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**A Critique of Neoclassical Development Theory**

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**The Non-Capitalist Way of Development**

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**The U.S. Welfare State and the Working Class**

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**Economic Theory on Marriage**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME 19 NUMBER 1

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<i>Paul Burkett</i>	
Financial "Repression" and Financial "Liberalization" in the Third World: A Contribution to the Critique of Neoclassical Development Theory . . . . .	1
<i>Hooshang Amirahmadi</i>	
The Non-Capitalist Way of Development . . . . .	22
<i>E. Ahmet Tonak</i>	
The U.S. Welfare State and the Working Class, 1952-1980 . . . . .	47
<i>Elaine McCrate</i>	
Trade, Merger and Employment: Economic Theory on Marriage . . . . .	73
<b>NOTES &amp; COMMENTS</b>	
<i>David Houston and Eva Paus</i>	
The Theory of Unequal Exchange: An Indictment . . . . .	90
<i>Ron Phillips</i>	
Veblen and the "Wobblies": A Note . . . . .	98
<b>BOOK REVIEWS</b>	
<i>Susan B. Carter</i>	
The Process of Occupational Sex-Typing: The Feminization of Clerical Labor in Great Britain. (Cohn) . . . . .	104
<i>Gary P. Green</i>	
The Power Structure of American Business. (Mintz and Schwartz) . . . . .	106
<i>Bruce Elmslie</i>	
The Fragmented World: Competing Perspectives on Trade, Money and Crisis. (Edwards) . . . . .	107
<i>Peter B. Meyer</i>	
Benefit, Cost and Beyond: The Political Economy of Benefit-Cost Analysis. (Campen) . . . . .	109
<b>CALL FOR PAPERS</b> . . . . .	111

The present paper is devoted to the *first* stages. The exposition of the conceptual framework of NCWD,<sup>3</sup> devoted to the historical roots of NCWD, including Engels, Lenin, the Comintern, and the development section compares NCWD to its rivals and subjects it to final section offers speculations for reformulation of the paper is addressed to academicians and activists alike in constructive debate.

## THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: AN

### *An Alternative From the Socialist Bloc Countries*

The strategy of NCWD was launched in the 1960s by and national liberation ideologues from socialist bloc countries in particular. Formulated in the political economy intended as an alternative to the application of capitalist development strategies in the least developed of Third World bourgeois "revolutionary democrats" had seized the "national democratic revolution." NCWD received the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and International Meetings of Communist and Workers Front have not as yet officially endorsed it) and became a major the socialist bloc.

### *Definition and Pre-Conditions*

According to Rostovsky:

The non-capitalist way of development is an aggregate transitional stages, forms and methods that make it possible the development of nations living under conditions of pre-capitalist relations, or relations leading to capitalism bypassing altogether or cutting short the capitalist phase success only if there is a close alliance between the people and the advanced proletariat of the developed socialist countries vigorous all-round support and the intensive purposeful question aimed at a radical transformation of the old, our 1978:112).

In other words, the strategy of NCWD is predicated upon

a way of development" (NCWD) is proposed by development theories as a political economy alternative to capitalist and populist (the theory and strategy and its proponents) offers a conception of the prevailing socioeconomic determinism to include politics and development process in those least developed Third World countries "hold state power. The NCWD strategy argues that if this supported by the parties of the working classes and by the socialist non-capitalist transformation of the socio-economic formation, as a and/or subjective conditions for a socialist revolution would be more radical than its rivals with respect to its treatment of such issues as and socioeconomic transformation. However, it suffers from a particularly about the nature of the impact of imperialism on the Third World conflict in these societies, the nature of the state in the post-national program it proposes for socioeconomic transformations. This framework of NCWD, examines its historical roots, critically offers speculation for its reformulation.

## INTRODUCTION

Development with capitalist and populist development world countries has led to an upsurge of interest in the socialist bloc since the 1970s (see e.g., Kay 1975; Szentes 1976; Wilber 1979; Munoz 1981). Despite political and theoretical contributions to our understanding of how the socialist bloc has failed to advance a practical alternative to Third World nations.<sup>2</sup> In this context, a critical theoretical contribution with the strategy and theory of development is particularly so because NCWD is beyond the prevailing socioeconomic determinism to development as parts of the development process in the least developed World countries. In addition, the theorists who come to NCWD continue to claim its validity despite NCWD's "non-capitalist" development.

The inquiry into NCWD should proceed in two stages. First, it should be exposed and subjected to constructive criticism, in order to bring it to its methodological/ideological grounds, historical and theoretical positions and development programs. Second, the

; and finally, a close alliance must be formed between  
list bloc nations to guarantee the latter's vigorous and  
ants 1977).

NCWD claims to follow historical materialism, particu-  
larly, ascribed to it. The first proposition states that trans-  
formational structures and forms of social consciousness  
are a level of development in productive forces. Political  
power is captured by revolutionary forces under conditions of  
transition to the second proposition, while human history  
unfolds through the communal, ancient, feudal, and capitalist  
divisions of societies may or may not have experienced all  
of these could be omitted at the level of individual  
proposition states that while class contradiction is the  
primary, other types of contradictions may become equally  
important, such as the contradiction between the socialist and  
capitalist present. Finally, the state is a class institution but it  
is not limited by a single class. In periods of transition,  
the state exists into existence with genuinely popular support.

The doctrine is grounded on an anti-imperialist doctrine propo-  
sition since 1956 and endorsed by the International Meetings of  
the Workers Parties (IMCWP) held in Moscow in 1957, 1960,  
and is based on a series of world-dimension concepts and  
propositions knitted together and with other concepts and proposi-  
tions of the theoretical foundation for the present interna-  
tional of the socialist bloc countries.  
The propositions of the socialist bloc's anti-imperialist  
doctrine may be summarized as follows. The present world is  
divided into countries: imperialist (or "oppressor"), socialist,  
and semi-socialist countries, "headed" by the United States, are  
imperialist, anti-democratic and dangerously aggressive. They are  
responsible for the domination of the world by overpowering the  
national liberation revolutions (NLRs) and are attempt-  
ing to hold over the oppressed nations by "preserving" their  
address (Ulyanovsky 1978:41,91).

tant contradictions of our time are three. Listed in the or-  
der are: the contradiction between socialist and imperialist c  
by struggles between the U.S.S.R. and the United States;  
of the two camps over such issues as economic growth  
and NLRs; the contradiction between imperialist and  
expressed by the growing NLRs and the demand for  
Economic Order; and the contradiction between imperi  
people as expressed by the growing movement for peace  
is thus facing three enemies: the socialist camp, the N  
people in imperialist countries, the overwhelming m  
socialists or forces "leaning" toward socialism. The  
imperialism is thus socialist in direction. This is also cl  
component parts including national liberation rev  
Ulyanovsky (1978:44), the most authoritative propo  
The world socialist revolution and the NLRs in the East  
such a coincidence has made it easy for the NLRs to take  
The success of the movement is said to depend up  
world-wide "anti-imperialist united front" and close  
between the NLRs and the socialist camp. The doctrin  
nature of the relationships that should exist between th  
radical (not socialist) states in the Third World.

### *Stages of Socialist Revolution in the East*

According to the theorists of NCWD, socialist rev  
(Asian and African countries in particular)<sup>5</sup> must pass  
general democratic stage and a socialist stage *separate*  
protracted transitional period.<sup>6</sup> The general democratic  
all-out anti-imperialist democratic revolution which enc  
of political independence. This stage is said to be largely  
The real problem of the present revolutionary movement  
the transition from the general democratic stage to the l  
revolution. The transition is problematic because of t  
capitalist character of the Eastern societies.<sup>7</sup> This m  
(material) and subjective (ideological) conditions for th

The crux of the matter is then how to create these con-  
ditions are available: the capitalist, populist, and "non-  
The capitalist strategy, including "growth" and  
approaches, is rejected on the ground that under the do

the socialist stage.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Third World countries in general democratic stage are practically left with just one “non-capitalist” strategy. NCWD is capable of and objective and subjective transformations for a case it is formulated within the tradition of political and definite political, ideological, tactical/strategic and es to be pursued by revolutionary forces. It gives struggle against imperialism and internal reaction — f a popular front and the radicalization of the masses — socioeconomic policy at the national and international sion of the state sector, promotion of cooperatives mic ties with imperialism.

is a political-economic development strategy for ap- d transitional period between the general democratic he theory does not claim to be applicable to either of loes it claim to effect the transition from the democra- ; *without* an all-out socialist revolution led by the ls, it is not a theory of revolution, i.e., a theory about be captured. Indeed, NCWD assumes political power tionary democrats who came to power at the end of the . As for the socialist stage, it can be implemented only a socialist political strategy of revolution under the ng class. In Ulyanovsky’s words:

ist development is said to mean a transition from the ie revolution to its socialist stage, which is quite wrong, for s in the course of which the democratic stage develops into an qualitatively distinct stage — the socialist stage of the revolu- without a proletarian Marxist–Leninist leadership, and that socialism-oriented countries (Ulyanovsky 1977:21).

), the present national liberation revolutions are char- alar anti-imperialist front” embracing all classes and nd including, in certain cases, the middle bourgeoisie hip of the petty bourgeoisie. The front tactic is necessi- ; because all classes and strata in the oppressed nations, ority of the dependent bourgeoisie and the large land

cause they come close on a number of fundamental qu of scientific socialism” (Solodovnikov and Bogoslovsk; because they have experienced the worst anti-democra dictatorial dependent states.

NCWD does not give a precise definition of the F simply referred to as a class which takes an intermediate terms) between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and employed. The focus of the strategy is on the behavior character in vacillating between socialism and capital; duality is rooted in the internal heterogeneity of the clas; strata struggle to elevate themselves to the position of the strata are constantly forced into the ranks of the proletariat, however, find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, t This brings them, along with the lower strata, into con bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies. The two strata, how ent conceptions with respect to socialism. In particular, t to be frightened by the proletariat’s demand for the aboli in the means of production. Nevertheless, the class ren socialist forces over the forces of capitalism, at least in post-democratic revolution. NCWD gives several reaso powerful socialist camp, the world-wide spread of the moribund condition of world capitalism, the people’ capitalist policies, and the genuine desire of the masses justice, and economic equality.

Whatever the reasons, the petty bourgeois class changes and tends to be progressive in outlook and action be able to realize its demands and potentialities with socialist forces. In other words, the petty bourgeois lead and willing to force the general democratic stage to a mic fully supported by the socialist camp and the parties of home (Ulyanovsky 1978:41).

### *The Struggle for Economic Independence*

“The chief aim for the national liberation movement wrote Korionov, “is a struggle for progressive social economic independence, a struggle to do away with capital” (Korionov 1975:102). It is for the achievement NCWD is formulated. As a political-economic develop poses interrelated and detailed socioeconomic and poli

and large-scale commercial and service activities" (1974; Chirkin 1972; Clarkson 1978). Further, the ownership and control all major types of infrastructure including electrification, transportation and health and housing.

Organized basically in agriculture, but also in other as services, must act as a complement to the state economic units and help raise labor productivity. tives occupy within the strategy is due to NCWD's of a radical land reform program as a means of nationalized sector should be centrally planned, private sectors could follow a market mechanism. ese latter sectors is, however, demanded on the ed market mechanism would lead inevitably to itorial, sectoral, and interpersonal levels.

on of the second objective, i.e., socioeconomic erialism, is the immediate eradication of foreign rship in the country and the adoption of an anti- This is partly achieved by the nationalization of ishments referred to above. To complete the pro- abrogate all unequal contracts and treaties with raw from imperialist-dominated or sponsored inter- ry, political or economic organizations and lend ountries, movements, and organizations. The state nd its bargaining power by intimately cooperating ions and the socialist camp, particularly in the form h international organizations as the United Nations, ank. In short, the state should adopt a genuinely d domestic policy. NCWD, however, does not re- n of foreign capital or suspension of all political ountries. Compensating foreign capitals for nation- is prescribed as a precautionary measure to prevent vention or invasion.

the state should establish and facilitate the establish- itions which allow for the full participation of the re adoption of an educational policy that raises the ousness of the masses. Intensification of the class of non-capitalist development must be the ultimate

with the working socialist system to the principal motivation ment and strengthening the socialist orientation" (Solodov What seems to lie behind this assertion is the belief that compared to imperialist countries, are non-exploitative an

According to NCWD, the goals of communist and supporting the national democratic state must include socioeconomic measures outlined above, radicalization ( masses, transformation of the front from an anti-imperialist one, and uniting the working classes and winning them these changes would lead to the formation of the neces- subjective conditions for a socialist revolution.

To begin with, the state that comes into being at the democratic stage, argues NCWD, is a multi-class state (ex- bourgeois elements and sections of the national or middle- state is unable to carry out non-capitalist development. To tive, the state must be radicalized, transformed into w/ NCWD call a "national democratic state" led by the "n- crats" belonging to the middle and lower petty bourgeois s kov's words:

In our time the main tool of the new independent states, w- non-capitalist path of development, is the form of a nationa- its class essence, it expresses the interests of the block- anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-capitalist forces. Bon- creative revolutionary efforts of the people, *this state is the de- of the majority, or according to V.I. Lenin, the dictatorship of t- kov 1973:13-14; emphasis in the original).*

If established, this state would implement the socioecon- lined above, would not fear to unite with the socialist for- prevent them from organizing and radicalizing the mass- important task of communist and workers' parties, maintai- NCWD, is to transform the original state into a "dictators- This must be done gradually, however.

Communist and workers' parties must effect "the for- national democratic front against imperialism in the- democratic, anti-imperialist and social changes" (Ulyanc- classes up to and including the "radical wing" of the natic- be singled out as friends of the revolution at this anti-im- petty bourgeois democrats would lead the front. Commun-

...ing people and are able to boost the proletarian movement.  
transform the radicalized anti-imperialist front into an  
s would come about (automatically?), argues NCWD,  
r radicalized and begin demanding adoption of essen-  
asures. If successful, this process should lead to the  
ionary-democratic dictatorship" of the middle strata of  
workers, urban poor, and poor peasants led by the  
s (Ulyanovsky 1978:55). In all these stages, communist  
ust be aware of the peaceful or violent revolutionary  
head and should not be afraid of using a combination of  
d struggle and a peaceful united front policy coupled  
olitical struggles (Ulyanovsky 1979:79). They must  
assume the leadership, but unprepared moves must be  
gers to the revolution of the proletarian masses. Finally,  
y tricky task of combining proletarian internationalism  
masses for effective results.

## THE HISTORICAL ROOTS

D, instead of criticizing the strategy or theory itself,  
nunist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and other  
icipants in IMCWP) for formulating and propagating an  
gy. Proponents of NCWD, on the other hand, instead of  
by highlighting its contributions to the field of develop-  
selves behind Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Comintern.  
ch about the pros and cons of NCWD remains in the  
clarity in these debates, one must understand that the  
its present form, is only loosely related to the works of  
and the Comintern, as it is only peripherally associated  
MCWP. The theory was formulated in the 1960s by  
socialist bloc countries, the U.S.S.R. in particular, and  
approval of the CPSU and IMCWP. The ideological  
as provided, as we have already seen, by the foreign  
doctrine of socialist bloc countries.

### Lenin on NCWD

's question regarding the possibility of bypassing capital-  
rote in 1881 that he believed it was still possible because  
... (Chenin 1983). In 1882.

for bypassing capitalism, including the communal char-  
and a proletarian revolution in the West. Marx thought  
particularly important because it must act as "the startin-  
ist development." This is, needless to say, a different c  
by NCWD. For example, an important democratic mea-  
reform program which would cut large holdings into p  
Marx's view (as well as Lenin's), is the motor of capital  
1973:15-16 and 1977a).

Prior to the October Revolution, Lenin was oppos-  
Russian Narodniks who held that Russia could bypass c  
He termed this belief "Narodnik illusions" and "anarc  
1977a) and, in "Democracy and Narodism in China," v  
China avoiding the capitalist path, of preventing capitali  
time undertaking a "radical agrarian reform," is a pe  
reactionary dream (Lenin 1973:13-14).

Lenin's view on the possibility of bypassing capitali  
October Revolution. The problem was basically a practi-  
nationalities of the U.S.S.R. had to be developed. Late  
another practical case for Lenin (Gillilov 1983). Ther  
Lenin wrote the "Preliminary Draft Theses on the Nat  
Questions" for the Second Congress of the Cominter  
with the "Report of the Commission on the National ar  
he already had some experience with the problem an  
thought. Moreover, Lenin was well aware of the f  
countries and a majority of the earth's population (ha  
capitalist stage or even the beginnings of it" by the tur  
(Lenin 1966:111), and that the "revolutionary movem  
East" is quite "complicated" and demands a "scientif  
his words, proceeds "from concrete realities, not fro  
(Lenin 1980:32; 1979; and 1965:151).

In the "Preliminary Draft Theses" and the subsequ  
advanced a series of propositions for the case of "the m  
nations in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal  
dominate." Included in the list were: the *conditional* su  
parties for the national revolutions led by the "revolu  
support to the peasant movement against the landowner  
of the Soviet system; and the struggle against imperial  
377 and 1980:34). The bourgeois liberation movem

issues had been addressed, Lenin came to the question of assessing capitalism in these countries. His answer was as

revolutionary proletariat ["of the Soviet Republics"] conducts *fight* among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid and their disposal — in that event it will be mistaken to assume that we must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development and we create *independent contingents of fighters* and party organizations and the backward countries, not only at once launch organization of *peasants' Soviets* and strive to adapt them to the conditions, but the Communist International should advance the *appropriate theoretical grounding*, that, with the aid of the backward countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet stages of development, to communism, without having capitalist stage (Lenin 1980:36, emphasis added).

It is often used by proponents of NCWD to substantiate the correctness of the statement over the question of the position of the

proletariat, the most important of which are the peasants and the workers, the organs of power, and the predominance of pre-capitalist relations. Under these conditions there cannot be any talk of the proletariat which, objectively, does not exist. Yet, Soviet governments and the peasants' Soviets, the organization, in Lenin's view, will gradually rise to the leadership of the society (Reznikov 1978:153). Only a level of culture has been attained through revolutionary changes move toward communism. Lenin never proposed the principle of the national revolutionary, communism could be the "proletariat is victorious," wrote Lenin, "you are not to speak of the bourgeoisie, the middle class, and the proletariat, "the principle of communism," wrote Lenin, "the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the transition period" (Lenin 1970:44).

NCWD

the Comintern used Lenin's "Theses" as the basis of its

one in which the proletariat would have a *leading role*, the bourgeoisie excluded from the front. Thus, during the 1924 he wrote to D. Z. Manuilsky the following: "I believe to raise the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the colonies such as India, whose bourgeoisie necessary to smash the conciliatory national bourgeois liberation from imperialism" (Reznikov 1978). Lenin was not endorsed, the Sixth Congress in 1928 nearly that the leadership of the national liberation movements of the proletariat, and that the real issue in these countries was rather than the "oppressed" nations versus the "oppressed" by Lenin. Subsequently, the tactic of "popular front" as reformist and counterproductive. Another important Sixth Congress was proclamation of the term "non-capitalist strategy for the development of the backward nation" insisted that "it was still feasible only where there was bourgeoisie or indigenous bourgeois regime" (Slovo 1978:97; emphasis added).

The proclamation of the "non-capitalist road" of development Congress's adoption of Otto Kuusinen's new thesis that transform the pre-capitalist modes in the colonies, but them. The alliance between imperialist and feudal forces root cause of this stagnation. Although the thesis was formulation of imperialism by the founders of scientific socialism was cheered as a "new" conception based on "the

The "left-wing" tactic of the Sixth Congress also judged by its limited achievements. This cleared the way Seventh Congress in 1935, which again reverted to Lenin vigorously defended a "popular front" tactic. But, extreme Left, it took the other extreme! In particular, the more open than Lenin's original formulation, and the question of the proletariat in the front was deliberately left in the hands of Congress neither discouraged communist parties from hegemony, nor did it encourage them to follow the leader petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, the Comintern's conception strictly conditioned upon the *complete* absence of an indigenous bourgeois regime. With this Congress, the Comintern (and was subsequently dissolved in 1943 as a friendly gesture

two conflicting systems of socialism and capitalism. In 1956, the CPSU in 1956, this latter idea was made the foreign policy. Although the "Resolutions" of the NCWD, it opened the door for its future appearance in forms of transition of the countries to socialism will be a future" (Resolutions 1956).

At the National Meeting of the Communist and Worker's Parties in Moscow in 1957. The Meeting endorsed the policy of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front called for an "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front between petty-bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and other forces," "under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party." (1960, 1969:20-21). The possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism was also recognized, but under the conditions of resistance, the necessity of violent revolution was upheld. At the National Meeting in Moscow in 1960 endorsed the above theses and the formation of a "League of Peoples' Friendship and the formation of a new international system." Part of the "Statement" issued by the participating countries:

...the independence the people seek solutions to social problems and the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different countries offer different solutions. Which course of development to follow is an affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions between bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromise with imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way out is to struggle for independence and to improve their living standard is that of national independence. Only then can the people free themselves from exploitation and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses must lead the people in solving this basic social problem (Statement 1960:4).

...three messages: (1) those struggling for national independence are "the people," including the working class and petty bourgeoisie; (2) the national bourgeoisie is *not* the national bourgeoisie; and (3) the working class has a compromising character; and (3) the working class will *lead* the movement. In other words, the concept of "all-people" conception of the state struggling for the liberation, *but does not* allow a leadership role for the petty bourgeoisie. Nor does it include the national bourgeoisie in the NCWD.

## PROS AND CONS

### *A Radical Strategy*

Regardless of its historical roots and despite many problems (see below), the strategy of NCWD is clearly (as an expression of its political and socioeconomic programs) a rival capitalist and populist strategies. Unlike these rival strategies within the political economy paradigm and offers development that goes beyond the prevailing socioeconomic include politics and class struggle as part of the development of the Third World countries. NCWD demands a new power and socioeconomic relations at the national and international spheres as interrelated. It further, and unchangeable existing property, class, market, and exchange relations change them. It also considers the political, ideological, spheres of its intervention, views the existing income distribution "unfair" and prescribes a radical redistribution of income. It views education as a process that must continue outside the NCWD as a means of developing people's human productive power and consciousness.

It may be objected that the populist strategy also takes stand concerning the above issues and is, therefore, little different from the strategy of NCWD. The trouble is, however, that the populist strategy of NCWD is based on utopian dreams and national realities rather than on any scientific understanding of the realities (Saul 1973; Shanin 1983; Khoros 1984). Populism is a problem for its inherent tendency for uneven development. However, returning to the pre-capitalist system under which social injustices were considerably less. Further, like NCWD, populism utilizes the state in the post-NLRs as a multi-class institution. Populists the class boundaries in such a union are complex. NCWD draws definite lines among various classes and the NCWD, both populism and NCWD propagate anti-imperialist and national liberation. For populists, nationalism is the basis for NCWD this struggle is a concretization of the struggle against systems of socialism and imperialism. Finally, for populists

10; Fenichel and Khan 1981; Gotteil 1981; Jameson and 981).

WD has its causes in a number of theoretical misconceptions and pragmatic considerations including the im- in policy. To begin with, NCWD is predicated upon a rictive conditions which are particularly hard to meet or to sly in the real world. They include predominance of a of production or one in transition to capitalism, the demo- t nature of the ongoing revolution, and the revolutionary/ r of the petty bourgeoisie in power.

nationalization of capital it is hard to find a society not y capitalism. In the age of sharpening class struggle, it ad to find "petty bourgeois democrats" who want to unite rces, or to characterize any revolution led by the petty democratic and anti-imperialist. It must be recalled that s characterization of the revolutions in the East in the ed on the assumption that they would be led by the workers t the petty bourgeoisie. Besides, how would one measure ratism of the petty bourgeois leadership or the nature of the y and revolution in question? The difficulty with such only a lack of relevant historical and empirical facts and is even harder to overcome. Moreover, in real world rminations are largely influenced by forces of arbitration, nstances. For example, careful analysis of the failed cases te that some of these countries (e.g., Peru and Iraq) were penetrated by capitalism and that the petty bourgeois ; anti-democratic and only superficially revolutionary, i.e., y in talk but not deed. The strategy was, nevertheless, mplementation in these cases primarily because the move- were anti-imperialist (rather, anti-United States) for the did not exist the conditions for a socialist revolution. This approach to the application of the strategy of NCWD and nditions in practice lies at the heart of the strategy's failure untries.

policy of the socialist block countries has crippled NCWD doctrine upon which the policy is based characterizes the rld history as the "epoch of transition from capitalism to

NLRs had its objective basis in the realities of the East however, and under the impact of the multinational co- World nations have become capitalist and many more world capitalism. As a corollary, their class structure and "nationalism" has increasingly lost its "nation- front" appeal. Each class has a different conception should be politically and economically organized. This the Third World has indeed become the most important struggle called "national liberation revolution" (Pet- conditions, the tactic of "popular front" and its class o- issues for communist and workers' parties or organ- subjected to careful strategic and costs/benefits analys- concept of "front" loses its meaning if the forces mak- ists, do not preserve their independence.

The conception that imperialism "preserves" the World countries is also open to controversy. Marx, Eng- burg argued that imperialism tends to transform the pre- capitalism. During the Sixth Congress of the Comint- developed the thesis that imperialism indeed "preser- modes it finds in the East. The early radical theorists of- dependency followed Kuusinin's thesis. More recentl- ing number of radical development theorists have goi- formulation. A significant body of theoretical and emp- strates that under the imperialism of multinational corp- ment of Third World countries is being gradually transi- capitalist development" (Cardoso 1972; Warren 1973, If this latter thesis is accepted, it also becomes hard to the present backward nations as predominantly "pre-c- tion of "by-passing capitalism" loses its relevancy.

A different problem relates to the thesis that the so- East must go through two stages of general democrati- rated from each other by a protracted transitional p- objective/subjective conditions for the final stage will This formula is unsatisfactory for at least two reason- socialist revolutions are possible only under the conditic- tive forces. Yet, socialist revolutions have so far been societies, not in more developed ones. Second, the prop- petty bourgeois leadership will develop the society

... from each other in terms of their relations to the society's ... by their common economic interests. Yet, we learn ... political process classes are fractionalized in terms of ... ationalist/dependent, democratic/anti-democratic, re- ... , etc. Further, we learn that certain fractions of a ... ally carry on an ideology belonging to a different class. ... bourgeois "revolutionary democrats," say Solodovnik ... (1975:33) "come close on a number of fundamental ... on of scientific socialism." Now, if classes are strictly ... defined in terms of *common* economic interests, then ... analytical relevance. Or else the class definition should ... political and ideological considerations.

... f class structure in the least developed countries of the ... y confusing. While it characterizes these societies as ... nally deals with the landholding and peasant classes ... xpects to be the two main classes. Instead, the petty ... d the dominant role and receives detailed treatment. ... so enumerated, including the proletariat and the ... which receive more attention than the landholding and ... andlords, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois class ... o various fractions to each of which is then assigned a ... avior. In short, the class structure is portrayed as fairly ... h the society's mode of production is characterized as ... the other must be incorrect and I believe it is the latter. ... about the present Third World countries is that they are ... capitalism and that the pre-capitalist modes are rapidly ... he least developed nations. However, the process has not ... tion of a strong and independent capitalist class in most of ... ; meantime, capitalist penetration has been largely uneven ... y wounds on the masses. Only the petty bourgeoisie has ... ctual core and a relatively secured financial base and can, ... awn into political struggle independent of other classes. ... asizes the role of this class in the NLRs, but gives an ... analysis of the class and its role.

... isie presents the most complicated class phenomena in the ... ntries. While it may accurately be called a *class* with ... interests (occupying an intermediate position between the ... interests in terms of its relations to and level of ownership

... sion of the big bourgeoisie, the large landlords and the ... upper fraction of the petty bourgeoisie, actively partic ... liberation revolutions and puts forward relatively rad ... meantime, it aggressively works towards monopolizati ... subordination of the working class, and imposition of its ... mic platform upon the whole movement.

... The behavior of the lower fraction is on the other han ... usually supports the platforms of working class part ... alongside the proletariat even in the long run because it s ... future: the lower fraction of the petty bourgeoisie is ... proletarianized in the course of socioeconomic develop ... that the lower fraction carries insignificant political wei ... compared to the upper fraction.

... NCWD tends to belittle the implication of these dive ... the class as a whole and underestimates the importance ... the upper strata carries within the class. Instead, it str ... contradictions that exist between the petty bourgeoisie ... imperialism and its internal allies on the other. Moreo ... takenly assumes that "the revolutionary democrats" ... fractions of the class. In the real world, only the lower ... such forces. The upper fraction always tends toward dic ... the communists.

### *Incorrect Conception of the State in Post-NLRs*

... This misconception of the petty bourgeoisie by the t ... led them to formulate a somewhat incorrect conceptio ... national liberation revolutions. Specifically, such state ... multi-class, popular national democracies whose ... bourgeois revolutionary democrats, are said to represen ... all classes and strata up to the national bourgeoisie. In r ... by historical experience, the petty bourgeois leadership ... cratic and representative of the people, unless it has ... fraction of the class, a situation that is quite rare, as the ... monopolizes the political power of the class. It is, therel ... determine the fraction in power before characterizing the ... is what NCWD fails to do, at least in practice. Nevert ... definite lines among the classes, and this distinguishes

growing public sector in *capitalist* backward and developmentally, the roles of the private sector and free market and the problems with central planning of the state and planning apparatus and lack of technical and planning as are the problems which may face a Third world itself of dependency on the imperialist camp. Finally, to be specified regarding the manifold processes of problems associated with them.

## SPECULATIONS

Offers a more radical alternative development strategy than its bourgeois and populist rivals, it suffers and operational difficulties which have led to the defecting non-capitalist development under the leadership of the theorist or practitioner, therefore, faces a dilemma: should it be accepted or rejected? Formulation of an alternative question must await a detailed investigation of NCWD within the scope of this paper. The following speculations, rather than such investigations.

One of the NCWD strategy would imply either accepting a solution, assuming no other alternative exists,<sup>14</sup> or evolution. An objective-minded radical would hardly be one of these alternatives given the disastrous results of the first development strategies and the lack of prospect for the least developed countries of the Third World. An alternative NCWD, on the other hand, would mean unqualifiedly that fails to realize its objectives and has frequently a history of repressive dictatorships (e.g., in Iraq and Burma). The first step is to realize that Third World countries are in a level of capitalist development. Some are in the process of capitalist development while many others already have a dominant capitalist in place (Horowitz 1966; Ismaelillo and Wright 1982). The application of the NCWD strategy in these latter cases is under petty bourgeois leadership regardless of how it is reformulated. NCWD may, however, have a chance for

revolutionary platform for independent development and of the socioeconomic structures which initially do not fraction of the petty bourgeoisie. This platform would be proposed by the strategy of NCWD except that under transformation of the socioeconomic relations are as development of the productive forces. This requires central planning of the socialized sectors. Regarding conditions make the strategy unrealistic or not, they cannot a so-called pragmatic approach without impairing its effect for the difficulty of applying NCWD goes to the core of capitalist path of development in a world deeply controlled by imperialism.

A more radical version of the above reformulated platform presently being applied in a number of underdeveloped socialist forces (or a coalition of them and the non-proletarian leadership position. These include Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia (Al Ashtal 1976; Davidson 1979; Nwafor 1979) choice given that a policy of immediate and full-scale socialization of these societies could prove too far to the "left," alienating the society, i.e., the petty bourgeoisie, and possibly triggering counterrevolutionaries. In sharp contrast, the application of capitalist development strategy may help further the unification of the masses.

But radical development theorists and practitioners must be seen in Third World countries where capitalism is still in power is in the hands of the largely bourgeois or bourgeois forces. For application in these countries (where the leading progressive ideas), NCWD can be deradicalized through political programs; sold to Third World governments with the capitalist strategies despite their belief in capitalism. It must be emphasized that the aim of a deradicalized strategy may be called a "radical capitalist development strategy" but *capitalist* development. Nevertheless, the deradicalized strategy is preferable to its rivals because it would be more redistributive role of democracy, politics, classes and imperialism in the world.

The task of future research is to advance appropriate theoretical



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