A Critique of Neoclassical Development Theory

The Non-Capitalist Way of Development

The U.S. Welfare State and the Working Class

Economic Theory on Marriage
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a way of development" (NCWD) is proposed by development
entrists as a political economy alternative to capitalist and populist
(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
ocrats'' hold state power. The NCWD strategy argues that if this
ported 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
and socioeconomic transformation. However, it suffers from a
icularly about the nature of the impact of imperialism on the Third
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
fers speculation for its reformulation.

INTRODUCTION

ntment with capitalist and populist development
world countries has led to an upsurge of interest in the
ach since the 1970s (see e.g., Kay 1975; Szentes 1976;
1977; Wilber 1979; Munoz 1981). Despite political
etical contributions to our understanding of how the
cally made, it has failed to advance a practical alterna-
talist Third World nations. In this context, a critical
ernational experience with the strategy and theory of
 fruitful. This is particularly so because NCWD is
litical economy paradigm and offers a conception of
beyond the prevailing socioeconomic determinism to
struggle as parts of the development process in the
orld countries. In addition, the theorists who come
ries continue to claim its validity despite NCWD's
ze "non-capitalist" development.
quiry into NCWD should proceed in two stages.
be exposed and subjected to constructive criticism,
t to its methodological/ideological grounds, historical
ositions and development programs. Second, the
position to reformulate NCWD to increase its effect-

The present paper is devoted to the first stages. The
exposition of the conceptual framework of NCWD,3
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 blocs
in particular. Formulated in the political economy
intended as an alternative to the application of capitalis-
ment strategies in the least developed of Third World
ourgeois "revolutionary democrats" had seized s
ational democratic revolution." NCWD received the
ommunist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and
nternational Meetings of Communist and Workers
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 poss
the development of nations living under conditions ch
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 c
vigorously 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 up
from the earliest days of its formulation...
CWD claims to follow historical materialism, particularly to it. The first proposition states that transcendent structures and forms of social consciousness of development in productive forces. Political states captured by revolutionary forces under conditions of order to the second proposition, while human history through the communal, ancient, feudal, and capitalist individual societies may or may not have experienced all of these could be omitted at the level of individual opposition states that while class contradiction is the work, other types of contradictions may become equally, such as the contradiction between the socialist and present. Finally, the state is a class institution but it is eliminated by a single class. In periods of transition, into existence with genuinely popular support.

... and finally, a close alliance must be formed between the socialist bloc nations to guarantee the latter’s vigorous and... (1977)."

The world socialist revolution and the NLRs in the East are facing three enemies: the socialist camp, the NLRs in imperialist countries, the overwhelming pressure of imperialist, or socialist or forces "leaning" toward socialism. Imperialism is thus socialist in direction. This is also clear from component parts including national liberation revolutionary. Ulyanovsky (1978:44), the most authoritative proponent of the world socialist revolution and the NLRs in the East, such a coincidence has made it easy for the NLRs to take advantage of the movement is said to depend upon the world-wide "anti-imperialist united front" and close bonds between the NLRs and the socialist camp. The doctrinal nature of the relationships that should exist between the radical (not socialist) states in the Third World.

**Stages of Socialist Revolution in the East**

According to the theorists of NCWD, socialist revolution (Asian and African countries in particular) must pass a general democratic stage and a socialist stage separate from protracted transitional period. The general democratic all-out anti-imperialist democratic revolution which ends in political independence. This stage is said to be largely completed. The real problem of the present revolutionary movement is the transition from the general democratic stage to the socialist revolution. The transition is problematic because of the capitalist character of the Eastern societies. This means that both (material and subjective ideological) conditions for this transition are not yet ripe.

The crux of the matter is then how to create these conditions. The capitalist strategy, including "growth" and "approaches, is rejected on the ground that under the do...
Thus, Third World countries general democratic stage are practically left with just the "non-capitalist" strategy. NCWD is capable of mediated objective and subjective transformations for a case it is formulated within the tradition of political as defined political, ideological, tactical/strategic and economic of revolutionary forces. It gives struggle against imperialism and internal reaction - a popular front and the radicalization of the masses socio-economic policy at the national and internationalisation of the state sector, promotion of cooperatives with imperialism.

As a political-economic development strategy for applied transitional period between the general democratic theory does not claim to be applicable to either of the cases it claim to effect the transition from the democracy without an all-out socialist revolution led by the traditional, it is not a theory of revolution, i.e., a theory about be captured. Indeed, NCWD assumes political power by any democrats who came to power at the end of the 19th. As for the socialist stage, it can be implemented only as a socialist political strategy of revolution under the leading class. In Ulyanovsky's words:

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

Because they "come close on a number of fundamental questions of scientific socialism" (Solodovnikov and Bogoslovsky 1977:21) because they have experienced the worst anti-democratic dictatorship dependent states.

NCWD does not give a precise definition of the process simply referred to as a class which takes an intermediate term) between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and employed. The focus of the strategy is on the behavior character in vacillating between socialism and capitalism. Dualism is rooted in the internal heterogeneity of the class 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, to elevate themselves to the strata. They are brought, along with the lower strata, into confrontations with the bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies. The two strata, however, do not have identical conceptions with respect to socialism. In particular, the petty bourgeoisie is frightened by the proletariat's demand for the abolition in the means of production. Nevertheless, the class remains socialist forces over the forces of capitalism, at least in the post-democratic revolution. NCWD gives several reasons for the powerful socialist camp, the world-wide spread of the moribund condition of world capitalism, the people's capitalist policies, and the genuine desire of the masses for justice, and economic equality.

Whatever the reasons, the petty bourgeoisie 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 bourgeoisie lead and willing to force the general democratic stage to a mobilize 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 Korovin, "is a struggle for progressive social economic independence, a struggle to do away with capital" (Korovin 1975:102). It is for the achievement of NCWD is formulated. As a political-economic development poses interrelated and detailed socioeconomic and poli
id large-scale commercial and service activities, 1974; Chirkin 1972; Clarkson 1978). Further, the
ership and control all major types of infrastruc-
tives 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
ationalized sector should be centrally planned, 
private sectors could follow a market mechanism.
ese latter sectors is, however, demanded on the
ked market mechanism would lead inevitably to
itorial, sectoral, and interpersonal levels.
ion of the second objective, i.e., socioeconomic
erialism, is the immediate eradication of foreign
ship 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-
ly political or economic organizations and lend
countries, movements, and organizations. The state
its bargaining power by intimately cooperating
ions and the socialist camp, particularly in the form
rnational organizations as the United Nations,
. In short, the state should adopt a genuinely
d domestic policy. NCWD, however, does not rec-
on of foreign capital or suspension of all political
countries. 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
es adoption of an educational policy that raises the
ness of the masses. Intensification of the class
of non-capitalist development must be the ultimate

with the world socialist system is the principal determina-
ment and strengthening the socialist orientation” (Solodov
What seems to lie behind this assertion is the belief that
pared to imperialism 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 of
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
bourgeois elements and sections of the national or middle
state is unable to carry out non-capitalist development. To
ative, the state must be radicalized, transformed into wh
NCWD call a “national democratic state” led by the “ne
crats” belonging to the middle and lower petty bourgeoisie
kov’s words:

In our time the main tool of the new independent states, the
non-capitalist path of development, is the form of a na-
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 dictorship of t
kov 1973:13–14; emphasis in the original).

If established, this state would implement the socioeco-
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” (Ulyan
classes up to and including the “radical wing” of the natio
be singled out as friends of the revolution at this anti-im
etty bourgeois democrats would lead the front. Commun
transform the radicalized anti-imperialist front into an is would come about (automatically?), argues NCWD, r radicalized and begin demanding adoption of essen- asures. If successful, this process should lead to the tarian-democratic dictatorship” of the middle strata of workers, urban poor, and poor peasants led by the is (Ulyanovsky 1978:55). In all these stages, communist must be aware of the peaceful or violent revolutionary head and should not be afraid of using a combination of struggle and a peaceful united front policy coupled ological struggles (Ulyanovsky 1979:79). They must assume the leadership, but unprepared moves must be to the revolution of the proletarian masses. Finally, tricky task of combining proletarian internationalism masses for effective results.

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS

D, instead of criticizing the strategy or theory itself, munist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and other icipants in IMCWP) for formulating and propagating ang. 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. about the pros and cons of NCWD remains in the clarity in these debates, one must understand that the ts 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-wrote in 1881 that he believed it was still possible because all in Russia was nation-wide (Shanin 1983). In 1882, for bypassing capitalism, including the communal char and a proletarian revolution in the West. Marx thou particularly important because it must act as “the starti development.” This is, needless to say, a different c b NCWD. For example, an important democratic me 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 Narodniki who held that Russia could bypass He termed this belief “Narodnik illusions” and “anarc 1977a) and, in “Democracy and Narodism in China,” Ch China avoiding the capitalist path, of preventing capital ite undertaking a “radical agrarian reform,” is a per reactionary dream (Lenin 1973:13–14).

Lenin’s view on the possibility of bypassing capitalist October Revolution. The problem was basically a prac nationalities of the U.S.S.R. had to be developed. Later another practical case for Lenin (Gilibov 1983). There Lenin wrote the “Preliminary Draft Theses on the Nat Questions” for the Second Congress of the Comintern in the “Report of the Commission on the National and he already had some experience with the problem an thought. Moreover, Lenin was well aware of the fact a countries and a majority of the earth’s population (ha capitalist stage or even the beginnings of it” by the turn (Lenin 1966:111), and that the “revolutionary move East” is quite “complicated” and demands a “scientific his words, proceeds “from concrete realities, not from (Lenin 1980:32; 1979; and 1965:151).

In the “Preliminary Draft Theses” and the subseq advanced a series of propositions for the case of “the mon nations in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal dominate.” Included in the list were: the conditional sus parties for the national revolutions led by the “revol support to the peasant movement against the landowners of the Soviet system; and the struggle against imperi 377 and 1980:34). The bourgeois liberation movemen
issues had been addressed, Lenin came to the question assing capitalism in these countries. His answer was as

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

en used by proponents of NCWDP to substantiate their, and the silence of the statement over the question of their position. 11

is particular conditions, the most important of which are are of power by the peasants and the workers, the organs of power, and the predominance of pre-capitalist enties. Under these conditions there cannot be any talk f 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 e level of culture has been attained through revolutionary tions move toward communism. Lenin never proposed hip of the national revolutionary, communism could be the "proletariat is victorious," wrote Lenin, "you are ink that the intelligentsia, the middle class, and the ot to speak of the bourgeoisie] will turn communist." roover, "the principle of communism," wrote Lenin, lishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the in the transition period" (Lenin 1970:44).

CWD

11, the Comintern used Lenin's "Theses" as the basis of its Police life. At times, however, major deviations one in which the proletariat would have a leading role, a bourgeoisie excluded from the front. Thus, during the 1924 he wrote to D. Z. Manuilsky the following: "I be come to raise the question of the hegemony of the proletariat struggle in the colonies such as India, whose bourgeoisie necessary to smash the conciliatory national bourgeoisie genuine liberation from imperialism" (Reznikov 1978). tion was not endorsed, the Sixth Congress in 1928 nearly that the leadership of the national liberation movements by proletariat, and that the real issue in these countries was rather than the "oppressed" nations versus the "oppressors" lated by Lenin. Subsequently, the tactic of "popular front as reformist and counterproductive. Another important Sixth Congress was proclamation of the term "non-strategy for the development of the backward nation insisted that "it was still feasible only where there bourgeoisie or indigenous bourgeois regime" (Slovy 1978:97; emphasis added).

The proclamation of the "non-capitalist road" of dev Congress's adoption of Otto Kuusin'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 scientiff less was cheered as a "new" conception based on "ex"

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 L 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 que of the proletariat in the front was deliberately left in the d Congress neither discouraged communist parties from hegemony, nor did it encourage them to follow the leader petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, the Comintern's concept strictly conditioned upon the complete absence of an indis bourgeois regime. With this Congress, the Comintern and was subsequently dissolved in 1943 as a friendly gest
A Radical Strategy

Regardless of its historical roots and despite many problems, the strategy of NCWD is clearly (as an exposition of its political and socioeconomic programs) a radical capitalist and populist strategy. Unlike these rival strategies, which are articulated within the political economy paradigm and offer development that goes beyond the prevailing socioeconomic trends, NCWD considers politics and class struggle as part of the development of Third World countries. NCWD demands a redistribution of power and socioeconomic relations at the national and international levels. It considers these spheres as interrelated. It further, and unilaterally, demands that property, class, market, and exchange relations be changed. It also considers the political, ideological, and social spheres of its intervention, views the existing income distribution as “unfair,” and prescribes a radical redistribution of income and wealth as a process that must continue outside the formal economy.

It may be objected that the populist strategy also takes account of the social and political problems. However, the communist tradition of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions increase, the working class inclines more and more to compromising with imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to improve their living standard is that of struggle. Only then can the people free themselves from exploitation and hunger. The working class and the peasant masses constitute a basic problem (Statement 1960:4).

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

PROS AND CONS

Two conflicting systems of socialism and capitalism, the demise of 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. The possibility of a peaceful transition was also recognized, but under the conditions of resistance, the necessity of violent revolution was upheld.

The Meeting of the Communist and Worker’s Parties was held in Moscow in 1960. The Meeting endorsed the policy of “radical, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front, national bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and other socialist powers,” “under the leadership of the proletariat and its allies,” 1960, 1969:20–21). The possibility of a peaceful transition was also recognized, but under the conditions of resistance, the necessity of violent revolution was upheld.

The Meeting of the Communist and Worker’s Parties was held in Moscow in 1960. The Meeting endorsed the above theses and a plan of non-capitalist development and the formation of states. Part of the “Statement” issued by the participating parties:

An independence the people seek solutions to social problems. The problems of reinforcing national independence. Different offer different solutions. Which course of development to adopt, it is a affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions increase, the working class inclines more and more to compromising with imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to improve their living standard is that of struggle. Only then can the people free themselves from exploitation and hunger. The working class and the peasant masses constitute a basic problem (Statement 1960:4).
WD has its causes in a number of theoretical misconceptions and pragmatic considerations including the imaginative policy. To begin with, NCWD is predicated upon a fictitious condition which are particularly hard to meet or to rely on in the real world. They include predominance of a bloc or blocs in transition to capitalism, the democratic nature of the ongoing revolution, and the revolutionary/egalitarian of the petty bourgeoisie in power.

Nationalization of capital it is hard to find a society not under capitalist. In the age of sharpening class struggle, it is to find "petty bourgeois democrats" who want to unite forces, or to characterize any revolution led by the petty democratic and anti-imperialist. It must be recalled that in characterization of the revolutions in the East in the 1970s on the assumption that they would be led by the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. Besides, how would one measure the potential of the petty bourgeoisie leadership or or the nature of the revolution in question? The difficulty with such a characterization is that only a lack of relevant historical and empirical facts and is even harder to overcome. Moreover, in real world revolutionary conditions are largely influenced by forces of arbitration, circumstances. For example, careful analysis of the failed cases such as that some of these countries (e.g., Peru and Iraq) were penetrated by capitalism and that the petty bourgeoisie is anti-democratic and only superficially revolutionary, i.e., they talk but not deed. The strategy was, nevertheless, implemented in these cases primarily because the revolutionary anti-imperialist (rather, anti-United States) for the lid not exist the conditions for a socialist revolution. This approach to the application of the strategy of NCWD and conditions in practice lies at the heart of the strategy’s failure entries.

A policy of the socialist block countries has crippled NCWD in practice. The policy is based characterizes the world history as the "epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism".

NLRs had its objective basis in the realities of the East however, and under the impact of the multinational corporation world nations have become capitalist and many more world nations are becoming capitalist. 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 concept for communist and workers’ parties or organizations subjected to careful strategic and costs/benefits analysis of the concept of "front" loses its meaning if the forces make it themselves, do not preserve their independence.

The conception that imperialism "preserves" the World countries is also open to controversy. Marx, Engels, Engels argued that imperialism tends to transform the pre-capitalism. During the Sixth Congress of the Comintern developed the thesis that imperialism indeed preserves modes it finds in the East. The early radical theorists of dependency followed Kuusini’s thesis. More recently, a number of radical development theorists have gone back to the formulation. A significant body of theoretical and empirical work has under the imperialism of multinational corporations. Third World countries is being gradually trans-capitalist development" (Cardoso 1972; Warren 1973). If this latter thesis is accepted, it also becomes hard to the present backward nations as predominantly "pre-capitalist development" loses its relevancy.

A different problem relates to the thesis that the so-called East must go through two stages of general democratization from each other by a protracted transitional period, objective/subjective conditions for the final stage will This formula is unsatisfactory for at least two reasons: social revolutions are possible only under the conducive conditions. Yet, socialist revolutions have so far been in societies, not in more developed ones. Second, the petty bourgeoisie leadership will develop the society
from each other in terms of their relations to the society’s land by their common economic interests. Yet, we learn political process classes are fractionalized in terms of nationalist/dependent, democratic/anti-democratic, etc. Further, we learn that certain fractions of a usually carry on an ideology belonging to a different class. bourgeois “revolutionary democrats,” say Solodovnici (1975:33) “come close on a number of fundamental aspects of socialist society.” Now, if classes are strictly defined in terms of common economic interests, then analytical relevance. Or else the class definition should reflect political and ideological considerations.

of class structure in the least developed countries of the least confusing. While it characterizes these societies as minimally deals with the landholding and peasant classes expects to be the two main classes. Instead, the petty landlords the dominant role and receives detailed treatment. Also enumerated, including the proletariat and the which receive more attention than the landholding and landlords, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie class to various fractions to each of which is then assigned a role. In short, the class structure is portrayed as fairly 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 the least developed nations. However, the process has not see of a strong and independent capitalist class in most of the meantime, capitalist penetration has been largely uneven and unevenly wounds on the masses. Only the petty bourgeoisie is a local core and a relatively secured financial base and can, a new level of political struggle independent of other classes. The petty bourgeoisie has the role of this class in the NLRs, but it gives an analysis of the class and its role.

Incorrect Conception of the State in Post-NLRs

This misconception of the petty bourgeoisie by the led them to formulate a somewhat incorrect conception national liberation revolutions. Specifically, such state multi-class, popular national democracies whose bourgeoisie revolutionary democrats, are said to represent all classes and strata up to the national bourgeoisie. In reality, by historical experience, the petty bourgeoisie leadershipocratic and representative of the people, unless it has a faction of the class, a situation that is quite rare, as the bourgeoisie monopolizes the political power of the class. It is, therefor, to determine the fraction in power before characterizing them is what NCWD fails to do, at least in practice. Nevertheless, it is the movement’s micro platform upon the whole movement.

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

NCWD tends to belittle the implication of these divide the class as a whole and underestimates the importance the upper strata carries within the class. Instead, it states contradictions that exist between the petty bourgeoisie and imperialism and its internal allies on the other. The take this assumption that “the revolutionary democrats” of the class. In the real world, only the lower such forces. The upper fraction always tends toward dictatorship, the communists.
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 continuation central planning of the socialized sectors. Regarding conditions make the strategy unrealistic or not, they cannot a so-called pragmatic approach without impairing its effort for the difficulty of applying NCWD goes to the capitalist path of development in a world deeply controlled by imperialism.

A more radicalized version of the above reformulated presently being applied in a number of underdeveloped social 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 social these societies could prove too far to the “left,” alienating the society, i.e., the petty bourgeoisie, and possibly the counterrevolutionaries. In sharp contrast, the application capitalist development strategy may help further the unique masses.

But radical development theorists and practitioners must themselves with Third World countries where capitalism is fit power is in the hands of the largely bourgeois or bourgeois forces. For application in these countries (where the least progressive ideas), NCWD can be deradicalized particular 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 deradicalization preferable to its rivals because it would be more redistributable role of democracy, politics, classes and imperialism in cess.

The task of future research is to advance appropriate th
ceptable to all. The debates as to whether it is a political ideology, an
gy, or a “movement” are also unsettled. In this paper I use the term to
cal orientation that is based on the power of “people” and radicalism
a nationalistic religious overtone and which tends to foster a societal
communal life in the pre-capitalist modes of production. Examples
farmers’ movement of the “Grangers” and “Greenackers” in the
1980s (Worsnop 1972), Narodism in Russia, Arab socialism (e.g.,
ism in Syria and Iraq), African socialism (e.g., Nyerere’s Arusha
the most recent experience in Libya (on various definitions of
45–22). For examples of populist movements, see Brockway 1963;
; Ionescu and Gellner 1969; di Tella 1969; Gutkind and Waterman
nent strategies (both “growth” and “growth with redistribution”
, see Wilber 1973; Szentes 1976; Nyilas 1977; and Weaver and
ussion of the “Soviet model” and the “Chinese experience” because
urpose of “socialist reconstruction” and have been implemented under
ary.” As such they are not applicable to non-socialist, Third World
difference between the strategy of NCWD and these models or exper-
leadership and the ends: the NCWD is proposed to be implemented
radical petty bourgeois democrats” and is not supposed to result in
the society in question. For the same reasons NCWD is different from
market-oriented socialism. The most recent struggle in Nicaragua to
re democratization is yet to be put into a well-formulated
s will be different from the existing experiences with socialist recon-
(Walker 1982).
ence limitations, the exposition in this paper had to be limited to the most
guidelines offered by NCWD. For detailed discussion of the strategy
levels, the reader may consult the following works: Shirendyby
ov 1974; Ulyanovsky 1974 and 1979; Al Ashtal 1976; Chirkin and
99–80; Goettei 1981; Gillov 1983. Examples of countries presently
clude South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia. Mongo-
capitalist path. References to these and other experiences may be found

t to emphasize the pre-capitalist relations in the newly independent
olitariat and its organizations in these societies, and the importance of
onal liberation struggles (Ulyanovsky 1978:91). See notes 7 and 12.
clude Latin America when referring to the “East” for at least three
ating with Lenin and the Comintern, reference to the “East” has not
and, Latin American countries are seen to have already undergone
i.e., they do not satisfy NCWD’s major precondition that the socioeco-
where the strategy is to be applied must be pre-capitalist or in transition
nt America is viewed as highly integrated into the world capitalist
economy in particular. Nevertheless, many of the Latin American
ocated the relevance of the strategy of NCWD to the situation to their

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