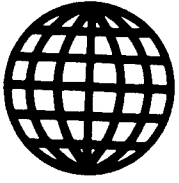


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THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

New Trends in International Trade Union Movement Described

18070038a Moscow *RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYI MIR* in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 (signed to press 17 Sep 87) pp 3-15

[Article by Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev, candidate of historical sciences, secretary of the AUCCTU: "The International Workers Movement: New Experience"]

[Excerpts] As the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, our party sees as its main international duty the country's successful advance along the path opened 70 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Time," the CPSU Central Committee address to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th October anniversary observes, "has revealed in depth its permanent significance and illumined the giant possibilities afforded by socialist societal development".

The Great October anniversary reminds us particularly strongly of the role of the organized workers movement in the struggle for the establishment of a society of social justice and the accomplishment of the global tasks confronting mankind at the end of the second millennium. Analyzing the accumulated problems and their causes, the world's trade unions are endeavoring to elaborate a policy which is realistic and scientifically substantiated and which corresponds to the interests of social progress and the interests of the working people. An appreciable contribution to the debate on the future of the trade union movement is being made by the unions of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The international trade union movement today represents a big and influential force uniting over 420 million persons. The course of social progress will depend largely on the nature of the role of the unions of the whole world in the solution of the global problems confronting mankind. At the same time the unions have been among the first in this complex and contradictory, but interconnected world of the final decades of the 20th century to experience the powerful influence of social progress directly connected with the S&T revolution, more precisely, to experience the results of the application of "the achievements of S&T progress under the conditions of the domination of imperialism on a significant part of the planet" (1).

The international trade union movement is conducting a struggle for survival. For the survival of mankind and against the threat of the annihilation of civilization and, perhaps, life itself as a result of nuclear catastrophe. And together with this for the survival of the workers movement itself under the conditions of the concentrated counteroffensive of capital against the working people's fundamental interests and the structural rebuilding of the world economy. Protest slogans such as, for example,

"Peace and Jobs" show that the working masses and the unions in capitalist countries are gradually recognizing the direct connection between the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the escalation of the arms race and the economic roots of the policy of imperialism—the main source of military danger. To an increasingly large extent the question of war and peace is objectively connected in the union movement with the struggle for a democratic alternative.

The force of example of socialism, the further democratization of social, including union, life and the policy of increased glasnost, openness and respect for different opinions being pursued in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are having the most profound impact on the unfolding of the struggle of the working class, in the course of which the real prerequisites for qualitative changes in unitary processes—from scattered statements, declarations and actions to parallel, joint and united actions on a sectoral, national, regional and international scale—are maturing.

Much has been said and written in the West in recent years about the "crisis of the unions". Data on the reduction in the strength of union associations in a number of developed capitalist countries, including the United States, Britain, Italy and others, and also indicators of the abatement of the strike struggle as a whole have been adduced as proof of the unions' loss of their former role." The leaders of a number of national trade union centers of Western countries have themselves also been speaking about the serious difficulties which the union movement is encountering at the current stage. Observers agree that many unions are now taking up defensive and not offensive positions. Nor has the International Labor Office overlooked this problem, to which the report of F. Blanchard, director general of the International Labor Office, at the 72nd ILO Session (June 1986) testifies.

Western specialists believe that together with growing unemployment negative consequences for the working people organized in unions are entailed also in the changes in the composition of the work force which are taking place under the impact of S&T progress. B. (Bolin), deputy director general of the International Labor Office, believes that "it is not the unions but the post-industrial society which is experiencing crisis" (2), which is characterized by a growth of the change from traditional sectors of industry in the direction of services and science-intensive sectors of industry. Owing to this, the number of working people in industry has declined, and the numbers of people working in services have increased, mainly thanks to women, young workers and university graduates coming onto the labor market for the first time. According to forecasts of the American Bureau of Labor Statistics, by 1995 services in the United States will employ approximately 180 million persons compared with 30 million in the producing

sectors. This means that the former will account for 9 out of every 10 new jobs which are created. By the year 2000 women will constitute 47 percent of the work force (3).

As a result of the introduction of new technology the difference between white- and blue-collar workers will begin to be eroded and the proportion of highly educated technicians will grow in a number of sectors of industry, Western experts believe. Technical progress, specifically, the computerization of production processes, is promoting the organization of work "in the home" and the creation of small-scale shops and enterprises. In Great Britain, for example, approximately 1.665 million persons are employed in work in the home (4).

The problem of the "crisis state of the unions" in capitalist and developing countries is a subject of discussion at various levels—union and research. Thus in November 1985 a special conference of the European Center for Labor and Society on the subject "Role of the Unions in the Coming Decade" was held in the Dutch city of Maastricht at which it was observed that the cyclical upheavals and structural changes in industry and the application of new technology were changing the unions' traditional social base and prompting them to formulate an effective strategy to attract new groups of working people. A question of a theoretical nature arises: can the unions change in the new situation from a reform or revolutionary movement into a "social institution of settlement and managerism". The unions are increasingly dependent on the political steps of the government. The new structure of the working class is contributing to the individualization of demands, and the influence of the unions remains contradictory.

Upon an analysis of the significance of "industrial democracy" and the forms of the working people's participation in production management opinions are being expressed to the effect that the unions' formal right of vote in management bodies does little for the working people organized in the former, the less so in that the range of possible solutions under the conditions of the crisis development of the economy is highly limited. The introduction of flexible work schedules is being used against the union organizations, and so-called "participatory management," that is, the participation of representatives of the working people in management, is weakening their positions in the resistance to the policy of big capital. The unions believe that the said type of participation in managerial decision-making is playing into the hands of the employers since true participation in management ultimately presupposes a just distribution of the benefits and income obtained. The unions lack a clear policy in this field on account of the absence in many of them of precise class reference points in the approach to the formulation of the concept of the working people's participation in the management of production under the conditions of the capitalism of the 1980's and owing to the inadequacy in them of the due technical knowhow. However, they can give an account of themselves in the field of hygiene and work conditions,

where their role is increasing under the influence of the ecological crisis and in connection with the growing urgency of the tasks of vocational training.

The Dutch scholar (Ley Delson), who has studied the influence of the labor market in capitalist states on the unions, has concluded that at the current stage of the S&T revolution the unions are on the defensive, as a whole, considering it their main task to alleviate and smooth out the negative consequences of the introduction of new equipment and technology. The current situation may partially be explained by the absence in the unions of adequate information pertaining to questions of the S&T revolution, although they have been making attempts recently to establish cooperation with university circles. Another restraining factor for union activity is the fact that the spread of the new technology is contributing to the formation of small production units and outfits, in which the extent of the organized envelopment of the working people is slight. Currently the union leadership, which consists mainly of representatives of blue-collar workers, may be reproached for not taking the new structure of the working class into consideration to the proper extent. In the eyes of the traditional union activists the temporary and part-time workers working at home and in other nonguaranteed jobs represent a threat to those working a full day.

Concerning the influence of the TNC on the unions' activity, G. Kopke, director of the European Trade Union Institute, observes that the growing internationalization of the economy is creating a new environment for the work of union associations at various levels. In this connection the European Trade Union Confederation emphasizes the need for the coordination of union action at the national level in the formulation of the unions' concerted position at negotiations with the international monopolies to achieve common goals and put the corresponding demands to the competent EEC authorities.

Naturally, the considerations of Western scholars concerning the causes and ways of overcoming the "crisis of the unions" adduced above apply primarily to union organizations of a reform and Christian nature, which are united under the aegis of the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor. At the same time, however, it would seem that the union associations should be taking into consideration the new aspects in the confrontation of labor and capital, which have been making their presence felt increasingly in recent years.

There are over 30 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries today. Many millions of young people and women have been unable to find their first job on the labor market or are doing temporary work and receiving low pay. In the developing world the situation on the labor market is far more serious. The total numbers of wage workers in Asian, African and Latin American countries are over 200 million and continue to

grow. In the majority of these countries the level of unemployment (including partial employment) constitutes, according to the estimates of Western economists, 40-50 percent.

This situation cannot fail to be reflected in wages. The monopolies are holding back the growth thereof with all means, violating, with government connivance, collective bargaining agreements and preaching a practice of austerity for the working people. They are endeavoring to split and stratify the working people, counterpose their various categories to one another and introduce into practice the signing of individual labor contracts, frequently merely of a limited timeframe, what is more. This is leading to S&T progress being used under capitalist conditions for the realization of a most important goal of the exploiter class—"by means of a reduction in the cost of commodities reducing the cost of the worker himself" (8).

At the same time, however, tremendous resources are being swallowed up by the arms race, which serves for the monopolies as an inexhaustible source of unlimited wealth. Progress and development and the boundless possibilities afforded the peoples by the S&T revolution in the struggle for the solution of such problems as starvation, poverty and unemployment are thereby being sacrificed.

The new experience of the union movement is connected with the fact that the increase in military spending has become for the working class a factor of the maintenance and growth of unemployment and that the spiraling of the arms race is being accompanied by a cutback in social spending. On the other hand, the economic policy of maintaining high unemployment is essentially serving as a factor of the assured support of some workers for the arms race.

Militarization is seen by the workers with a developed social and political consciousness as a squandering of a nation's productive forces. There is a growing recognition in union circles that the militarization of the economy has become a principal source of the weakening of the social and political power of the workers movement and that the arms race and a strong economy are incompatible. A radical alternative to militarization of the economy—the idea of planned economic conversion and the transfer of military industry to the production of civilian products—is beginning to find support in the union movement of the 1980's. Currently the vast majority of national trade union centers and all regional and international trade union organizations are demanding a halt to the arms race on earth and the prevention thereof in space and the banning of nuclear, chemical and other types of weapon of mass destruction. It is important here that the unions of a social democratic and Christian democratic persuasion, including the trade union centers of Great Britain, Belgium, Denmark and other countries,

are going considerably further, as a rule, in the struggle for peace than the corresponding political parties or accomplishing an evolution earlier than the latter.

The resolutions and declarations adopted recently by the ICFTU, World Confederation of Labor and European Trade Union Confederation, which term the struggle for peace a most important task confronting the union movement, may be seen as a significant phenomenon. Thus the "Declaration on Peace, Security and Disarmament" adopted at a session of the European Trade Union Confederation Executive Committee on 12 February this year plainly recommends that "the organizations which are a part of the European Trade Union Confederation study in what way contacts with related organizations of East European countries might contribute to an improvement in mutual understanding and confidence-building". A notable symptom of the obvious shift in the position of trade union centers of the West is the departure of a number of their spokesmen from the proposition concerning "the equal responsibility of the superpowers" for the arms race. A document of an ICFTU working group on peace issued in September 1986, for example, says plainly that the increase in the military power of the USSR since the war has occurred merely in response to the United States' attempts to gain absolute military superiority (9).

Sectoral unions also are joining increasingly actively in the struggle for peace. Their participation therein is acquiring particular significance, considering that practical questions of antiwar activity are closely linked with specific socioeconomic problems common to the working people of the given sector. In a number of cases sectoral unions are openly challenging the leadership of the union centers which are unwilling to come to terms with the changed mood of the broad working masses. Thus in the United States the leaders of the major sectoral unions—auto workers, electrical, radio and engineering industry workers, steelworkers, machine-building and aerospace industry and a number of others—are today within the AFL-CIO framework protesting the arms race. Last October a group of sectoral organizations of the AFL-CIO adopted a resolution on a reduction in nuclear arsenals and the nonextension of the arms race to outer space (10).

An emphatic change in the direction of protests against the military danger is occurring in the unions of the young emergent states also. The working people of these states are recognizing increasingly clearly the inseparable interconnection between development and disarmament and their foreign debt of \$1 trillion and the almost \$1 trillion overall growth in Pentagon budgets in the past decade. The role in the antiwar struggle of such trade union organizations of the young states as the Standing Congress of Trade Union Unity of Workers of Latin America, the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and the Coordinating Committee of Trade Unions of Asia and Oceania is being stepped up also.

The struggle against the arms race is being linked increasingly closely with the solution of specific problems characteristic of each group of countries. It may now definitely be said that paramount significance for Latin America in this direction is attached to questions of the giant increase in the foreign debt, for Africa, to the problem of struggle against starvation, for Asia, to the task of repelling the increasing penetration of the national economy by the international monopolies.

There is also a stimulation of regional trade union cooperation in the antiwar struggle. This includes annual worker conferences of countries of the Baltic, Norway and Iceland; the Trade Union Assembly for Peace (Nicaragua, 1984); the Third Pacific Trade Union Antiwar Conference (Fiji, 1984); and the international trade union meeting "For Peace and Security in Asia" (Ulaanbaatar, 1985).

Great and useful work in the international trade union movement is being performed by the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin). The Second World Trade Union Conference on Socioeconomic Aspects of Disarmament, which had extensive repercussions in the international trade union movement, was conducted at its initiative in May 1986 in Dublin. The Dublin Committee participated actively in the organization and presentation of the broadly representative antiwar union forum in Copenhagen held within the framework of the world congress devoted to the UN International Year of Peace (1986).

An exceptionally important part in the antiwar struggle is being played by the WFTU—the sole international trade union center uniting the working people of socialist, developing and capitalist countries. Pivotal in the history of the WFTU was the 11th World Trade Unions Congress (September 1986, Berlin), all of whose decisions are imbued with the idea of the inseparable connection of the struggle for an end to the arms race and the achievement of successes in the solution of social problems.

While noting the undoubted successes in the development of the unions' antiwar potential we have a right to ask: is full use being made of this potential? Can the union movement today, relying on traditions and accumulated experience, lend qualitatively new impetus to the movement for a nuclear-free world, for the survival of mankind? Such a formulation of the question is all the more warranted in that the forces of reaction and militarism headed by U.S. imperialist circles are, as before, blocking the solution of most important problems of a curbing of the arms race and ignoring the widening demands for the achievement of specific accords. Much will depend here on how powerful the pressure of the world community—and the unions, uniting and representing the creators of material benefits, constitute a significant part thereof—is on militarist circles, which are today determining to a large extent the policy of the United States and other Western powers. The unions

have every opportunity to step up the antiwar struggle and raise it to a new level at which it will exert a direct, and in particularly important instances, decisive influence on governments' policy.

First, being by nature the most representative organizations of the working people uniting people of various beliefs and different sex and age groups, the unions are perfectly capable of performing the role of vanguard and simultaneously cementing basis of the antiwar movement, which incorporates, as is known, the most heterogeneous social strata and groups, which are sometimes far removed from one another in the social plane. Even now in a number of capitalist countries, particularly those with strong social democratic traditions, the unions are not only the most populous but also most influential social organizations, with whose position the ruling parties are forced to reckon. It is not fortuitous that many of the antiwar documents drawn up by the unions are immediately presented at the state level, as was the case, for example, with the question of the deployment of the American medium-range missiles in Belgium and Holland.

Second, the focus on the achievement of practical results characteristic of the unions imparts to the struggle for peace qualitatively new content. The occasionally vague and sometimes contradictory slogans of the antiwar movement, which are of a pacifist thrust to a considerable extent, are being supplemented by specific demands of a socioeconomic and political nature. In addition, the unions invariably have greater opportunities for achieving the practical realization of their demands.

Third, while participating in antiwar activity the unions enrich the arsenal thereof with fundamentally new methods perfected by decades of struggle against capital. It was they which were the initiators of the organization of peace committees at the workplace and the annual worker conferences of the Baltic countries, Norway and Iceland. Political strikes are an effective and specific union form of antiwar struggle. A work stoppage at individual enterprise level and subsequently on the scale of the whole country is simultaneously accompanied by mass demonstrations and protests, as was the case, for example, in the FRG, Denmark and Holland.

Fourth, linking the solution of problems of the working people's socioeconomic position with an end to the arms race, the unions essentially inaugurated a new area of struggle against the military danger—the production sphere. Under their influence the monopolies and military-industrial complexes of the Western powers—the main generators of the arms race—are to an ever increasing extent becoming the main target of the antiwar movement. It is significant in this respect that the growing danger of the arms race and its disastrous impact on the position of the working man are being understood increasingly distinctly also by the leaders of unions which incorporate working people of the military sectors. A striking example of this is the position of the

leadership of the International Association of Workers of Machine-Building and Aerospace Industry headed by W. Winpisinger. This union, in particular, has drawn up a program for the conversion of military industry providing for a reduction in the Pentagon budget with the resources thus released being used for peaceful needs.

And, finally, the presence in the union movement of three major and influential international trade union centers numbering in their ranks over 300 million persons affords a potential opportunity for their joint demonstrations in defense of peace. Such demonstrations would undoubtedly appreciably increase the scale and efficiency of the antiwar movement, contributing to the growth of its cohesion and organization.

Of course, there is as yet an appreciable distance between the big potential opportunities of the union movement and their practical realization. Many difficulties and problems on this path have to be overcome. The key issue here is the surmounting of the continuing disconnection of the international trade union movement and the situation where the three biggest international trade union centers—the WFTU, ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor—operate in a single direction, but on parallel courses, as it were, not making contact with one another. After all, it is a fact that the ICFTU leadership still maintains the ban on its member organizations participating in any measures in conjunction with the WFTU.

Our general policy is the surmounting of the separateness of the various detachments of the international trade union movement, a policy of dialogue. It was confirmed by the 18th USSR Trade Unions Congress, which was in itself an important international undertaking. Delegations of 189 national and 10 international trade union organizations took part, of which 39 are members of the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor. All this indicates the profound, nonformal interest which is being evoked in the world by the process of profound transformations and perestroika, in the work of the trade unions included, which has begun in our country. For the first time in the history of relations guests of the congress included representatives of Britain's TUC and the social democratic and Christian trade union centers of Belgium. After an interval of many years, our country was visited this spring by top-level delegations of the TUC General Council and the Swedish and Danish trade union central councils, and a visit was paid by the chairman of the FRG's DGB.

It is significant that a desire to restore relations with us has also been announced by organizations which were in the past the first to sever them. This applies to the Swiss Trade Union Federation and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor. Bilaterally we have now restored relations with practically all European organizations. The increased interest of our partners—present

and potential—in the development of contacts has been brought about by the significant change in the state of affairs on the international scene, primarily in circles of public forces.

The results of the meeting in Reykjavik, the Soviet program for a nuclear-free world, the recent proposals pertaining to the INF and operational-tactical missiles—all this is contributing to the gradual formation of a new, heterogeneous, but broad public movement for the salvation of civilization. The international Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind" was a striking example of the possibility of the dialogue and cooperation of representatives of the most varied social forces and movements.

We see much similar evidence in the international trade union movement also. Primarily the 11th World Trade Unions Congress, the most representative in the history of the international workers movement. The majority of participants in the congress was composed of representatives of unions which are not aligned with the WFTU, including 34 member organizations of the ICFTU and 10 of the World Confederation of Labor. The Berlin congress presented a whole set of initiatives pertaining to key areas of the development of the dialogue in the international trade union movement, primarily on questions of war and peace.

The responsibility of the international workers movement for the preservation of peace and the solution of other key problems of the present day was dealt with at M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the working class in a WFTU delegation and in his speech at the Soviet Trade Unions Congress. The WFTU delegation handed the Soviet leader a message of the 11th World Trade Unions Congress, whose decisions record: struggle to prevent a world war, an end to the arms race and for new political and economic relations is the main prerequisite of success in the solution of social problems.

The world trade union movement is consistently seeking international agreements on halting and turning back the arms race. With the support of all international trade union centers a proposal was made at the UN General Assembly Second Special Session in 1982 for the conclusion of an agreement on a 10-percent reduction in arms spending. Had this proposal been adopted, it would have been possible to have obtained considerable sums for profitable capital investments and to have supported international economic cooperation by way of increased assistance to the developing countries and the millions of people who are today deprived of the wherewithal for a dignified existence.

"Disarmament in the name of development". This is the key formulation of the question for the solution of the global problems confronting mankind currently such as prevention of a world thermonuclear war, optimization of the whole set of questions of the interconnection and interdependence of society and nature, the surmounting

of the socioeconomic underdevelopment of the countries freed from colonial dependence and the elimination of mass starvation, illiteracy, unemployment and other consequences of decades and, sometimes, centuries of colonial oppression and the present exploitation of the natural and human resources of these countries by the monopoly capital of the West.

The adoption of cardinal measures for a solution of these problems and for the elimination of the crises and impasses threatening the future of mankind connected with them is becoming an urgent necessity. In this context we attach great significance to the world trade union conference to be held in February 1988 in Paris on problems of economic security and the unions' participation in the UN Conference on the Interrelationship Between Disarmament and Development (this September, New York). The European colloquium "East-West Economic Relations and Their Influence on the World of Labor" (9-10 December of this year, Brussels) to be held at the initiative of the Brussels Free University will undoubtedly serve the elaboration of union approaches to problems of economic security and the strengthening of the union movement's relations with science and university centers.

A principal direction of the antiwar interaction of unions of different persuasions, university centers and research institutions dealing with socioeconomic issues is, we believe, the preparation of plans for the transfer of military to civil production. In addition, in studying the socioeconomic consequences of disarmament it is necessary even now to develop approaches to conversion as an integral part of national economic policy. In this connection we support the unions' general demands for the inclusion of the conversion issue as a separate clause in the drafts of the disarmament treaties being discussed. The proposal concerning the creation of national military production conversion agencies, which, if necessary, would decide questions of employment upon transition to the production of peaceful products, advanced by the Fifth European Trade Union Confederation Congress (May 1985, Milan) is of definite interest also. We will support all such proposals and constructive initiatives, from wherever they emanate.

The modern world is burdened to the hilt with numerous, increasingly complex problems of both a global and regional scale, in close interconnection with whose solution we view various aspects of human rights and union liberties. Man's right to live under conditions of peace and security is a basic right common to all mankind. An endeavor to uphold it imbues all our party's efforts pertaining to the creation of an all-embracing system of international security. Ensuring the right to life under conditions of peace and freedom is a basic prerequisite of realization of the right to work and a dignified existence, freedom of thought, word and the organization of movement and so forth.

The fact that the struggle for the working people's socioeconomic demands and trade union rights and liberties is pointless if man's right to life has not been secured is becoming increasingly obvious to the working class and its mass organizations. It is in this aspect that we see the close linkage of the working people's protests against the nuclear threat and for survival and the peaceful solution of regional conflicts with the realization of basic human rights and democratic liberties.

As is known, the 11th World Trade Unions Congress presented the initiative of the creation of an international center for the protection of workers' rights and union liberties. The center could be the organizer and coordinator of effective campaigns in defense of their rights, undertake work on the preparation and organization of an international day of struggle against unemployment and organize the cooperation of experts in legal protection of the rights of working people of various sectors of industry and legal aid for them. The center could help organize work with such relatively nontraditional categories for the union movement as the unemployed, migrants and pensioners, that is, a significant and as yet insufficiently used reserve of the union movement.

An important direction of the extensive international exchange of experience is the organization of the union organizations' effective work with such categories as the youth and women. The active participation of the unions in the World Congress of Women in Moscow (this June), the preparations which have begun for world conferences of working women and youth and the meeting this July in the USSR of trade union youth of European countries confront the world's unions with new tasks pertaining to the enlistment of these groups of working people in the antimonopoly struggle against the nuclear threat.

The search for union answers to the challenges of the present day and new, more efficient forms of activity and the process of the rethinking of the role of the unions in the modern world are possible only on the basis of an analysis of the main trends of socioeconomic development and the changes which are occurring today under the conditions of the S&T revolution in the organization of production, work conditions and the structure of the working class. This presupposes a wide-ranging exchange of opinions on the future of the trade union movement between trade union centers of different persuasions and international allegiance with the active use of their research possibilities and the enlistment of university centers.

The new trends in the international trade union movement—positive and negative—are confronting us with tasks of extraordinary complexity and responsibility pertaining to the restructuring of the entire system of the international work of Soviet trade unions. We are endeavoring to take a qualitatively new step—to go beyond the circle of the organizations traditionally constituting the sphere of influence and cooperation of the

class-based trade union movement and to find new partners. And, what is more, not only among reform, Christian democratic and conservative trade union organizations even but in the "para-union" milieu, so to speak: I refer to various professional associations, doctor, teacher, ecologist and cooperative worker associations, numerous foundations, research institutions, associations of the unemployed, women's and youth organizations and movements of national minorities, migrants and so forth.

Great significance is attached to a profiling of our relations with the union organizations of 145 countries and the more thorough consideration of the interests of our partners both within the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. This was manifested, specifically, in the creation of the international standing group on the environment in the course of the recent meeting in the Trade Union Movement Higher School imeni N.M. Shevrnik (sic) of representatives of Europe's trade unions and their research establishments. The group included representatives of unions of the USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, the GDR, Finland, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, France, Greece and Ireland. The experience of the activity of union organizations under the conditions of structural changes in the economy, the introduction of new technology and an analysis of the lessons of this work are of importance to us. For example, upon studying questions of East-West economic cooperation we take into consideration both the aspects of its influence on employment in the capitalist countries and problems of the enlistment of the unions of the West in the struggle for the lifting of trade, credit and other restrictions in respect of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

In creating a new infrastructure of bilateral and multilateral cooperation we are paying great attention to our work in the WFTU and the international trade union associations and emphatically advocating preservation of the independent nature of these organizations and their greater openness, the utmost development of democracy and the committee approach and the consolidation of working relations with national organizations.

In continuing work on strengthening anti-imperialist solidarity Soviet unions will in bilateral contacts and international organizations pay increasing attention to such problems of a democratic nature common to all mankind as the threat of an ecological crisis, the influence of the S&T revolution on labor and production and the establishment of just international economic relations. But the dominant position here is occupied by the most important problem of mankind's survival—preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

Addressing delegates and guests of the 18th USSR Trade Unions Congress, M.S. Gorbachev observed: "The trade union organizations of different countries also are becoming increasingly assertive in the struggle against the nuclear threat. The trade union movement is a big

force in the modern world and a most important component of the movement for the survival of mankind. The association of the struggle for the interests of the working people and the struggle for peace and disarmament means that there is an increasingly clear and profound understanding in the consciousness of the masses of the danger looming over mankind. This is why the inclusion of the unions in this struggle is so important."

Footnotes

* It is fitting to recall in this connection that "sentence" had been passed on the trade union movement and its disappearance was being predicted on the eve and at the outset of the 1930's, in the period of the "great crisis". But it was able to restructure itself and unite its ranks, making active use of, inter alia, the antiwar potential of the working people, which led to the creation after WWII of the united international trade union center—the WFTU.

1. *Memo No 5, 1987*, p 13.

2. *International Labor Office Information Bulletin No 1, 1986*.

3. *Industry Week, 9 February 1987*.

4. *Employment Gazette, February 1987*.

8. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 330.

9. CISL, "L'Equilibre des Armes," Brussels, Belgium, 1986, p 1, paragraph 4.

10. Resolution Number 24, "Arms Control," Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO), 17th Constitutional Convention, Hollywood, Florida, pp 77-79.

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Experience of U.S. Worker Participation in Management Assessed

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[Text] As of the end of the 1970's American corporate management has been undergoing a period of reforms. The driving force of these reforms are on the one hand changes in the engineering basis of production expressed

in the electronization of the means of labor and the gradual transition from mass production organized on a "rigid" production line to "flexible" production undertaken at relatively small, fully automated plants. On the other, the reforms are being stimulated by the change in the nature of labor, a significant growth in the skills of the work force and the working people's increased demands on the content of their labor and the possibilities of influencing the conditions of production and distribution of the fruit thereof. A considerable part in the changes which are under way is being played by the stiffening of competition on the part of Japanese and West European corporations, which have successful experience of innovative management decisions.

The reforms in corporate management, which are frequently being imposed in the United States by the "quiet revolution," are proceeding in several directions, including the computerization of management, decentralization of managerial functions and a reduction in superfluous rungs of the hierarchical ladder and an increase in the flexibility of management and the role of long-term planning.

A particular place in the reorganization of management is being assigned a solution of the problem of the stimulation of labor and the more profound involvement of the working people in the interests of "their" corporations and the establishment of relations between workers and managers. The measures being adopted in this direction are aimed at an increase in productivity, an improvement in product quality and, ultimately, an increase in the profit level. Accordingly, the subject of such reforms is management, and the object, the ordinary workers, employees and engineers. A reverse trend is occurring also, however: a movement of the working people (both organized in unions and not) for the democratization of management and for the transfer to them of certain control over corporate decision-making and certain rights to dispose of the results of their labor (right to profit-sharing).

In each individual instance these two movements for reforms, a movement from "above" and a movement from "below," so to speak, confront one another, and the management model adopted in this corporation or the other or at this enterprise or the other proves to be a certain compromise reflecting the correlation of forces between the owners and managers of the corporation on the one hand and the working people and the unions on the other.

Experiments involving "alternative" or so-called non-hierarchical management gained prevalence in the latter half of the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's in the United States. The spectrum of such experiments is extraordinarily wide and incorporates at one pole thereof innovations leaving practically unchanged the traditional managerial structures (like "quality circles," for example) and, at the other, worker cooperatives

personifying a radical departure from the classical principles of the organization of ownership and control under capitalism. The article offered for your attention attempts to analyze the prerequisites, progress and results of the most prevalent experiments involving worker participation in the management of production, those in which it is confined to the sphere of management proper and does not affect ownership relations.

The prerequisites for transition to a new technological structure began to take shape in the United States at the end of the 1970's. This process has assumed more tangible forms in the latter half of the 1980's. Its most important components (from the viewpoint of the organization and management of production) have been the appearance of new technology and equipment fitted with microprocessors, the increased flexibility of production and its deconcentration.

Electronic control over production initially at individual machine-tool level (machine tools with numerical programmed control [MNPC]), subsequently at production line level and, finally, at entire shop and plant level afforded an opportunity for increasing productivity and product quality. At the same time its application confronted corporate management with the need to correspondingly restructure the organization and management of production.

A new generation of MNPC appeared at the start of the 1980's—machine tools with computerized programmed control making it possible to expand the range of operations considerably. United in production circuits and supplemented by automatic handling facilities, they formed so-called flexible manufacturing systems (FMS). Prior to 1975 there was not a single FMS in the United States, but at the start of 1987 approximately 200 of them were operating (1).

In parallel with the development of the engineering basis of production and the change in its organizational structures the quality of the work force has been undergoing considerable changes also. In the 1960's-1970's there was a sharp rise in the level of the education and skills of the working people and occupations connected with computer maintenance and data processing appeared and began rapidly to become mass occupations. From 1970 through 1985 the proportion in the U.S. work force of persons with complete higher education grew from 15.4 to 25.5 percent (2). Given a general growth of employment in the United States from 1970 through 1984 by a factor of 1.3, the number of programmers grew by a factor of 3.1, systems analysts, by a factor of 2.9, and computer operators, by a factor of 4.3 (3).

The complication of labor and its intellectualization could not have failed to have been reflected in the demands which are being made on the nature of the organization and management of the labor process. The attitude toward work as the source of means of livelihood gradually began to change. It became a most

important sphere of personal self-fulfillment. The spread of such an attitude led to the need for the workers to be accorded a certain independence in determination of the program and hours of the work they do and also an opportunity to participate in the planning and management of production at a higher level. The working people frequently began to demand a change in the production processes themselves, their restructuring in the direction of the worker's release from his strict attachment to his means of labor (the machine tool, production line and so forth) and the return to labor of the nature of creative, independent activity. "Aware of their new role in production, modern workers have stepped up their struggle for a change in their place in the system of management of this production, for them to be not only the object of management but its subject also and for participation in the adoption of decisions affecting the interests of employees and their families" (4).

The microprocessor revolution and the transition from flowline and mass technology to flexible automated processes which has begun have had a very strong impact on supervisor-worker relations. For managers the spread of the technology of the electronic control over production has proven a double-edged sword.

Truly, on the one hand the appearance of computers, MNPC, FMS, robotics and so forth has created opportunities for the "electronic" observation of labor and a reduction in manpower by means of the introduction of "people-free" and "few-people" technology and thereby intensified managers' control of the working people. According to figures of the National Federal Equipment Safety Administration, the administration is making extensive use of computer equipment for monitoring the intensity and quality of the labor of workers and employees. At the present time approximately 13 million places of work in the United States have been furnished with video terminals. Appropriately programmed PC's are capable of "watching" the work of their operators, sending them from time to time via the screen management messages of the "no goofing off" or "work more quickly" type (5).

On the other, the increased complexity of equipment and its increased cost have enhanced considerably the role of the workers and engineers servicing the machine tools and machinery furnished with microprocessor controllers. In stimulating the development and introduction of "people-free" technology managers cite as the reason for this an endeavor to reduce "unpredictability" in production connected with the presence of the "human factor". However, the equipment replacing live labor entails an increase in the level of "unpredictability" of another sort caused by technical malfunctions and errors in the MNPC programs. With regard for the cost of the latest types of equipment, errors in the compilation of programs giving rise to the need for a stoppage and readjustment cost the enterprises plenty. It is sufficient to say that at the present time the price of the average FMS

incorporating several MNPC constitutes \$15-20 million, and an hour of its operation (or idling), approximately \$500 (with overhead, up to \$1,000).

In order to resolve such a contradiction it is essential, as practice shows, to enlist the operators themselves more actively in the compilation of and adding of the final touches to the programs. Even skilled operators frequently work up (edit) programs which come to them directly at the machine tool at their own initiative (reduce, for example, the inordinately high machining speed of components set by the program to prevent premature wear of a valuable cutter). In turn, the programmers, among whom there are, incidentally, many former machine-tool operators, frequently "work up" their programs together with the operators.

The decentralization of computer control within enterprises and the simplification of programming techniques are creating for the workers additional opportunities for participation in the development and upgrading of production. "Terminals are now distributed throughout the enterprise, and everyone, whether line worker, engineer or manager, has access to a data system," G. McDonald, president of the Gould Corporation testifies (6). In the most progressive programming systems the MNPC operator has merely to respond to the computer's questions put in regular conversational language.

The need for the workers to be accorded greater initiative and independence is dictated not only by technological but also social factors. As mentioned above, the workers themselves are beginning as the level of their education and skills rises to demand expanded scope for the realization of their knowhow and capabilities and, correspondingly, a narrowing of the sphere of strict bureaucratic supervision and control over their labor.

From the viewpoint of corporate management, workers' participation in the organization of their own labor and current management is the "least dangerous" form of involvement of rank and file personnel in the managerial process. It is for this reason that experiments involving worker participation in management not affecting the essential structure of ownership and control have gained the greatest prevalence in the United States. At the present time four main types of such experiments may be distinguished: 1) worker participation in the organization and control of labor and product quality at shop level; 2) the creation of worker councils or joint worker-supervisor committees; 3) profit-sharing systems; and 4) co-option of worker representatives onto corporate boards of directors.

The practice of "work enrichment," rotation of jobs and the formation of "autonomous teams" pertains among experiments of the first type. The subject of the reforms here is the organization of the immediate labor process.

In according the workers the right to themselves determine working hours and recreation time and the opportunity to change their place of work and via the medium of elective team leaders negotiate with management changes in this condition of production or the other, the "programs for enhancing the quality of the worker's life" contribute to a rise in the worker's status, humanize his labor to a certain extent and create the prerequisites for the fuller realization of his powers and capabilities. The founder of the theory at the basis of the current "worker participation" experiments in the United States is held to be E. Mayo. His idea of "human relations in industry" was developed in the 1920's on the basis of Mayo's management experiences in Western Electric. Advanced at that time as the antithesis of Taylorism, the "human relations" concept was realized in practice only in the 1940's-1950's. However, it was until most recently unable to gain priority over Taylorism inasmuch as the latter contributed to a large extent to the needs of mass line production (7).

There were over 2,000 registered experiments involving "worker participation" at the shop level, the majority of which had arisen in the 1970's, in the United States at the start of the 1980's.

At the present time the principles of "work enrichment" and the formation of "autonomous teams" are being applied particularly extensively in the auto industry. Thus at the General Motors plant in Pontiac (Michigan) all workers engaged in production of the new Pontiac Fiero model have been organized into 125 "autonomous teams," each of which is responsible for the production of this component or the other; within the team the workers themselves allocate among themselves the duties and order of work and monitor the state of the equipment and product quality. This had made it possible to do away altogether practically with inspectors and timekeepers. Such conditions have also been created at the American-Japanese enterprise in Fremont (California), which is termed in the American press a "major experiment in the labor relations field". At this plant belonging to the General Motors and Toyota companies 2,500 workers have also been allocated to 6-7-man teams. Each team member acquires at company expense the professional training necessary for performing any type of work in the team's bay. Narrow specialization has been replaced by broad specialization, and all the plant's workers are broken down, what is more, into only three skills categories (8).

The so-called quality control groups—5-15-men groups of workers regularly participating in the discussion of questions concerning an increase in product quality and productivity—have become a distinctive variety of the "autonomous teams" in the United States. Although the American scientist W. (Deming) is considered the pioneer of the "quality circles," they have enjoyed most prevalence in Japan. American corporations began to borrow the "Japanese" experience of "quality circles" en masse only in the latter half of the 1970's. Several

hundred major corporations and thousands of small and mid-sized companies had organized such groups at the start of the 1980's. According to the results of a study commissioned by the board of the New York Stock Exchange, at the present time there are "quality circles" in this form or the other in 44 percent of American companies with over 500 employees (9).

The next type of involvement of the workers in management are the worker councils and joint worker-supervisor committees. These organizations are created, as a rule, at the initiative of the management of the corporations and represent an additional channel for contacts between managers and workers outside of the traditional system of collective bargaining. The first joint committees of workers and supervisors were formed in the United States back at the end of the 19th century. However, they were most prevalent during WWII, when over 5,000 such committees encompassing more than 7 million workers were formed with government participation. Approximately 1,000 committees dealt with questions of production, the rest, mainly with such problems as safety equipment, turnover and so forth. After the war, the vast majority of such committees was dissolved. The councils deal mainly with production questions and perform information and consultative functions. The duties and rights of the councils are more often than not strictly defined, and all questions are examined on an individual basis as they crop up. As distinct from similar organizations prevalent in West European countries and usually endowed there with higher and legislatively determined status, in the United States the councils do not, as a rule, themselves have decision-making opportunities. This right is reserved for management, which is prepared, however, to listen to the committee's recommendations.

The overall numbers of the "worker-supervisor committees" in the United States are approximately several thousand. According to data of the NYSE Research Department, such committees exist in 25 percent of companies with over 500 employees (10).

A more complex form of the organization of "worker participation" are systems which incorporate a mechanism linking the workers' efforts to increase production efficiency with their sharing in part of company profits. The "profit-sharing" programs employed in American firms have several varieties differing mainly in the methods of computing the workers' contribution to the increase in the firm's profits and, correspondingly, determination of the share of the profit due them. Thus in the "Improshare" program the point of departure is the standard amount of time required for the manufacture of one item. The nominal hours "saved" in the event of a productivity higher than the standard being achieved are paid to the worker in the form of a bonus. In the so-called (Rucker) plans the initial indicator is the ratio of the wage to the conventional net product over a base (usually 5-7-year) period. A reduction in this ratio against the

norm signifies an increase in the amount of conventional net product per unit of wages. Some of the additional profit which is obtained is paid to the workers in the form of a wage increment.

"Scanlon plans," named after their creator, J. Scanlon, have of all the programs for "worker participation" in profits employed by American corporations enjoyed the greatest renown and prevalence. "Scanlon plans" were employed in the United States for the first time in 1945 at a large plant producing metal containers and in the very first year produced significant results: company profits increased by a factor of 2.5, and the workers' wages, by a factor of 1.4. The sum total of profit to be distributed among the workers is calculated here roughly the same as in the ("Rucker plans," the only difference being that the wage is correlated not with the conventional net product but with "net sales". For example, if 0.5 is taken as the standard wage-to-profit ratio, given a "net sales" volume of \$1 million, the permissible wage expenditure constitutes \$500,000. If in reality, however, this sales level has been achieved given an expenditure of only \$400,000, the savings thus derived of \$100,000 is to be distributed: in the typical case the workers receive 50 percent, and 25 percent is deducted into a reserve, and a further 25 percent, into profits (11).

A particular feature of the "Scanlon plans" is the fact that they incorporate, as a rule, together with profit distribution, two other forms of "worker participation" also, namely, participation in the organization of production and quality control at the lower level and the formation of worker-supervisor committees with consultative and recommendatory functions. Thus compared with other forms of "worker participation" the "Scanlon plans" are of a more comprehensive, consummate nature.

Despite their long history and relatively successful experience of application, the "Scanlon plans" have yet to be recognized by the executives of major corporations. The vast majority of the companies which employ them has no more than 1,000 employees. The total number of these companies constitutes in the United States here, it is estimated, 700-800. At the same time, however, the number of firms employing simpler forms of profit-sharing is considerably greater and has as of the start of the 1980's included the major corporations. Thus the practice of "worker participation" in profits was introduced in 1982-1984 by the Ford and General Motors auto giants. The appropriate clauses were added (for the first time in the history of these corporations) to the collective bargaining contracts which they concluded with the United Auto Workers Union. In 1984 each worker at General Motors received from profits an addition to his wage of the order of \$500 on average, and the Ford worker, \$1,600 on average (12).

Worker participation in management on the scale of the whole corporation presupposes the delegation of their representatives to the highest bodies of the latter, primarily to the board of directors. In the United States,

however, the co-option of worker representatives onto the highest bodies of the corporations is the rarest exception. One such exception was the decision of the Chrysler Corporation to co-opt onto its board of directors in 1979 D. Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers Union. It is interesting that during a clash between the workers and the Chrysler management in the course of conclusion of a collective bargaining contract D. Fraser was forced to quit the board of directors as a consequence of the conflict which had arisen in his performance of such contradictory duties. This instance illustrates the unacceptability of the European practice of the co-option of workers onto the highest bodies of management both from the viewpoint of the bosses of American corporations and from the viewpoint of the traditions of the American unions. The position of the latter was expressed precisely by D. Fraser's colleague, J. Watts, president of the Communications Workers Union. "I have no wish to sit on the board and engage in corporate affairs. I wish as a union figure to have the freedom to criticize management" (13).

The vast amount of literature available in the United States on questions of the economic efficiency of the experiments in enlisting workers in participation in management does not provide unequivocal answers. On the one hand the majority of experts notes the positive consequences of the practice of enlisting workers in management at various levels. On the other, many authors call attention to the fragmentary nature of the polls, the not entirely representative nature of the sampling and the existence of contradictory data and big procedural difficulties in determining the specific contribution of "worker participation" to increased efficiency, which leaves too much room for subjective judgments. In addition, as an expert on this problem, Prof S. Levitan, director of Washington's Social Policy Research Center, rightly observes, "the majority of the assessments of the past rate of the corresponding experiments proceeds from the corporation managers, who can in no way be called disinterested observers" (14).

From the viewpoint of the corporations' bosses the most tangible results are produced by the organization of "quality circles" and the councils for improving the quality of working life. According to the findings of large-scale studies conducted at the end of the 1970's, in 80 percent of cases this leads to increased productivity and a growth in the degree of satisfaction with the work (15). Corporations which are successfully introducing such practice are deriving big benefits. Thus thanks to the use of proposals made at its enterprises by members of "quality circles," the Lockheed company was able in 2.5 years to save \$3 million, which was six times more than the expenditure on the organization of these groups (16). At the same time, however, in many companies experiments involving "quality circles" have been unsuccessful insofar as they have been conducted by the managers formally, frequently degenerating into simple monthly meetings devoted to narrowly defined production tasks. The incapacity or reluctance of the managers

to establish relations of mutual respect and trust with the workers is the reason why up to two-thirds of the programs for an improvement in the quality of working life cease to exist within the first 5 years (17). A special study of these programs conducted in 1984 to the order of the AFL-CIO union association showed that the majority of workers (over 900 of those polled in five sectors of industry) believes that the programs have not led to an increase in their influence on company affairs (18).

Similar results are observed given companies' use of profit-sharing programs. According to the data of a study by the National Center for Productivity and the Quality of Working Life, in two out of every three instances of the application of "Scanlon plans" the companies note an appreciable improvement in basic production indicators and the workers' increased "motivation". Examples of the most successful use of profit-sharing are such companies as Donnelly Mirrors (a plant producing automobile windshields in Holland, Michigan with 460 employees), Parker Pen (a fountain pen plant in Janesville, Wisconsin, with 700 employees) and TRW (an aircraft engine plant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania with 1,072 employees). In just 1 year of the "Scanlon plan" in the last of these companies 750 efficiency proposals were received from the workers, 80 percent of which have been put to use; in this year the workers were paid from profits \$750,000, which constituted up to 12.8 percent of average annual wages (19).

At the same time, however, in many companies implementation of the "Scanlon plan" is not producing the desired results and is frequently suspended by a unilateral decision of the managers. In the opinion of the American experts R. Katzell and D. Yankelovich, "far from all and not even the majority of companies are capable of creating the conditions necessary for the successful functioning of the Scanlon plans" (20). The limited spread of these programs has been caused by difficulties of the simultaneous enlistment therein of workers and supervisors, the latter's fear of granting the workers any significant powers at the time of decision-making and the great dependence of the amount of company profit on market factors in no way connected with the efficiency and quality of the labor of its workers. Understandably, any market-related fall in profits, reducing the fund for increments to the wage, could reduce to nothing the workers' interest in the "Scanlon plans" and such programs.

As far as the "joint worker-management committees" which exist in many corporations are concerned, summary data pertaining to the results of their activity are lacking. The available information allows us to say, however, that here also the consequences of the experiments are highly ambiguous.

A typical example in this respect is the history of the organization in the mid-1970's of such committees at plants of the Kaiser steel (Fontana, California) and

Youngstown Sheet End Tube (Youngstown, Ohio) companies. In the first case productivity in the first 6 months of the committee's existence grew 32 percent, defective work diminished sharply and the workers' attitude toward their work improved. In the second, the increase in productivity connected with the committee's activity constituted in 3 years 5.5 percent; idling diminished from 10 to 3 percent of work time; absenteeism, from 15 to 7 percent (21). Positive results, seemingly. Despite this, in both cases the "joint worker-management committees" were in quite a short period of time dissolved. At the Kaiser Steel plant the initiators of a halt to the experiment were the managers, who believed that the "inordinate" successes connected with worker participation in management were discrediting their own capacity for managing the enterprise in skilled manner. At the plant in Youngstown, on the other hand, the union renounced continued participation in the "committee". In the opinion of the workers, the "committee's" actions were producing many benefits for the company and giving the workers too little in exchange.

The evaluation made of the "joint worker-management committees" by E. Abel, former president of the United Steelworkers Union, would seem quite accurate: "As might have been expected, the results of the activity of these joint plant committees vary from the negative to the positive. Some are making great progress connected with the high degree of cooperation (between managers and workers—A.I.), in others, progress is negligible or lacking on account of indifference or reluctance to cooperate or the outright renunciation of any contacts" (22).

The problems caused by the conflicting goals and interests of the workers and supervisors are common to all types of experiments involving worker participation in management, including "quality circles," programs to improve the quality of working life, "Scanlon plans" and worker participation on corporate boards of directors. It is the conflict of the interests of workers and management which is the reason for the failures and setbacks of many of these experiments.

On the part of management the main obstacle to the development of the successful practice of "worker participation" consists of a reluctance to share with the workers control over production. Company managers are prepared to do everything to give workers the impression of participation in decision-making and thus stimulate their involvement in company affairs and more productive labor, but they are stubbornly resisting all attempts by the workers to gain real control over any sphere of managerial decisions. The specifics of management's attitudes toward the experiments enlisting workers in management were characterized by an executive of the Honeywell corporation: "We would simply like to try something that would improve people's attitude toward their work" (23). Such an attitude toward management reforms is frequently supported by the first results of the introduction of this version or the other of formal

"worker participation". As practice shows, all "democratic" changes, even those which are not of a fundamental nature, in the style of management are capable initially of leading to a short-term rise in the productivity and quality of labor: the workers simply respond to the display of interest in them on the part of management.

The most stubborn resistance to all these experiments is put up by middle-tier supervisors. In the opinion of Prof S. Levitan, "the middle strata of management have become the main institutional obstacle even to the most well-intentioned attempts to enlist workers in management" (24). Such a position is not surprising inasmuch as it is the middle-tier supervisors who constitute the basis of the traditional hierarchical structure of the typical American corporation. The experiments mean for them the need to abandon Taylorist principles of control and jeopardize the authority and very existence of the lower rungs of the hierarchical ladder. The contradictory position of managers is thus the fact that they wish to get from the workers more loyalty and diligence, but refuse to voluntarily pay for this with any in any way significant loss of their powers.

It is understandable from this viewpoint that not only the failure of this experiment or the other but also its too "great" success could be for managers a signal to curtail it. Following the cancellation at management initiative of the successful "worker participation" program at a plant of the Polaroid firm, its coordinator frankly confessed: "It was too successful. What were we to do with the inspectors and supervisors? They were unnecessary. The supervisors decided that they did not wish to have excessively skilled operators since the responsible decision-making capacity revealed in the latter was creating a serious threat to the traditional structure of management and control" (25).

It is significant that in practically all conflicts in connection with the new forms of the organization of management arising between workers and managers the latter enjoy the unconditional support of the enterprise proprietors. Although the experiments involving "participation" do not directly threaten the power of the owners of capital, the American bourgeoisie fears, as the Soviet scholar A.N. Isayenko rightly observes, "the possibility of an expansion of the workers' real participation in the affairs of management" (26).

For their part, neither are American workers and employees displaying a particular desire to participate in the experiments described above on the terms proposed by management, rightly seeing them as a whole as a concealed form of increased exploitation. At the same time, however, the workers are welcoming the provisions of managerial innovations which objectively contribute to an improvement in work conditions, the growth of wages and their increased role in the management and organization of production. The unions are in quite a difficult situation in this connection. On the one hand

every conceivable "worker participation" program is undermining the strength of the union since, first, it is wresting from its control significant spheres of labor relations, second, "tying its hands" for criticism and struggle against the owners of "its" company and, third, making more difficult coordination of action between different branches of the union (the programs of cooperation with management attune the workers such that they see themselves primarily as part of "their" corporation and treat the workers of other companies of the sector as rivals and not union comrades). On the other, within the framework of the "worker participation" in management programs the unions are afforded additional opportunities for influencing the conditions and pay of their members.

The question of the choice of union tactics and strategy in respect of the experiments pertaining to the enlistment of workers in participation in management has engendered a wide-ranging discussion among the theorists and leaders of the union movement. The proposed prescriptions vary from approval of the "worker participation" programs through their active sabotage. Thus the sociologist M. Parker, who worked for many years as an electrician at Chrysler and Ford plants, believes that the union has only two possible options regarding the programs: converting them from an instrument of increased concealed exploitation into a means for broadening the workers' rights or, if the union's powers prove inadequate, the total rejection of such programs (27). The radical left economist K. Frieden advances a whole number of conditions without satisfaction of which the program of participation cannot be successful from the workers' viewpoint. Among these conditions are the following: the workers' free access to information at the supervisors' disposal; a guarantee of the protection of the workers against supervisors' "vengeance" for criticism; the creation of an independent appeals committee to examine disputes between workers and supervisors; regular rewards for the workers from the profits they produce (28).

The practical attitude toward problems of "participation" often differs frequently within a single occupation even. Thus in the course of negotiations with the motor companies at the end of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's the United Auto Workers Union itself submitted a proposal concerning the introduction of programs of worker participation in management and profits and also delegated its president to the board of directors of the Chrysler Corporation. The AFL-CIO leadership opposed this participation. In conjunction with the management of a number of corporations of the sector the Communications Workers Union took part in the creation of 1,200 "autonomous teams" uniting over 12,000 workers. A number of locals of the Steelworkers Union supports the "quality of working life" programs, whereas other branches in the period 1980-1983 abandoned such programs since "they failed to prevent a reduction in employment at the steel mills" (29).

Summarizing what has been said, it may be concluded that both the managers and workers of American corporations are adopting the experiments pertaining to the enlistment of personnel in management with great reservations. The traditional conflict of goals and interests leaves only a negligible sphere in which these interests might temporarily coincide (within the framework of the functioning of a single company). "Typically," Prof S. Levitan writes, "workers' priorities are always ignored when they conflict with efforts to maximize profits. Workers are allowed to participate in decisions of the corporation only to the extent that this does not disturb managers' prerogatives" (30).

An essential additional factor impeding the development of the practice of worker participation in management are the particular features of the individualist culture and mentality of Americans inherent to this extent or the other both in managers and rank and file workers and employees. "Authoritarian and meritocratic standards are deeply rooted in American culture, the emphasis in which is put on individualism and competition as a means of winning power and recognition. Consequently, the idea of joint decision-making and the corresponding reallocation of power and responsibility is typically rejected by large American organizations as alien and unproductive. Accustomed to hierarchical structures, supervisors and workers are reluctant to adopt the ideas of participation" (31).

Despite the enumerated social and psychological barriers, the trend toward the spread of the practice of democratization of management is gradually blazing a trail for itself, and the need for the more extensive enlistment of workers is being acknowledged increasingly often by manager and worker representatives. At the time of a poll conducted at the start of the 1980's of 3,000 managers 70 percent acknowledged that in time the practice of authoritarian decisions would give way to decisions based on consensus inasmuch as any other situation would be harmful to company efficiency, although practically all of them preferred the "traditional management models" (32). According to another poll, 90 percent of workers of 200 American enterprises supported an increase in their control over the managerial process (33).

Powerless to oppose the objectively conditioned trend toward the democratization of production management, the managerially most progressive American corporations have embarked on the path of bringing this trend under their control and deriving the maximum benefits from it. In introducing new forms of the organization and management of production providing for worker participation in this process the corporation bosses are setting such tasks as an increase in the labor motivation and strengthening of the discipline of the workers, the undermining of the positions of the union and a demand for greater loyalty from the working people in respect of "their" corporation and "their" managers. The ultimate

goal of all these experiments is (for the corporate owners and managers) an increase in the profit norm without any in any way essential weakening of their own control over production.

As far as the workers are concerned, they are endeavoring by means of participation in management to achieve, first, an improvement in work conditions, second, more stable employment (which is particularly important in a period of the introduction of automation), third, an improvement in the opportunities for realization of their initiative and creative potential and, fourth, the right to share in "their" companies' profits. The contradiction between the goals of the corporation bosses and the workers is in practice being resolved with the aid of compromise, the terms of which in each individual case are determined by the "local" correlation of class forces, which, in turn, takes shape as a result of the interaction of a broad range of economic and social factors. In the current period this correlation of class forces in the United States is not to the benefit of the workers, and for this reason the majority of experiments involving worker participation in the management of production is being conducted on terms dictated by the owners and managers of the corporations.

Footnotes

1. "US Industrial Outlook, 1987," Washington, p 78.
2. "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986," Washington, pp 397, 401.
3. *Ibid.*, pp 400, 402.
4. V.I. Maslov, "Management of Capitalist Production and the Class Struggle," Moscow, 1983, p 218.
5. *U.S. News and World Report*, 12 May 1986, p 39.
6. "Retooling American Industry," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 15 November 1985, p 34.
7. For more detail see V.B. Supyan, "Use of Manpower in the United States: New Phenomena and Contradictions," Moscow, 1982, pp 154-173.
8. *Iron Age*, 20 August 1984, p 42A.
9. *Dollars and Sense*, March 1986, p 8.
10. K. Frieden, "Workplace, Democracy and Productivity," Washington, 1982.
11. *Dollars and Sense*, March 1985, p 8.
12. Quoted from "Employee Ownership". National Center for Employee Ownership, Arlington, Virginia, 1985, p 52.
13. K. Frieden, *Op. cit.*, p 29.

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15. K. Frieden, Op. cit., p 21.

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'Anti-Union Campaign' in United States Discussed

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[Article by Natalya Nikolayevna Tarasova, candidate of historical sciences, senior associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute: "Anti-Union Campaign in the United States"]

[Text] Recent years have been a most difficult period in the history of the organized workers movement of the United States. A concentrated offensive of the monopolies and the government against the gains of the working class has been deployed in the country. This offensive, which has assumed the form of a very broad anti-union campaign, has been a reason for the crisis in which the American union movement has now found itself. It is expressed, specifically, in the progressive reduction in the numbers of union ranks and the unions' forced retreat on the socioeconomic front.

The history of the United States' organized workers movement knows of many periods of an intensification of the bitter struggle of capital and the workers' professional organizations. However, the present anti-union campaign has a whole number of particular features. It is distinguished by particular intensity and scale. Together with the extensive use of the entire arsenal of methods of suppressing the unions tested in the past the monopolies are resorting to new tactical methods. With the aid of the latter and given the active support of the authorities, monopoly capital is attempting to undermine the organized efforts of the unions, radically weaken their positions and, where possible, get rid of the unions or generally convert them into malleable partners and thereby win greater freedom for capital in the exploitation of wage labor.

This article is devoted to a description of the factors which stimulated the present antiworker campaign and an analysis of its particular features and the tactical lines of American capital's struggle against the unions.

Socioeconomic and Political Conditions of the Stimulation of Capital's Offensive Against the Unions

A combination of a number of specific economic and political factors has been conducive to a stiffening of the anti-union strategy of the United States' monopoly capital. Standing out particularly among them is a set of factors whose common denominator is the interweaving of cyclical with structural crises and capital's search for a way out thereof in the rationalization of production on the basis of the latest achievements of the S&T revolution and in the transfer of the American economy to a new organizational and technological basis. This has brought about profound social change and been reflected most negatively in the position of the working class and

its organizations. Unemployment has assumed proportions unprecedented since the war, having in 1982 reached almost 11 million persons or 10 percent of the work force. It has hit most strongly at the employment of workers of the old, traditional sectors of industry which were for decades a stronghold of the unions. The level of unemployment is still high, despite the relatively lengthy period of economic recovery and the production upturn following the 1980-1982 crisis. In the past 3 years it has fluctuated within the 7-7.5-percent range.

The problem of employment in the United States has been complicated considerably by the overseas expansion of the TNC, which are subtly blackmailing the working class. In the race for the maximum profits they are transferring production to countries with cheap manpower and expanding imports of products of their overseas affiliates to the base country, where as a result of this hundreds of plants are being closed down. According to the calculations of the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress and AFL-CIO data, 11.5 million jobs have been lost in the country since 1979, and more than half of these, what is more, in highly unionized sectors of manufacturing industry (1, 15 February 1986, p 3) owing to the cyclical and structural crises and the expansion of American capital overseas and product imports and also the introduction of new technology. It is appropriate to also cite in this connection the following estimates: 85 percent of the new jobs which have been created since 1982 has pertained to the service sphere, where by 1990 some three-fourths of total manpower will be concentrated and where the unions now encompass only 7 percent of people in work (2).

The structural-technological reorganization of production in the United States is being accompanied by qualitative changes in the structure and composition of the work force. The movement to the forefront as leading sectors of a number of the latest high-technology sectors is leading to the formation of new groups of wage workers. Distinguished by high skills, increased production mobility, a capacity for more intricate labor and higher earnings, they yield considerably less easily to organization in unions. In addition, many of these new categories of work people are classified as "junior administrative personnel," which are not, in accordance with U.S. labor laws, unionizable, which is also undermining the organizational efforts of the unions to attract new members. It is sufficient to mention that among the total of persons employed in the main sector of the priority science-intensive sectors of manufacturing industry—electronic equipment production—the number of union members does not exceed 2 percent, and the majority of them, furthermore, is concentrated in long-unionized companies like, for example, General Electric and Xerox (3). The formation of new groups of the working class and the destabilizing impact of the technological restructuring and the activity of the TNC on employment have brought about a marked reduction in union ranks.

Another set of factors which influenced the creation of a situation conducive to the development of reactionary forces' offensive against the working people's vital rights and their social gains and union liberties is connected with the geographical relocation of enterprises inside the country and the changes in the distribution of manpower by region. According to data of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a redistribution of manpower from the traditional centers of the United States' industrial power (the Mid-West and central eastern states included by American statistics in the North, that is, the economically most developed region of the three main areas of the United States) in the direction of the southern and western states and also New England, which is part of the North, was observed in the 1960's and, particularly, in the 1970's. The greatest growth in employment here occurred in the South, which was previously an economic outlying area of the country. Whereas employment in the United States as a whole grew 66.7 percent in the period 1960-1980, in the North it increased 40.4 percent, but in the South, 120.9 percent (4).

However, the preferential rate of growth of employment in the South has not been accompanied by a matching rate of unionization of the working people there. For example, despite the fact that North Carolina and South Carolina have outdistanced all other states of the country in terms of level of concentration of manpower in the extractive, manufacturing and construction sectors in relation to overall employment in the nonagricultural sector and have in respect of this indicator been in first (32.4 percent) and second (29.8 percent) places respectively, the proportion of working people who are union members is, as before, in these southern states the lowest of all states of the country and constitutes in the first 6.5 percent, and in the second, 6.7 percent. Also highly indicative is the fact that in 11 southern states, including such a giant as Texas, the number of union members is still less than in the state of New York alone, and the South as a whole has only 18 percent of all members of unions of the United States (5).

The low level of unionization in the South has been brought about by its prolonged economic lagging, the greatest domination of racism, the insufficient development of the working class and the "favorable business climate" which has taken shape here in recent decades. The latter is expressed, inter alia, in the presence here of surplus cheap manpower, the greater prevalence of poverty (compared with the other regions) and also the existence of conservative traditions in social and political life, which have not been erased in the course of the contemporary socioeconomic transformation of the South and which are persistently cultivated by the local authorities and business. As acknowledged by American experts and journalists, "southern culture remains inhospitable to the unions," and anti-union sentiments compete with or have even superseded racism in a number of southern states "as the most respected prejudice" (6). In the 1940's-1950's even the traditions of conservatism in

the southern states were legally enshrined in the so-called "right to work" laws, which still complicate the unions' efforts to attract working people to their ranks there.

The "favorable business climate" is prompting the monopolies to expand and set up their enterprises in the South or transfer enterprises from other regions here. The union movement is thus being dealt a double blow: jobs are being eliminated and cut back in the most unionized parts of the United States, and new ones are being created in the southern states, which remain anti-union bastions of monopoly capital.

The common denominator of the third group of factors representing the main threat to the organized proletariat of the United States is the sharp intensification of reactionary trends in federal labor policy. Having begun in the 1970's, it resulted with the assumption of office in 1980 of the most reactionary groupings of the ruling class in a systematic offensive of all components of government authority against the workers movement. As American union leaders put it, the Republican administration headed by R. Reagan is the most anti-union, most antiworker administration in the history of the United States, its intention being to deprive the working class of this country of the gains it has made by persevering struggle over many decades.

Thanks to the appointments made by R. Reagan to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the latter has become, it is generally acknowledged, an "antiworker board," a "pro-employer body" and an "appendage of business". Having adopted a policy of a "new reading" of labor legislation, the NLRB has adopted a whole series of decisions making the Wagner Act—the main legislative instrument guaranteeing the workers' labor rights—an empty phrase and scrap of paper. The provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act concerning accountability and openness in labor relations making it incumbent upon employers to make available information on the use of the services of anti-union consultants have become a dead letter also. The reason for this is the virtual inactivity of the Labor Department (7). According to union reports, the Reagan administration is also assisting the American monopolies in their transfer of their enterprises to cheap-manpower countries. The Presidential Commission on Organized Crime, which on the pretext of combating the Mafia proposed endowing the NLRB with the right to decertify unions which had been penetrated by criminal elements, became one further ally of the monopolies in the administration in 1986 (8).

In the reactionary forces' campaign against the working class and its organizations an increasingly active role is being performed also by the judiciary and legislative authorities. The courts, in particular, have accorded the corporations the opportunity of canceling collective bargaining agreements on the basis of article 11 of bankruptcy law. An anti-union mood is predominant in

Congress also, where "literally all federal laws" designed to protect the workers' rights have become a target of the attacks of rightwing senators and members of the House (9).

The said phenomena in the economy and political life of the United States are among the most important reasons for the current crisis state of the American union movement. Referring to the ongoing process of a reduction in the numbers of union members, the bourgeois weekly of a liberal persuasion *The Nation* asks: "Would Americans not rather celebrate Labor Day without the unions?" (10) This conjecture is an exaggeration, of course, but it cannot be considered unfounded. After all, whereas in 1945, when the highest level of unionization had been achieved in the United States, the unions united 35.8 percent of working people, they now unite less than 18 percent. "Never since the 1920's," experts from MTI observe in this connection, "have social and political conditions been so conducive to American employers publicly declaring their intention of becoming 'union-free'" (11, p 18).

The vast majority of American monopolies has joined the anti-union campaign. As the AFL-CIO maintains, 95 percent of employers are conducting an active struggle against the unions (12). A distinguishing feature of the monopolies' present offensive against the gains of the working class is the activity of special firms and consultants devising and applying in practice various methods of combating the unions. They are helping the monopolies create in their empires a "union-free environment"; getting rid of the unions from the enterprises by way of various machinations; participating in the collective negotiations with the unions on the side of the employers, forcing the working people to renounce their gains; helping break strikes or, on the contrary, provoking them for the purpose of smashing the unions. The special term denoting such activity, "union busting" (from the English words "trade union" and "taming," "curbing"), has become part of the vocabulary in the United States. A multitude of anti-union firms and consultations began to appear in the 1970's, and in a short time "curbing the unions" has become a fast-growing profitable business. By the mid-1980's there were 4,000-5,000 firms, approximately 10,000 lawyers and hundreds of consultants in this field. Some 75 percent of U.S. employers have availed themselves of their services, and the annual income of this sector is in excess of \$500 million (13).

Creation of a 'Union-Free Environment'

Despite the weakening of the union's positions, they remain a powerful and significant force in the socioeconomic and political life of American society. Indirect acknowledgment of this is the fact that significant numbers of nonunionized American corporations, including such important ones as IBM, Texas Instruments, Hewlett-Packard, Morgan Guaranty Trust and Marriot Hotels are making big financial outlays, endeavoring to remain "union-free". They are resorting to this end to

the formation of so-called "preventive labor relations" representing essentially a type of anti-union tactic of capital in the struggle against worker organizations and hoping for the creation at the enterprise or in the institution of an atmosphere which precludes the possibility of the union conducting a successful organizing campaign.

A whole number of measures is being implemented within the "preventive labor relations" framework, among which we may put methods borrowed by the corporations from the unions with which the "equivalent of union privileges" is being created. We refer to the following primarily. First, the appropriate regulation of wages and additional payments, specifically, a rise therein to the level which reaches or exceeds the amount of the earnings of union members. In the opinion of a number of American managers, there is no need to save on wages for this expenditure is recouped with interest by the possibility of controlling the work force unimpeded, without the "interference" of the union. Second, the implementation of programs for the vocational training and retraining of workers and employees and the creation of a permanent corps of workers insured against dismissal. These methods have been practiced for several decades now by the IBM corporation and enable it to successfully resist the unions' attempts to organize the working people employed at its enterprises (14, 7 May 1986, p 64). Third, the introduction of procedures for the individual examination of complaints by special bilateral boards (including representatives of management and the wage workers). According to a report of the journal *Business Week*, an ever growing number of American corporations are setting up such boards at their enterprises. For example, in 1983 the decision to set up boards to investigate complaints was adopted by the Control Data and General Electric companies (for their nonunionized enterprises) (14, 15 September 1986, p 66).

In form the realization of the enumerated measures coincides with the proposals of the unions. However, as far as their content is concerned, they fully preclude the actual possibility of the working people participating in determination of the conditions of their labor. For this reason some American experts are pointing out that the employers' practice of setting up "the equivalent of union privileges" is a "pale imitation of the collective bargaining version" of these privileges and sometimes no more than "camouflage"; is designed "to demonstrate to the working people that the unions are unnecessary" and "erect a barrier in the way of unionization" and "depends entirely on the good will of management" (11, pp 5, 41-18).

The said actions of the corporations aimed at the creation of a "substitute" for the union are supplemented by the indirect bribery of the wage workers (profit-sharing, joint ownership of company stock) and the corresponding methods of personnel management based on the modern achievements of sociology and industrial

psychology. Among the latter are the introduction at enterprises of the practice of "human relations" and programs of the "enrichment" and "humanization" of labor; and integration of wage workers in the "company culture". F. Thompson, chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor Relations of the House Education and Labor Committee, emphasized that "the nonproduction aspects of management control over the work force are becoming increasingly significant and are based to an increasingly large extent on sociology and psychology.... But whereas this was the case in the past also, the more extensive, more skillful application of the social sciences in management policy with respect to control over wage workers may undoubtedly be considered a new phenomenon." The purpose of the said methods is to implant the idea of the peaceful cooperation and "community" of interests of wage workers and management inasmuch as the modern capitalist enterprise has allegedly become a voluntary association of workers and the employers engaged in a single mutually profitable undertaking. It should be noted that "human relations" and the "humanization" of labor are being introduced primarily by companies of the new science-intensive sectors, which, it is true, is connected not only with their anti-union intentions but also the higher demands being made on the quality of the work force (15).

Among the said methods are elements of personnel management developed by Japanese employers and borrowed actively at the present time by certain American companies (16). The Japanese personnel management model, which has come to be called "Z" theory in specialized literature, attracts the attention of American business because it represents "a theoretical model of the paternal collaborationism" of labor and capital not entailing "power-sharing" and permits the creation of a system of labor relations in which adversarial relations are replaced by relations of cooperation, but in which in practice management is totally dominant (17). For example, the removal of all psychological barriers separating management and the rank and file workers, the establishment of personal contacts between them, the creation of a "family atmosphere" at the enterprise and so forth are practiced. Despite the symbolic nature of such relations, they contribute, the bourgeois magazine *U.S. News and World Report* writes, to the development of the conviction in the working people that the organization of a union would undermine the "mutual understanding" that has been established. It is no accident, therefore, that only one-fourth of all those employed at enterprises belonging to Japanese monopolies in the United States are members of unions. Even the powerful United Auto Workers Union is having great difficulty in this field: it has not yet managed to create union branches at the majority of enterprises of Japanese auto manufacturing companies (18).

A relatively new phenomenon in the practice of "preventive labor relations" is the integration of wage workers in the "culture of the company," which together with "Z" theory has become an object of attention on the part of

the biggest corporations. Reporting on this now popular practice, *Fortune* magazine decodes this "integration" as the "socialization" of wage workers signifying the molding in them of common behavioral standards, habits, values and ideas and ultimately a "spirit of cooperation and integrity" and the perception that the entire personnel of the company—from the top manager to the ordinary worker—is "involved in a single common cause" (19). This "socialization," which implies a gradual "education" of the worker consisting of several phases, is essentially the cultivation of social conformism, which together with systematic control on the part of management over the mood of the workers and employees and immediate repression in the event of their manifestation of an interest in union activity is an integral part of certain of the biggest corporations' strategy of counteracting the unions.

Policy of Undermining and Smashing the Unions

Unconcealed forms of the anti-union activity of American capital aimed at undermining the organizational efforts of the unions and at smashing them have become most prevalent in the 1980's. "The undermining of the unions and strike-breaking," G. Hall said at the 23d Communist Party of the United States Congress, "have become a serious threat to the union movement. We are witnessing a return to the situation which existed prior to the creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations," that is, to the times when for the workers basic labor rights were not enshrined in law (21).

Many monopolies have chosen in respect of the unions "starvation" tactics and are implementing them not unsuccessfully at their enterprises with the aid of methods drawn from the arsenal of the 1920's—intimidation, the persecution and dismissal of union activists and those who support the unions and the hiring of strike-breakers. The use of such methods in labor relations is prohibited by U.S. legislation and articles 7 and 8 of the Wagner Act as employers' "dishonest labor practice". However, the unlawful actions of the latter are being practiced increasingly extensively currently thanks to actual connivance on the part of the government authorities, mainly the NLRB. In addition, even if the unions succeed in proving the fact of an employer's perpetration of "dishonest labor practice" and forcing the NLRB to take steps—which is now extremely infrequently—to put a stop to it, the punishments provided for by the law (basically the payment of a fine) do not stop its transgressors. The maximum penalty that can be imposed on a company for unlawful actions against the unions amounts to little more than \$11,000, whereas the unionization of a company means a growth in its expenditure on manpower of, it is estimated, 10-15 percent per year, not to mention the fact that the presence of a union sets a certain limit to the unlimited power of the employer. Thus violation of the law proves more profitable than recognition of the union and the establishment of legitimate relations with it.

The tactics of undermining the unions are expressed also in the stiffening of the employers' resistance to the creation of new union organizations by way of interference in the process of the election of collective bargaining representation. As a result of this the unions annually gained the right in 1982-1984, for example, to represent only 80,000 working people compared with 176,000 in 1974-1976, and the number of elections of trade union representation which were conducted declined from 8,150 to 3,800 a year. But even if a union succeeds in creating a new local, the employers frequently refuse to enter into negotiations with it on the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements. According to AFL-CIO data, only two-thirds (63 percent) of the successful elections of union representation end in the signing of labor agreements (22).

The employers' interference in the elections and their refusal to conclude collective bargaining agreements are called in the United States the "Stevens formula". J.P. Stevens and Co—a major textile company—has become the talk of the town in connection with the fact that it has for several decades been conducting an implacable struggle, resorting to outright violence, against the Garment Workers Union, preventing it from organizing the workers at its enterprises. The "Stevens formula" is followed by such companies as Florida Steel, Litton Industries, Federal Pacific Corporation and others. Since 1982 the Dressmakers Union has been struggling for the affirmation of the legitimate rights of the local it set up at the (Sisselmen) garment factories. In accordance with a recent court finding, the employer is obliged to pay the workers compensation for the violation of their labor rights totaling \$1.3 million. The struggle of the local of the United Auto Workers Union for the conclusion of the first labor agreement at the Harper and Row Publishing enterprise, which began in 1983, continues still. The manifest intention of this company to smash the union prompted the AFL-CIO Executive Committee to call on all unions to boycott its publications (1, 9 August 1986, p 3; 30 August 1986, p 2).

In recent years the monopolies have been taking advantage with increasing frequency of the working people's realization of their right to strike to eliminate the union locals with the aid of decertification elections. According to the law, if a strike lasts a year, the employer can insist on new elections to verify whether the workers wish to be represented by the striking union. If the elections culminate in defeat for the union, the latter is deprived by the NLRB of the right (certificate) to representation and virtually breaks up. The Steelworkers Union local at the copper mines in Arizona was smashed by this method. The owners of the Phelps Dodge corporation dismissed 1,700 striking workers and took on strike-breakers, who opposed the union. An attempt is being made in the same way to have done with the Printing Workers Union by the Miami Paper company, which provoked a strike and then embarked on the hiring of strike-breakers, and a whole number of other companies (1, 9 August 1986, p 3).

Some corporations are gambling in the struggle against the unions, as 50 years ago, on company unions. For example, the latter existed many years ago at chemical industry enterprises of the giant TNC Dupont. In 1985 the Steelworkers Union succeeded in organizing workers which were members of the company union at the plant in Richmond, Virginia. However, the corporation is resisting the conclusion of a collective bargaining agreement with the union. The outcome of this struggle will predetermine to a large extent whether this TNC will remain a sanctuary for company unions.

Back at the height of the energy crisis of the 1970's the transnational energy conglomerates adopted a policy of the total elimination of the unions in mining industry, resorting to this end to the implantation of a modernized version of the yellow dog contracts, in accordance with which workers are hired on condition that they are not and will not become union members. The TNC (including Royal Dutch-Shell and Gulf Oil), which own the majority of companies in the coal mining sphere, are attempting to smash the United Mineworkers Union in the Appalachians. They are closing down unionized mines and dismissing workers who are members of the union. At a special United Mineworkers Union congress in the fall of 1986 its chairman, R. Trumka, said that in place of the dismissed miners the companies were hiring in other areas workers who were not members of the union, subjecting them to "psychological tests" and selecting only the reliable ones (that is, strike-breakers in fact). In order to confront the TNC which are planning to have done with the union in both the western and eastern parts of the country, the delegates to the congress passed a resolution empowering the United Mineworkers Union to study the possibility of unification with the other sectoral union (23).

The Monopolies' Offensive Against the Unions' Socioeconomic Gains

The tactical line of monopoly capital aimed at undermining the unions' gains has been expressed in collective bargaining concessions, which as of the start of the current decade have been extended to the majority of organized detachments of the working class. These contracts have provided for a reduction in or a freeze on wages; the establishment of a two-tier pay system, in accordance with which a newly hired worker receives less pay than a worker with a certain length of service; changes in work rules to the detriment of the workers (work rules incorporate the classification of jobs and their allocation among the workers and determine the amount of work for the individual worker or team, the size of the teams, the procedure for moving a worker from one operation to another, rest breaks and so forth. Being an important part of the collective contracts, they prevent employers arbitrarily causing a deterioration in working conditions). In 1982, which was a particularly difficult year for the unions, which found themselves forced to accede at that time to considerable concessions to the employers for the sake of saving jobs, a reduction

in earnings was recorded in 48 percent, a wage freeze, in 52 percent, and changes in work rules, in 56 percent of contracts (24). Despite the end, at the start of 1983, to the overproduction crisis and the economic recovery which followed, there was no end to the unions' retreat in the socioeconomic sphere, and in 1984-1986 the corporations continued to demand concessions and to force the unions to consent to them, even if there was no need for this.

The increase in production efficiency and the growth of monopoly profits have been achieved in recent years, as the journal *Business Week* acknowledged at the end of 1986, thanks to big sacrifices on the part of the working people (25). Thus of the 2.2 million workers on whose behalf the unions renegotiated contracts in 1985 wages were frozen for 700,000 persons and reduced by an average of 8.8 percent for 100,000. And in 1986 there was a reduction per contracts covering 1.85 million working people in wages of an average of 8.2 percent for 153,000 persons and a freeze thereon for 433,000. Although an increase in wages for 1.4 million and 1.3 million persons was provided for in these years also, the increase in the working people's earnings was devalued by their lag behind the growth of prices (14, 29 December 1986, p 43) and the further spread of agreements with a two-tier pay system, which is striking at the workers' unity and permitting the employers to lower the working people's average wage. As a result, as the winter session of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee in February 1987 observed, in the past 7 years the working people's real income has declined 10 percent (1, 21 February 1987). In the many instances where the monopolies (the "big three" automobile manufacturers, for example) agreed to a wage increase, they did this on condition of this union or the other's renunciation of employment guarantees recorded in the collective contracts earlier, which entailed a loss of jobs held by members of the union, or on condition of the latter's consent to appreciable changes in the work rules.

U.S. business circles and their press organs have for several years running now been going on and on about the imminent "revolution in work rules". "It is a question," a manager of the Goodrich company elucidates, "of the same work being done by a smaller number of workers or a larger amount of work being performed by the previous body of workers." In other words, "throwing the traditional work rules onto the scrap heap," as *Fortune* magazine put it, the employers are introducing a flexible system of the organization of labor and expanding the "maneuverability" of management and its prerogatives in control of the work force, which is ultimately resulting in the increased exploitation of the working people. An idea of the benefits which the monopolies are deriving from this may be gleaned from the example of the Chrysler corporation, which, thanks to changes in the work rules at its plant in Indiana, is saving \$2.8 million a year, which means a 30-percent reduction in production costs (14, 16 May 1983, pp 58-62).

The monopolies are making skillful use for increasing pressure on the unions of various forms of "flexible" hire and unstable employment, which are being practiced increasingly extensively. As the journal *Business Week* estimates, the extent of such forms of employment (working people employed part-time and on a temporary basis, persons working from home) has almost doubled since the start of the 1980's and had by the end of 1986 reached 17 percent of the total work force. The wages of these categories of working people are far lower than those of regular workers; in the majority of cases they have no right to supplementary social payments and benefits and enjoy inadequate union protection or are without it altogether. The monopolies frequently use them as strike-breakers (26). In their offensive against the collective bargaining gains of the unions the monopolies are also making extensive use of such a means of pressure on the workers as the threat of dismissal as a result of the companies' declaration of bankruptcy, closure of the enterprises, lockouts and the conclusion of "outside contracts". The latter signify the signing of contracts with nonunionized companies with low pay in the United States or overseas for their manufacture of individual products previously manufactured at enterprises of the given monopoly. Threatening "outside contracts," in 1986 the Chrysler corporation forced the United Auto Workers Union to conclude concessionary contracts at a number of plants in Michigan and Alabama. "We can cut wage rates and introduce new work rules... or conclude outside contracts"—the Ford Company's chief spokesman at the negotiations with this union confronted the workers with this choice. General Motors is acting the same. In the fall of 1986 this corporation announced its intention to close down in the following 3 years more than a dozen of its plants (five of them in the current year even), as a result of which 29,000 jobs will be lost, and by 1990 General Motors will have saved \$2 billion (14, 24 November 1986, p 35; 29 December 1986, p 43; 12 January 1987, p 51). As union circles believe, General Motors does not wish to invest money in the auto industry since it has found a place for its more profitable investment: having in 1984-1985 bought up companies which specialize in the field of computer technology and the manufacture of military products (Electronic Data Systems and Hughes Aircraft), it has become one of the Pentagon's biggest contractors and has concluded contracts with it connected with the realization of the SDI program.

An ever increasing number of American companies has been resorting recently to lockouts. The lockout declared by the major steel corporation USX may serve as an example. In response to the working people's work stoppage as a sign of protest against "contracts elsewhere" and changes in work rules on 1 August 1986 the corporation shut down enterprises in nine states, dismissing 23,000 workers. After a conflict lasting many weeks, USX agreed in January 1987 to negotiations with the Steelworkers Union, but adopted an aggressive posture: in exchange for a limitation of the practice of the

conclusion of "outside contracts" it insisted on a reduction in the wage rate and additional payments, which would enable it to save \$85 million annually. Under pressure from the corporation the union ratified on 31 January a contract providing for the abolition of 1,346 jobs. And just a few days later the president of USX announced the corporation's intention to embark on a further winding down of production, which would lead to the elimination of a further 3,400 jobs and reduce the employment of Steelworkers Union members at its plants (including contractual reductions) by 23 percent (27).

The concessionary contracts have been illustrated extensively in the American bourgeois press. It has emphasized that in exchange for the unions' sacrifices the employers also have made concessions connected with a broadening of the workers' right to participate in the management of production. The reference is to the enlistment of union leaders in the activity of the managerial stratum; the making available to the unions of financial and other previously secret records concerning company activity; enlistment of the workers in participation in the solution of questions concerning productivity and product quality, planning and so forth; development of a system of wage workers' sharing in company profits or ownership of its stock.

The said aspects of "cooperation," however, benefit primarily the monopolies since they provide for the unions' assistance in increasing the efficiency of exploitation. It has, as the magazine *U.S. News and World Report* candidly writes, "a good chance" of being a "stable and permanent" practice since the "interaction of the unions and management gives hope of an increase in labor intensity" (28). In addition, as experience shows, neither the introduction of union spokesmen to the company boards of directors nor access to company records signify the establishment of genuine control over production on the part of the unions and are not saving jobs.

Finally, we may speak of the incommensurability of the unions' losses and gains per the concessionary contracts. The labor agreement signed in 1985 by the United Auto Workers Union and the General Motors corporation and extending to its Saturn plant in Tennessee could be the most striking example in this respect. This contract, as American communists observe, in fact reduces the union to the position of a company union, and the conclusion of such contracts at other enterprises and in sectors (this General Motors experiment has already been borrowed by the Chrysler company and the LTW steel corporation) is fraught with an appreciable weakening of the unions' representation locally and a lowering of the living standard of all workers. Polls conducted among American companies show that in 1987 also, when collective contracts encompassing 2.2 million working people will be renewed, they plan a further offensive against the unions in the collective bargaining sphere in respect of all the said directions (14, 29 December 1986, p 43).

Thus the changes to the benefit of the employers in the collective contracts, just as the outright undermining of the unions and the "preventive labor relations," are having a negative effect on the positions of the organized workers movement and the strength of its ranks. In this situation the leadership of the unions has failed to organize effective counteraction to the antiworker offensive of the monopolies. A certain evolution of the views of the leading union upper stratum, which was expressed in a report of the AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work (1985), which for the first time acknowledged the weakening of the unions, analyzed the reasons for it, including the antiworker campaign of the monopolies, and discussed ways of solving the difficulties being experienced by the union movement, has been observed in recent years, it is true. The same questions were on the agenda of the 16th convention of the trade union center and the sessions of its executive committee in 1986-1987. However, the leaders of the AFL-CIO are hoping to overcome the crisis of the unions with the aid of the former "proven" methods. These include the traditional class collaboration with the employers and a promise to the working people of the material benefits which will be secured them by union membership. The leadership of the American organized workers movement has thus not in fact put forward a long-term action program corresponding to the new conditions of the class struggle for the renewal and strengthening of the unions which would make it possible to repulse the offensive of capital against the gains of the U.S. working class.

Footnotes

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18. *U.S. News and World Report*, 4 July 1983, pp 75-76; 9 December 1985, p 82; *Business Week*, 14 July 1986, p 50.
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24. *Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 1986, p 13.
25. *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1986, pp 23, 25; *AFL-CIO News*, 1 November 1986, p 5.
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27. *AFL-CIO News*, 25 October 1986, p 3; *Business Week*, 19 January 1987, pp 56-57; 16 February 1987, p 37; *People's Daily World*, 28 October 1986.
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'Export' of West European Social Democratic Tenets to Africa Hit

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[Article by Natalya Ivanovna Vysotskaya, candidate of historical sciences, senior research associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute: "Present-Day Social Democracy: the African Perspective"]

[Text] Present-day international social democracy represents a substantial sociopolitical force. The socialist and social democratic parties, in office or in opposition, influence the formation of the domestic and foreign policy of many countries of the capitalist world, leading ones included. The social democrats represent a basic current in the workers movement, and they are followed by considerable numbers of the working class. Operating via union, women's, youth and other social organizations, they have an opportunity to influence the frame of mind and political behavior of the broad people's masses.

The readiness of the Soviet state, which had been expressed earlier, to develop relations with social democracy, despite the depth of the ideological disagreements between the communists and social democrats, was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress. Attention was called here to the usefulness of an impartial familiarization with one another's views primarily in the interests of stimulation of the struggle for peace and international security (1).

In recent years this invitation to dialogue and interaction has ceased to be one-sided. The Socialist International (SI) and its constituent parties have joined actively in the discussion of present-day global problems: war and peace, the social progress of the developing countries and the struggle against starvation and ecological problems. Great significance is attached to the resolve of social democracy, West European primarily, to participate in discussion of the main problem of the present day—the question of the preservation of life on earth—and contribute to an improvement in international relations.

Recognition of this need has been reflected not only in statements by European socialists but also representatives of the developing countries, in the protest, for example, of representatives of the Socialist Party of Senegal, who at the Vienna Conference (1985) and the Lima Congress (1986) expressed Africa's concern at the arms race since, they believe, were a nuclear war to erupt, it would "burn Africa also" (2).

The SI's proposals pertaining to priority measures to limit the arms race are in keeping with the aspirations of peace-loving forces of the planet and provisions for whose joint implementation the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have long been calling. The social democrats' approach to the most acute international

problems, which has become more realistic, implants hopes for the possibility of an expansion of their interaction with the communists and the enlistment of the broad people's masses in this process. This interaction and cooperation could encompass a wide range of international problems, including questions of vital importance to the developing countries. The possibility of the joint discussion and solution of these questions is supported by the fact that the SI has already ceased to regard the problem of underdevelopment in isolation from global international contradictions. This trend has grown over the last decade of the SI's activity.

However, the general positive changes in the SI's international assertiveness cannot be viewed unequivocally, without regard for the duality and contradictoriness of present-day social democracy, which make their presence noticeably known in its relations with the developing countries. In this sphere of its international activity it not only supports certain just economic demands of the young independent states and their struggle against economic and racial discrimination, apartheid and so forth but also aspires to gloss over the antagonistic contradictions between imperialism and the cherished aspirations of the broad people's masses of the developing countries.

While operating in Europe on behalf of the working masses, primarily the working class, West European social democracy finds itself simultaneously in positions of "coexistence" with the bourgeois rule of law, within whose framework it hopes to change capitalism for the better, by way of the eradication of its defects and extremes. Attention is called to this aspect of the matter by many experts in social democracy (3, p 223). It is from this duality that it is necessary to proceed when examining the policy of West European social democracy in countries of the so-called "third world" and African policy in particular. In this article we call attention to the factors which have prompted the SI to stimulate the promotion of social democratic ideas in Africa, the adaptation of the idea of "democratic socialism" to African conditions, the social orientation of the theoretical and practical activity of both Western and African social democrats and, finally, the actual results of this entire activity.

Reasons for Political Expansion

The elaboration of social democratic policy for Africa in the postwar years began approximately at the end of the 1960's. Two stages may be distinguished in Western social democracy's offensive against Africa. If we proceed from the African prerequisites of this offensive, it should be noted that both these stages are connected with African states' choice of development path: the first stage, with the search for a sociopolitical orientation and the appearance of the "African socialism" concept, the second, with the crisis of these concepts and the continuing relatively acute struggle over the same issues, but more a social than a political struggle now. Such are the first causes of Africa's introduction to the ideas and

policy of Western social democracy. But there are in this process other, intrinsically social democratic, motives and also motives of a broader, national-state scale—tasks of securing the interests of the countries in which socialist and social democratic parties operate. Taken as a whole, these are the interests of the world to which social democrats attribute themselves. This triad—social democratic and national interests and the interests of the system—impart extraordinary contradictoriness to the SI's African policy.

Having turned "to face Africa" (4), West European social democracy made one further attempt to solve the problem of the SI's conversion into a truly worldwide organization, and the social democratic movement, into a truly international movement. Having turned to Africa, it intended continuing the strategy of expansion of its social base in the zone of the developing countries.

The working class constitutes the backbone of its social support in Europe, but the socialist and social democratic parties long since opened wide their doors to various social strata inasmuch as this is a problem of an electorate. And the struggle for such is a principal trump card in their contest with bourgeois political parties for power. Punctiliousness in respect of the social composition of their parties cannot be termed a characteristic feature of the majority of socialist and social democratic parties of West Europe. Recruiting new SI supporters in Africa signified for them a strengthening of their political positions in Europe and the world.

A serious motivating factor of the stimulation of the SI's activity in Africa were fears that the gravitation toward study of the theory and practice of scientific socialism which had emerged as of the first years of independent development would continue to grow on the continent. Faced with the difficult task of building a new society on the ruins of the colonial past, African politicians could not overlook Marxist-Leninist teaching and the experience of its practical embodiment in the USSR and the other socialist countries. The possibility of the in-depth study of scientific socialism and the adoption of its principles as guiding principles for the organization of state and social life in the young African states were regarded by West European social democracy as an undesirable and dangerous phenomenon. There followed the appropriate reaction. The social democrats, who had always endeavored to win the working class away from the communists, now attempted to isolate from their influence an entire continent. The SI had no wish to "farm out" Africa to the communists. It should not be forgotten that even under the conditions of a weakening of anticommunist passions among the ruling circles of Western social democracy its ideological views are hostile to Marxism, and the leaders and ideologists of the social democratic movement are conducting a "conscious struggle against Marxist-Leninist theory" (5).

The said factors prompted the SI to draw up an African program in the 1960's and they continue to operate today also. But new factors connected with the changed

position of the SI parties in Europe had been added to them at the start of the 1980's. Whereas in the 1970's these parties enjoyed considerable prestige and many were in office and were reveling in their successes, at the start of the 1980's they were entering a period of serious setbacks. The exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, which accelerated their fiasco, confronted social democracy with the need to formulate responses no longer to the successful development of capitalism but to its blunders and failures (6). The "Abundant Society," in whose creation they had assigned themselves virtually the leading role, had failed. The formulation of alternative programs capable of winning over to it the broad working masses and the working class was required of social democracy. It was natural, therefore, that the 16th Socialist International Congress, which took place under the motto "World Crisis—the Socialists' Response," pronounced anathema on "euphoric illusions concerning the transformation of capitalism" (7). This was a recognition of the defeat of reformism—the pivotal idea of all of social democratic philosophy. The 17th (Lima) congress proved incapable of formulating convincing alternatives to the crisis phenomena also.

The setbacks of the 1980's have engendered internal discord in the ranks of West European social democracy. How this has been reflected in its fortunes is indicated in the book "Profiles of European Social Democracy" (8). The preface to this book, which is composed of articles by prominent figures of socialist and social democratic parties of West Europe, observes that social democracy bears its share of responsibility for the crisis of capitalism, and attention is called here to the fact that there are strata in social democracy closely connected with the bourgeoisie and ready to pursue a policy in defense of its interests forming the "right flank" of the social democratic movement.

This proposition is extraordinarily important for an understanding of an aspect of the African policy of social democracy, namely, the nationalist thrust in the activity of rightwing social democracy which in the developing countries is manifested in the form of a class collaborationist policy profitable to the monopolies. "Within European countries," as R. Urbani, chairman of the Luxembourg Communist Party, wrote, "they (the social democrats—A.V.) ensure the 'social peace' which the monopolies need..." (9), but outside, in Africa, for example, they operate to the benefit of neocolonialist circles, working on reducing the "political risk" of their activity in the young states.

'Democratic Socialism' in Africa

The reaction to the bankruptcy of social reformist programs in Europe has been echoed in Africa. It is difficult to maintain that the revitalization of social democratic activity on the African continent is an attempt to exact vengeance for the setbacks in Europe. But the interconnection between these setbacks and the active aspiration to strengthen rear areas in the "third world" is obvious.

In recent years the SI has exerted much effort to instill in the minds of the devotees of "African socialism" the idea of "democratic socialism" and has attempted to rally on this basis its supporters and its hypothetical sympathizers. Evidence of this was the creation of the African Socialist International (ASI) in 1981 and the search for ways to adapt "democratic socialism" to specific African conditions.

The "democratic socialism" concept reflects the reformist essence of the theoretical principles of present-day social democracy and is the main subject of its ideological exports to Africa. This concept essentially proposes leaving unchanged the economic basis of society, preserving the former form of ownership, and presupposes the reformation of superstructural institutions of capitalist society strictly within the framework of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois legality. But this "reformation" has yet to bear fruit, for the working masses, in any event. And primarily because the creators of "democratic socialism" ignore the socially determined nature of democracy and speak about it without relating it to the specific social system, but in practice "democratic socialism" is characterized by the "parameters of bourgeois democracy," which scorns the vital interests of the broad working masses (10).

What sort of program in the channel of "democratic socialism" is Africa being offered by the SI, which is exporting this concept to the African continent? After all, there is no developed capitalism in Africa to be reformed, unless it could be a question of South Africa, with which relations in West European social democracy take shape mainly from the standpoints of a dislike of the apartheid regime.

However, social democracy has found a place for reform in African reality. Reform is being promoted as an alternative to revolutionary transformations, which were conceived of as a continuation of the national liberation struggle. In other words, attempts are being made to fit a reformist bridle on revolution and make it controllable from above and subordinate to the interests of the strata of African society which are engaged in personal enrichment, caring not a jot for the working people of their countries. Thus from "controlled capitalism," about which social democrats in the West speak, the thread stretches to "controlled revolution" in Africa.

In practice, however, it is a question of ensuring in African states under the cover of "democratic socialism" the development of capitalism, to which both certain domestic factors and their presence in the world capitalist economic system are conducive. Africa has experience of such development under "democratic socialism" slogans. We may cite Kenya, whose government was the first in Africa to proclaim a doctrine of "democratic socialism" as the official state program. The leaders of Senegal and Tunisia, countries which are developing by

the capitalist path, are disciples of this concept. The Madagascar Socialist Party headed by Ph. Tsiranana once urged a similar choice.

These examples are reason to maintain that upon transference to specific African conditions the "democratic socialism" concept, turning into official doctrine, becomes in fact a program for the building of capitalist relations and, accordingly, a bourgeois society. This transformation of "democratic socialism" illustrates the illusory nature of social democratic "third way" theories and their social helplessness. The African metamorphoses of "democratic socialism" point to one particular feature of social democratic doctrines: the difference between bourgeois reformism and rightwing social reformism, slight in Europe, in Africa becomes even less.

Search for a Sociopolitical Base

The export of "democratic socialism" to Africa has its own social reference points different from the European ones. The European path of the formation of a social democratic movement, whose social basis was the working class, is impossible in present-day Africa since there is as yet no sufficiently strong and politically developed proletariat here which is prepared to unite under social democratic banners.

But in the majority of African countries there are unions and a syndicalist movement, and the privileged upper stratum thereof is taking shape in places. And although it is noticeably different from the worker bureaucracy which was the exponent of reformist ideas in many industrially developed European countries, it is nonetheless an object of social democrats' close attention. There are today even in this kind of African worker aristocracy signs of reformist thinking (11). The ideas of social partnership and "social consensus" are being implanted in it by the efforts of Western reformist unions, some party leaders and sometimes the state. But the working class and syndicalist upper stratum are as yet the second echelon, as it were, of social reformism's offensive on the African continent.

Joining in the struggle for Africans' minds after WWII, socialists and Labor Party members from the metropolises resolved to introduce to reformist thinking the leaders of the national liberation movement, educated Africans and leaders of parties, which were frequently area sections of the parties of the metropolis. The colonial policy of the Fabian Colonial Office (12) and the French Section of the Workers International, which helped set up the African socialist movement and had branches in French West and Equatorial Africa, testifies to this.

The development of revolutionary processes in Africa led to the inclusion in the social life of the African countries of broad strata of the local population. New social seams became involved in the political struggle. The middle urban strata, the petty bourgeoisie of city and village and certain strata of the bourgeoisie began to

play an increasingly active part. In fighting for their place in the business sphere they inevitably found themselves involved in the contemporary ideological confrontation and, as an active sociopolitical force, attracted the attention of Western social democracy. We may cite the example of the African policy of the SPD and certain social democratic parties of North European countries. The Friedrich Ebert Party Fund (an SPD fund) channels efforts within the "development aid" framework into penetration of Africa's cooperative movement and spends considerable resources on assisting the creation of a "competent middle stratum" (13). Personnel for various organizations: women's, youth, union, cooperative is trained with this money. Foundations close to Sweden's Social Democratic Labor Party engage in similar activity and also the training of specialists of the "business sphere".

Scholars researching the social aspects of West European social democracy's African policy agree that the African middle urban strata and the strata of the national bourgeoisie aligned with them are its main hope. This orientation is a continuation of the processes developing in Europe. Having converted their parties from class parties into "open parties of the people," the social democrats in their own countries, ensuring, as before, breadth of social base at the expense of the working class, are increasingly energetic in attracting representatives of the "middle class" to permanent work in the social democratic movement and molding from them the category of party activists (14).

In Africa the calls of the supporters of "democratic socialism" for class cooperation and social peace and others afford this "class" (it is sometimes called the "owners' class") a plausible excuse for support of the capitalism developing under their protection. They are interested in a "peaceful controlled revolution," which makes it possible with the aid of gradual structural transformations in society, technology and the economy to prevent the possibility of revolutionary explosions.

In speaking of the African ideological climate for the spread of "democratic socialism" on the continent it is impossible to overlook such a phenomenon as nationalism, which in present-day Africa remains a most important component of the ideological struggle. It has many followers, and many of them are becoming supporters of national reformism. African nationalists and social reformists are brought close together not only by petty bourgeois character, as their primordial environment, but also the proximity of their views on the role of the classes and class struggle in social development in general and in Africa in particular.

As is known, Western social democrats are characterized by the trend of an extra-class (or supraclass) approach to many social phenomena. African nationalists, and far from the most reactionary among them, have for many years denied the existence of classes in African society. There is even greater unanimity among the two in

respect of class struggle. Many African nationalists see class struggle as an absolute evil preventing the forging of national unity and the formation of national statehood and political stability. H. Bourguiba, honorary chairman of the African International and a typical African nationalist, has long been calling for "an end to class reflexes". At the start of the 1960's H. Bourguiba said: "In the battle which we have begun we refuse to exclude from the ranks of the nation those who are usually called the bourgeoisie, demagogically and pointlessly accusing them of being inveterate enemies of the people.... Passengers on a single ship, we must be united. Just as he who is called a bourgeois must see the workers as allies with an interest in the development of the enterprise, so must the worker rid himself of the proletarian frame of mind which forces him to consider the employer his natural enemy. Both must have done with their class reflexes and understand that their interests amount to joint labor for the sake of the growth of production and, consequently, a rise in the living standard of all Tunisians" (15). The supporters of "democratic socialism" in Kenya speak constantly of "mutual social responsibility". As a convinced nationalist and the founder of "negritude," which has an aftertaste of "black nationalism," former Senegalese president L. Senghor remains a fervent disciple of national reformism.

The propaganda of the merits of "democratic socialism" in Africa has an almost 10-year history. But the organizational unification of its supporters has occurred only upon the creation of the Africintern, which was to have imparted to the national concepts of "African socialism," which had not justified itself either economically or politically, some new, primarily pan-African, resonance and simultaneously introduced neophytes to Western democracy with its political and party pluralism.

The emergence of the ASI, which united parties which had sworn fealty to "democratic socialism," afforded a pretext for speaking of the appearance of "Afrosocialism". In actual fact, as A.L. Andreyev rightly observes, "democratic socialism" in Africa is nothing more than an African variety of reformism (16), but there is a tendency to interpret it very broadly. The term "Afrosocialism" is designed to create the false impression that there is in Africa a single approach to socialism and that a generally accepted concept thereof has already taken shape. The underlying motive of this political diversion is to counterpose "Afrosocialism" to scientific socialism.

Two Directions of Struggle

The anticommunist aspects in the activity of international social democracy are nothing new. The dissent of its leadership from many theoretical principles of scientific socialism determined the thrust of its ideological struggle against the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

A certain weakening of the anticommunist trends in the ranks of the SI (3, 220) may be ascertained at the present time. This phenomenon has been brought about primarily by an understanding of the impossibility of tackling without the participation of the communists problems affecting the whole world community.

However, this "reevaluation" has not affected social democratic activity in Africa. The urging thereof to a choice of "democratic socialism" is being accompanied by the spurring of negative emotions in respect of scientific socialism. Speculating on national sentiments, the ASI leaders are attempting to take advantage of them in their ideological struggle against scientific socialism, distorting the essence thereof: sometimes disparaging its historical significance, sometimes denying the possibility of its application for the building of a new society on the African continent. They are speaking of the alien nature of scientific socialism for Africa, denying its international character and arbitrarily confining it within a chronological and geographical framework. K. Marx is charged with the fact that "he was unable to penetrate beyond the historical horizon of his era" and was, what is more, a Eurocentrist. And V.I. Lenin's well-known proposition concerning the possibility of the diversity of ways of building socialism in the East is glossed over in silence. The tags of dogmatism and orthodoxy are being pinned on Marxism-Leninism, which is reason to speak of its unsuitability in Africa, where the specific nature of the situation is manifested particularly strongly.

The long-standing adherent to West European social democracy, the above-mentioned L. Senghor, who is now deputy chairman of the SI and chairman of the ASI, has prospered particularly in all distortions of the essence of scientific socialism. Back in the 1970's L. Senghor called on Africa to reread Marx African-style and to "think and act independently, as negroes, and in the interests of negroes" (17, 13 April, 1971). Having become a supporter of the "third way," Senghor began to maintain that the future belongs neither to communism nor capitalism—he therefore opted for "democratic socialism," portraying it nonetheless as an alternative to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The viewpoint concerning the inapplicability of scientific socialism for an analysis of African reality owing to the theory of class struggle is quite prevalent among African social democrats. The most categorical on this issue is H. Bourguiba. His beliefs were shared by the Kenyan figures T. Mboya and J. Kenyatta, and today the same ideas are propounded by the present Kenyan president, D. Moi, who calls on Kenyans to live "as brothers and sisters" (18).

Close to these positions are the beliefs of the Algerian socialist H. Ait-Ahmed, who counterposes to the Marxist-Leninist formulation of the question of classes his concept of "social stratification," which denies the interconnection of the classes and their place in the system of social

production. H. Ait-Ahmed believes that this interconnection is valid only for Europe, in Africa, on the other hand, it "is not visible". Resorting to the Marxist concept of social classes, he believes, means mistakenly subordinating one's thought to a Marxist interpretation (19).

The negative approach of social democracy to Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle is understandable. Accepting this theory would mean for them obviously making an illusion of the idea of "social reconciliation" and declaring the futility of reform, which is being substituted for the revolutionary rearrangement of society.

Ideological-political confrontation of the theorists of social democracy and scientific socialism is their constant preoccupation. Their competitive struggle against bourgeois parties is also a permanent phenomenon. But today social democracy has to keep a particularly attentive eye on the danger from the right. The defeats of the socialists in France and the social democrats in West Germany and, finally, the recent defeat, for the third time running, of the Labor Party in Britain are recent confirmation of this. The forces of the right are increasingly energetically becoming their rivals in the struggle for power in Europe, and in the developing countries, African ones included, for influence on social thought and their political parties and party leaders. The International Conference of Democratic Parties of North America and Africa, which was held in July 1985 in Senegal, was indicative in this respect. The initiative behind the convening thereof came from the U.S. Democratic Party National International Affairs Institute, and it was organized with the active assistance of the Socialist Party of Senegal. Representatives of the U.S. Republican Party and approximately 30 African parties took part.

It discussed the topic "Democracy in Africa in the Post-Colonial Period". Two aspects thereof were debated: "The Role of Parties in the African State" and "Political and Economic Pressure on Pluralism and Democratic Institutions in Africa" (17, 9 August 1985). The nature of the questions discussed points to the United States' manifest invasion of the sphere of the ideological activity of West European social democracy in Africa. The choice of Senegal as the conference venue testifies to this also. After all, Senegal was the main inspiration behind the preparation of the Africintern and is still the ideological Mecca of African social democracy.

This conference rebounded against the African policy of France, where there was no "diarchy" at that time and the Socialist Party was the ruling party. The U.S. representatives' hints at the need for political pluralism to extend to African states' foreign policy developed into the American side's trivial appeal for an end to "traditional zones of influence". And these appeals were heard

coming from Dakar, which had always been an important strong point of France in West Africa, but is now, like a number of other of France's former African holdings, endeavoring to reduce its priority position in its foreign policy.

The conference in question may be seen as the preparation for the creation of a "pro-American Africa"; making up for their ideological and political lagging in Africa, the bourgeois parties of the United States evidently intend seizing the sociopolitical initiative from the West European social democrats and striking at the African plans of the SI.

There should be no contradictions, it would seem, between Western social democracy and the leading political parties of the United States in their aspiration to introduce Africa to political pluralism. And American ruling circles hardly consider the social democrats their main rivals in the so-called third world. However, American neocolonialism has set itself the goal of strengthening its sociopolitical base on the African continent and has associated with its plans political parties, which are drawing up a specific strategy oriented toward the establishment of contacts with African political parties and political leaders. This turn of events is fraught with a threat to the political plans of West European social democrats on the African continent. The rivalry of forces of the right and social democrats in Africa is continuing the process of confrontation which has begun to develop in Europe. And this cannot fail to disturb the social democrats, who back in 1980 at the congress of the Union of Socialist Parties of the EEC discussed the subject "Socialists Against the Right".

Disquieting Results and Unclear Prospects

The social democratic program for Africa is being realized primarily through the ASI, which, however much its West European protagonists may deny this, is a kind of daughter organization of the SI and simultaneously a channel for its increased influence in Africa. Despite the endeavors of African supporters of "democratic socialism," the ASI has not become an authoritative organization on the African continent. As L. Senghor once said, the ASI has not succeeded in "winning the hearts and minds of Africans". Contrary to the ambitious hopes of its organizers, it has been unable "to invigorate the dynamics of Africa's creative potential and release its power" (20, No 1799, 1984, p 8). The failures of the ASI, which in the years which have elapsed since its emergence has persistently been "proving its right to exist" (21), are connected with many factors, including the negative evaluation of its activity and plans not only by progressive but also very moderate forces of Africa. Its extensively publicized political declarations of support for the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa against apartheid and the peoples of Namibia for independence and the struggle for a just settlement of the Near East problem on the basis of UN resolutions and with the

participation of the PLO remain in fact merely declarations and are seen as such in Africa (22). The ASI has declared its adherence to the ideas of Africa's unity and solidarity, but even LE MONDE, which has far from progressive views, stated that this organization carries the virus of Africa's division (23).

Behind the political and economic documents of the ASI and the parties constituting it may be seen both the interests of the social forces which have adopted the "democratic socialism" concept and the social demagoguery of the African bourgeoisie, which is endeavoring to use to its advantage the slogans of social justice, class peace and so forth.

The Third ASI Congress held in April 1986 (24) showed that the propagandists of "democratic socialism" had not succeeded in creating an ideological and political counterweight to Africa's "progressives," to whom they attribute the revolutionary democrats heading the countries of a socialist orientation.

The ASI's relations with the SI, in which there is no unity of opinion concerning the evaluation of the former, are not developing easily. Its main supporter and intercessor in the SI is the French Socialist Party, but there are parties in the ranks of West European social democrats which fear that unduly close contacts with the African, whose policy is very far from the ideals proclaimed by the SI, could compromise them.

Nonetheless, the SI leadership cannot let relations with the ASI drift. In this connection and, it should be noted, as a result of the persistent demarches of L. Senghor a working group for the study of Africa was set up within the SI framework. Its first meeting took place in March 1986 in Paris. Twelve SI members, who agreed that the group should concentrate attention on problems of Africa's development, participated. Senegal's representative, L.K. Fall, who took part in the meeting as one of its chairmen, expressed the hope that the group would be "an instrument for the dissemination of the democratic process in Africa."

A tendency to remain aloof from most important global problems of the present day calls attention to itself in the Third ASI Congress. There is an explanation for the ASI's passive position on questions of the struggle for peace (the above-mentioned speeches on these questions at SI forums of the representative of the Socialist Party of Senegal were not echoed in ASI resolutions). Some members of the ASI, being ruling parties, adopt a tolerant view of the location on the territory of their countries of foreign military bases. This indirect involvement in the militarist policy of imperialism under the conditions of Africa's heavy dependence on the world capitalist system prevents the ASI supporting the peace initiatives of the USSR and other progressive forces at the same level even as West European social democracy. Today's foreign policy actions of the ASI hold out little hope of this organization's positive contribution to the solution

of most important questions of the present day. The ASI is a very moderate political organization with very negligible anti-imperialist potential.

The SI began its ideological offensive against Africa guided by pragmatic considerations, without sufficient regard for the level of the continent's socioeconomic development, and ignoring the singularities of the state and political structures now characteristic of the young African states. The activity of the ASI shows that the conditions for the emergence of a social democratic movement whose ideals would be comprehensible to the broad people's masses have not matured in present-day Africa. The social strata and layers, on the other hand, on which the social democrats are counting mainly as their future social base are today incapable of having a decisive impact on social thought. The ASI is as yet a prism refracting the political interests predominantly of the conservative strata of African society which lack the boldness to openly declare the choice of a capitalist development path owing to a fear of alienating the masses, which have a negative perception of the very term "capitalism" even, not to mention the exploiter essence of the system.

At the same time attention has to be called to the persistent attempts to impose on Africa reformism as sociopolitical practice. Reformist ideology is being propagandized by outside forces and implanted by the efforts of certain active national reformists. The Africanization of "democratic socialism" which is being implemented currently is characterized by a tendency to counterpose petty bourgeois reformism to all revolutionary changes. Upon an analysis of the actual potential of social reformist ideology in Africa it is necessary to take into consideration the relative significance of the petty commodity sector in the African economy engendering a stable petty bourgeois character complicating the formation of the class self-awareness of the proletariat and inherent in the strata and layers on which this ideology is counting. The influence of petty bourgeois nationalism and its exponents inclined to evolve in the direction of the right should be considered a factor operating to the benefit of national reformist policy.

The future of these processes (development of ideas and practice) on the African continent is highly contradictory. Their prospects depend on many factors, including on how the workers movement in Africa evolves and what sociopolitical ideas are introduced to it and accepted by it.

Footnotes

1. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 74.

2. See *Pravda*, 18 October 1985.

3. S.V. Yastrzhembskiy, "New Phenomena in the Social Democratic Movement" in "Not Rivalry But Cooperation. Communists and That Which Is New in Social Movements," Moscow, 1984.

4. See *RK i SM* No 3, 1984, pp 70-78.

5. Yu.A. Krasin, "The Revolutionary Era and That Which Is New in Social Movements" in "Not Rivalry But Cooperation. Communists and That Which Is New in Social Movements," Moscow, 1984, p 18.

6. See M.A. Neymark, "The Economic Crisis: Reformist Assessments and Alternatives" in "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process," Moscow, 1985, pp 108-131.

7. "The International Workers Movement. Handbook," Moscow, 1984, p 91.

8. "Profils de la social-democratie europeenne," Paris, 1982, pp 65-68.

9. *PMS* No 9, 1982, p 17.

10. See M.I. Melkumyan, "Social Reformism: Illusions and Prejudices," Yerevan, 1984, pp 198-199, 173.

11. See L.M. Sadovskaya, "Social Reformism in Africa. Ideological Penetration of the Worker and Trade Union Movement," Moscow, 1983.

12. See D. Goldsworthy, "Colonial Issues in British Politics 1945-1961," Oxford, 1971, pp 124-125.

13. See S.S. Kozitskiy, "The FRG in Africa. Strategy of Social Expansion," Moscow, 1984, p 173 and elsewhere.

14. See G.G. Diligenskiy, "Social Democracy and the Working Masses," *RK i SM* No 5, 1985, p 33.

15. "The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of the Ideological Struggle in Asian and African Countries," Moscow, 1979, pp 227-228.

16. See I.L. Andreyev, "Afro-Socialism—Variety of Reformism" in "Problems of the World Revolutionary Process," fourth impression, Moscow, 1984, pp 176-210.

17. *Le Soleil*, Dakar.

18. *Standard*, Nairobi, 2 June 1979.

19. See H. Ait-Ahmed, "L'Afro-fascisme. Les Droits de l'homme dans la Charte et la politique de l'OUA," Paris, 1980, pp 150-151.

20. *Afrique Nouvelle*, Dakar.

21. O.V. Martyshin, "Ideological Platform of the African Socialist International" in the book "National and Social Movements in the East," Moscow, 1986, p 282.

22. See *Al Bayan*, Rabat, 11 April 1986.

23. See *Le Monde*, 3 March 1981.

24. See "Troisieme congres de l'Interafricaine socialiste. Secretariat generale," s.p. Tunis, 1986.

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Approaches, Methodologies for Studying Capitalism Suggested

18070038e Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 (signed to press 17 Sep 87) pp 134-145

[Article by Robert Yakovlevich Yevzerov, doctor of historical sciences, head of a department of the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute: "Thinking About the Procedure of Study of Present-Day Capitalism"]

[Excerpts] The process of restructuring being implemented in our country has confronted Soviet social scientists, both people working in research and lecturers, combining in one person the jobs of research worker and teacher, with very serious, complex tasks. "With reference to the present time we may say that before we have achieved a qualitatively new state of our society we will have to have scored major intellectual victories and to have advanced appreciably in the field of theory and the creative interpretation of the new phenomena and processes of life," M.S. Gorbachev said at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments (1).

In order to tackle such tasks and participate actively in the perestroika being undertaken by the Soviet people it is essential that we all reorganize ourselves. Without this the successful functioning of Soviet social science and the activity of everyone involved in it is impossible. It will not otherwise be possible to investigate real life in depth and in scientific manner and to learn to understand it and restructure it. An analysis of the present-day complex world "requires," as the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, "an ability to rethink a great deal and demands a bold, creative approach to the new realities based on the immortal teaching of Marx—Engels—Lenin" (2, p 73).

Unfortunately, in the practice of Soviet social science changing realities have frequently instead of an in-depth and broad-based examination been viewed through blinders, which has led to an artificially constricted,

superficial vision. In addition, use has been made frequently, but groundlessly of references to Marxism-Leninism in justification of this method. Its essence has thereby been distorted and an ignorance of its content demonstrated. As a result not only has the students' distrust of the lecturer been engendered but the permanent significance of the very rich Marxist-Leninist legacy for a creative approach to the realities of the modern world and for a rethinking of evolved, but outdated ideas has been undervalued. The new tasks set Soviet social science by the party obviously require the speediest surmounting of the negative trends reflected therein, which presupposes the further development of the methodology and procedure of scientific research and teaching based on an in-depth, comprehensive assimilation of the classical inheritance of Marxism-Leninism.

This article's task is an attempt to take a step in this direction in respect of certain problems of present-day capitalism.

A pertinent problem confronting our country's Marxist-Leninist social science is contributing to the accomplishment of the highest task, in V.I. Lenin's words, of mankind—"encompassing... the objective logic... of the evolution of social existence... in its general and basic features in order to adapt to it as distinctly, clearly and critically as possible one's social consciousness and the consciousness of the progressive classes of all capitalist countries" (3, vol 18, p 345).

However, this task can only be tackled on the basis of a *precise knowledge and revelation of the total picture of reality in its development*, which is unattainable without comprehensive specific research and without the appropriate selection of material for teaching and the well-considered procedure of its presentation. Of course, this comprehensive illustration must be imbued with theoretical vision, and it is necessary to rise to the level of theoretical conclusions and generalizations. However, generalizations and conclusions are impossible without the fullest possible ascertainment of what is going on in reality. Neither bold thoughts nor original hypotheses and constructions are capable of substituting for a lessening of the significance of comprehensive specific research and the disclosure of the social phenomena and processes based thereon, without which the essence and main trends of what is happening cannot be ascertained.

At the same time, on the other hand, the tasks of the examination and revelation to students of the problems of present-day capitalism, which our social scientists study mainly from foreign "isolation," require the consideration and use of foreign studies pertaining to capitalism also, including those written not from Marxist standpoints. And not only factual material and direct observations, to which attention has been called repeatedly, but also evaluations and opinions, critically interpreted from the dialectical-materialist viewpoint, of course. It requires, as V.I. Lenin observed, that one's mission not be reduced to non-Marxist arguments being

rejected out of hand and presupposes that the critic "will rectify... these arguments, deepening, collating and extending them" (3, vol 29, p 161). Lenin's approach to J. Hobson's work, which provided a very sound and comprehensive description of the basic economic and political singularities of imperialism, but failed to see the essence—the transition to the highest phase of capitalism—would appear to us very indicative in this connection. Something similar is occurring currently in a number of opinions of non-Marxist authors concerning the structural crisis processes as the changing nature of contemporary capitalist society for the essence—the development of the general crisis of capitalism—is ignored here.

A consummate study of what is happening in objective reality and what the logic of its development is presupposes particular attention to *the activity and movement of the people's masses as an indicator and most essential component without which it is impossible to ascertain and know social processes, to forecast them and to draw the correct conclusions for practical-political activity*. In so general a form this judgment is obviously trivial. However, its specification reveals very important aspects of the procedure, which are frequently realized insufficiently not only in teaching practice but in social science research also.

I would like in this connection to call attention to two questions. First, without an analysis of mass movements and, correspondingly, the aspirations and mood of the broad masses, recognizing the emergence of this problem or the other of social development and the degree of its maturity and significance is impossible.

There is much that is superficial, incorrect and tendentious in the contemporary social protest movements which have developed in the developed capitalist countries, but, abiding by the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the new version of the CPSU Program puts the emphasis elsewhere: "These movements are objectively directed against the policy of the reactionary circles of imperialism and merge with the general stream of the struggle for peace and social progress" (2, pp 134-135). However, it is not only a question, following this approach, of ascertaining the possibilities and difficulties and studying the experience and prospects of these mass democratic movements and the relations therewith of the workers movement, proceeding from the principle of "not rivalry but cooperation," as the sole comprehensive Soviet monograph on this problem is entitled (6). A consummate and scrupulous analysis of the demands, proposals, positions and actions revealed in the highly contradictory channel of the mass democratic movements, considering the fact that new objective phenomena and trends of contemporary capitalist reality make their presence known therein directly or indirectly, would seem to us very important. Specifically, for example, the demands concerning the organization of "alternative enterprises" and the practice of their activity manifestly reflect the developing crisis of the present

phase of the organization of capitalist production (7). Second, without a careful analysis and consideration of what is happening in the mass movements, knowing the objective course of the historical process and forecasting how it will be realized are impossible. We would recall that V.I. Lenin called attention to this repeatedly. Studying at the time of WWI the question of the possible dynamics of the revolutionary situation and whether it would lead to revolution, he wrote: "We do not know this, and no one can know this. Only the *experience* of the development of the revolutionary mood and the transition to revolutionary action of the progressive class, the proletariat, will show this" (3, vol 26, p 221). It is this approach which is demonstrated by the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to its 27th congress. It notes the possibility of a further appreciable turn to the right of policy and the entire domestic situation in certain capitalist countries, which entails a serious danger for international relations also. But it emphasizes simultaneously: "What conclusions will be drawn from the current situation time and the progress of the working people's struggle for their rights and for social progress will tell" (2, p 14). The material of the congress thereby once again calls our attention to the unity of the objective and the subjective in policy.

It evidently follows from all that has been said that in examining, for example, the current processes of the S&T revolution it is important to analyze and take into consideration not only the S&T and government-capitalist components of its realization but also the role (actual and potential) of the working people and the public in the dynamics of the S&T revolution and not only its consequences for them. After all, how things proceed is determined not only by the objective logic of S&T progress and its specific movement under capitalism but also what kind of role is performed and how by the participants in the S&T revolution, people, classes and social strata and societal forces. Consequently, a close, detailed analysis of the aspirations, mood, protests and activity of the working people in the course of the current S&T revolution in connection with the complex problems which it is engendering is essential.

As an analysis of the influence of the workers on the introduction of new technology conducted by Finnish researchers during study of the experience of their country's metalworkers shows, the available potential in this respect, contrary to the viewpoint prevalent in Western literature, is not confined to the sphere of legislation and the collective bargaining system and need by no means necessarily be of a defensive nature.

Such an analysis helps ascertain also alternative possibilities of contemporary development in general and of the S&T revolution in particular. It would evidently be mistaken to lose sight of the fact that the structural changes currently taking place in the economy of the developed capitalist countries do not necessarily have to be accomplished per a common stereotype and that highly different versions dictated by natural, historical

and other singularities of different countries are possible. A.A. Galkin's observation that the "squeezing" of this sector or the other of the contemporary capitalist economy which is occurring currently is highly relative both because it is dictated sometimes not simply by changes in technology but their capitalist interpretation and owing to the possibility of the most unexpected technological changes (8) would seem well-founded. But it is necessary to associate with what has been said such a component as the role of the masses in the process of realization of the S&T revolution. In particular, the course of the latest British miners' strike testifies to this; they demanded that the structural transformations of the economy correspond to the particular features of the country's development (9). The ambiguity and alternative character lurking within the channel of the current S&T revolution were thereby manifested in the light of the contending forces and trends.

Study of questions of the development of present-day capitalism requires special attention to revelation of the dynamics of social progress in *all its complexity and contradictoriness*. This is very important with reference to our time: both by virtue of the growth in a divided and at the same time integral world of the contradictoriness and zigzag-like nature of the historical process and because attempts to unjustifiably oversimplify and "straighten" it in theoretical and political thought or in practical action entail a hitherto unprecedented danger—they threaten breakdown in the abyss of nuclear catastrophe. And it would be mistaken, furthermore, addressing primarily problems of war and peace, to lose sight of the need for a realistic understanding of all phenomena and processes and not just of military ones. "Stifling one's thought" by the horrors of war and its "agonizing consequences or properties" cannot, as V.I. Lenin wrote, be permitted (3, vol 30, p 68) for the sake of a sober evaluation of the totality of what is happening and future prospects.

Unequivocal characterizations and assessments of this process and phenomenon or the other of social life which "circumvent" and eliminate contradictoriness and which are essentially primitive sometimes appear tempting. However, these oversimplified characterizations, granted all their seeming completeness, clarity and readiness for practical use, are obviously not such in practice. After all, we are dealing in practice with the dialectical nature of social development "proceeding in contradictions and by way of contradictions" (3, vol 20, p 65). The laws of social development are realized via the interaction and confrontation of trends and countertrends. The rigid unambivalent nature of characterizations and assessments thereby inevitably results in a one-sidedness distorting the actual complex processes of social life. The overcoming of such shortcomings, which are frequently of a long-term, traditional nature, is an important task of both the research and pedagogical activity of Soviet social scientists. The elaboration of the problems of such a contradictory phenomenon as social democracy, on which much work has been done by scholars of the USSR

Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute also (10), may be cited as an example of the changes which have already been implemented. After all, for a long period the social democratic parties were essentially regarded both in a number of printed works and in pedagogical, propaganda activity as simply bourgeois parties and were sometimes excluded altogether from the framework of the workers movement. We now have considerable scientific process stock contributing to a correct understanding of these questions and also practical interaction with social democracy (11). As the material of the 27th CPSU Congress points out, "the ideological disagreements between the communists and social democrats are profound and experience and achievements are dissimilar and nonequivalent. However, an unbiased familiarization with one another's positions and views is undoubtedly useful for both communists and social democrats. Useful primarily for stimulation of the struggle for peace and international security" (2, p 74).

The present period of the historical process, which is characterized by an abrupt turning point in the life of the contemporary world, when, as the 27th CPSU Congress observed, capitalism is encountering "an unprecedented interweaving and mutual intensification of all groups of its contradictions" (2, p 13), sets particularly forcefully the tasks of revealing the action and mechanism of the diverse contradictions of actual reality. The further elaboration of the *problem of the place and role of crises in the social life of capitalist countries* would seem important in this connection.

With reference to the economic sphere much has already been done in this aspect, specifically in respect of study of cyclical crises and the structural crisis, and the problem of long-term cycles is being debated also. And, furthermore, Marxist-Leninist theory views economic crises both as an abrupt exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism and as their forcible, partial solution affording certain new opportunities for further development.

As far as the noneconomic sphere is concerned, the term "crisis" here is frequently employed for a too unequivocal description of the negative processes in the life of bourgeois society ("crisis of bourgeois democracy," "crisis of the party-political system" and so forth) savoring only of hopelessness. Yet even in respect of the "general crisis of capitalism" concept, which indeed defines its world-historical hopelessness, the material of the 27th CPSU Congress, abiding by Leninist tradition, calls attention to the ambivalence and contradictoriness of historical processes. It is a question of the possibility of the growth and development of capitalism, its retention of specific economic, military, political and other positions and of the prospects of social revanche, which it could achieve in some areas.

The development of the general crisis of capitalism intensifies the negative aspects and trends of the role which is performed in the life of bourgeois society by

each crisis. Although present-day capitalism is not losing its capacity for "adapting" to the changed conditions, it is fraught, as the 27th CPSU Congress observed, with an unprecedented quantity of social and other impasses, imbued with an oppressive reactionary spirit and distinguished by the heightened degree of recklessness of the ruling forces (2, p 13).

The workers movement of our day also reflects crisis processes which, although different in nature, have been expressed both in the negative dynamics of the electoral behavior of the broad masses of voters and in the difficulties of the development of the mass organization of the working class. However, the correlation of the "constituent aspects" of the crisis is evidently different here. The crisis processes in the workers movement reveal primarily the "exacerbation and uncovering of the contradictions" occurring therein and under the impact of the changing technological base of production and the structure of the working class and under the influence of modified conservative trends in politics and in the ideological impact on the masses of the ruling classes and the contemporary bourgeois state. All this is leading to the "failure of all that is rotten"—both along the lines of right-reformist and leftist, dogmatically revolutionist ideas, theories and practice. New possibilities of an acceleration of the development of the workers movement must inevitably take shape as a result. However, they cannot be realized of their own accord, and a bold creative Marxist approach to the new realities is required, in turn.

The contradictoriness and ambivalence of societal development is also manifested in its *hetero-variant and alternative nature*. The material of the 27th CPSU Congress emphasizes particularly that the modern world, which is imbued with contending trends, "is a world of most complex alternatives" (2, p 6). Attention is thereby focused on questions which, despite the vast methodological base contained in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, have been studied manifestly insufficiently by our social science, and far from full use is made of the legacy even in the practice of scientific and pedagogical work.

Study of the questions of the alternative character of the modern world is directly connected also with the problem of the "zigzags" and compromises in the development of society and requires a sober understanding of the fact that "history usually takes a zigzag-like path and that the Marxist must be able to reckon with the most tangled and odd zigzags of history" (3, vol 16, p 8). Attention has rightly been called in Soviet literature to the connection of the alternative character and "zigzags" in society's progressive development (15). However, it would seem important to bear in mind not only the fact that a "zigzag" of history is usually a compromise between the now insufficiently strong old and the as yet not sufficiently strong new but also the fact that the "choice of path" of society's progressive development and the methods of "traversal" of this path or the other

is decided in struggle and depends on circumstances, and there are in history no laws which might strictly determine all this (3, vol 47, p 225).

Yet the said aspect, which is making its presence known with great force in the modern complex world, which is at an abrupt turning point, frequently fails to attract due attention in the course of the teaching of the social sciences. Specifically, the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that historically ripe transformations may be implemented variously, given the predominant influence of this class or the other and predominant satisfaction of this class interest or the other, remains on the sidelines. After all, as V.I. Lenin observed, "history by no means takes such a simple and smooth path that any historically ripe transformation *thereby* signifies sufficient maturity and strength for the implementation of this transformation by precisely the class to which it is beneficial primarily" (3, vol 20, pp 152-153). That there would otherwise arise the problem of the failure of the decisions being implemented to correspond to the urgent tasks is another matter. The developing contradictions intensify the need for the said tasks to be tackled by different, progressive and not "departing" social forces. And, furthermore, the questions of the ruling classes' implementation of historic transformations which are alien to them in terms of their social content, but ripe appear in principle differently, depending on whether it be a question of historical development in the direction of capitalism or socialism.

In the first case, given the preservation of feudal-monarchical domination, there could be real progress along the capitalist path and a solution, albeit highly deformed and contradictory, of the national problem of bourgeois development. Such was the case, for example, in Germany in the 19th century, when Bismarck implemented a "revolution from above," or in Iran in the mid-20th century, when the last shah implemented the "white revolution".

In the second case, although under the influence of the development of the productive forces, the class struggle and the entire historical situation, there arises "something new, such as constitutes part of the socialist whole," "while at the same time, however, without a 'leap forward' these individual elements change nothing in the general state of affairs and do not affect the domination of capital" (3, vol 20, p 66; vol 31, p 443) but continue the preparation of socialism and intensify the contradictoriness and antagonistic and conflict nature of the development of capitalism. This applies to the sphere of the productive forces (the current S&T revolution, for example), the sphere of production relations (the development of plan-conformity and intervention in ownership relations, for example) and the political and social sphere (16).

At the same time, however, being ultimately "elements of the new system" necessary to capital's antagonist—the proletariat—such changes implemented by capital,

geared essentially to the preservation and consolidation of capitalism, play the part of modifiers adapting it to the changing historical situation. A two-in-one process occurs, in the course of which "capitalism, while developing, denies itself" (2, p 12). Generally, the history of the 20th century is imbued with the struggle of two directions: revolutionary-socialist and modifying-capitalist. The first represents the fundamental interests of the working class. The second, of the bourgeoisie. And, furthermore, the modification of the capitalist system under the influence of the struggle of the working people could prove to be an integral, "adjacent" component in the realization of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism if it affords and develops the conditions and opportunities for further revolutionary transformations. After all, the path toward the full and comprehensive realization of all democratic transformations, unattainable within the framework of capitalism, begins, as V.I. Lenin observed, under the domination of the bourgeoisie even. "Social revolution," he wrote, "is not a single battle but an era of a whole number of battles on each and every question of economic and democratic transformations realizable only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie" (3, vol 27, p 62).

As a result we encounter upon an analysis of present-day capitalism the duality, which is intensifying and becoming increasingly widespread, of this task, demand and process or the other, which makes it possible to use them both in the interests of monopoly capital and against it also. The humanization of labor slogans may serve as a graphic example. On the one hand this formula embodies demands advanced by the working people and their organizations endeavoring to achieve changes which would make the labor process worthy of man. On the other, the same formula embodies state-monopoly and entrepreneurial measures aimed at a modification of labor processes in respect of the new conditions in order to ensure increased output and "social peace" at the enterprises. It is essential not only to distinguish the two aspects but also see their points of contact and the seams where they "overlap" and sometimes their indissoluble unity—in the so-called quality circles, for example—which engenders considerable difficulties not only for theoretical analysis but also practical-political activity.

In a broader plane this intensifying duality is also revealed by diverse processes which are expressed by unhappiness with the machinery of state of modern monopoly capitalism and the growing crisis of its party-political system and political institutions. After all, on the one hand the discontent of the people's masses is growing and mass democratic activity is intensifying in the bosom of these processes. On the other, populist-dictatorial currents and individualist aspirations, which within the framework of modern neoconservatism interweave with authoritarian tendencies, are taking shape.

Thus the world-historical alternative: capitalism or socialism—permeating the whole life of contemporary bourgeois society—frequently appears indirectly and is

refracted, frequently highly distinctively, what is more, in alternatives of a different order, "lower" in terms of world-historical level, which, however, influence with great force and immediacy the aspirations and actions of the broad people's masses.

In turn, the capitalism or socialism alternative develops, is enriched and is specified along feedback lines with these alternatives. The most acute global alternative of the present day: to be or not to be for mankind simultaneously has a determining impact on it and prompts the peaceful interaction of the two social systems. As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress observed: "In a combination of the competition and confrontation of the two systems and the growing trend toward the interdependence of states of the world community is the real dialectic of modern development" (2, pp 20-21).

Questions of the alternative character of social development illumine once again the indivisible unity of objective logic and the conscious impact of people and contending social forces inherent therein. The natural-historical process of the movement of society itself not only incorporates such activity and struggle as an inalienable component but also makes obligatory the development in every possible way, with regard for actual possibilities, of the assertiveness of the progressive forces, overcoming fatalism and vegetation in a state of uncertainty. This applies also to the most important question for the present day: war or peace. As emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, the answer "maybe yes, maybe no" is unacceptable "as an answer to the question: to be or not to be for mankind? We say: social progress and the life of civilization must and will continue" (2, p 20). At the same time, however, without downplaying in the least the paramount significance of the problem of the preservation of humanity and its civilization, it is important to bear in mind the actual combination of this problem with others, less significant, but inseparable from people's daily life. After all, it is extraordinarily pertinent to ascertain how global problems—of war and peace, primarily—are interwoven in other questions of the actual existence of the multimillion-strong working masses, become mutually impregnated and are manifested on the surface of life and in the depths of the developing mass consciousness. Whence the complexities which have arisen in the course of formation of the antiwar movement and the ecology movement inasmuch as their slogans and demands have had inevitably to be coordinated with questions of employment, wages and so forth. Also reflected at times is the danger that the problem of the salvation of mankind proves too abstract and unconnected with the defense and preservation of "my country, home, family and the people close to me". These "disconnections" are, of course, making more difficult the enlistment of the broadest people's masses in the struggle for the solution of urgent problems of the present day.

Accordingly, all processes and phenomena in the life of present-day capitalism cannot be analyzed, understood

and evaluated to the due extent without their proper correlation with the processes of the development of universality. Thus, for example, in the course of a discussion of current problems of unemployment in the developed capitalist countries conducted by the International Workers Movement Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the Comprehensive Problem "Economic Regularities of the Development of Socialism and the Competition of the Two Systems" mention was rightly made of the indirect impact of the S&T revolution on unemployment via world-economic relations and interimperialist rivalry. There was as a result an explanation for such a seeming paradox as the fact that in Japan, which is in the vanguard of computerization and robotization, unemployment is less than in West Europe. The point being that the application of new technology, enhancing competitiveness, is enabling Japan to successfully engage in foreign economic expansion and partially "export unemployment" to West Europe. A contradictory influence on unemployment in West European countries is being exerted by the transfer of standardized processes to Latin America and Asia. On the one hand imports therefrom are a factor of increased unemployment in a number of sectors in the West. On the other, by virtue of the development of production, the Latin American and Asian countries themselves are creating additional opportunities for the marketing of the products of the United States and West Europe, which is contributing to a growth of employment there (18).

In general, the structural changes currently occurring in the capitalist economy cannot be characterized adequately without determination of their global significance for world development and without regard for the influence thereon of world-economic relations. This applies to an even greater extent to policy, economic and, it stands to reason, international, included.

The class struggle of the proletariat is also progressing under the powerful impact of the universality and integrality of the world which is taking shape. There is thereby an increase in the significance of the international factor in the class struggle and its international aspects. Also indicative is the fact that they have begun to attract the attention of Soviet scholars to a greater extent (19).

Footnotes

1. *Kommunist* No 15, 1986, p 3.
2. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986.
3. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works".
6. "Not Rivalry But Cooperation: Communists and That Which Is New in Social Movements," Moscow, 1984.

7. See also V.I. Vaynshteyn, "Socio-Psychological Sources of Mass Democratic Movements" in *RK i SM* No 5, 1986; I.M. Bunin, "New Social Movements and the Working Class" in *RK i SM* No 6, 1986.

8. See *MEMO* No 4, 1986, p 36.

9. See, for example, A.B. Veber, "The Class Struggle and Capitalism," Moscow, 1986, pp 198-200.

10. See, for example, "Social Democratic and Bourgeois Reformism in the System of State-Monopoly Capitalism," Moscow, 1980; "Demarcations and Shifts in Social Reformism: Critical Analysis of Left Currents in Western European Social Democracy," Moscow, 1983; B.S. Orlov, "The SPD: Ideological Struggle Over Program Principles 1945-1975," Moscow, 1980; *ibid.*, "Social Democracy in the 1970's: New Trends, Old Contradictions" in *RK i SM* No 2, 1979; *ibid.*, "Social Democracy in the 1980's" in *RK i SM* No 1, 1986; A.A. Galkin, "Present-Day Social Democracy: Problems and Prospects" in "The Working Class in the Contemporary Revolutionary Process," Moscow, 1985; G.G. Diligenskiy, "Social Democracy and the Working Masses" in *RK i SM* No 5, 1985; M.A. Neymark, "West European Social Reformism and the Ideological Struggle," Moscow, 1986; and others.

11. For more detail see M.A. Zaborov, "Problems of the History of the Working Class of Foreign Countries and its Liberation Struggle in the Studies of Soviet Scholars" in *Novaya i noveyshaya istoriya* No 6, 1985.

15. See Ye.M. Zhukov, M.A. Barg, Ye.B. Chernyak, V.I. Pavlov, "Theoretical Problems of the World-Historical Process," Moscow, 1979, p 22.

16. For more detail see A.B. Veber, *Op. cit.*, particularly pp 168-170, 186-194, 212-215.

18. See *RK i SM* No 3, 1986, pp 102-103.

19. See, for example, V.V. Zagladin, "Marxism-Leninism on the Role of the Working Class in International Relations" in *RK i SM* No 4, 1984; B.I. Koval, "Start of the 1980's: Complication of the International Situation and the Class Struggle" in "The International Workers Movement: Handbook," Moscow, 1984.

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Communists' Role in Latin America's Democratization Praised

18070038f Moscow *RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR* in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87 (signed to press 17 Sep 87) pp 154-162

[Article by Ye.V. Demushkina: "Democratization Processes in Latin America and the Communists"]

[Text] Latin America entered the 1980's under the sign of major democratic changes. The successes in the building of socialism on Cuba and the victory of the people's revolution in Nicaragua (1979) lent powerful impetus to an upturn of the broad anti-oligarchical movement. It scored the most impressive successes in the struggle against the military-fascist dictatorships of South America. Reactionary military regimes collapsed in Argentina (1983), Bolivia (1982) and Brazil and Uruguay (1985); the crisis of the military-fascist dictatorship in Chile is intensifying, the dictatorship of the Duvalier clan on Haiti was swept away by an explosion of popular anger (1986), the armed struggle of the patriots of El Salvador against the antipopular regime is into its seventh year and opposition to the Stroessner tyranny in Paraguay is growing.

The Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of South American Countries (1984) pointed out that neither guaranteed peace, progress toward democracy nor social progress are possible without struggle against imperialism and its main bulwark in the region—the dictatorial regimes. The conference paid special attention to the depth of the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the fundamental national aspirations of the Latin American peoples. These contradictions are fraught with profound revolutionary change (1).

An objective cause of the democratic shifts of the first half of the 1980's was the sharp exacerbation of the structural crisis, which is being made worse by the "transnationalization" of the Latin American economy and the fantastic growth of the foreign debt. The crisis, unprecedented in scale and depth, has embraced all spheres of Latin American society and exacerbated all socioeconomic and political contradictions. There has been a sharp slowdown in the rate of economic development, and there has been a decline in the aggregate per capita gross domestic product—by 3.3 percent in 1982, but by 5.3 percent in 1983 (2). The slump in economic activity has brought about a mass growth of unemployment: from 33 million fully and partially unemployed in 1975 to 56 million in the mid-1980's, which constituted approximately 75 percent of the total number of wage workers (3). The average annual rate of growth of the price of consumer goods and services for the continent as a whole grew from 164 percent in 1984 to 610 percent in 1985 (4), whereas the level of the real wage has declined unswervingly. All this has intensified the polarization in distribution of the national income. At the start of the

1980's some 40 percent of the population of Latin America accounted for only 8 percent of the national income, whereas 10 percent of the population obtained 40 percent (5).

The crisis has revealed the complete untenability of the neoliberal development concept imposed by the IMF on a number of Latin American countries in the latter half of the 1970's (6). The "liberalization" of the economy has spurred sharply the growth of the foreign debt—almost 20-fold in the 1970's-1980's. The impact of the crisis has been particularly devastating in countries in which military-fascist-type dictatorships combining a policy of an "open market economy" with implementation of the notorious "national security" doctrine have been in command. A consequence of this policy has been the accelerated devastation of the nationalized sectors of these countries' economy and the succumbing of their domestic markets to the increasingly full control of the TNC, which, in turn, has been accompanied by the mass bankruptcy of local enterprises, unprecedented unemployment and galloping inflation.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist, democratic movement at the start of the 1980's was expressed primarily in the spread of the strike movement, numerous striking acts of popular resistance and the enlistment in the struggle for democracy of new social and political forces. As the economic interests of certain strata of the local bourgeoisie, which had been distanced even earlier from any participation in political power, were infringed increasingly palpably, increasingly significant and influential circles thereof abandoned the state of passive opposition and became involved in confrontation with the military-dictatorial regimes.

The most consistent force of the ascendant movement of the masses were the communists. They were, as a rule, the initiators of the unification of all opposition forces, made their contribution to the elaboration of the political strategy of popular resistance, played an important part in the mobilization and organization of the masses and, of course, sustained the heaviest losses. The general strategic orientation of the communists' struggle was recorded by the statement of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of South American Countries (1984): "The tasks of securing human rights and the efficacy of democratic liberties have become most important goals of our struggle" (7). Naturally, the degree of the communist parties' influence on the development of the antidictatorial movement has as a consequence of a whole set of ambivalent factors been dissimilar in different countries. But an indisputable fact recognized by enemies also is that by their selfless struggle under the most difficult clandestine conditions they have all made an indispensable contribution to shaking and removing pro-imperialist regimes.

The formation and maturation of the camp of democratic opposition has everywhere been a long and difficult process which has required the surmounting of

many ideological, political and socio-class barriers and the groping for a common platform. Whereas the bourgeois opposition was generally advocating the restoration of traditional bourgeois-democratic orders, the forces of the left (communists primarily) were championing the prospect of a renewed, progressive democracy. Although it has not been possible in one South American country essentially to bring together an anti-imperialist, democratic coalition of all antidictatorial forces, coordination of action has been achieved to this extent or the other and the joint efforts of various opposition streams have been made.

However different the levels and degrees of interaction of the antidictatorial forces, the special role of the working class in the struggle was exceptionally important. By the start of the 1980's the Latin American proletariat numbered approximately 51 million persons (approximately 45 percent of the gainfully employed population) (8). It was the scale of the mass popular struggle, given the leading role of the working class, which exerted powerful pressure from below both on the hesitant, compromising elements within the opposition, thus ensuring for it greater concordance, and also directly on the dictators, who were at first shaken and ultimately forced to quit the scene in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay.

Having attended the school of political struggle, the workers movement became an important factor of the social and political life of the region, with which the ruling classes now have to come to terms. This also made its mark on subsequent processes of political democratization. Of course, the Latin American workers movement has certain inherent weaknesses. Thus the comparatively low level of syndicalization (less than half the total numbers of wage workers are union members) (9), the comminution of union ranks (at the start of the 1980's national trade union centers existed only in Bolivia and Uruguay) and the predominance of the ideology of bourgeois reformism among the working people are still typical of Latin American working people. Account also has to be taken of the comminution of the forces of the left, which have been seriously undermined (the communist parties have suffered particularly) by brutal repression. All this has enabled the bourgeois opposition to seize the initiative in the struggle for democracy, which, in turn, has largely conditioned the nature and forms of the transition from dictatorial regimes to bourgeois-parliamentary democracy. This process, despite all its diversity in individual countries, is being implemented predominantly from "above," on the paths of compromise with the military top brass (10).

The restoration of bourgeois-parliamentary regimes in a number of countries of the region has led to a certain regrouping of the ruling classes and the removal of ultraright forces from the immediate levers of political power, but there has been no radical change in the political and economic system. Economic power remains in the hands of the local oligarchy and the TNC. As the

Brazilian Communist Party, for example, observes, the democratization process, which is developing in complex and contradictory fashion, "has introduced no appreciable changes to the system of power and the composition of the ruling social bloc," and "with the defeat of the dictatorial regime the forces which supported it have not quit the scene and have not been deprived of their economic, political and social support" (11). Describing the class essence of the civilian administration in Uruguay, R. Arismendi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, emphasizes that "although sectors expressing the interests of the urban and rural petty and middle bourgeoisie are operating within the government, the groups connected with finance capital are predominant and are determining its policy" (12). Argentina's communists define R. Alfonsin's government as "bourgeois-democratic and in the power of monopoly circles of the local bourgeoisie" (13).

The civilian administration in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay is endeavoring by compromise measures to "restore" the economy, rein in inflation and direct the upsurge of the mass movement into a more tranquil channel. However, as practice shows, the "Austral" plan in Argentina, the "Crusado" plan in Brazil and the "modernization" plan in Uruguay have not produced the anticipated long-term positive result.

In the complex set of problems requiring immediate solution in the name of development and democracy the key problem is that of the foreign debt. By the end of 1985 Latin America's total foreign debt had risen to \$368 billion (14). This amount is over half the region's gross domestic product, and three times higher than the income from exports of goods and services. The problem of starvation (70 percent of the population is undernourished) could be solved and the unemployment level sharply reduced merely with the resources which go to pay off the interest (approximately \$43 billion a year). As the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, "the giant indebtedness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important channel of their exploitation by imperialism, American primarily. At the same time these peoples' resistance to the policy of smash and grab is growing also.... This resistance is objectively linked with the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace and social progress" (15).

The foreign debt problem is being debated extensively at the national and regional levels. The Havana conference in 1985, in which over 1,400 representatives of various social and political forces from 37 Latin American and Caribbean countries participated, had big repercussions. It was emphasized at the conference that the present debt level "is no longer the previous financial dependence but an entirely different phenomenon not only reducing economic independence to a minimum but sharply constricting the range of political independence" (16). The task of a strengthening of the unity of Latin American countries and their formulation of a common position in

the solution of the "debt crisis" and their attitude toward the IMF is becoming extremely urgent in this connection. However, an aspiration toward "restructuring" the debt by way of separate negotiations with IMF mediation prevails in ruling circles of the debtor countries. At the same time, however, there is a growing endeavor on the part of the governments of a number of countries (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Peru) to limit to this extent or the other IMF interference in domestic political life and not abide by its recommendations in respect of necessary economic measures.

The assumption of office of constitutional civilian governments in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay and the defeat of the forces of the right at the 1985 elections in Peru were an important gain of the anti-imperialist, progressive forces and have contributed to an appreciable improvement in the social and political climate in the region. Bourgeois-democratic liberties have been restored, all political (including communist) parties and unions have been legalized and a complete amnesty for political prisoners has been carried out. An investigation into the human rights violations under the dictatorial regime has begun in Argentina and Uruguay (17).

Fundamental changes are taking place in these states' foreign policy. Such initiatives as the restoration of relations with Cuba, the strengthening of Latin American cooperation, participation in the Contadora support group for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Central America and the development of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries have been noteworthy. The governments of a number of countries of the region have officially advocated a halt to the arms race and prevention of the militarization of space.

Argentina is participating actively in the nonaligned movement and in the "Delhi Six". At the initiative of Brazil, actively supported by Argentina and Uruguay, the UN General Assembly passed (on 27 October 1986) a resolution declaring the South Atlantic a "zone of peace and cooperation".

The communists actively support the positive steps of the civilian administration and the measures to democratize domestic political life. At the same time, however, the communist parties emphatically support the further development and consolidation of democracy based on urgent socioeconomic transformations and a solution of the debt problem in the interests of national development. The demand for the announcement of a lengthy moratorium on the payment of interest on the foreign debt in order that the resources thus released might be used to improve the position of the broad people's masses is advanced as a preliminary step in this direction.

Granted all its pivotal significance, the removal of repressive regimes and the transition to the normal functioning of bourgeois-democratic liberties and institutions has been unable to halt the growth of social

tension. A parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle is under way in connection with the socioeconomic policy of the civilian administration, essentially, with questions of further democratization. It is the fortunes of democratization and its amplitude, social tension and efficacy which form the axis around which the parliamentary skirmishes are breaking out, whether it be a question (as in Uruguay, for example) of the punishment of those guilty of human rights violations under the dictatorship or of the national budget. The last 3-4 years have been marked by mass protests—strikes, demonstrations and protest marches—in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay and other countries. The struggle of the working class, enriched by the experience of the preceding decade, is assuming an increasingly general, offensive nature. There have been several general strikes, not counting sectoral strikes and those at individual enterprises, in Argentina in 1985-1987. Some 1,200 strikes were recorded in Brazil in the first year of civilian rule, and a 1-day general strike was conducted on 12 December 1986. The same year there were seven general and dozens of sectoral strikes in Uruguay.

The working people's aspirations are going with ever increasing certainty beyond the framework of particularly economic interests and acquiring a distinctly anti-imperialist, democratic focus—they are demanding a freeze on payment of the foreign debt, noncompliance with the IMF diktat, a broadening of trade union rights and liberties and so forth. A highly significant and promising feature of the current stage is the politicization of the unions and the growth therein of unitary trends (particularly in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay).

The ruling circles are forced to reckon with the growing role of the working class and the unions in social and political life. "Social covenant" projects in the spirit of Spain's Moncloa Pact are being drawn up to ease social tension. However, the attempts made in this direction in Brazil and Uruguay have failed (albeit for different reasons). At the same time, however, a policy aimed at splitting the union movement by political current in order to weaken the influence of the communist parties and contribute to a strengthening of the right-opportunist and social-reformist forces is being pursued. This policy is meeting with active resistance on the part of the trade union centers adhering to class positions.

The processes of democratization in South America are developing in complex and contradictory manner. The Pinochet military-fascist dictatorship in Chile is still holding onto its positions (albeit weakened to a certain extent by the working people's mass struggle), and the Stroessner dictatorial regime in Paraguay persists. Reactionary circles of the Bolivian bourgeoisie "increasingly disposed to authoritarian forms of the country's administration" (18) came to power in Bolivia in 1985 under the conditions of the crisis of the Siles Zuazo government of the left (1982-1985) and the division and comminution of the forces of the left.

A new center of tension has arisen in Colombia, where ultraright circles in a compact with the reactionary military and given the connivance of the V. Barco government have unleashed terror against the democratic movement (19). The domestic political situation in Peru, where on the one hand the intensifying pressure "from the right" on the Alan Garcia social democratic government and, on the other, the activity of the Sendero Luminoso ultraleft guerrilla organization are creating a threat to the stability of the existing regime, is becoming increasingly complex (20).

In Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay the aspirations of the progressive forces, primarily the communist parties, to the decisive eradication of the "legacy" of the dictatorial regimes, the consolidation and strengthening of democracy and its further development based on the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems are being opposed by the stubborn resistance of conservative and rightwing circles possessing real economic and political opportunities for maintaining control over the democratization processes and adjusting them in accordance with their own interests. Such facts, despite all their ambivalence, as the revolt of the military in Argentina (April 1987) and the enactment of the law on "forced subordination to authority" (May 1987); the preservation of a number of constitutional limitations in Brazil and the slowdown in the highly modest agrarian reform; the law (December 1986) on the exemption from judicial proceedings of military and police guilty of criminal action under the dictatorship in Uruguay; the slow reorganization of the armed forces and the preservation practically unchanged of the machinery of repression bequeathed by the dictatorial regimes; and others testify to this.

The processes of the transition from military-fascist dictatorships to bourgeois-parliamentary democracy are developing under the conditions of the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, which aspires to establish control over them in order to prevent radical changes in the region, simultaneously igniting a center of acute tension in Central America. This policy, which is embodied in the so-called "Reagan doctrine," is in fact confirming Washington's policy of toppling regimes which do not suit it.

In this situation truly key significance is attached to the unity of the left and all democratic anti-imperialist forces and the growth and strengthening of the communist parties of Latin America. The communist parties' strategic policy of the unification of the forces of the left on the basis of an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical and democratic program and the subsequent formation of a broad front of all progressive forces aspiring to democratic transformations is producing tangible positive results and contributing to the growth of the authority and influence of the forces of the left. The greatest successes in this respect have been scored in Uruguay and Peru.

In Uruguay the Broad Front anti-imperialist democratic coalition formed back in 1971 on the initiative and with the participation of the Communist Party was the most impressive, consistent part of the antidictatorial forces most actively contributing to the removal of the military-fascist dictatorship and the restoration of constitutional government. At the general election on 25 November 1984, which brought to an end the domination of the military dictatorship, more than one-fifth of the electorate voted for candidates of the Broad Front, and in Montevideo (where almost half of the country's population is concentrated), more than one-third. Currently the Broad Front is playing an important part in Uruguay's political and social life and interacting closely with the (MPT-NKT) national trade union center in the struggle for the further development and consolidation of democracy on the basis of the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems in the interests of the broad working masses.

The United Left (IU) coalition, which consists together with the Communist Party of a further nine political parties and organizations of the left, was formed in Peru in 1980. At the 1985 presidential election the IU took second place. In its activity the IU went beyond the framework of the election coalition, combining electoral and mass struggle. While supporting the anti-imperialist position of the Alan Garcia government in respect of foreign monopolies and the IMF and its policy of solidarity with Nicaragua, the IU is opposed to the aspects of social and economic policy whose purpose is a lowering of the level of mass struggle and a weakening of the party and union organizations of the working people (21).

In the very difficult and complex process of unification of the forces of the left the prevailing trend at the present time is the formation of election coalitions. As practice shows, the joint action of forces of the left at elections leads to an expansion of their electorate and contributes to the growth of their authority and influence in the masses. Thus in Argentina the Popular Front formed prior to the 1985 elections obtained 60 percent more votes than the forces which constituted it at the preceding elections in 1983.

In Venezuela, where the two bourgeois-reformist parties have traditionally taken turns in office, even when only a temporary understanding had been reached concerning the left's nomination of a single candidate at the 1979 elections, approximately 18 percent of the electorate voted for him. Neither before nor since have organizations of the left, operating separately, obtained such a number of votes.

Under the conditions of limited bourgeois democracy a coalition of forces of the left with the participation of the Communist Party—the Patriotic Alliance (PA)—was formed in Colombia in 1985. The policy pursued by the PA of alliances based on a program of action (for the democratization of society, the establishment of a truce between the government and the guerrillas and urgent

social and political transformations) is an important step in the cohesion of the democratic forces. The PA scored a significant success in the course of the 1986 campaign, gaining 14 seats in parliament (instead of the 2 which the forces of the left had held previously) and collecting 330,000 votes at the presidential election.

Certain successes have been scored in the process of unification of the forces of the left in Mexico in the difficult domestic political situation characterized by the traditional domination of the ruling PRI bourgeois-reformist party in all key components of political and social life and the stimulation of the PAN party of the right. This process was initiated in 1981, when the Communist Party and four other parties united in a single party—the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM). In the 5 years since its formation the strength of the PSUM has increased from 30,000 to 70,000 members (23). A unifying congress of all organizations of the left is planned for the latter half of 1987. The new national party intends nominating its candidate at the presidential elections (23). Recently organizations of the left have garnered 10 to 15 percent of the electorate, but have each put forward their own candidates (25).

Summing up the entire experience of the anti-imperialist movement, Latin America's communist parties are reaching the well-founded conclusion that under current conditions no one party or organization of the left is in a position to implement a democratic alternative for a surmounting of the crisis and accomplish fundamental socioeconomic and political transformations (26). For this reason Latin American communists see the election coalitions of the present as an important step toward the achievement of a stronger unity of forces of the left and the formation on the basis thereof of broad blocs, regardless of ideological orientations and traditions, in the interests of the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle and the consolidation and development of democracy.

The sequence of the immediate steps and the length of the path toward this goal and the specific forms of its realization are, naturally, seen by the fraternal parties somewhat differently, according to the realities of individual countries. Thus the 16th Argentine Communist Party Congress advanced as a strategic task the formation of a national and social liberation front—a social and political alliance aimed at winning political power and accomplishing a social revolution. The social nucleus of the front, which is designed to unite the broadest working masses of city and countryside and the petty and middle bourgeoisie, is to be an alliance of the working class and the peasantry and progressive professional classes. Politically this bloc is to encompass all currents of the left already operating within the framework of the Popular Front and also leftwing Peronistas, socialists, Christians and others (27).

The emphasis is put somewhat differently in the strategic orientation of the Brazilian CP: as of the present priority is attached to the development of a mass dynamic

movement capable of influencing the positions of the democratic forces: "The question of democracy is inevitably connected with the question of an increase in the political influence of the working class. It is now important to continue the struggle for a strengthening of the democratic front, without implying by this a political organization with a rigid structure determined in advance" (see *Latinskaya Amerika* No 4, 1987, p 34).

Relying on what has been achieved and won, the communist movement of Latin America is on the move, in constant quest. Under conditions of legality it is encountering certain relatively new problems and difficulties. The task, for example, of an expansion of their mass influence under the conditions of the sharply intensified competition of all ideological-political currents—of bourgeois parties, which have learned a lot, included—for a broad social base, that is, primarily for the working class, the working strata of city and countryside, the youth and the students, appears largely different from in the past. The social democratic trend, which is of a distinctive coloration here and absorbs the most heterogeneous (and sometimes opposite) political-ideological currents (29), is also for Latin America's communists a comparatively new and quite pronounced factor of political life. The achievement of mutual understanding and cooperation with the left wing of Latin American social democracy is for the communists an increasingly urgent, but to a large extent more difficult task. Parties of the social democratic type are laying claim to leadership in the mass democratic movement, the unions and student organizations; they are endeavoring to impose on them their particular principles and methods of struggle. On the other hand, many communist parties have by their own admission been unable as yet to fully rid themselves of a sectarian approach to the social-reformist and other forces of the left and somewhat dogmatic ideas concerning the vanguard role of the Marxist-Leninist party and have not mastered the difficult art of dialogue and struggle.

The material of national forums of recent years shows that the communist parties are moving to the fore the tasks of party building and a quantitative and qualitative growth of the parties, primarily thanks to representatives of the working class. Successful and correct—not in a spirit of enclosure within intraparty measures and organizational matters—progress in this direction should enhance the "bloc-forming capability" of the communist party and its attractiveness and thereby work to strengthen the entire anti-imperialist and democratic camp.

M.S. Gorbachev's meeting in March 1987 with an Argentine CP delegation headed by A. Fava emphasized the exceptional responsibility of the fraternal parties' leadership for a sound theoretical evaluation of the processes occurring in this country or the other and throughout the world and for the timely, precise choice of policy line and tactics corresponding to the requirements of the moment (30).

The basic orientation of Latin America's communist parties is toward an alliance with all left, progressive, peace-loving forces in the name of the democratic renewal of all aspects of Latin American reality.

Footnotes

1. See *Novoye vremya* No 34, 1984, p 30.
2. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 1, 1986, p 54.
3. See "The Working Class in the Modern World (Statistical Digest)," Moscow, 1986, p 170.
4. See *RK i SM* No 6, 1986, p 131.
5. See *RK i SM* No 2, 1987, p 113.
6. This economic development model based on monetarist concepts, the so-called Chicago School, provided for a policy of liberalization of foreign trade and the encouragement of competition, the extensive use of foreign sources of financing, a winding down of the regulatory activity of the state and the granting to foreign capital of unlimited freedom of activity.
7. *Novoye vremya* No 34, 1984, p 30.
8. See *PMS* No 10, 1984, p 50; According to calculations of the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute, the strength of Latin America's working class as of the start of the 1980's constituted 63 million—see *RK i SM* No 2, 1987, p 111.
9. The unions encompassed 29 million persons at the start of the 1980's in the region as a whole. This level is far from identical in different countries. For example, in Brazil, the biggest Latin American country, the level of syndicalization is not more than one-fourth of the army of wage labor. See *RK i SM* No 6, 1986, p 131; *Latinskaya Amerika* No 4, 1987, p 37.
10. Thus as a result of a powerful national strike in October 1982 the military dictatorship in Bolivia ceded power to a congress which had been elected back in 1980 and which by that time no longer reflected the actual correlation of political forces in the country. In Brazil the generals made their departure conditional upon the election of a president (1985) by an electoral college, not allowing, despite the demands of the masses, direct presidential elections.
11. See *Voz da Unidade Especial*, January 1987, p 5.
12. See *Estudios* (Montevideo) No 95, 1985, p 5.
13. See "Informe del Comité Central del Partido Comunista al XIV Congreso. Buenos Aires, 4 de noviembre de 1986," pp 18D-19D.
14. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 12, 1986, p 11.
15. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1987, p 135.
16. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 1, 1986, pp 34-35.
17. In Argentina the members of the three military juntas in office as of 1976 and guilty of mass repression were put on trial.
18. Concerning events in Bolivia see *Latinskaya Amerika* No 10, 1986, pp 54-55; *RK i SM* No 2, 1987, pp 130-131; *PMS* No 10, 1985, pp 37-41.
19. For more detail see *PMS* No 5, 1987, pp 63-66.
20. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 5, 1987, pp 8-26.
21. For more detail on the IU see *Latinskaya Amerika* No 8, 1986, pp 41-51.
22. The Popular Front represents a political alliance of the Argentine CP and small numbers of forces of the left—the revolutionary Peronistas, socialists and other democratic organizations. See *Que pasa* No 296.
23. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 11, 1986, pp 37-38.
24. See *PMS* No 3, 1987, p 35.
25. See *Latinskaya Amerika* No 11, 1986, p 38.
26. See A. Fava, "Argentine Communists in the Struggle for Democracy," *Kommunist* No 18, 1985, pp 93, 97-98.
27. See "Informe del Comité Central...," pp 2E, 3E, 10E.
28. "Partido Comunista de Uruguay. Conferencia nacional 17-22 diciembre de 1985. Materiales y resoluciones," Montevideo, pp 57-59.
29. See "Social Democracy in Latin America," *PMS* No 8, 1983, pp 63-68; B.I. Koval, "Latin America: Revolution and the Present Day," Moscow, 1981, pp 172-176.
30. See *Pravda*, 4 March 1987.

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[M.A. Zaborov (deceased) review: "Studies and Publications Pertaining to the Workers Movement"]

[Text] As this material was being prepared for publication, we learned of the death of Doctor of Historical Sciences Mikhail Abramovich Zaborov, a constant and active author of our journal. M.A. Zaborov had for many years headed in the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute [IMRD] the school connected with study of the social thought and historiography of the workers movement. He made a big contribution to the preparation of a number of sections of the multivolume summary work "The International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory" and was a member of the editorial board and of groups of authors of a number of volumes. A brilliant bibliographer and perceptive connoisseur of historical literature, he has left behind many books, articles and studies of profound content and irreproachable form.

The USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD, which was organized two decades ago, is an important center for study of problems of the development of the working class and the workers movement. The bibliography of scientific works and publications written by its associates from 1966 through 1986 runs to over 3,200 titles (1). There has been an expansion of the political and geographic range and subject area of the studies in the 1980's. Certain countries and regions and also phenomena and processes of the social development of the working class which had hitherto altogether disappeared from scholars' field of vision or had attracted their attention in passing only, in connection with the elaboration of other, related subjects, have become the field thereof, this applying, specifically, to illustration of the history of the young proletariat and also the workers movement of developing countries (2), a description of the social aspects of urbanization in certain industrially developed capitalist countries (3) and study of the trade union movement (4).

A major, significant work was the summary multivolume publication "The International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory". This study reveals the general regularities and most important national singularities of the class struggle of the proletariat from its emergence through our day and illustrates the historical role of the working class (5). This collective work has earned a very high positive evaluation, on the part of progressive foreign experts on the working class included.

Works of scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD written in the 1980's have analyzed the present and past of the proletariat, filled in gaps on the historiographical map and offered a more precise, specific and substantiated

reading of this "chapter" or the other of the history of the workers movement, past and present. We shall dwell briefly on certain basic directions of the studies pertaining to contemporary problems of worker studies.

Pertaining here primarily is the development of the proletariat itself, which is the subject of the workers movement. A great deal of work has been done on study of the USSR working class. Summary works based on years of historical and sociological research and popular science books on the development and current character of the Soviet working class (6), on the position of working women (7), changes in the professional-educational level and the labor fortunes of the youth (8) included, have been published. Great attention has also been paid to the working class of foreign socialist countries and its development under the conditions of the transformation in the production structure and problems of social and S&T progress (9) and also to the activity of the unions of socialist countries (10). Monographs have been published on the PRC working class and the sociopolitical structure of this country (11-12).

Scholars have paid increased attention to the problems of the dynamics, reproduction and structural changes in the working class of capitalist countries. These questions have been developed in studies devoted to an analysis of the social and sociopolitical character of the contemporary working class of Britain (13) and Japan (14). In terms of their procedure and conclusions these works are akin to the collective works of scholars of the institute published at the end of the 1970's. The observations and conclusions drawn in the 1970's were thus newly confirmed and further substantiated and developed in works written in the first half of the 1980's. At the same time they developed in their own way the conceptual principles advanced in the monograph on the S&T revolution and the working class under capitalism (15), primarily the idea concerning the rise of the working class as the decisive productive and revolutionary-transforming force, as a class. Although the S&T revolution is resulting under capitalist conditions in somber aspects for the working class, the latter is nonetheless obliged to it for its own development.

A number of changes in the situation of the working class are connected with structural changes therein. In the 1980's they have, as before, been studied in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD in various fields, including such entirely specific aspects as the tax system, which serves as an instrument of centralized oppression of the working people via the medium of the state (16), the specifics of the leisure time of wage workers erecting barriers in the way of their cultural growth (17), social insecurity (18) and many others, there has been also study of the conditions of work and the hiring and training of manpower, wages and social security and insurance (19), the influence of the EEC (20) and such and racial and national discrimination (21), and the production and social status of individual groups and strata of wage workers (22), including the youth (23), has

been examined; finally, aspects of the impact of the S&T revolution on the forms and degree of exploitation of the working class and its economic and social situation as a whole have been studied.

The impact of the S&T revolution on the forms and degree of exploitation of the working class and the conditions and trends of the development of the workers movement has been studied particularly intensively. Mention may be made here of the collective monograph "Technological Change, Wage Labor and the Workers Movement of the Developed Capitalist Countries" (Moscow, 1983). This monograph represents the experience of a systematic analysis of the consequences of the introduction in the economy of the latest achievements of S&T progress. The center of gravity of the research here is precisely in the plane of an analysis of the social, and not the intrinsically economic, aspect of the problem.

Associated with this multi-aspectual work are others which study the main social disaster brought about by capitalist rationalization of production employing the achievements of the S&T revolution—mass unemployment in the capitalist world (24). These books bring together and analyze statistical data characterizing its giant scale and dynamics in the 1980's and reveal the economic factors causing the appearance of huge masses of "superfluous" people (crises, streamlining of production, the selfish activity of the TNC and others). The scholars have described, further, the diverse specific types and forms of unemployment, pointing out at the same time, however, that its essence always remains the same.

The area of study of the working class of capitalist countries studying the political orientation and political behavior of the workers—participation in elections at various levels, demonstrations, boycotts, political strikes, occupation of enterprises and so forth—has been developed in the 1980's. The results of this work have been presented in a group monograph which for the first time in our literature reveals on the basis of a vast amount of material the social dependence of the political orientation and practice of the proletariat (25). This is undoubtedly a fruitful attempt to socially "structure" the political behavior of the proletariat in a number of principal countries of the West and ascertain the reasons for this political sympathy and antipathy or the other of various detachments and groups of the working class.

The book appreciably supplements and enriches earlier experience of the reconstruction of the political portrait of the West European working class undertaken by the institute's scholars in the group monograph "Worker Voters in West European Countries" (Moscow, 1980). Similar problems were developed in most detailed manner with reference to France in A.M. Salmin's monograph (26).

The analysis of the socio-psychological and ideological character of the proletariat has progressed considerably in recent years. The new studies of G.G. Diligenskiy (27), which reveal the contradictoriness of the mass

proletarian consciousness and its different aspects and nuances and show the latent and overt manifestations of revolutionary potentialities and the prospects of their consolidation, stand out among the others. The socio-psychological viewpoint is also characterized to a considerable extent by monographs on different schools of left radicalism (28).

Basic aspects of the development and situation of the working class in imperialist countries are studied in the books of T.T. Timofeyev. One such appeared in the "Working Class in the 20th Century" series put out by the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD (29). It comprehensively illustrates the growth of the international working class and its role of hegemon of the world revolutionary process and the intensification of the antagonism between labor and capital at the current stage of the S&T revolution under the conditions of the sharp increase in capitalism's economic instability. The author illustrates various aspects of the international ideological and political confrontation and proves the groundlessness of the numerous apologist concepts employed by the ideologists of anticommunism in their struggle against the progressive forces of our era. Another book (30) by the same author shows the growth of the antagonisms of the exploiter system in the 1970's-1980's and analyzes the contradictory consequences of the S&T revolution under capitalism and their impact on unemployment in the capitalist world. The book subjects to scientific criticism the myths of "deproletarianization," "abatement" of class conflicts and so forth.

Scholars' interests are not confined, of course, to study of the processes occurring in the working class of the developed capitalist countries. Certain efforts have been made to study the processes influencing the formation, position and struggle of the proletariat of the developing countries. Mention may be made in this connection of Yu. Ivanov's monograph devoted to the formation of an urban proletariat in developing countries (31).

One further area of the research is the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation and for social progress and the activity in this sphere of its mass organizations—the trade unions. Works which have appeared in the 1980's have reconstructed with a varying degree of amplitude individual stages and aspects of both the spontaneous and organized struggle of the contemporary proletariat (32) and shown the picture of its social assertiveness (whole or partial) in the most recent period, in the main. As distinct from preceding years, there has been less intensive study of the U.S. union movement. Only in one monograph have historiographical problems of the union movement in this country enjoyed for the first time integral elaboration (33). A special monograph (34) has examined the structure and organizational forms of the union movement in Italy and described its national centers and the struggle of the working class under the leadership of parties of the left and the unions for its vital interests.

Specialists on Britain have inquired mainly into such a theme as racial and national factors in the workers movement of Great Britain—their history and present day. In addition to the above-mentioned comprehensive study of the positions of the country's workers movement on national and racial issues an important aspect of these problems is investigated in detail in a special monograph (35). The socioeconomic problems for whose solution France's unions, which were active participants in the confrontation of the working class and the monopolies, fought in the 1970's and the multifaceted activity of the unions grouped around the CGT and, partly, the CFDT also are illustrated in a small, but substantive monograph of a young scholar (36).

Individual areas of union activity regionally and internationally have been studied. One such is unions' rebuff of the increasing oppression of the TNC (37), another, the struggle of the working people and the unions for participation in the management of production. These problems have been studied in two monographs (38). Published almost simultaneously, they illustrate the state of affairs in practically all the main capitalist countries, and the second monograph, what is more, shows for the first time essentially both the real gains of the working people in the sphere of democratization of the economy and the very mechanism of the unions' participation in decision-making at enterprises and in firms and also at the TNC level. Associated with this category of scientific works analyzing in differentiated manner different aspects of union activity are to a large extent new works—not so much in terms of the subject matter itself (an analysis thereof had been made in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD earlier also) (39) as in terms of the approach to an illustration of the problems raised—on the unions' activity in the field of collective bargaining. With reference to the contemporary U.S. mass workers movement this subject matter is analyzed in a separate monograph (40), which illustrates new trends of the collective bargaining struggle and shows the growth of its social significance.

The same subject matter, but on an international scale, was illustrated in 1983 in two monographs prepared by IMRD scholars—group (41) and individual (42). Both examine related issues, however, the authors of the group monograph are attracted mainly by social aspects of the collective bargaining regulation of labor relations which has taken shape in the West and reflection of the class struggle of the proletariat in the practice of collective bargaining, whereas the crux of the other book is rather study of the intrinsically legal content of union practice and its forms and results.

A highly promising, largely new direction of scientific research, which has emerged in the exacerbated international atmosphere of the 1980's, is study of the mass peace movements of most recent times, to which several important works are devoted. One is devoted to the thaw which came about in international relations in the 1970's as a factor of social progress of appreciable significance

for the working class (43). Two others, prepared by different groups of research associates, encompass a wide spectrum of problems of the unions' participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament (44) and the consolidation of international security. One further—area-study—research work is of a historical nature (45).

Study of currents in the trade union movement—their past and present—has been further developed in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD in the 1980's (46). In this period Soviet historiography has been supplemented with the first composite outline of the postwar history of the Christian union movement (47). With a thorough knowledge of the subject the authors traced in their book the ideological evolution of Christian syndicalism in the period 1945-1980 crowned by the adoption of a "socialist orientation" by the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, which in 1968 was renamed the World Confederation of Labor.

A monograph devoted to the history of the mass workers movement in Italy (48), a country which has traditionally been one of the most "strike-prone" in the capitalist West, stands out among the area-study works. The author analyzes general and individual trends of the strike struggle in the period of its greatest upsurge in the postwar period.

A monograph in which the strike phenomenon is viewed from a problem-solving-historical angle (49) is sustained in a different key: there is an analysis of the strike action as such, the phases of its development, from primary forms to the modern strike and the basic features and singularities of the functioning of a strike action, in other words, its very "mechanism". While partially akin in terms of its character to certain studies of the historical and theoretical aspects of the strike struggle conducted earlier in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD (50), this monograph is undoubtedly a new word in Marxist-Leninist worker-study science. The history of the world strike movement of almost the last 100 years is presented in the laconic, but eloquent language of figures in a group monograph prepared in the institute (51) in which statistics graphically reflect the dynamics of the strikes and the correlation of victories and defeats and economic and political strikes, in a word, the basic parameters of the strike struggle.

The further study of the political struggle of the proletariat, primarily the activity of its revolutionary vanguard—the communist and workers parties—was closely connected in the period 1980-1986 with study of the problems of the mass workers movement. In the area-study aspect certain topics characterizing the historical experience and contemporary practice of individual communist parties have been elaborated in individual and group works of the institute. The use of sociological methods needs to be considered a new and undoubtedly positive factor of this research. A work analyzing the life of the Italian Communist Party (52) is constructed on the basis of the use thereof; the author has traced the

connection between the development of the party itself and its ideological and political precepts and the changes in the mass, social consciousness of the working class of the country, in turn connected with changes in its social structure, composition and position.

A study has been conducted in the 1980's in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD with the use of sociological methods of China's revolutionary movement in the 1920's-1940's (53), which not only shows the social structure of Chinese society of that time but also analyzes the particular features of the effect of the patchwork, "multistructure" social environment and its constituent social strata and groups on the nature and forms of the clashes of different tendencies in the CCP.

The USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD has also continued study of various specific aspects of the current activity of communist parties in capitalist and developing countries. One group monograph (54) has made a summary analysis of the socioeconomic programs of the communist parties of the industrially developed capitalist states—the anticrisis and anti-inflation measures promoted by these parties and the democratic and antimonopoly demands of the working people. Another, also group, work has analyzed the problems of social and S&T progress under big city conditions (55).

Study of the history and present of social democracy has continued. A collective work revealing the evolution of the ideology of social democracy at the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism stands out among the monographs devoted to this problem (56). Akin to this work to a certain extent is a book which examines the historical roots of a variety of social reformist ideology in the British workers movement—Fabianism (57).

The precepts characterizing various currents of present-day social democracy, primarily its left wing, are portrayed in a group monograph on differentiation in social democratic parties. Logically this book gravitates directly toward a study undertaken earlier in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD on the particular features of present social democratic reformism compared with bourgeois reformism (58). This work outlines the alignment of forces in the social democratic movement and analyzes the ideological standpoints and practical policy of its left wing.

The relations of social reformist parties with the unions and mass democratic movements (peace, ecology and so forth) is the subject of a further important work of this series (59). It analyzes both the political-ideological and organizational activity of the leading national detachments of social democracy in relation to the unions and present-day democratic movements, ascertains the broad range of its fluctuations between different, at times opposite, ideological and political orientations and reveals the serious contradictions between the policy of

social reformist parties and the demands of the organizations representing the broad working strata in the atmosphere of the current crisis of capitalism.

A number of individual monographs are conceptually similar to the said collective works. Such is a work devoted to social democratic theories of regulation of the capitalist economy (60). Also pertaining to this category of research is a book which has illustrated for the first time (on a comparative level) the program-theoretical principles and activity of the socialist parties of the Pyrenees—the Spanish Socialist Workers Party and the Portuguese Socialist Party (61).

M.A. Neymark's monograph, which analyzes the specifics of social democratic ideology and policy, ascertains the possibilities and prospects of the cooperation of the communists and social democrats, mainly in the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe (62).

Literature has appeared in the 1980's also on problems of the history of Marxism, the spread of which has been accompanied by an acute ideological struggle in the workers movement (63), and also on the history of the workers and communist movement itself in individual countries (64). Books and brochures devoted to the history of the development of the international cohesion and united actions of the working class from the Chicago events of 1886 through our day (65) were written and publications of a series of documents on the history of May Day were undertaken in connection with the centenary of the international proletarian solidarity holiday—May Day (66).

Historiographical research into the most diverse questions of the history of the mass worker, communist and socialist movement has developed intensively (67). It has revealed a number of characteristic features of the development of social and historical thought and the struggle of various concepts and schools connected with study of the fortunes of the working class.

The scientific works described in the survey are almost always connected with the vital practice of the struggle of the workers movement and contribute to the establishment of relations between the revolutionary and democratic movements, which are being united increasingly by the main problem—the salvation of civilization.

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**Collective Monograph on European 'Greens'
Reviewed Damye; pp 186-188]**

*18070038h Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I
SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 87
(signed to press 17 Sep 87) pp 186-188*

[V.V. Damye review: "The 'Greens' Movement: Potential, Trends, Prospects"]

[Text] The "green" movement is young: its political history runs to only 15 years, but it has in many countries already proven its viability. "Green" parties and organizations close to them operate in almost all the developed capitalist states, and in Austria, Belgium, West Berlin, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Finland, the FRG and Switzerland they have succeeded in having members elected to parliament. At the West German Bundestag elections in January 1987 the "Greens" scored a record success, amassing over 3 million votes or 8.3 percent of the total.

The group monograph in question* to a large extent sums up, as it were, the experience of previous (not that numerous) studies and charts the prospects of further study of the developing new movement. Distinguished by a wholeness of vision of the subject and the high degree of generalization, the book shows the "green" phenomenon as a remarkable manifestation of the reaction of the West's public consciousness to the exacerbation of global problems against the background of the general crisis of capitalism: the "Greens," as distinct from bourgeois and social democratic ideologists, see the exacerbation thereof ultimately as "the result of the imperfection of the entire social system in countries of the bourgeois world" (p 57).

The book attentively traces the paths of formation of the "Greens" and the ideologization and politicization of their movement as far as the advancement of "alternative" concepts of development and the creation of independent parties. The socioeconomic views of the "Greens," their positions on questions of domestic and foreign policy, programs for the solution of global problems and the prospects and possibilities of their cooperation with the workers movement are analyzed. The entire contradictoriness of the development trends of the "green" movement is shown: its participants at times "fail to display the due logicity, consistency and realism" (p 207), and utopian ideas and illusions have not disappeared in all respects. At the same time, however, a fair evaluation of the social potential of the movement is made, the conclusion concerning its opposition nature and anticapitalist thrust is drawn (pp 191-192) and it is emphasized that success for the "Greens" is attainable only in close cooperation with other progressive, antimonopoly forces (p 128), with the working class primarily.

Concentration of attention predominantly on the common prerequisites and aspects of the development of the "green" movement afforded an opportunity for revealing the trends of its evolution on the scale of the capitalist system as a whole, but prevented a detailed illustration of a number of specific points in its history and activity (the paths for further research remain open here also, of course). This applies primarily to the not completely resolved question of the correlation of the mass movement and the party: the entire diversity of forms of the "green" movement does not amount merely to parties. The development of the "green" or "alternative" movement should most likely be examined at its two parallel levels: mass (civic initiatives, ecological primarily, "alternative projects," ecocommunes and so forth) and party-political. For example, in the FRG the Federal Union of Civic Initiatives in Defense of the Environment emphasizes its supraparty nature and does not identify itself with the "Green" Party, taking into consideration the fact that "Greens," social democrats, communists, "autonomists" and clerical groups cooperate within the civic initiatives framework; at the same time, however, the "Green" Party represents in parliament the interests and positions of the mass movement.

An important factor which brought about the appearance and development of the "green" movement was the intensified, primarily in the youth environment, process of a "change of values"—an aspiration to a "new lifestyle" based on a set of spontaneous-anticapitalist sentiments and precepts ("alternative values"); orientations toward self-determination and the free harmonious development of the personality, elimination of the division of labor, self-management and consideration of the opinion of each individual, the surmounting of the estrangement from nature and other people, the priority of spiritual values and the development of social structures which are decentralized and close to man are ascribed to the latter. The appearance and spread of an attitude based on such values was a reaction to the alienating, consumerist nature of modern capitalism with its worship of money taken to the extreme, material-careerist orientation, formalization of social structures, blighting of the personality and the limitation of democratic freedoms. It would be premature to speak of the spread of these sentiments to the majority of citizens of capitalist society; they exist in the social consciousness merely in the form of individual components, mixing with the customary standards of social behavior. But it is important that the consistent realization of the "alternative values" is impossible within the framework of the bourgeois system, and for this reason the struggle for their realization contains a big social charge.

The problem of the formation and the activity of various currents within the "green" movement merits attention. Their emergence is connected, as the authors rightly point out, with the sociopolitical heterogeneity of the "green" ranks. However, in the set of "alternative development" concepts of the 1970's even three main directions may be distinguished: conservative-bourgeois, petty bourgeois-utopian and "ecosocialism" (1).

In the FRG the conservative-bourgeois direction exerted no appreciable influence on the mass movement, the ideology of the "Greens" taking shape there under the impact of the traditional philosophy of the professional classes and the new middle strata, the particular experience of the participants in the movement and the eclectic perception of "third way" and "ecosocialism" ecological concepts. The following basic currents also took shape within the West German "Greens" as a result: fundamental opposition, "real politicians" and radical left. The decisions adopted by the "Green" Party usually represent a compromise between the positions of various currents which are at times very far apart. As a result the "Greens" are not yet in a position to determine how the *economic system* of an "alternative," "ecological" society should appear. Thus the "ecolibertarians," whom, we believe, it is more correct to attribute to the right wing of "real politicians" than to the "fundamentalists" (see p 158), unequivocally support a decentralized market economy. The radical-reformist wing of "real politicians" advocates a "dualist economy" combining elements of the market, state planning and self-organization ("alternative projects" and so forth). The supporters of "fundamental opposition" portray the society of the future in the form of an aggregate of decentralized, self-sufficient communes, and the radical left "Greens," rejecting the idea of nationalization, champion "new public forms" of ownership and self-management.

Ideas concerning the ways to achieve an "ecological" society differ likewise, varying from the formation of coalition governments under the leadership of the SPD to the "toppling" of capitalism or the elimination thereof by a spontaneous mass movement. A trend toward a smoothing over of differences came to light and a temporary compromise on the question of relations with the SPD was found on the threshold of the 1987 elections, but debate flared up anew after the elections.

There is differentiation in the sphere of the peace struggle also, in which, specifically, the left wing of the "Greens" occupies a more constructive position, putting the main blame for the arms race on American imperialism and NATO.

Upon an investigation of the activity of internal currents account should also be taken of the differences in the political profile of the "Greens" in individual countries. In some countries there are several "green" parties of varying persuasions.

It is difficult to fully agree with the authors' evaluation of the "base democracy" concept, which constitutes the core of the "Greens'" social and political ideas. The development of decentralized self-management undoubtedly cannot "topple" capitalism either economically or politically. The "alternative projects" are not in the long term capable of competing with the production machinery of the monopolies, and the expansion of the network of "free areas" in the form of informal initiatives, groups and communes is not capable of countervailing the bourgeois state. However, on

condition of the movement's growth into struggle in defense and for an expansion of democracy, the conversion of "base democratic" initiatives into kinds of "counterauthority cells" is possible (2).

The problem of continuity between the "New Left" and the "Greens" requires special study, we believe.

The book's authors rightly note that an underestimation of the role of the working class in social rearrangement is frequently still predominant among the "Greens". In turn, the workers are distrustful of the "zero growth" ecological concepts, on which the reformist leaders of social democracy and also of the unions are adroitly playing. In the FRG cooperation is also being hampered by the comparatively low level of class consciousness of significant numbers of the proletariat and proletarianizing strata and the sectarian sentiments of certain "Greens" spurning any proposals of forces of the left concerning the formation of an electoral bloc.

Nonetheless, the first signs of rapprochement between the "alternatives" and the the workers movement have appeared. The number of workers voting for the new party is growing, and leftwing union activists are supporting contacts with the "Greens". A leftward evolution has occurred in the party itself, and it is expressing solidarity with a number of demands of the workers movement. In certain FRG constituencies in 1987 the "Greens" put up candidates in conjunction with the List for Peace bloc, in which communists and other democrats participate. The processes of the development of the "Greens" are moving in a complex and at times contradictory manner, and the internal confrontation of the currents and the development of their political positions are still far from completion. But the path already trodden by the new movement confirms the conclusion drawn by the authors of the monograph (see p 220) that the "green" movement is an integral part of the potential of the left, whose possibilities politically and socially are as yet far from exhausted.

Footnotes

* "Sovremennyy mir glazami 'zelenykh'" [The Modern World Through the Eyes of the "Greens"]. Under the general editorship of B.M. Maklyarskiy, Moscow, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1987, 232pp.

1. For more detail see "Yearbook of German History. 1984," Moscow, 1986, pp 144-186.

2. See "Not Rivalry But Cooperation! Communists and That Which Is New in Social Movements," Moscow, 1984, p 92.

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