

Everywhere in Asian developing countries the deterioration in the conditions of the sale of manpower in the 1980's has been reflected directly in the scale and forms of the workers' economic struggle. The unions have failed to formulate an antidote either to mass dismissals or the employers' use of so-called economical "flexible" and "rational" hiring systems, including the system of "clandestine" hiring and the system of the borrowing of manpower by one company from another, which sharply reduce the workers' earnings. Nor may the unions count on national labor legislation for the "flexible" hiring systems adroitly sidestep legislative restrictions, and present labor laws regulate forms of labor relations oriented frequently toward a fixed minimum wage and constant worktime which are applied increasingly less in the modern sector of the economy. These laws are becoming increasingly less mandatory for employers, that is, the state is shunning, as it were, interference in relations between labor and private capital (6).

Under these conditions there is an increase in the role of collective bargaining in defense of the workers' interests. Whereas in the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's the strike was the most effective means of the solution of labor disputes in the course of the struggle for collective bargaining in all countries of the region, as of the latter half of the 1970's and in the 1980's there has been a certain stabilization in Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and India, as ILO data testify, of the quantitative indicators of strikes, their participants and the strike man-days (and there has been a reduction in these indicators even in certain years). Thus, for example, according to data of the Malaysian Ministry of Labor, the number of strikes in this country declined from 73 in 1975 to 24 in 1983, the number of participants therein, from 12,500 to 2,500, and the proportion of union members participating in these strikes, from 2.5 to 0.4 percent (7). At the same time, however, the trend toward a growth of the workers' strike struggle has continued in Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka and in the Philippines (8).

The appearance among the developing countries of the region of a group of countries in which a certain stabilization of and even a reduction in quantitative indicators of the strike struggle has been observed has been brought about by a number of factors. These are primarily the economic crisis, the high level of inflation and, what is most important, the mass unemployment forcing the unions to resort increasingly often to short-term and

other statistically unrecordable forms of the strike struggle. When evaluating this phenomenon, one further circumstance should be considered also: in all countries of the region without exception there has been a rapid growth not only in the number of collective bargaining agreements which have been concluded but also in the number of strike notices, which are usually sent by the unions to the enterprise management and the local labor offices. This testifies to the growing confrontation of the unions and the employers within the framework of the system of the collective-bargaining regulation of labor relations which is taking shape.

In a number of sectors the unions have become stronger and more influential, and they have acquired opportunities to settle by the threat of strikes labor conflicts which earlier they were able to solve only by direct strike struggle. On the other hand, the employers have been forced to come to terms to a greater extent with union actions since in many cases concessions to the workers cost them less (particularly in sectors of export production) than a refusal of the workers' demands. There has also been an increase in the ability of a whole number of unions to conduct a strike struggle and achieve satisfaction of their demands by way of unitary protests and negotiations on the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements at a more qualified level.

At the same time the growth of crisis phenomena in the economy of the developing countries, the structural reorganization of the economy, the modernization of management methods, particularly the application of the new hiring and remuneration methods, and the growth of unemployment have been having a growing pernicious impact on the unions' collective bargaining activity in the 1980's. Thus unions in a number of sectors of the economy of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and India have lost, or are increasingly losing the possibility of the conclusion of national collective bargaining agreements. The endeavor of the unions to make the collective bargaining agreements an effective means of defense of the workers' interests is coming up against bitter resistance in the "free trade zones" on the part of the TNC and government authorities. Although the governments of certain countries of the region have consented to ratification of ILO conventions reflecting in one way or another unions' rights concerning the conclusion of collective agreements, they nonetheless do not inform the ILO that the effect of these conventions does not extend to the "free enterprise zones". In this situation the sole reliable information can only come from the unions. It is very important that, in accordance with recently evolved practice, the unions may notify the ILO of the situation in the "free trade zones" directly, bypassing the official authorities.

There are serious limitations of union rights, as mentioned above, at state-owned enterprises of a number of countries. "Despite the predominance among the workers of a benevolent readiness to cooperate with management in the development of the public sector, the authorities are incapable of pursuing a just policy in questions of wages, work conditions, determination of the representative at the negotiations with management, guaranteed employment and others. In fact on certain issues the conditions for negotiating with management at enterprises of the public sector on the conclusion of collective

agreements are worse." This was the conclusion drawn by the All-India Trade Unions Congress more than 20 years ago (10). There has been no practical improvement in the situation since (11).

Labor arbitration in countries of the region is, as a rule, three-tier: the local labor office, the national labor relations committee and the supreme court. By appealing successively to these authorities the employer has every opportunity essentially to thwart an examination of the issue since national legislation permits each authority to study labor disputes for a period lasting from several months to several years. The lengthy (up to 2-2.5 years and longer even in the Philippines) and complex procedure of the examination of labor disputes in arbitration kills off in the unions the desire to appeal here, particularly in cases where the disputes concern questions of a wage increase (and it is such disputes which constitute the overwhelming majority) since inflation in this period could erode the addition to the wage for which the workers are fighting. It is no accident, therefore, that many unions of the region are struggling for an improvement in the arbitration system. In the light of what has been said the transition to a system of so-called voluntary arbitration is a certain achievement. It is constituted by way of the appointment by the Ministry of Labor only with the consent of the parties to the dispute--the employer and the union--of competent persons registered with the ministry as "voluntary arbiters". And although this institution increases somewhat the union's possibilities in disputes with the employers, its main purpose is to defend the interests of the employers and those in power.

The stereotype of the social behavior of the working man in Asian countries, which has taken shape down the ages under the influence of local traditions of upbringing and culture, has a considerable impact there on present-day workers and frequently motivates their restrained attitude toward the unions' collective bargaining struggle. Public protest is sometimes regarded by them as a "breach of commonly accepted standards of behavior". Workers in Thailand sometimes even apologize to the proprietor in written form for breaches of order on the job. Among the obstacles impeding the development of the union movement in the Philippines such "cultural" stereotypes as the false debt of gratitude to the boss, displayed particularly by people from "the sticks" recruited for work by agents of this company or the other, makes itself felt (14). Although these and other similar barriers are being eroded as market relations develop, they cannot disappear quickly and are a cause of much extra trouble for the unions.

The endeavor to expand the possibilities of the collective bargaining defense of the workers' interests, make the collective bargaining agreement a dependable means of legal regulation of pay and strive for the inclusion in the agreements of provisions concerning hiring and dismissal, work time and free time, vocational training and other conditions of work occupies a central place in the unions' activity. It is not surprising, therefore, that an important place has been occupied by the collective bargaining agreement in the labor legislation of all countries of the region without exception which has been enacted over the past 20 years.

Nonetheless, the collective bargaining agreement has not yet become, despite its increasing significance in the regulation of labor relations, either an

effective means of improving the working people's position and strengthening the positions of their unions or a genuine instrument of realization of the strategy of national development as a conscious and controlled process. It has not become such owing to many factors and circumstances, of which, besides those noted above, the following would seem to us the most essential:

in connection with the fact that in a number of developing countries of the region many sectors of the modern economy are only just beginning to take shape, collective bargaining agreements are concluded mainly only at enterprise, and rarely, at sector level; the underdevelopment of the sectoral manpower markets and, consequently, the multiplicity of unions which it has predetermined are complicating considerably the formulation of a common union viewpoint on hiring conditions in the sector; all this is on the one hand making extremely difficult unions' activity pertaining to the formulation and signing of a model collective agreement as a means of and stimulus to the workers' uniform actions and, on the other, preventing the national planning authorities taking sufficiently fully into account the actual situation on the labor market for the purpose of economic and social planning;

the employers are availing themselves of the difficult economic situation of the bulk of the working people, particularly the troubles of the unemployed (in India alone in 1984 there were 23 million unemployed (15), and according to trade union figures, 30 million), and imposing on the workers collective agreements containing nothing other than a mention of wages. The workers consent to this more often than not in order to survive (16). Collective agreements are concluded here merely at large and certain medium-sized enterprises and do not extend to the bulk of the working people.

An important role in monitoring compliance with the collective bargaining agreements belongs to the government labor inspectors and the local labor offices. The institution of inspectors is contributing to the solution of problems of an improvement in the workers' work conditions. The inspectors' activity could be, trade union circles believe, more efficient were the government authorities to raise their social position to a fitting level. They should not be one of the lowest paid categories of civil servants and must not be made financially dependent on the employers whom they are monitoring. An enhancement of the inspectors' qualifications, primarily their economic knowledge, on which the unions are insisting, could promote the increased efficiency of their work and the ascertainment of instances of employer abuse.

It is well known that India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand and the Philippines are characterized by such a phenomenon as the multiplicity and extraordinary discreteness of the unions. They have hundreds and even thousands of small-scale unions not associated in trade union federations (17). For example, 1,055 registered trade union organizations, which were not a part of any trade union federations and national trade union centers, were operating at enterprises of Manila alone at the end of 1982 (18).

The multiplicity of unions is giving rise to a mass of problems, particularly in the field of negotiations with the employers concerning the conclusion of collective agreements. These are primarily unions' brutal competition among themselves for the right to represent the interests of the enterprise

personnel at negotiations with the employers. The competition is giving rise to conflicts within the union movement itself for one union at an enterprise may break up the "common front" and foil efforts of all the remaining unions both at this same enterprise and at other enterprises connected by industrial cooperation. The multiplicity and competition of the unions are being used by the employers, who know full well which of the unions operating at an enterprise will more easily succumb to pressure and be prepared to sacrifice in a class-collaborationist manner the interests of the workforce. Finally, the same multiplicity and competition have led to the registration of the unions in government authorities as the organizations empowered to negotiate with the employers having become a most difficult problem.

The entry into force of laws according to which the enterprise workforce may delegate to negotiations with the employer just one representative has entailed negative consequences. This measure is exacerbating even further the rivalry of the unions among themselves. Competition relations between the unions are being used by the employers, state-owned enterprises included, since the membership of several unions at an enterprise to one and the same federation or union center does not automatically do away with their confrontation for the right to be recognized and, consequently, negotiate with management on behalf of the entire workforce. Often two, three and an even larger number of unions declaring their allegiance to one national organization contend among themselves, seeking the right to be recognized. Under these conditions "favoritism" has become widespread in labor relations. It is no accident that the "favored" union, being "recognized," frequently cannot defend the interests of the enterprise's workers. The procedure of the election of the enterprise workforce representative at negotiations with the employer is a subject of discussion.

Usually the representative of the workforce at the negotiations is elected by secret ballot, but sometimes this question is decided by way of a comparison of the number of members in each union organization nominating this representative or the other. The trade unions of countries of the region are discussing the question of the fairer method of computation of their members: consideration of all those who have declared their membership of a union, regardless of whether they pay membership dues or not, or consideration only of those paying membership dues. The first criterion enjoys greater popularity, perhaps, among unions controlled by parties of a social democratic persuasion, the second, among unions led by communists, although this delineation is not a strict one, is highly provisional and cannot be traced in many cities and districts.

The governments of a number of countries are endeavoring to persuade the unions of the expediency of a structure whose basis would be the principle: "just one union to operate in one sector of the economy". This principle, however, is giving rise to active objections on the part of a number of unions of various political persuasions. They believe that, given such a structure, the governments' opportunities for interference in the unions' affairs would increase sharply.

To judge by everything, the multiplicity of the unions and the underdevelopment of the sectoral or production-sectoral principle of the

functioning of the unions have objectively been caused by the existing conditions of production and also the state of the sectoral manpower markets.

Despite the difficulties of the formation of a working class in the region and the coming into being of unions, both class-based and reformist, and also the recently increased degree of the resistance of capital and the decreased fruitfulness of the economic struggle of the workers and their unions (19), the development of collective bargaining practice is creating certain prerequisites for the unions' more efficient struggle in defense of the workers' vital interests and for their right to participate in the management of production. Supervision of compliance with the terms of the collective agreements in respect of work conditions, vocational training and so forth is making it possible to build up experience of union activists' participation in the discussion of these problems and the advancement of alternative solutions of the socioeconomic problems of the strategy of national development with regard for the workers' interests.

It is important for the prospects of the development of the union movement in Asian countries that the workers' class struggle for the organization of unions and the guarantee and broadening of union rights in countries of the region proceed under conditions of a broadening of the unions' mass base; the spread of literacy and learning among the working people who are members of trade unions and an enhancement of the qualifications of active union members; and increasingly active quest by the unions for natural allies among the bulk of the engineering-technical intelligentsia, which, owing to objective conditions, is closer to the management of enterprises and the economy, is the exponent of great knowhow and frequently has a better view of the actual possibilities and paths of the workers' class struggle. All this stimulates and fosters the main progressive factors with which the prospects of the development of the organized workers movement in the region are connected--the role of class-based unions and the revolutionary nationalism of the reformist unions.

At the same time the prospects of the struggle of the workers and the unions for trade union freedoms are also directly connected with the extent to which they succeed in organizing united actions and overcoming the numerous disagreements engendered by the traditional social and labor relations, the difficulties of the development and formation of democratic traditions in the union movement and the struggle against the anti-union policy of the ruling circles and the activity of the parties whose goals are alien to the workers' interests. Ultimately the struggle for unions' rights is making the main contribution to the augmentation of the numbers of the unions, which, in turn, is the main indicator of their strength and influence in society.

A feeling of collectivism and class solidarity is taking shape in the workers and a process of conversion of the workers from a "class in themselves" to a "class for themselves" and for other working classes is developing in the struggle for union rights. This process is taking place in stubborn class struggle, in an agonizing and complex manner, in a struggle against intriguers and adventurers, via rises and falls, splits and mergers and surges of energy

and disenchantment and at a price of numerous sacrifices, but sacrifices which are not in vain. The democratic tradition of the great fraternity of workers is taking shape.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Two Hundred and Thirtythird Report of the Committee on Freedom of Association," ILO, GB. 225/9/9, 225th Session, 23 Feb-3 Mar 1984, Geneva, p 109.
2. Ibid., pp 36, 112-113.
6. It is not fortuitous that ILO conventions 132 (on paid leave) and 116 (on duration of work) have not been ratified in a single country of Asia and Oceania. Conventions 14 and 106 and also recommendation 103 (on weekly time off) have been ratified by a negligible number of countries. See "Working Time," ILO, Geneva, 1984, pp 169-171.
7. "Labour and Manpower Report. 1983/1984," Kuala Lumpur, 1985, pp 166-200.
8. For example, in 1979-1980 in Bangladesh the number of labor conflicts amounted to 3,719, of which 1,313 were settled with the help of arbitration, and in 1982-1983 these figures constituted 6,615 and 1,722 respectively. Whence it is obvious that the strike remains the main weapon of the Bangladeshi proletariat. See M. Ahmad, "The Working Class in Bangladesh. Situation in the Urban Sector," Dhaka, 1984, p 52.
10. "Public Sector and Trade Unions. An AITUC Publication," New Delhi, 1964, p 13.
11. See "23d Session INTUC Report. December 1980 to April 1984," New Delhi, 1984, pp 39-43.
14. J. Schregle, "Negotiating Development. Labor Relations in Southern Asia," ILO, Geneva, 1982, p 82.
15. "Yearbook of Labor Statistics 1985," ILO, Geneva, 1985, p 489.
16. This applies primarily to the so-called partially unemployed, who constitute a majority of the working people in a number of countries of the region. For example, at a national conference on labor relations in Philippine industry held in October 1984 in Manila it was noted that this category of workers in the country had increased annually in the period 1980-1983 by an average of 17 percent and in 1983 constituted 30.1 percent of total manpower. See A. Valerio, "Current Employment Situation in the Philippines" in PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, vol VI, Nos 1-2, 1984, p 97.
17. This phenomenon is not typical of Singapore and Malaysia.
18. "Bureau of Labor Relations. 1982 Calendar Year Report," Manila, 1983, p 3.

19. These difficulties, evidently, and also the increasingly frequent impossibility for the unions of solving problems by traditional nonstrike methods were a principal reason for the appearance of the "militant trade unionism" concept, whose supporters call for study and adoption of the positive experience of the strike struggle of the start of the 20th century. See J.T. Runes, "Towards a Militant Trade Unionism" in PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, vol V, Nos 1-2, 1983, pp 65-76.

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## NEW TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS UNDER CAPITALISM EXAMINED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 150-163

[Article by I.M. Bunin: "New Social Movements and the Working Class"]

[Text] As of the present there has been an appreciable growth in the significance and role of mass democratic movements in the sociopolitical life of developed capitalist countries. It is a question of new nontraditional social movements which are exceptionally varied in their social and age composition and distinctive in terms of appearance and tasks. Their participants call themselves "alternativists," "ecologists," "anti-authoritarianists" and "greens"; "civic initiatives," "single-cause movements" and others operate within the framework of this complex and distinctive current. What they have in common is that "they all do not accept this condition or the other born of modern capitalist reality, are looking for a new lifestyle and are endeavoring to make their contribution to the solution of urgent problems" (1). The struggle for democracy is the basis uniting all these movements.

The new version of the CPSU Program emphasizes: "A characteristic feature of our time is the upsurge of mass democratic movements in the nonsocialist world. The antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population is intensifying in the capitalist countries. The intelligentsia, office workers, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national minorities, women's organizations, the youth and students are joining increasingly actively in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political persuasions are demanding an end to the militarization of society and the policy of aggression and war and an end to racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the deterioration in the situation of the younger generation and corruption and the predatory attitude of the monopolies toward the use of natural resources and the environment. These movements are objectively aimed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and are becoming a part of the general stream of the struggle for peace and social progress" (2).

Peace movements and consumer movements, student's and women's movements and antiracist movements and environmental protection movements coexist and frequently interact simultaneously in many countries. The participation by citizens of capitalist countries in movements at the local level has assumed

mass proportions. The main arena of their activity is the community, block and municipal neighborhood. In a number of capitalist countries, specifically in the FRG, a "civic initiatives" movement, whose activity has been directed primarily against measures of the authorities leading to environmental pollution and the pilfering of national resources and reduced spending on housing, education and so forth, has developed. The differences between "civic initiatives" and the "alternativists" cannot always be clearly traced. But it may be said that the movements connected with the struggle for an alternative lifestyle operate not so much against individual actions of the state and the monopolies as for the affirmation with the aid of their own example of new anticonsumer values. Alternative projects are emerging in the most diverse walks of life: production cooperatives, medical centers, free publishing houses and radio stations and so forth. The majority of projects is connected with the organization of leisure and the cultural sphere (alternative bookstores, movie theaters, theatrical performances, schools and so forth). A leading alternative idea is society's gradual voluntary transition from the present state to a federation of communes, cooperatives and small agrarian or crafts production units. Moving to the forefront among the "alternativists" is not a political project but a specific restructuring of civilian society and the inception and development of a new lifestyle.

Initiatives in the sphere of environmental protection, the development of transport and the cities and the solution of problems of accommodation, health care, school education and children and the youth had the greatest repercussions at the start of the 1970's. At the same time there emerged in the large cities groups protesting the demolition of old, but well-preserved buildings for the sake of the construction of tower blocks for banks and offices (in Britain they are called squatters, in Holland, Kraker). They occupied and renovated empty premises not being used by their owners. "Civic initiatives" struggling against the offensive against democratic rights constituted a special group. Some 300 initiatives, working groups and committees against the "bans on professions" emerged in the FRG in 1975. Some 30,000 persons participated in demonstrations in this connection in Bonn in 1979. "Civic initiatives" also emerged against the threat (particularly for the local population) of enterprise closure. At the end of November 1980 some 70,000 residents of Dortmund took part in a protest demonstration against the decision of the (Estel-Khoesh) concern to shut down the steel works operating in the city. This demonstration was organized by the "Steel Works Now" "civic initiative" headed by the local intelligentsia.

By the end of the 1970's the "civic initiatives" had become a major social force in a number of capitalist countries, and, according to one poll, readiness to join political parties was expressed by 12 percent of the population of the FRG, but from 34 to 51 percent of its citizens were prepared to take part in "civic initiatives" (3). At this time the "alternative movement" in West Berlin, for example, united up to 50,000 persons; 2,700 different initiative groups operated in three areas of South London alone; in Denmark 36 percent of the population participated in this "green" (or "alternative") organization or the other (4).

Two types of "civic initiatives" may be distinguished provisionally. Some people confine themselves to tackling some specific task (they unite to combat

the pollution of a lake, for example); others are not content with the solution of one problem and present a comprehensive criticism of the state of affairs in this sphere or the other of social life.

Many "civic initiatives" which emerged in respect of specific issues gradually extended their sphere of activity. Thus protests against individual instances of the "ban on professions" became a movement against the elimination of democratic rights. Having achieved the partial or complete accomplishment of the set tasks, the "civic initiatives" frequently do not disintegrate but set themselves new goals and turn to other problems. The people working in them recognize the power of joint actions, acquire political education in the discussions with parties and organs of administration and come to know the social sources and content of the problems with which they are dealing. The experience gained in the course of the activity of the "civic initiatives," the sense of collectivism which emerged in the struggle and the new type of communication lead to their participants being reluctant to break the social ties which have been established. Their "protest potential" is simply channeled into new assignments.

The same people constitute the backbone of the activists of the "civic initiatives" and various national movements. Thus the majority of members of the Greens Party in the FRG came from various "civic initiatives". A study of the composition of activists of the peace movement in Cologne, for example, shows that approximately 80 percent of them are students, teachers, seniors and office workers, the majority of whom already has certain experience of political struggle acquired in movements against nuclear power stations, "bans on professions" and so forth (5).

Active representatives of the new middle strata were originally the social base of the new social movements, in the main. The participation of the workers was negligible. According to a survey conducted in the FRG in the mid-1970's, workers had been elected to only 3 percent of elective offices in the "civic initiatives" movements (6). West German communists defined these movements as a nonproletarian form of protest (7). They incorporated earliest of all representatives of the intelligentsia. This made it possible to call the new social movements the "domain of educated citizens" (8). The active members and electorate of the Greens Party in the FRG are predominantly young people and representatives of the intelligentsia, the highest categories of office workers, the students and seniors. Among the activists of the new social movements there are many persons of the teaching professions employed in the social services sphere and in the field of education. Representatives of creative professions, teachers, doctors and social service workers predominate among activists of the ecology movement in Britain. These categories constituted the most numerous (38.4 percent) part of "ecologists" polled in 1979 (9). According to information of the West German scholar J. Huber, the members and electorate of the Greens Party have come mainly from the new middle strata and are clearly oriented "toward post-materialist values: self-determination, self-expression and the principle of 'to be instead of to have'" (10). A poll conducted by British sociologists showed that the "ecologists" are distinguished from the "middle-of-the-road voter" primarily by opposition to certain dominating values of capitalist society. The "ecologists" mentioned considerably more often than the rest of those

polled two formulas as being extremely important: "progress toward a less impersonal, more humane society" (71 percent) and "progress toward a society in which ideas are more important than money" (54 percent) (11). The supporters of the Greens in the FRG are united by the belief that present society "is heading for its own destruction," the cause of which could be "ecological catastrophe, nuclear war or war for the redistribution of benefits between rich and poor, between South and North" (12).

Particular significance in the development of the new social movements is attached to the considerable changes which are occurring in the complex conglomerate of middle strata. As a result of structural shifts in the composition of the latter there is a decline in the relative significance of the traditional part thereof--small businessmen, tradesmen, craftsmen and peasants--and a sharp growth in the relative significance of the so-called new middle strata--wage workers of mental labor occupying in the socio-class structure an intermediate position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The numerical growth of the new middle strata is being accompanied by a deterioration in their material position and a decline in social status and prestige. Their labor is being depersonalized and losing individuality and becoming regimented, the discipline and rhythm of work are being tightened and the number of unemployed among them is growing.

As a consequence of the progressive streamlining of capitalist production the depersonalized nature of human relationships in the process of labor activity is increasing. The reaction to this phenomenon has been people's increased aspiration to communication with one another and to emotional solidarity not only at work but also in the extra-industrial sphere. As Willi Gerns, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Board of the German Communist Party, observed, "the intelligentsia and office workers are primarily being subjected to growing stress on the job inasmuch as for them a production process based on a division of labor and absence of personal responsibility (to which the working class has long been subjected, and more intensively) is something comparatively new" (13).

In terms of their social appearance, consciousness and behavior the new middle strata--primarily the intelligentsia and middle tier of specialists and office workers--as distinct from the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie--are connected with big science, modern technology, big business and various types of government regulation. Their education is, as a rule, far higher and their imagination considerably broader, and many of them represent important components of the system of production or state administration. The "fetishization" of property and traditional petty bourgeois prejudices are far less typical of them. In their sociopolitical behavior they are less passive and more capable of collective action.

A relatively broad stratum of politically assertive people has taken shape among them who are characterized by hostility toward state-monopoly capitalism and the bourgeois lifestyle, antimilitarism and humanitarian and democratic ideals. Even in the United States, where the ideological-political hegemony of the bourgeoisie is particularly strong, there has been a strengthening of democratic trends, a growth of the consciousness of its responsibility to society and an aspiration to contribute by its activity to the solution of

social problems in the course of the last decade among the intelligentsia (14). The said democratic trend in the sociopolitical consciousness and behavior of the intelligentsia has strengthened and assumed new features.

The deep-lying consequences of the protest movement of the end of the 1960's have been reflected in the process of reorientation of their consciousness. The mass student movement of these years largely contributed to the move of the intelligentsia to the left. The development in the student environment of sentiments which were critical of and opposed to capitalist practices, the involvement of broad masses of students in the protest movement--all this determined to a considerable extent the sociopolitical consciousness of a whole generation of the intelligentsia of capitalist countries. R. Roth, research fellow of the Social Sciences Department of the Frankfurt-am-Main University, emphasized: "The youth and student movement (of the above-mentioned period--I.B.) has been the stimulating feature of the value reorientation in individual spheres of developed capitalist society" (15). There has been a lessening under their influence of the mechanical obedience to the authorities (the law, the state, the boss at the enterprise), a change in the views on the church and religion as an institution determining the principles of morality and behavior, a weakening of the traditional standards of social behavior and the emergence of a new attitude toward work, the family, marriage and the material aspects of success.

The exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism in the 1970's caused technocratic ideology to be discredited, giving rise to a powerful "antiscientist wave". The appearance of the zero growth concept, plans for the "humanization" of economic development and Rousseauesque programs of a restructuring of capitalism reflected the crisis of the technocratic consciousness and its loss of its former optimistic vision of the world based on technological fetishism. For a considerable proportion of working people, particularly for persons with a relatively high level of education, the concept of "progress" ceased to mean technological modernization, economic expansion and international competition. Rejecting progress as "forward flight," they understand it as an improvement of the "quality of life" and the preservation of ecological balance and as a decentralization of social life. This type of consciousness was the socio-psychological basis of the growth of the ecology movement. Conservative views also are strong in the initiatives in defense of the environment or in groups advocating an "alternative" lifestyle. The protest of these movements is sometimes channeled "against S&T progress, which is perceived painfully and in accordance with the erroneous ideas that 'technology' is 'essentially' evil in itself" (16).

The "quality of life" concept acquired new parameters, and the need for equality, participation, respect, meaningful activity and so forth intensified. Problems of the environment assumed particular significance in the mass consciousness. As is clear from the results of public opinion polls conducted in the FRG at the end of the 1970's, approximately 97 percent of citizens of the country attached great significance to ecological problems. In Austria approximately three-fourths of all those polled sympathized with the ideas of the Greens (17).

Ever increasing significance was attached in the intelligentsia's demands to the problem of the relations of the individual and society, the creation of the optimum conditions for the free expression of the individual's opinions and struggle against inordinate centralization and bureaucratism. The political views of a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia, primarily the liberal arts intelligentsia, are characterized currently by antimilitarism, support for the idea of peaceful coexistence and hostility toward the imperialist policy of suppression of the national liberation movement. There are among it more people than in other social groups who are prepared to struggle actively for democratic goals (18). By virtue of the breadth, sober-mindedness and independence of political thinking characteristic of a considerable proportion of it, in a number of capitalist countries the intelligentsia succumbed only little to the influence of the militarist and anti-Soviet propaganda whipped up by imperialist circles at the end of the 1970's. This applies particularly to activists of the new social movements. Analyzing the views of the supporters of the Greens in the FRG, a West German newspaper wrote: "In contrast to the bulk of the population, they feel antipathy toward such concepts as NATO, the free-democratic order and the United States. Their neutralism is expressed, for example, in the fact that to the question of which is stronger--East or West--only 26 percent of the Greens' electorate (but 46 percent of the population of the country) believes that "the East is stronger" (19).

Owing to these factors, the backbone of the antiwar movement initially was the socially active group of the intelligentsia which was critical of capitalist practices. Thus in the FRG a large part of the active participants in the peace movement are people aged 36 and under with higher education and beyond the political influence of the parties of the right. Their value principles were at first mainly expressed in participation in the ecology and other new social movements, and under the influence of shifts in the international situation, in positions of active antimilitarism.

The processes which have occurred at state level--the growth of its intervention in all spheres of socioeconomic life, the growth of bureaucratism in social life, the extension of the powers of executive authority and centralization of the system of administration--have also contributed to the development of the new social movements. The "civic initiatives," the West German Marxist F. Karl wrote, "are an expression of the population's legitimate discontent in respect of the state and parties which have ceased to perform their function as mediators between the state and the people" (20). The centralization of authority and the bureaucratization of state institutions are causing a retaliatory response from the masses aimed at the defense of their interests as wage workers and employees, taxpayers, residents of cities and microregions, consumers of goods and social services and so forth. Thus, according to the data of one survey, one out of every three citizens of the FRG believed that the "civic initiatives" represent the citizens' interests better than the major parties (21). Centralization and bureaucratism have come to be perceived as a crushing burden and have given rise to protest, repudiation and a desire to secure some fraction of participation "in deciding one's own fate". The crisis of the traditional institutions of the political system, primarily the parties, and their belated reaction to the new social requirements brought about the use by critical

groups of the population of such institutions of pressure on the state as the new social movements. D. Fedrigo, member of the Belgian Communist Party Central Committee, puts among the factors which attended the successes of the movement of "ecologists" in Belgium "primarily the distrust of state institutions and political parties which increased sharply following the 1968-1969 social battles" (22).

Particular successes have already been scored in the struggle of the new social movements. The movement in defense of the environment has revealed to broad strata the entire importance of this problem: bourgeois governments, big business and the ruling parties are now forced to take into consideration the ecological consequences of economic decisions. Thanks to the women's movement, there has been a diminution in the mass consciousness in vulgar stereotypes concerning the woman's role. The squatters' movement is helping the community recognize the social consequences of constant rent increases and profiteering on plots of land and apartment houses. Thanks to the squatters' actions, the authorities have at times had to cancel a planned rent increase or abandon the demolition of apartment houses for speculative purposes. German CP Chairman H. Mies pointed out that "a few hundred instances of occupation of empty houses have had a greater impact than years of debate in parliaments and a variety of committees. This movement has lent new impetus to the struggle for the right to housing. It has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate today that we ourselves have a chance to achieve definite results" (23). The "civic initiatives" protests in the FRG have helped the masses understand the seriousness of the threat of the infringement of democratic rights. Reaction's attempts to impose a "professional ban" have been thwarted in a number of specific instances. Under the influence of the movement of "ecologists" political parties in Belgium have been forced to amend power engineering development plans, official commissions have been set up and long-term programs in this sphere have been elaborated. As a result of the "ecologists'" actions, "there is increased interest in problems of lifestyle, diet and nature conservation" (24) among different strata of the Belgian population.

An important singularity of many of the new social movements is their organizational amorphousness manifested in the existence of hundreds of small, loosely interconnected organizations--ecology, consumer, feminist and so forth. The groups of participants in the "civic initiatives," which are small in terms of numbers, have a tendency toward an informal organizational structure and informal decision-making methods. They always start out with the intention to strive for the solution of a specific question and subordinate their activity to this. Defining the essence thereof, F. Karl wrote that they are "a form of the political cooperation of people of different social origins and philosophies for the achievement primarily of perfectly specific goals in the sphere of their direct practice" (25). They operate "here and now" in the name of immediate goals. The French sociologist A. Touraine emphasized that they are fighting for the sake "of the demand that life be lived differently--slowly" (26). The strength of these movements consists of a readiness to do something specific without waiting for some decisions from above. E. Wimmer, member of the Austrian CP Central Committee Politburo, wrote: "A most valuable principle for communists is widely recognized in the 'new social movements': if you feel yourself involved, act, be assertive, resist. Counsellors contemplating the world are revered nowhere. He who takes part in actions to a

achieve a worthy goal and shows here how things can be done better and more efficiently is appreciated more" (27).

The organizational looseness of the majority of the new social movements is intensified by the ideological heterogeneousness which exists in them. Their philosophical positions "vary from ideas in which the influence of Marxism is pronounced to new varieties of the 'call of the blood and the soil' philosophy. From a dream of the 'natural peasant life' to the preaching of a 'free housing association' in the city with home-made utensils, home-baked bread and vegetables grown without the use of chemicals. From a glorification of meditation and immersion in the inner world to a readiness for action as one's position in life. From experiments in the channel of the cooperative traditions of the workers movement to concepts of the 'undermining' of the old society by means of the creation of a network of 'pockets of resistance' and strong points of the 'alternative life'" (28).

In the contemporary women's movement there coexist currents of "radical feminism" deducing reasons for "female oppression" from the biological differentiation of the sexes and the "socialist feminism" school attempting to examine the woman's position in all spheres of life and interpreting the nature of women's oppression in concepts of property relations and the capitalist division of labor. Various, sometimes barely compatible sociopolitical positions are preserved in the ecology movement. For the sake of averting ecological catastrophe some organizations are calling for an abandonment of industrial civilization and a vegetable existence in "ecocommunities". Others are advocating zero economic growth and stabilization of the level of consumption and the numbers of the population. Yet others are proposing partial measures to improve the use of nature. Again others are putting special emphasis on capitalism's responsibility for destruction of the environment (29). Two factions are distinguished among the "house grabbers": "radicals" and "reformists". The "radicals" reject the possibility of any negotiations with the authorities; these are mainly young people aged 25 and under, among whom are many unemployed, children of foreign workers and so forth. People aged 25 to 40 from relatively "well-to-do" social groups (teachers, architects, research personnel and so forth) are predominant in the "reformist" faction. In the seizure of houses the "reformists" see primarily a means of "making policy" (30): putting pressure on the construction companies and housing speculators and stimulating the assertiveness of parties of the left. The ideological spectrum of the antiwar movement stretches "from pacificism in its various versions to an antimilitarism which is clearly drawn in an ideological-theoretical respect..." (31).

The organizational looseness of the new social movements and their discreteness are gradually being surmounted. By the end of the 1970's contacts between different organizations had increased, and they had begun to undertake joint actions increasingly often. Whereas at the start of the 1970's the "civic initiatives" represented short-lived groups, as of the end of the past decade a large part of them came to acquire a firmer organizational structure and began to cooperate with one another.

The "ecologists" advanced furthest along the path of overcoming organizational amorphousness. The movement in defense of the environment outgrew itself, as

it were, and its mass nature and assertiveness grew continuously, but its effectiveness remained relatively low. The acute need for the movement's transition to a higher, party-political level and its direct invasion of the very system of the formulation and adoption of political decisions was perceived increasingly. For this purpose the "ecologists" formed national parties in a number of countries. By the mid-1980's "ecology" parties had been formed officially in West Europe in France, the FRG, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, Great Britain and Italy. In 1984 the Greens in West European countries began to coordinate their activity on a regional scale (32). Such parties emerged in Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada also.

Some "ecology" parties scored considerable electoral successes. In the course of the special parliamentary elections held in October 1985 in Belgium the parties of environmental defenders--Ecolo (Francophones) and (Agalev) (Flemish)--obtained 6.2 percent of the vote--1.7 percent more than in 1981. This gave them altogether 9 seats in the Chamber of Representatives and 4 in the Senate. In the comparatively short time of its existence the Green Party in the FRG has had deputies elected to half the country's land parliaments. At the Bundestag elections on 6 March 1983 5.6 percent of the electorate voted for the party.

In parallel with the surmounting of the organizational amorphousness there has been a broadening of the range of demands and a specification of the immediate and long-term goals of the struggle. Originally the protest of the ecology groups was confined to the protection of nature primarily where they lived. As comprehension of the essence of the problem among activists of the movement strengthened, their protests went beyond the narrow local framework. In the FRG the Greens are in fact opposing an economy based on capitalist principles. Their program documents emphasize that within the framework of such an economy the solution of most acute social problems is being sacrificed to the interests of obtaining profit. They proceed from the fact that a real reorientation of S&T progress and economic development in accordance with social criteria and priorities is possible only given the participation of the bulk of the country's population in the solution of most important economic and political matters. The weakness of the Greens' principles is the fact that they are not linked in an integral concept of sociopolitical development. The absolutization of partial demands and the imparting of a fundamental program nature to them are making their cooperation with the unions and workers parties more difficult.

Proceeding from the predominantly nonproletarian composition of the new social movements, many Western sociologists assert that the goals of these movements are alien to the interests of the working class and the workers movement as a whole and that the values of the new middle strata are opposite to the aspirations of the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries. However, ever increasing evidence is mounting currently of the illegitimacy of identification of the new social movements merely with the contemporary categories of the middle strata guided, as a rule, by nonmaterialist values. In fact it is a question not so much the contrast of values of the working

class and the new middle strata as of the fact that similar processes, developing, however, at a different pace, are occurring in the consciousness of both (33).

A process of the "interpenetration" of the worker and democratic movements is under way in practice. The new social movements are making a big contribution to the formation of the strategy and tactics of the working class. W. Gerns wrote: "With their largely new forms of confrontation and protest actions, opening new spheres of social conflicts and battles, they are lending the workers movement important impetus" (34). For example, the movement in defense of the environment has contributed to the workers movement coming to understand more clearly than before the interconnection of ecological problems and S&T progress and "analyzing questions of the growth of the economy not only from a quantitative but also qualitative, socially meaningful viewpoint" (35). Under the influence of the women's movement the workers parties and the unions have begun to also take into consideration problems connected with views on the role of women in society which have become firmly established in the mass consciousness. The tenants' movement has shown the need for questions of rent and accommodation not to be lost from view. Problems troubling the working class are occupying an increasingly large place in the demands of the new social movements. For example, in the United States the "alternative" movements are putting forward plans at the local level of struggle for employment and are attempting to organize the unemployed (36).

On the other hand the assertiveness of the workers in the activity of the new social movements has been growing in recent years. Thus from 1980 through 1984 the proportion of workers among the supporters of the West German Greens Party doubled (from 8 to 16 percent).

Workers participate more frequently in initiatives pursuing specific material goals (tenant movements, for example) than in movements inspired to a greater extent by abstract ideals (feminist movements, for example). Movements of marginal groups (the unemployed, for example) also have begun to appear in the 1980's. The working youth also has been participating considerably recently in a number of "alternative" projects ("rural communes," "urban communes"). The struggle for peace, however, is the sphere where the greatest concurrence of the positions of workers, unions and new social movements is observed currently.

The antiwar movement is developing as a democratic movement on an interclass basis. It has assumed the greatest proportions in the 1980's, when it has come to be joined increasingly actively by the working class and worker trade unions. In the 1970's not all unions of the developed capitalist countries used their authority in the struggle for detente and the preservation of peace. Thus following the adoption by the NATO session in December 1979 of the decision on the deployment of new medium-range missiles in West Europe, the board of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) failed to express its negative attitude toward it. In 1982 the Norwegian communists observed: "The struggle for peace in Norway has been linked insufficiently with the struggle for the class interests of the workers, and the union movement has as yet been unable to show with due force of what it is capable" (37). This is explained on the one hand by the fact that the fear of a reduction in employment as a

result of disarmament prevailed over a number of unions and, on the other, by the fact that many of them were still inclined to consider efforts pertaining to the struggle for disarmament as the prerogative of political parties. In addition, in connection with the development of the crisis phenomena in the economic and social spheres of the life of the capitalist countries, the main forces of the union movement were thrown against the prevention of a deterioration in the position of the working class and into defense of positions which had already been won. Furthermore, such sentiments as a disregard for the traditional workers movement, a rejection of its characteristic forms of struggle and a reluctance to cooperate with its organizations were very prevalent in the new social movements. The "anti-industrial" slogans advanced by the "ecologists" were frequently incomprehensible to the working masses suffering from a winding down of production and dismissals. The new social movements frequently alienated potential supporters among the working class and proletarianized office workers by, for example, sharp criticism of economic growth on the present technical-production basis, insisting on a slow winding down of "harmful" industries, which would lead to an increase in the numbers of unemployed.

But the antiwar protests of the union movement have begun to broaden in the 1980's. "There is a growing understanding in the unions," P. Clancy, prominent figure of the Australian CP, observed, "that the struggle for the preservation of peace in the world and the prevention of a nuclear apocalypse is most directly related to an improvement in living and work conditions and opposition to the offensive of the monopolies" (38). There has been a pronounced stimulation since the end of 1983-spring of 1984 in the activity of the Italian unions, particularly the CGIL, in the antiwar movement. In May 1982 the DGB adopted a resolution which emphasized the special responsibility of the FRG and its government in the preservation of peace and condemned the creation of the neutron bomb. The powerful peace movement performed a significant role in the fact that the DGB had joined the struggle and had advanced the "Peace Through Disarmament" slogan. The call for preservation of the policy of detente and effective East-West negotiations is heard increasingly strongly in the documents of this organization. In the fall of 1983 the DGB Board called on its members to participate in mass peace demonstrations.

The unions' active participation in the mass antiwar struggle has been a relatively new phenomenon for Great Britain. Since the start of the 1980's the largest British unions have participated in practically all antiwar movements. In 1981 the British TUC switched for the first time to consistent opposition to the military policy of the British Government, adopting by an overwhelming majority an unprecedented resolution in support of Great Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament. The TUC called for the cancellation of the decision on the deployment of cruise missiles and the purchase of Tridents, elimination of the bases of nuclear weapons in Britain and the withdrawal thereof from its territorial waters. The influence of the right wing in the TUC increased in 1984, and its conference supported Great Britain's participation in NATO, but the demand for the withdrawal of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles and abandonment of the program for rearming the country's submarine fleet with Trident 2 missiles was upheld, nonetheless.

The unions are increasingly often seeing arms control and disarmament not only as a vitally important problem but also a way to improve the material and social living conditions of the working people and preserve jobs. The unions have begun to pay special attention to the struggle to switch military industry to the production of peaceful products and the development of alternative plans for an increase in the number of jobs in the event of a winding down of military production. Demonstrations organized by the unions in various countries are being conducted increasingly under the slogans "No New Billions for Arms" and "Spend Money for Peaceful Purposes, Not Bombs". As of 1984 the antiwar movement in the FRG has begun to link antimilitarist demands more with socioeconomic demands, and there has been a strengthening of its relations with the worker and union movements. The campaign under the slogan "Freeze Military Budgets and Use the Resources Thus Released To Create New Jobs" has become a direction of the West German antiwar movement. This has united the peace supporters with the unions' struggle against unemployment. Increasingly often the FRG's unions or their activists have been the organizers of "peace marches" and not only participants therein.

In other words, the working class of a number of capitalist countries is linking increasingly closely the struggle for its day-to-day and ultimate goals with the struggle for peace and against the arms race, which is a heavy burden on the working people. This serves as a dependable basis of a further expansion of the antiwar coalition, imparting to it greater efficacy. In the opinion of the communist parties, there can be no social, political or ideological boundaries in the struggle for peace. All, regardless of class or party membership and ideological positions, are interested in preventing nuclear catastrophe. Any limitation of the number of participants in the antiwar movement for considerations of their ideology, belief or program would weaken its potential strength.

Complex relations have been established between the new social movements and the workers' parties. In 1981 A. Touraine wrote: "The problem of cooperation of the parties of the left and the new social movements is now becoming central. The future of the forces of the left will depend on its solution to a considerable extent" (39).

One further competitor has appeared for social democracy--the Green Party--with which it is having to reckon increasingly. We would recall that there are serious disagreements between these political currents on a number of problems (attitude toward economic growth, centralization, the role of the state and so forth). The Soviet scholar G.G. Diligenskiy wrote: "Regardless of the actual electoral weight of the Greens, which is highly significant and growing in some countries (primarily in the FRG) and very limited in the majority of others, with their sharp criticism of social democracy's class collaboration and the bureaucratism and 'statism' of its ideology and practice they are delivering it telling blows and contributing to the shaking of its influence among the youth and in left-democratic public opinion in general" (40). Social democracy is having to this extent or the other to integrate the ideological principles engendered by the new social movements and update its platform, if only partially (41).

Particular political significance has been attached to the Greens' relations with the SPD. There is extensive discussion in the party of an alliance with the Greens. A number of prominent figures thereof proceeds from the fact that the aims of the Greens (orientation toward a curtailment of economic growth, winding down the building of nuclear power stations and so forth) are contrary to the positions of social democracy and rejects an alliance with the "ecologists". Not only rightwing social democrats but also a certain part of the party's moderate or left wing even are advancing the proposition concerning the incompatibility of the goals, interests and social base of the worker and ecology movements. As a counterweight to this viewpoint, W. Brandt, chairman of the SPD, has advocated the party's openness to the Greens and proclaimed the need for the creation of a "majority on the left of the CDU/CSU". In the 1980's some leftwing social democrats have switched to ecology positions ("ecosocialists"), demanding an updating of the theory and practice of the SPD with regard for the changes which have occurred in people's consciousness in respect of nature, technology, economic growth and so forth. The Greens, K.U. Scherer, a theorist of "ecosocialism," points out, are fighting not only for preservation of the environment, they are actively supporting peace, removal of the danger of nuclear catastrophe and assistance to the "third world" and striving for an extension of democracy, an improvement in the "quality of life" and the development of conditions of self-realization. These are the goals which social democracy sets itself also, and for this reason the Greens are not "its enemies in principle" and an alliance between these political currents is possible (42).

The development of relations with the new social movements and work in them are seen in the communist parties as an important direction of the policy of alliances and the struggle for the creation of effective democratic coalitions (43). Communists see as a considerable advantage of this direction the fact that it makes it possible to overcome the one-sided orientation toward an alliance "at the top" manifested in the activity of a number of communist parties in the 1970's. The nature and specifics of the new social movements are giving rise to the hope of the establishment with them of allied relations free of the fluctuations of political circumstances and selfish party and hegemonist goals, which are manifested frequently in the conduct of social-reformist and bourgeois political organizations consenting to cooperation with the communists. As the communists believe, granted all the narrowness of the specific goals of many democratic movements and the contradictoriness of their ideological platform, they are objectively characterized by antimonopoly content; therefore in participating in them, representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class acquire a new opportunity for performing work on the development of the consciousness of politically active groups of the population and leading them on the basis of experience of the struggle to the slogans of important social transformations.

The significance of work on the establishment of relations with democratic movements is frequently evaluated by the communist parties in the light of a self-critical analysis of recent political experience. Thus criticizing the gravitation toward "apical" agreements which was predominant in the Spanish CP in the 1970's, J. Iglesias, general secretary of the Spanish CP, declared in December 1982: "In the course of our work we have lost contact with society and with social movements" (44). Examining the problem of the PCF's relations

with various social movements, G. Marchais emphasized in April 1983: "Throughout the period of the joint program there was a tendency to look for the solution of all problems, which had arisen 'in the masses,' only 'at the top'. This tendency led us to underestimate, if not in fact ignore, the activity of the social organizations. The inevitable result of this was the lessening of communists' attention to their activity" (45).

Danish communists emphasized: "The original experience of the new social movements has shown that we have not always succeeded in catching in time all that is new that is engendered by life and the creativity of the masses and going beyond the framework of traditional demands and the customary forms of struggle. Sometimes we have adopted too much of a temporizing position, as a result of which in places initiative has been lost and opportunities for winning potential allies of the proletariat from the ranks of the middle strata have been let slip" (46).

The 25th Canadian CP Congress (1982) called for sectarian estrangement from the masses to be avoided. Its documents contain the demand that ways and means to strengthen the positions of the Communist Party be found under any conditions and that a contribution be made "to the formation of mass movements" (47). Analyzing critically in preparatory documents for the 24th Belgian CP Congress party policy of recent years, Belgian communists noted that it should not be "dissolved" in the mass movements, as was the case in the past, but actively influence their ideological and political character (48).

The experience of cooperation between communist parties and the new social movements shows that a readiness for dialogue, mutual familiarization and a really serious approach to the policy of the communists and their world outlook grows in the course of joint actions (49). Such cooperation is useful for both sides.

The communist parties' policy with respect to the new social movements as a whole represents a further development and the practical embodiment of the idea of the unification of all antimonopoly forces advanced by the communist movement back in the 1950's-1960's. The class basis of such associations is the alliance of the working class with all democratic forces taking shape in the new middle strata and other social groups. As the West German communists believe, "the potential for an alliance with the socialist workers movement is being created" (50) in the present-day nonproletarian protest movement. "Counterposing the working class to the people's movement," the Sixth German CP Congress said, "would have fatal consequences. Uniting the power of the working class with the power of the progressive political and social movements of our time--this is what is important now" (51). If the democratic movements, the new program of the Communist Party of Great Britain observes, "are divorced from the workers movement, they will not only themselves suffer from the lack of its support but the working class also will be unable to perform its leading role in society" (52).

The platform of this alliance is the struggle for peace, against ecological catastrophe, against the waste of natural and human resources in the race for profits and against the increase in authoritarian trends. The struggle to

preserve human conditions of existence, F. Karl writes, "unites the interests of the working class and other nonmonopoly strata of society" (53).

In the interests of cooperation of the workers movement and the new social movements the communists are calling for emphasis to be put "on the community and priority of goals in the joint struggle" (54). It is essential that the political and trade union organizations of the working class seize on positive initiatives and support and strengthen the democratic trends manifested in the new social movements.

Communists take account of the fact that the strength of the new social movements lies primarily in the fact that "they are geared to this specific task or the other, thanks to which they are joined by people of various party-political and philosophical persuasions" (55). The documents of the 23d Belgian CP Congress observed that the struggle for a democratic alternative requires the unification of all the country's progressive forces, and the achievement of unity presupposes the formation of "partial fronts" around specific problems. The Belgian CP emphasized that the list of questions on which the formation of such "partial fronts" has become possible has lengthened considerably. It is a question not only of the struggle for employment, the living standard and social rights but of "fronts" which arise around any problem concerning the population, be it questions of the protection of the environment, the development of culture, health care, education, disarmament, solidarity with oppressed peoples and so forth (56).

In the democratic class and political associations the communist parties not only are not foisting their program on their allies but supporting their demands, giving way in some matters and consenting to compromise. Only by tackling general democratic tasks are the working class and its allies capable of forming a political majority.

#### (CENTER)FOOTNOTES

1. J. Jensen, "Not Rivals But Allies," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA (PMS) No 4, 1985, p 18.
2. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 134.
3. See F. Karl, "Die Buergerinitiativen: Soziale und politische Aspekte einer neuen sozialen Bewegung" in "Soziale Bewegungen: Analyse und Dokumentation des IMSF," Frankfurt-am-Main, 1981, pp 41-42.
4. See J. Diener, E. Supp, "Ils vivent autrement: L'Allemagne alternative," 1982, Paris, p 90; given in accordance with "Not Rivalry But Cooperation," Moscow, 1984, p 84; TIDEN-VERDEN RUNDT No 3, 1981, p 30.
5. See "Marxistische Studien: Jahrbuch des IMSF," No 5, 1982, p 205.
6. See F. Karl, Op. cit., p 150.

7. See R. Steigerwald, "Nonproletarian Protest and the Marxist Workers Movement" in PMS No 6, 1982, p 49.
8. See R. Roth, "Das Ende des politischen Biedermeier? Buergerinitiativen in der Bundesrepublik" in "Leben in der Bundesrepublik. Berlin (West)," 1980, p 217.
9. See I. Gorodetskaya, "Organizations of Defenders of the Environment in Great Britain" in MEMO No 6, 1985, p 97.
10. J. Huber, "Basisdemokratie und Parlamentarismus: Zum Politikverstaendnis der Gruenen" in AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE No 2, 1983, p 43.
11. See I. Gorodetskaya, Op. cit., p 97.
12. See H. Bieber, "Die Gruenen" in LIBERAL, 26 July 1984, p 45.
13. W. Gerns, "The Antimonopoly Potential of the New Social Movements" in KOMMUNIST No 11, 1983, p 106.
14. See V.B. Kuvaldin, "American Capitalism and the Intelligentsia," Moscow, 1983, pp 289-290.
15. R. Roth, Op. cit., p 221.
16. W. Gerns, Op. cit., pp 105-106.
17. See E. Gertner, "The Working Class and the Ecology," translated from the German, Moscow, 1981, p 17; "A... wie alternativ: Alternative Lebensformen in Oesterreich," Vienna, Munich, 1981, pp 62-64.
18. See "Social Psychology of Classes," Moscow, 1985, pp 210-211.
19. FRANKFURTER ALLGENEINE ZEITUNG, 8 January 1982.
20. F. Karl, Op. cit., p 70.
21. See "Die Andere Bundesrepublik: Geschichte und Perspektiven," Marburg am Lann, 1980, p 195.
22. D. Fedrigo, "Disagreements Are Not a Barrier to Cooperation With the Ecologists" in PMS No 2, 1986, p 72.
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40. G.G. Diligenskiy, "Social Democracy and the Working Masses" in RK i SM No 5, 1985, pp 43-44.
41. For more detail see "Social-Reformism and the Mass Worker Organizations," Moscow, 1986.
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44. MUNDO OBRERO, 24-30 December 1982.
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47. "Twentyfifth Canadian Communist Party Congress," Moscow, 1983, p 97.
48. See LE DRAPEAU ROUGE, 6-7-8 February 1982, Suppl., p 2.
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# POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE ON SCI-TECH PROGRESS HELD

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 169-170

[S.Ye. Deytsev report: "Science, Technology, Policy"]

[Text] The "Policy and S&T Progress" scientific-theoretical conference was held in April 1986 in Moscow within the framework of the annual meeting of the Soviet Political Science Association. At the center of the attention of its participants representing more than 30 of the country's research centers were Soviet specialists' tasks in the field of political science pertaining to the study and elaboration of new methods of the control of social processes brought about by S&T progress and an increase in the level of research in accordance with the demands of the strategy of an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Opening the conference, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, president of the association, emphasized the importance of the decisions of the party congress for the development of Soviet political science, the improvement of its methodological apparatus, enrichment of the spectrum of research and a deepening thereof. Speaking of the tasks confronting Soviet political scientists, he noted, specifically, the need for an expansion of empirical studies of political processes and institutions of the socialist society and the elaboration and application of such methods of analysis as modeling and experimentation when studying various components of the political system, and also the importance of the coordination of the scientific-political studies being conducted in the country and the extensive cooperation of political scientists of different fields.

Two main papers were presented at the conference. One--"Social and Human Problems at the New Stage of the S&T Revolution (In the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress)"--was delivered by I.T. Frolov, chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Revealing the content of the process of an increase in the role of science and technology in the life of contemporary society, he observed that the main questions confronting mankind today lie in the sphere of the interaction of S&T progress and production and other spheres of man's vital activity. Tremendous significance under these conditions is attached to a correct,

scientifically substantiated policy in the sphere of new equipment and technology, the development of which is exerting a profound influence on all social processes and on man himself.

The global problem of man, his professional and cultural development and creative labor and social assertiveness are being suffused today with new meaning. The "human factor" is proving decisive in all the changes which are occurring at the current stage of the development of socialism. In this connection, the speaker emphasized, increasingly great significance is attached to an investigation of the social and politico-philosophical problems of S&T progress. The development of new technology demanding "high contact" with society, man and nature is becoming an important factor of political development. The interconnection and interaction of S&T, sociopolitical, human and ecological factors is being revealed in the result of the growing and warning influence on mankind of a whole set of global problems. The contemporary "global triad"--peace, man, nature--is exposed to the greatest danger.

In the West this is engendering various technocratic and scientific notions to the effect that all the problems confronting mankind may be solved with the aid merely of science and its direct technological application to society alone. Science and technology prove to be divorced here not only from the social foundations of their functioning but also frequently from philosophical and ideological problems. Concepts of the "ethical neutrality" of science and, on this basis, tenets of "socio-ethical permissiveness" are being spread.

As far as Soviet scholars are concerned, they proceed in principle from the organic unity of sociopolitical and philosophical factors in an evaluation of the technological, ecological and sociopolitical processes of the era of the S&T revolution. The high social principles of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and morality raise science above the limited and disorienting tenets of technocratism and scientism, the speaker emphasized.

From a whole group of speeches devoted to the problem of man's "high contact" both with new technology considerably expanding his possibilities in transformation of the environment and with nature, we shall highlight the speech of G.V. Atmanchuk, doctor of philosophical sciences (CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences), who analyzed the sociopolitical significance of scientifically substantiated control of the above-mentioned "high contact". Strictly speaking, the subject of his speech was the need for uniform integrated control within the framework of the complex dynamic "nature--man--society--science--technology" metasystem. Three interconnected blocks--those of "target-setting," "normative regulation" and "organization"--are distinguished in the structure of this uniform control. The first unites the forecasting, programming and planning of all types of social vital activity and provides for the interlinkage of various social processes. Formulation of the norms, ideals, values, stimuli and other regulators of people's vital activity, contemporary and corresponding to the set goals, occurs in the "block" of normative regulation. Finally, the organization "block" provides for the rational and efficient use of people's practical activity. In view of the complexity of the metasystem and also the importance for its preservation and development not only of mass but also individual

articulations of its different elements, its functioning presupposes and makes necessary the profound democratic character of integrated control, the speaker observed.

A number of papers analyzed singularities and specific features of the new stage of the S&T revolution. A.K. Rzayev (Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Central Social Sciences Research Institute) devoted his speech to a substantiation of the need for and an analysis of the possibilities of the further development in our country of automated data systems, specifically for the timely acquisition and processing of data pertaining to the social sciences.

A considerable place at the conference was occupied by problems of the development of contemporary political systems and their role in the control of human processes under the conditions of the S&T revolution.

The second of the two main papers at the conference--delivered by Prof A.A. Galkin, doctor of historical sciences (USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute)--was devoted to an analysis of the changes occurring in the political systems of the developed capitalist countries under the impact of S&T progress in the 1970's-1980's. The rapid development of electronics and information science, robotics and biotechnology and automation and computerization processes have entailed big changes in the social structure of bourgeois society. They are manifested in the growth of unemployment, increased differentiation within the working class (highly skilled workers and strata which are becoming marginalized), the growth of the numbers of specialists in the sphere of the latest technology and a simultaneous increase in the relative significance of a number of categories of office workers in the army of unemployed.

All these phenomena have largely determined the modification of the socio-psychological atmosphere and, consequently, changes in the political persuasions and political behavior of broad strata of the population. Technological restructuring has been a powerful factor of growing social tension and the reduced efficiency of individual components of the political system. New problems have been reflected in the tenets of bourgeois parties and a certain evolution of their political and socioeconomic programs. It is a question, first, of the extensive spread among bourgeois scholars of various technocratic concepts of surmounting the crisis situation and, second, of the use of the achievements of the S&T revolution to enhance the efficiency of the institutions of the political system and increase their control over society. In connection with the development of microelectronics and the application of its achievements to streamline production and control the behavior of the workers, electronic surveillance and supervision of the political behavior of the citizens are spreading extensively, becoming a permanent and essential factor of sociopolitical life. Under the conditions of the new stage of the S&T revolution prerequisites of the political system of industrially developed capitalism's transformation into a system of "technological totalitarianism" are objectively ripening therein. This trend, which is connected with the changes in the methods of political domination, is determining as a whole the political development of contemporary capitalist society, the speaker emphasized.

The speech of Doctor of Legal Sciences V.A. Tumanov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law), in particular, attracted attention in the course of the discussion. He distinguished a number of politico-legal problems introduced by the S&T revolution to the life of modern society (for example, the international-legal institution of the declaration of war in the light of the awesome realities of the nuclear age, definition of the content of the political concept of the "right" with regard for the ideological evolution and sociopolitical maneuvering of contemporary rightwing-conservative forces and others). As the speaker, among others, observed, under the conditions of the present stage of the S&T revolution improvement of the functioning of legal systems sometimes amounts to the technique of search for the requisite normative material--a search which is extraordinarily difficult given the inordinate increase in the number of rules of law.

Many other interesting reports were received at the conference also.

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## BOOK CONFIRMS WORKING CLASS ESSENCE OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 171-173

[T.D. Krupina review: "Cuba: Class Which Determined the Nature of the Revolution"]

[Text] M.A. Okuneva's book (\*) is the first special study of the leading role which the working class performed in the Cuban revolution.

Collation of the experience of the revolution on Cuba and comprehension of its prerequisites, nature and singularities occupy a significant place in the works of Soviet historians as a whole. Until now, however, in illustration of such a cardinal problem as that of the revolutionary vanguard, scholars' attention--and very close at that--has been concentrated mainly on an ascertainment of the specifics of the merger of political forces heterogeneous in terms of their social sources in the single national liberation anti-imperialist stream. For an in-depth and comprehensive revelation of the class nature of the revolution this is undoubtedly essential, but insufficient.

Do the course of the Cuban revolution and its specific features manifested in the "26 July Movement" and in such events as the storming of Moncada, the "Granma" expedition and others contradict the teaching on the historic mission of the proletariat? Asking this question in her book and, more, making it the key issue, M.A. Okuneva shows that this is by no means simply a rhetorical question. The singularities and specific features of the Cuban revolution are being actively used by bourgeois historiography not only for a falsified interpretation of this revolution itself by way of denial of the role of the working class therein but also for substantiating a variety of antiproletarian doctrines and concepts. Not only in bourgeois but also in left-radical literature the class nature of the 1959 revolution is distorted: it is presented either as a revolution of the "middle class" carried out by "young intellectuals," given the passiveness of the masses, or as a "peasant" revolution.

It would seem perfectly justified and valuable that the author begins her work precisely with a comprehensive analysis of the typological outlines of the Cuban revolution, different in terms of their content and class nature, but similar in one respect--denial of the revolutionary potential of the Cuban proletariat and its constructive contribution to the people's liberation

struggle--current in contemporary bourgeois and petty bourgeois literature (primarily Latin American and also North American and West European). Of fundamental importance is the conclusion that bourgeois historians operating from positions hostile in respect of the revolution, dogmatists taking cover behind pseudorevolutionary phrases, left-radical authors who seek a revolutionary alternative, but do not accept Marxism--they all reject the role of the working class and the proletarian vanguard and attempt to counterpose the experience of the Cuban revolution to Marxism-Leninism (p 33). The adroit nature of the analysis of the criticized non-Marxist views on the role of the working class in the Cuban revolution revealing in each specific instance their theoretical-methodological groundlessness, conceptual contradictoriness and vulnerability from the factual viewpoint calls attention to itself.

The processes of the formation and development of the Cuban proletariat and its conversion from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself" and "for society" and the set of objective factors which gave rise to the workers' active participation in the liberation struggle are analyzed in the specific-historical plane in the work. Paramount significance for the development of this struggle was attached to the fact that even prior to the revolution the Cuban working class occupied a central place in the country's social structure and had become the biggest social class, constituting a majority (more than 50 percent) of the economically active population (p 101).

This fact, which is significant in itself, merits even more attention in connection with the general approach of bourgeois historiography to the question of the working class' place in revolutions of the modern era. A principal argument used by bourgeois authors to "absent" the working class from the revolutions and distort their nature is frequently the proposition concerning its smallness or "absence" in this country or the other. For example, concepts of the "nonproletarian" nature of the Great October Revolution have been and continue to be built on the basis of assertions that there was no working class in Russia "in the Western sense".

With reference to the Cuban revolution, on the other hand, the idea of its "nonproletarian" and even "antiproletarian" nature is based on a different proposition--on the "privileged nature" of the working class. As the facts adduced in the book show, the version thus amended and designed to serve as proof of the "antirevolutionary" nature of the Cuban working class and its "integration" in the bourgeois system does not withstand criticism. The basic parameters of the workers' socioeconomic position on the eve of the revolution: level of wages, employment, housing conditions, educational level, medical services testify that in the sense of the intensiveness of capitalist exploitation of labor Cuba, contrary to the assertions of bourgeois historians, constituted no exception. In particular, the Cuban worker's average monthly wage in the 1950's was the equivalent merely of the weekly wage of the U.S. worker, and in terms of the level of unemployment Cuba was in one of the first places in the world (pp 27, 29).

Together with the objective conditions of maturation of the revolutionary mood of the Cuban proletariat a central place in the book is devoted to the subjective factor--the formation of the class consciousness of the worker masses. M.A. Okuneva believes that this process had prior to 1959 passed

through five stages (see p 34): a) inception of the spontaneous workers movement and start of the formation of the proletariat as a class (middle-end of 19th century); 2) appearance of mass worker organizations and the first socialist parties and growth of the strike anti-imperialist movement. This period--from the start of the century through the Great October--is characterized by predominance in the workers movement of revolutionary syndicalism; the prerequisites were created for the combination of the workers movement and scientific socialism; 3) the 1918-1925 period of revolutionary upsurge characterized by the influence of the Great October, creation of the first Marxist-Leninist party and the strengthening of the profound impact of the international solidarity of the Cuban working people on the formation of their class consciousness; growth of the mass anti-imperialist self-awareness of the proletariat in the period 1925-1933, in the period of the 1933-1935 revolution and in the WWII years; 5) the Cuban revolution: the storming of Moncada, the "Granma" expedition, development of the struggle against the dictatorship and conversion of the working class into the leading force of the new revolutionary process (1953-1959).

The formation of the class self-awareness of the Cuban proletariat is thus seen not as "some extratemporal absolute" but as a process which was long and complex in its dependence and its manifestations, nurtured by "its own experience and the ideology of the workers movement" (1).

For an understanding of the intrinsic experience of the Cuban revolution great significance is attached to facts characterizing the forms of its struggle and participation in the liberation, anti-imperialist movement in the prerevolution period and in the decisive battles against the dictatorship. The active role of the workers in the revolution, the author emphasizes, was manifested back in the strike movement of the 1950's. It was the workers, further, who constituted the majority of the participants in the storming of Moncada and the "Granma" expedition. Many heroes of the urban resistance to the machinery of repression of the dictatorship were workers or persons who came from worker families. The 2 January 1959 general strike following Batista's flight served to prevent a reactionary military coup (see pp 107, 108, 115).

The author's attempt to collate data on the workers who took part in the revolution drawn from a special survey conducted by the American left-radical sociologist M. (Tseylin) when assisting the Cuban Government would appear to be of great value. According to these data, the "overwhelming majority" of workers participated in the revolution. The most active were the workers of the sugar plantations (76 percent), urban workers (71 percent) and agricultural workers and also peasants (71 percent). The number of representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and office workers supporting the revolution constituted 64 percent. The nucleus of the revolutionary forces was the trained proletariat: 52 percent of the participants in the revolution were hereditary workers (p 116). The revolution was supported particularly actively by skilled workers, but semiskilled and unskilled workers and also the unemployed fought together with them. Workers of all ages participated in the revolution, but young people aged 19-26 constituted the majority. Men and women and representatives of different races were in the ranks of the militant workers.

What spiritual force nurtured the revolutionary mood of the Cuban proletariat and influenced its class self-awareness? The determining factor in the development of this aspect of the process, M.A. Okuneva shows, was the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology--a fact received with the greatest implacability and therefore disputed in bourgeois historiography. The book deals not only with the interconnection of the workers movement and scientific socialism. The author examines this question within the framework of the broader and as yet insufficiently studied problem of the prevalence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on Cuba. The determination of important landmarks in the development of this process is a fact of great scientific and political significance. Thus information concerning the penetration of the country by works of V.I. Lenin even prior to October and also concerning the spread thereof there after 1917 is ascertained and analyzed on the basis of new material found on Cuba (pp 81-85). The role of Carlos Ballino, Julio Antonio Melli and Ruben Martinez Villena in the development of the Cuban revolutionary philosophy, "which acquired as a result of synthesis with scientific socialism socialist content and an international focus" (p 60), is revealed. The tremendous amount of work on propaganda of Marxism-Leninism performed by the communists, whose influence among the workers in the period of the Cuban revolution was very significant, is shown (p 116).

The special study of the question of the interconnection of class self-awareness and proletarian internationalism is of particular interest: the very inception of the class self-awareness of the Cuban workers, the author observes, was connected with their introduction to international proletarian solidarity. The strong internationalist traditions of the Cuban workers movement and the invariably active participation of the Cuban proletariat in international worker solidarity movements (since the time of the Paris Commune even) are convincing testimony that proletarian internationalism was organically inherent in the Cuban working class and an important component of its self-awareness from the initial stages of the formation of the latter. Together with the Cuban scholars P. Mironchuk, A. Garcia and certain others, M.A. Okuneva's is the credit (and largely the priority) for the study of the manifold international ties between the workers of our country and Cuba over a long period--from the 1905-1907 revolution through our day. As the result of fruitful quest in Cuban and Soviet archives the author puts in scholarly circulation for the first time significant material concerning the influence of the revolutionary experience of the Russian proletariat, the October Revolution and socialist building in the USSR on the Cuban liberation movement. At the time of the first Russian revolution international class solidarity contributed to the creation of conditions conducive to the development of the national liberation movement on Cuba, and after October, to the enhanced level of this movement and revelation of the role of the proletariat as its leader; it played an important part in the accumulation of revolutionary potential in the country and in ensuring the victory of the Cuban revolution. The study confirms the breadth and strength of the class ties of the working people of the USSR and Cuba and at the same time provides a wealth of material for a more in-depth study of the content, forms and regularities of the movement of international solidarity of the forces of social progress as a characteristic phenomenon of the modern era.

The greater-than-usual attention to study of the question of proletarian internationalism by no means signifies a diminution in the role of national conditions in the shaping of the class self-awareness of the Cuban proletariat. Proletarian internationalism in no way "hampered the distinctiveness of the Cuban revolution, on the contrary, it contributed to the unleashing of revolutionary initiative and the takeoff of the liberation struggle" (p 147), and the leading role of the working class in the development of the revolutionary process was ascertained, as has been observed repeatedly in our literature on the basis of the example of a number of other countries, at different stages thereof via the interaction of national and international features. It is obvious that without such interaction the revolutionizing influence of the proletariat on the nonproletarian strata, particularly under the specific conditions in which the Cuban revolution occurred and about which Fidel Castro wrote: "A country without Cuba's inherent traditions, without Cuba's history, could not at that time have approached such a victory, such a success. However, a country with Cuba's traditions, but unfamiliar with the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism, primarily on a number of most important questions, also could in no way have advanced one step toward victory." (2)

Bourgeois historiography ignores the dialectic of the interconnection of the national and the international in the Cuban revolution and counterposes them to one another, speculating, in particular, on the singularities of the "26 July Movement," which is interpreted merely as traditionally Cuban in terms of its nature and essence and as an "anticommunist," nonproletarian movement. "Historical experience," the book emphasizes in this connection, "attests the groundlessness of the attempts to use the outstanding role of the '26 July Movement' in the revolution to substantiate antiproletarian doctrines.... Although the leadership of the '26 July Movement' was not communist, it experienced the profound influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas and shared to an increasingly great extent in the struggle process the ideology of the proletariat and implemented its political line..." (p 102). Proceeding from a "clear understanding of the historic mission of the working class" (F. Castro), it was oriented toward the utmost use of the revolutionary potential of the Cuban proletariat and was objectively and subjectively conducive to realization of its vanguard role. "As the experience of the Cuban revolution showed," the author writes, "all that was truly revolutionary in the position of other classes and social groups--the peasantry, middle strata, the youth, students, intelligentsia--was borrowed by them from the proletariat and its ideology" (p 127).

Thus a definite answer is given to the question of the vanguard of the Cuban revolution raised in the study: at a decisive historical moment for the country the class "which held in its hand the fate of the revolution" was the Cuban proletariat (ibid.). It had arrived at the performance of its vanguard role by a complex and far from painless path. The progressive course of development of the revolutionary workers movement on Cuba had been impeded by the spread of doctrines of trade unionism, the factional activity of the reactionary unions, an orgy of anticommunism and certain other negative trends (p 144). In the course of the Cuban revolution the role of the working class was "marked by a number of specific features and implemented under highly complex, far from ideal conditions" (p 150). However, neither the weakness of

the movement itself nor objective difficulties were able to "cancel out" the leading role which the working class was to perform in the Cuban revolution and which it did perform, thereby contributing to the world revolutionary experience.

Addressing an evaluation of this contribution, M.A. Okuneva writes: "It is impossible to find in world history a revolution so distinctive and romantic as the Cuban revolution. Its stellar hours are surrounded by inimitable singularities born of the country's specific conditions and the entire distinctiveness of its history, traditions and culture..." (p 147). Exaggeration may be discerned in this emotional description since each revolution of the 20th century, striking blows at imperialism and contributing to the acceleration of man's transition from capitalism to socialism, has been distinctive, inimitable and romantic and at the same time complex and tragic on account of the sacrifices made in the course of the struggle for liberation. But concluding her thoughts and summing up the investigation of the question concerning the correlation of the general and the particular in the Cuban revolution and its historical significance, the author emphasizes that the general regularities of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism were clearly manifested in it in historically dictated specific forms. One such regularity was the leading role of the proletariat, "the exponent of revolutionary ideology" (F. Castro) and the class which determined the nature of the revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* M.A. Okuneva, "Rabochiy klass v Kubinskoy revolyutsii" [The Working Class in the Cuban Revolution], Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, pp 152.

1. See "Study of the Working Class and the Workers Movement," Moscow, 1982, pp 278-279.

2. F. Castro, "The October Revolution and the Cuban Revolution," Moscow, 1978, p 178.

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## BOOK ON IDEOLOGY, POLITICS OF 'GREENS' REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNIY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 (signed to press 11 Nov 86) pp 183-185

[V.Sh. Review: "The Ecology Movements (Sources, Character, Significance)"]

[Text] Among the most recent phenomena and processes of sociopolitical life of the developed capitalist countries increasingly great attention has been attracted since the end of the 1970's by the ecology movement, whose participants have acquired in political usage the appellation "Greens," which is to some extent the movement's own name for itself. The choice of "color" emphasizes the orientation of the new of social protest toward defense of the environment and an endeavor to seek its own ways of solving a most serious global problem of the present day.

The ecology movement is a new social movement performing an increasingly pronounced role in the political life of capitalist countries, and as such it has been studied repeatedly in our literature in this aspect or the other (1). As far as the book in question (2) is concerned, its group of authors has essentially attempted for the first time in a special monograph to describe in popular form both the ideological-target tenets of the "ecologists" and the main areas of their practical activity. The ecology movement appears in the book as a mass democratic movement aimed against imperialism which belongs in the category of the main driving forces of social development in our era. Permeating the entire book is the idea that "in the era of fundamental social changes, when new generations and social strata and new parties and organizations are joining the revolutionary process, the joint actions of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace constitute a most important condition of social progress" (p 58).

At the same time it is a question of a highly complex sociopolitical phenomenon, and a popular exposition demands particular clearness. In this connection the authors make the subject of direct examination mainly the activity of the West German Greens Party. This is perfectly reasonable. The movement of defenders of the sphere of habitation became not only a genuinely mass movement earlier in the FRG than in other countries, but also entered the arena of political life, achieving in 1983 representation in the Bundestag and thereby forcing the traditional political parties of the biggest West European capitalist state to reckon with it. The book also duly reflects recent instances attesting to a certain shift of voter sympathies in support of the

ecologists in such countries as Italy, Belgium, Austria, Denmark and others. This trend is also confirmed by the 1984 elections to the "European Parliament," following which Green factions appeared in this body of the EEC countries.

Neither social movements nor political currents emerge "from nothing". The authors trace the process of the formation of the movement of ecologists, discerning its sources and its social and ideological roots in the protest movements, youth primarily, which disturbed the capitalist West at the end of the 1960's. Ultimately the leading group in the social base of the Greens movement were, as the authors show, the so-called "new middle strata"--the intelligentsia, office workers and part of the petty bourgeoisie--for which there is a socio-psychological explanation. It was in these strata primarily that the mood of dissatisfaction with the general race for material benefits which the capitalist system imposes was capable of becoming and did become mass. This mood prompted these groups of the population to ponder seriously the prospects of human existence in capitalist society, the importance of the preservation of the ecological foundations of this existence, with which the capitalist world had become increasingly at conflict, included. However, the evaluations of the current situation and, what is most important, ideas concerning the prospects of a solution of the ecological and social crisis were far from identical in the participants in the Greens movement.

The authors rightly explain the variegation of this "palette of opinions" by, in particular, the variety of ideological-political foundations of the new movement. It borrowed a certain proportion of its ideological baggage from such theorists of the "new left" as H. Marcuse and (A. Gorts). In the 1970's the embryos of the concepts and future political programs of the ecologists were observed among various "alternative" currents advancing democratic slogans (defense of citizens' political rights, solidarity with liberation movements) and also specific social demands (equal rights for women, housing preservation, expansion of the system of health care and so forth). As a whole, however, within the framework of the above-mentioned social base of the movement the political character of the participants which it recruited was highly diverse. Represented in the movement were former "leftists," former social democrats, political opponents of the latter who had at one time professed conservative views and even some of those who were once close to the neofascists. The movement ultimately acquired a certain relative integrity and autonomy, and the common socio-psychological and politico-ideological "denominator" of the diverse streams which had merged therein was dissatisfaction with the socio-ecological situation which had evolved in contemporary capitalist society.

Endeavoring as far as the book's small size allows to show within the framework of "ecologism" as a relatively integral phenomenon the various nuances thereof--"ecologism" of right, moderate and left persuasion--the authors concentrate the reader's attention here primarily on the most characteristic singularities of the phenomenon as a whole. Thus the lack of an interconnection between the analysis of the crisis of present-day capitalism and the conclusions concerning the ecological prospects of the surmounting of this crisis is mentioned as the main contradiction of the Greens' ideology. "The alternative movements," the book stresses, "have a sound idea of the

flaws of the modern capitalist economy and subject it to quite cogent criticism at times" (p 92). This criticism is spearheaded against the system of the race for profit--the fundamental basis of the market capitalist economy. The Greens criticize the bureaucratism of the modern bourgeois state and its institutions hampering the spiritual development of the personality and the preservation in society of humanitarian values, for which an individualistic belief in "personal success" is being substituted. The system of private enterprise--and the ecologists are firmly convinced of this--is leading both to the destruction of the environment and the breakup of the human personality.

Their social projects are far more unstable. In proceeding from the objectively urgent need for social transformations which would make it possible to introduce to society a new system of requirements wherein spiritual values would prevail, the Greens are in fact taking the path of social utopia. And this aspect of their views also is reflected in sufficient clarity in the book and subjected to comprehensive criticism. The main idea of the ecologists is decentralization of the economy and the creation of small-scale commodity production on a communal basis. They naively expect that their cooperative-communes could become the "countereconomy" which would gradually subordinate to itself the big private and state sectors of the capitalist economy. Also utopian is another key concept of the Greens--rejection of modern technology and an attempt to return to the forms of manual labor which were characteristic of the period of early capitalism. Finally, the book categorizes as groundless their hopes of introducing to the mass consciousness of the West's population self-limiting principles, in connection with which the authors colorfully compare the "self-limiting" capitalist with a wolf calling for vegetarianism. "...The mere attempt to create a 'gentle society' in the harsh capitalist world, appealing merely to people's feelings and intelligence in the hope that new political thinking and action will some day emerge, is doomed to fail," the authors write (p 75).

Together with criticism of the content of the Greens' utopian projects the work shows quite convincingly the theoretical-methodological groundlessness of the ideological "vestment" of their views. A special section of the book is devoted to a critical analysis of the social ideal of "ecosocialism" advanced by the Greens. In the light of this analysis "ecologism" as a whole appears as a conglomerate of utopian theories, whose groundlessness ensues primarily from nonrecognition of the basic propositions of scientific socialism. Denying the need for socialist revolution (regardless of the form of its realization), the ecologists put their hopes in a gradual reforming of the capitalist structures of ownership and power. A "revolution in the consciousness"--a term which goes back to the Austro-Marxism of the 1920's--is counterposed to decisive actions against bourgeois society, and the creation of "centers of ecosocialism," to consistent antimonopoly struggle. As a whole, the ideology of ecologism is contrary to the basic concepts of historical and dialectical materialism, which largely devalues its subjectively anticapitalist focus as a political current.

Despite the entire confusion of the ideological-political views of the Greens, their active participation in mass movements of a general democratic nature undoubtedly makes them an essential component of the forces in the West which

are struggling against imperialism and for democracy and social progress. This thought permeates all chapters of the book in question. The authors cite numerous facts showing the assertiveness of the Greens in the antiwar movement of a number of NATO countries, primarily the FRG. The antiwar movement in this country "has encompassed the broadest strata of the population, primarily the youth. Much credit here is due the Greens, which have imparted to the antiwar movement a truly mass character" (p 155). Elsewhere the book speaks of the specific demands which ecologists in the antiwar movement are putting forward. The Greens advocate an active policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. They demand the complete destruction of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, a ban on the militarization of space, the disbandment of military blocs, the withdrawal of American missiles from Europe and its conversion into a zone free of nuclear weapons (p 55).

The authors of the book assign the problem of strengthening mutual relations of cooperation of the worker and ecology movements an important place. They do not make light of the difficulties on this path, nor at the same time downplay the possibilities (both potential and actual) favoring the parallel and even joint actions of these socially related forces. The book emphasizes the objective need for a "common language" to be found between these social movements in contemporary capitalist society: "The problems which have been encountered currently by democratic forces in countries of state-monopoly capitalism are so serious that coping with them in the interests of the entire people is possible only by the joint efforts of the workers movement and the new social movements, among which a significant role is performed by the Greens" (p 111).

The inhumane nature of capitalist society, the arms race which has been unleashed by imperialism and other aspects of the objective situation and the objective course of things demand a unification of the efforts of the new and traditional social movements, creating at the same time the prerequisites for this. At the same time an obstacle on this path is both the negative attitude toward the workers movement among a certain part of the Greens and a failure to understand the goals and tasks advanced by the ecologists in certain circles of the workers movement. Specifically, union (primarily reformist) figures are inclined to regard the struggle for an "ecological economy," inasmuch as it is aimed against large-scale production, solely as a new source of unemployment. Certain social democrats approach the Greens with market-related yardsticks, agreeing to cooperate with them only when its traditional partners on the right refuse to cooperate with social democracy. Unfortunately, certain sectarian approaches to the ecologists have not been fully overcome in some members of communist parties in the West. As a whole, however, the idea of the need for constructive cooperation with the Greens based on rational concepts which are at times identical in these social movements is strengthened in the ranks of the workers movement, primarily in its communist part. Attentively analyzing all aspects of the ecology movement phenomenon and considering the contradictory trends of its development, communists are endeavoring in every possible way to contribute to the consolidation in the ideology and practice of their allies in the antimonopoly and anti-imperialist struggle all that is positive, helping them do away with all that is extraneous which does not correspond to the common interests of the struggle for democracy and progress.

Intelligible to the mass reader in language and style of exposition, the book we have reviewed at the same time corresponds to the academic canons pertaining to comprehensiveness and depth of interpretation of the problem, which does credit to both the group of authors and the publishers.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, the chapter on the ecology movements in the book "Not Rivalry But Cooperation! Communists and What Is New in the Social Movements," Moscow, 1984. This subject is illustrated also in the collective monograph "Social-Reformism and the Working People," Moscow, 1986 and so forth.
2. V.D. Granov, V.G. Vasin, B.S. Orlov, Ya.G. Fogeler, "'Zelenyye': ideologiya i politika" [The "Greens": Ideology and Policy], Moscow, "Mol. gvardiya", 1985, pp 190.

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