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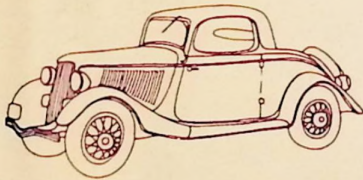
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# political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Volume LXII, No. 1

January 1983

Gus Hall

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<i>Gus Hall</i> A New Organization For a New Generation	2
<i>Victor Perlo</i> The Reagan Administration: A Nuclear 'Who's Who'	8
<i>Conrad Komorowski</i> Poland: The Ideology of Counterrevolution	16
<i>Cecelia Pollack</i> Child Development Under Capitalism and Socialism	22
<i>Morris Zeitlin</i> Transnational Corporations and Urban Decline	30
<i>David Mathews</i> How We Can Answer the Pessimism of Sociobiology	38

## Editorial Board

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# A New Organization For a New Generation

GUS HALL

It is a special honor and great pleasure to be here with you today. I bring the greetings of the Communist Party with congratulations on your splendid and timely decision to found a new Communist youth organization.

In its twelve years the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) has made many contributions. It has been an important political force on the U.S. scene. It has helped to ignite and mold the movements, struggles and thought patterns of our young people.

During its life span, the YWLL reflected the conditions of youth and their movements for a better life, for change. But now there are new generations growing up who are being molded by new, very different objective surroundings. And they are reacting in their own unique way to the new conditions, new problems and challenges. Their list of priorities and values are not the same as past generations'.

In a constantly changing world each generation faces new problems. But the present-day young generation is confronted with a completely new ballgame and qualitatively different problems. This is so because the society that gives rise to the problems is qualitatively different. Most of the past generations' problems were related to an expanding economy. The present generation is growing up in a period of economic decline and contraction, of generational unemployment, mass hunger, mass unemployment and depression. For the youth today there is not even a flicker of light at the end of the dark economic tunnel.

## Who Are Today's Youth?

Especially in light of your initiative, I would like to talk about the kind of leadership that is needed in this new era to help mold and move the strug-

The following is an updated version of Gus Hall's speech to the National Council of the Young Workers Liberation League, July 31, 1982, which is being published as a contribution to the founding convention of the new Communist youth organization in May 1983.

gles and movements of youth.

In order to lead you must learn the unique features of the people with whom you want to work and to whom you want to give leadership. That is no simple task. Many ingredients go into developing the unique features of classes, peoples and generations. But to lead, one must study and get to know these ingredients.

There are some unique features that reflect the *objective* conditions every generation grows up under. In order to lead you must get to know how this generation thinks, feels and reacts to their conditions. You must get to know, intimately and precisely, their attitudes, thought patterns and moods. You must understand how they approach and deal with life, how they see the past and how they react to the new developments—how they see their futures.

It is no easy challenge to grasp the essence of thought patterns and attitudes of youth today because they are only now surfacing. Many are still hidden beneath the surface. You must begin to foresee the trends and recognize the signs before they explode into actions. This is necessary if you are going to master the art of leadership.

For instance, we talk about a youth front. You can help initiate, organize, shape and lead such a front only if you know who we are talking about bringing into the front. What are the unique features of the different components of the youth front?

## The Past Generations

Let us look for a moment at who we are talking about. Today's generations are vastly different not only from those of forty or fifty years ago, but they are also different from those of ten to fifteen years ago.

For example, past generations were molded by qualitatively different kinds of conditions, different kinds of mass struggles and movements.

The developments that molded the youth of 50

years ago were the struggles of the unemployed; the organization of mass production industries, strikes and movements against fascism, against imperialist wars.

A later generation grew up in the midst of the anti-Communist, McCarthy-Smith Act hysteria.

The very positive features of the mass upsurge influencing the youth of ten to fifteen years ago were the majority movements against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They were molded by and related to the movements of millions of Afro-Americans in the great struggles to break the grip of racism and discrimination. They were also molded by wage increases and increased fringe benefits and an increasing standard of living overall.

I need only mention words like "hippies," "yippies," "participatory democracy," "counterculture" and the "Weathermen" to indicate the influences of the day. These features reflected some unique internal weaknesses within the trends of those generations. They were non-working class influences. They were injected by some anti-working class, petty bourgeois elements.

These sectors of the upsurge talked about "alternatives" and the "establishment." But they had no real understanding of what the alternative should or could be, nor a clear idea of what or who "the establishment" was.

Therefore, they tended to be unstable, inconsistent and indecisive. They went from one idea to another—kind of a mish-mash of movements and actions. For that sector of the upsurge the economic issue did not play the decisive and stabilizing role. It did not give them a class-struggle orientation. This in itself gave that generation and their movements different characteristics. Many of the organizations floundered and ended up in dead ends.

### Looking Back, the YWLL

In its earlier years, the YWLL was in a sense a reflection of those same problems. But because of its working-class and Marxist-Leninist base and orientation it moved in a positive direction.

In spite of this the League's founding convention was one in which a number of differing politi-

cal currents clashed. The underlying contention was over how to relate to the working class. In a sense it was a reflection of those generations. It was the only convention led by Communists in which I was actually booed.

It is obvious that the present generations are in many ways quite different. They have different characteristics. They are being molded and motivated by a different objective reality. They are ideologically different. I would say these differences are mainly based on the new economic reality, the economic issues which have emerged as the sharpest of all.

Today's generations, more than any others, face the most serious of all questions—life-threatening issues like having enough food to sustain life. Because of this they are in one way or another more directly influenced by class struggle questions. Its problems are related more closely to the class struggle. That is a very fundamental difference in the thought patterns between generations. Hence, if we are going to work closely with this generation and play a leadership role, we first have to understand this basic fact.

### What's Shaping Today's Youth

If anyone is waiting nostalgically for the days of 50, or even 15 years ago, they will wait in vain. Today's mass upsurge is qualitatively different because its causes and features are different.

Everything I am now saying argues for the change to a new Communist youth organization, because in our work we must now reflect today's generations, not the generations of yesteryear.

For instance, there is a process of accelerating radicalization taking place. This process takes place in stages. It reflects the flareups, the struggles and experiences of each stage. In essence, in each generation the process of radicalization is always unique.

It is very important that we understand the difference between what motivates and activates the process of radicalization now as compared to past periods. Because today's youth are now molded by different objective circumstances we must have a clear picture of what these specific circumstances are. There is a panorama of factors shaping the thinking of today's youth.

The clear and present danger of life coming to a horrible nuclear end casts an ominous pall over our young people. This pall leaves its terrifying imprint and influence on how the young view the present and especially the future.

There is the continuous deadly flow and penetration of racism from which generations of our youth can not escape. They are being poisoned by it.

As I said earlier, the most important factor molding the new generations are the economic issues. The economic issues have become the most decisive issues in shaping the present generations.

Therefore, I think it is important to reflect on how both the short-term and long-term economic developments are impacting on the thought patterns, the mood and forms of struggle of the youth. We really can't take our leading position in the line of march without giving due consideration to the effects those longer-range developments are having on the young generations.

### **The Decline and Contraction of Capitalism**

We have to understand that U.S. capitalism has passed its peak—has crossed its Rubicon. It will never return to periods of new peaks of development. Capitalism in the U.S. is on the declining side of its history. It is in a phase where the boundaries of world capitalism will continue to contract. This especially affects the United States—the center of world capitalism. It is a period of decline and contraction, and Reaganomics and the Reagan policies—worldwide—add to the deterioration process.

I want to point out here that even at the point where we elect a government that will move in the opposite direction from Reaganomics into a Keynesian-type pump-priming economics, it will have an effect, but it will not fundamentally change the decaying process and direction of U.S. capitalism. Returning to Keynesian economics will have some effect on jobs and other areas of life. But basically, the process of decay, decline and contraction will continue unabated.

### **The Future: Economic Downhill**

In other words, the present and future generations will be generations of economic decline—a

moving down in the quality of life. The question of jobs for those who have never worked in industry, who have no seniority, will become a chronic problem. In that sense it is a generation of economic downhill. You don't have to think long to see that during the expansion era of capitalism the youth of the USA faced very different problems, a totally different reality. Therefore, their thought patterns, their mood, perspectives, their responses were quite different. There were, of course, problems. But there was always hope. Now hope is turning cruelly and brutally into hopelessness and pessimism.

Recently, on TV I heard a new and appropriate label for today: "We're in the throes of a massive economic gridlock." It fits because today there are so many interlocking negative processes that you move one and it negatively affects everything. Therefore, we can say our youth are the "gridlock-era generation."

It won't do to try to deal with attitudes and thinking in a slipshod way. We have to understand, be sensitive to and deal with the new questions, or we will not be able to lead. We have to respond to the specific, unique features of the present generation. Actually, there is a similar problem with all movements, including working-class movements. It is an absolute necessity to know the unique features of the class at every given moment in order to give leadership.

### **New Communist Youth Corresponds to New Era**

It is most important to fully understand that your decision to organize a new organization of Communist youth is a response to their objective environment, a response to the unique problems characteristic of the present generation of youth. The new Communist youth organization is a response to the specific temper, traits and makeup of the process of youth radicalization, including the idiosyncracies of today's youth.

The objective developments not only determine the need for a new organization of Communist youth, but they must be also taken into account when determining how the new organization will function, its life style and the nature of its leading cadre.

Will there be problems? Of course. No matter

how well you plan and work there will be problems. But you have to weigh what the positives are compared to the negatives. I think the positives, the advantages and benefits of the new Communist youth organization far outweigh the inevitable problems.

### **Concept of the New Communist Youth Organization**

The formation of the new Communist youth organization will be a big step forward. I strongly urge that you do not think of the new organization as being more narrow, more restricted. This would be a reflection of a wrong estimate of the thought patterns and attitudes of this generation. It would be an underestimation of where young people are.

Any concepts that the new organization will narrow down the work is a fundamentally wrong estimate of the times, of where people in general are at—especially the youth.

Will organizing a Communist youth organization bring more problems than the YWLL had? I don't think so.

Will there be more problems relating to redbaiting? I don't think so.

As a matter of fact, I think the new organization will have it easier handling these problems.

In relation to this let me draw on my talk-show experiences. Many times people call and say, "I don't agree with you on many things, but I admire you. You put it all on the table. You believe what you say and I respect you for that."

And, besides, the fact is that redbaiting doesn't have the same edge now it once had. On talk shows, when people use the same epithets and lingo that reactionary propagandists do, the words don't have the same meaning. They sometimes use the stereotyped slanders, but they really want to know what we think. There is a very important change in how people view words like "Communist" and "socialism."

### **All Doors Are Open**

The fact is that you must be determined not to let anyone push you into sectarian corners. There will be efforts to do just that. You must not permit any self-redbaiting or narrowness. You must not

permit the new organization to accept any closed doors. All doors must be opened wide.

We must not accept or adopt the concept that because we are Communists that therefore, automatically, there are closed doors. Today, the doors are open and we must not hesitate to walk through them.

For instance, the open door to advocate socialism. The reactionary forces try to put us into a box where we feel we haven't the right to talk about socialism because it is a foreign idea and we are foreign agents. When that comes up on my radio and TV programs I reject it by responding: "I have as much right to advocate socialism as anyone else has to advocate capitalism. The historic truth is that capitalism is *not* a domestic idea. It is a foreign import. It was brought here from England, Germany and other countries. So within the historic framework if you are advocating capitalism you are really advocating an idea that was brought here by immigrants from foreign shores."

### **Who Will New Organization Attract?**

Now, what kind of youth will the new organization attract? This is an important question. Obviously, the angry and the rebellious. All the young people who are looking for a way out, a way to fight back. Those who have an adventurous spirit.

Who are you going to sign up as members? Basically, non-Communists, non-Marxists. You are going to sign up youth who are to one extent or another even influenced by the big lie of anti-Sovietism. Youth who are still under the influence of racism. Also, some young people who have anti-working class and male supremacist ideas.

If you are going to look for youth who do not have these ideological weaknesses, well then, I don't think you will sign up large numbers. You will not be a mass youth organization.

And if you adopt an approach like the old Pennsylvania Dutch, that "everybody is crazy but thee and me. And sometimes I have questions about thee," you will sign up very few.

You are not going to find young people who are ideologically pure or politically mature. If that were the case we would not be thinking about new members' classes. The purpose of new members' classes is to mold Communists, to mold Marxist-



Leninists, to start the process of burning racist, male supremacist, anti-Soviet and anti-working class influences out of their consciousness.

Creating and organizing educational programs and materials is difficult for a youth organization. For youth you must master the art of education that is popular.

### With an Eye on Youthfulness

Because you are organizing a *Communist* youth organization there will be temptations to model yourselves after the Communist Party in organization and style.

Clubs, units, branches or whatever you decide to call them must not function like clubs of the Communist Party. The organization and functioning of clubs will not work for young people. In fact, the Communist Party is now working to make some changes because some of our clubs don't even fit older folks.

Many of you already know about the bigger-than-ever Party building process we have undertaken. We're building a new, mass party, in a totally new way. I wish I had time to go into some of the wonderful and rich experiences. But one of the big things that came out of the experiences so far is that comrades around the country are raising the question of Party lifestyle. In too many areas workers consider Communists odd-balls. They feel Communists don't act and live like ordinary people. I think there's some truth in this. People who are always at meetings, or who always talk as if they are at meetings, and who can't talk about anything but politics, will appear as oddballs to workers in a plant. But for a youth organization this kind of image can be the "kiss of death." You must have sports events, picnics, dances and other social activities.

### The Communist Essence

What should the political and ideological content, the Communist essence, of the young communist organization be?

The content must be advanced politically and ideologically, but it must also be action-oriented. A Communist youth organization must always be a beehive of activity. Its work must be based on and rooted in the concept of united front—the

struggle for youth unity. That goal must remain a top priority.

A Communist youth organization must be anti-imperialist. It must be antiracist. It must be antimonopoly.

But that's not enough. All the work must move in the direction of developing class consciousness among young people. This is not a spontaneous process. You can be involved in sharp struggle for weeks and months. But the participants will not necessarily develop class consciousness. That's an ideological and political concept that must be integrated into *everything* you do, into all actions and everyday activities. And socialist consciousness, too (talking about and advocating socialism), must be integrated into all our work.

In the Party we are emphasizing that the very best mass work in the world will not, by itself, build the Party. The Party's growing prestige, influence and world status will not, by itself, build the Party. And, you can have all the friends in the world, but that will not build the Party. You can be the most popular person on the job, but that will not build the Party.

All these elements, as important as they are, won't result in building the Party, unless you blend in another ingredient. It's like making steel. If you don't put in the alloys you are not going to produce good steel. Same for the Party. And I believe the same applies to the new Communist youth. What's going to bring people into the League—what will attract them and consolidate them—is that very special ingredient that you must integrate into all your work with young people.

### Class Struggle and Working Class

In other words, young folks have to feel they are being molded, shaped into young Communists. The new organization must have this perspective. It will have some special, unique sources and strength it can draw upon.

First of all, the science of Marxism-Leninism, the world revolutionary process and the working class.

You must also learn the most beneficial ways to draw upon the strength and experience of the working class and the trade union movement.

That will be one of your main tasks and challenges—how the new youth organization will relate to the class struggle and working class. How will you learn from workers? In this sense, you'll find it easier than the '70s generation. And, more specifically, how to learn from the *more class conscious workers*. How to develop the slow, stubborn, burning hatred of the system of exploitation the workers carry with them every day. How to adopt and develop the lifestyle and approach to life of working people.

### The Future

Your initiative to found a Communist youth organization demonstrates you have grasped an important element of Marxism-Leninism. You had your fingers on the pulse of our young people. You studied their everyday reality. You drew the right conclusions. This is the time for a Communist youth organization.

You are going to give birth to a truly revolutionary force. Your commitment will be measured by the quality of your Marxism-Leninism applied to the new youth organization. Your mettle will be tested in the new struggles of our day.

You will be ready for the revolutionary events of tomorrow if you are an active force, as Communist youth, in the struggles of today. You must give direction, guidance, class and socialist content to all movements and struggles. You must mold and shape a generation of Communist youth.

You will bring into the youth movement a revolutionary Communist spirit. You must be the frontline "activators, the energizers, the crystalizers, the very best organizers" within the youth movement.

In today's reality, a Communist youth organization can and must be a mass organization. Don't be selfish—don't keep it to yourselves. Share it with the millions who are out there searching, probing and waiting for a militant, mature, exciting, confident and enthusiastic Communist youth

organization.

You will become part of the revolutionary process. You will become the link between the U.S. youth and the world's youth. You will be the young advocates of the socialist future.

Now, finally, a few words about the founding convention. As I said, I'm not for change in name only. I'm for a truly new organization. I'm sure your founding convention will demonstrate the new quality. I think the first weekend in May for the founding convention is a good time. What could be a better season than spring time and a better weekend than May Day?

I would suggest that it be a combination founding convention and coming-out party, a youth festival, a festive week of celebration all over the country. I mean in the fullest sense of "festival." Big, spectacular, exciting, lively and colorful.

In other words, this founding convention/festival should become an event that will live in everyone's memory as one of the great events of his or her lifetime.

Your May Day weekend founding convention will signal the establishment of the youth shock troops for the upsurge—the mounting fightback movements. Especially during today's explosive moments our country needs such youth. Our young people today provide the boldness, the freshness, the militancy and enthusiasm—the revolutionary spirit.

But like all sectors, they need leadership—revolutionary leadership, Communist leadership—with advanced ideas, tactics and a working-class science to guide them.

You are about to establish that advanced leadership. Your new Communist youth organization will bring together working-class men and women, Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican and all oppressed peoples, into one, mighty, unified force.

Best wishes for a successful organizing drive and a festive, exciting founding convention.

# The Reagan Administration: A Nuclear 'Who's Who'

VICTOR PERLO

Ralph Nader, in his introduction to *Reagan's Ruling Class*, a book sponsored by his organization, writes: "This is, unabashedly, a government of the wealthy. Its top six members . . . are all multimillionaires . . . Over a fourth of the top one hundred Reagan Administration officials have net worths of seven figures, or more."

Robert Scheer—former editor of *Ramparts*, now a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*—begins his book with: "President Ronald Reagan had been in office less than a year when he approved a secret plan for the United States to prevail in a protracted nuclear war." He concludes it with: "The ultimate political aim of these nuclear hawks is to intimidate, disrupt and eventually transform the Soviet Union by the threat of nuclear war. What this strategy greatly underestimates is the very real likelihood that it will lead to a very real catastrophe, or a confrontation in which our only choices are war or capitulation."

The ground for the Reagan Administration was laid by the Rightward shift of U.S. monopoly capital as a whole, which became evident during the Carter Administration. This was a reaction to the marked weakening of the position of U.S. imperialism during the 1970s in relation to the socialist camp, to the national liberation movement, and to the imperialist rivals of the United States.

The Reagan Administration represents a new, especially dangerous stage in this shift, in which a far-Right faction of monopoly capital has captured the executive branch and dictates both its domestic and foreign policies. This fact stands out most sharply, and with most immediate menace, in foreign policy. The Reagan Administration represents those interests so imbued with hatred of socialism, of its main stronghold—the Soviet

Union, that they are pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. It has alarmed even important sections of the bourgeoisie, leading to serious expressions of policy differences and to sharpening conflicts with other capitalist governments. Most important, its destructive aim has become increasingly clear to the majority of the people in the United States, and they are repudiating its policies in electoral, labor, civil rights and, so far most clearly, in peace struggles.

The authors of both books dissect this Administration in exceptional detail, uncompromisingly. The mass opposition to the Reagan Administration and the serious split within the top economic echelons are proven by the publication and distribution of such exposes through the main capitalist channels. Both volumes help to identify those who threaten the world's future, whom they represent and the exact character of their policies. They thus contribute to the vigor and breadth of struggles for national salvation and peace.

The authors of both books make much use of interviews with top personnel of Reagan's team, and Scheer interviewed well-placed critics of the Administration as well. *Reagan's Ruling Class* examines the political and financial history and connections of the top 100 officials of the Administration, and the authors were able to interview 57 of the 100. Considerable use is also made of the financial disclosure reports that leading appointees are required to submit, and a vast body of other research was carried out by the authors and their sizeable staff.

From data in this volume and other sources it is clear that nearly all of the officials are *capitalists*, including the professionals. They have accumulated stocks, bonds, oil-well and real estate tax shelter investments in the hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars, bringing them unearned income sufficient to identify with the capitalist class.

Nader puts it: "The regime is a homogenized government by elites. Even organized labor leaders are out; also gone are the minorities, the poor,

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Victor Perlo is chairman of the Economics Commission of the CPUSA. This review article is based on Ronald Brownstein and Inia Easton, *Reagan's Ruling Class*, Presidential Accounting Group, Washington D.C., 1982, \$24.50, 747 pp., and Robert Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War*, Random House, New York, 1982, \$14.95, 285 pp.

the elderly, consumers and environmentalists. Their clientele agencies have either disappeared or become moribund." He quotes a description of the philosophy of Attorney General William French Smith, Reagan's original political sponsor, as typical: "Smith's philosophy is that a small central establishment of a few people who have proven successful should run the rest of our lives."

Far from reducing the role of government, as promised, the Reaganites are "greatly expanding the military budget, increasing government secrecy, closing off avenues of citizen participation in government, releasing the FBI and CIA from . . . restraints, weakening the national defense against endemic polluters, monopolists and corporate defrauders, and invading poor citizen privacies."

Two-thirds of the book deals primarily with domestic issues. The authors expose the slashing of taxes paid by the wealthy and corporations; the rape of national lands by Interior Secretary James Watt, "the hired gun of the big land owners"; the destruction of environmental protections on behalf of higher corporate profits; the dismantling of housing and urban programs; the removal of regulations restraining the killing and maiming of millions of workers through industrial accidents and occupational disease.

Characteristically, millionaire Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan was an official of a construction firm with 135 violations of Occupational Safety and Health regulations in six years. Thorne Auchter, in charge of OSHA under Donovan, was an official of a family construction company with 48 violations. Ford B. Ford, in charge of mine safety and health, was a California lobbyist for companies opposing safety and health measures.

It is a weakness of the book that it fails to expose the anti-labor offensive of the Reaganites—their strike- and union-busting, their fostering of unemployment, their attempts to reduce real wages generally, and minimum wages in particular. But the authors do expose National Labor Relations Board Chairman John Van de Water: "A former president of a leading West Coast anti-union consulting firm, Van de Water is to organized labor what James Watt is to environmentalists." The AFL-CIO was temporarily able to block Van de Water's confirmation, but finally it was rammed through the Senate.

More serious is the almost complete omission in

the book of reference to the blatant racism of the Reagan Administration—its open assault on affirmative action, its attempts at resegregation, its permissiveness toward police violence against Blacks, its crudely racist bias in selection of social programs to slash. But the authors do criticize the Reaganites' enhanced support for the apartheid regime of South Africa.

One-third of the Brownstein/Easton book and all of the Scheer book are devoted to the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, with emphasis on its preparation for nuclear war. This is the most dangerous feature of the Administration, and the one that has aroused the broadest, most urgent opposition worldwide.

Of course, there is no Chinese wall between the domestic and foreign policies of the Reaganites. Their anti-Sovietism, their brazen support for apartheid and for Israeli aggression, their crude intervention against the national liberation struggles in Central America, their declaration of a global sphere of "vital interests"—these are fundamentally an offensive against the world's working people, an offensive which is closely connected with their assault on the working class at home.

The Scheer book is notable for the precise and detailed documentation of the war drive of the Reaganites. However, the author abandons this method in writing of the Soviet Union. With no documentation whatsoever he writes of "the extremists in this country and in the Soviet Union who believe in the possibilities of fighting and winning a protracted nuclear war" and asserts, "The danger is that the Soviet Union has no shortage of Perles and Nitzes of its own who are eager to play the same dangerous game, which is, after all, how the nuclear arms race has been sustained all these decades." He refers to "the violent statements of various Soviet military leaders," but quotes none—for they are non-existent.

That is a serious mistake as, fortunately, increasing numbers of peace activists are coming to recognize. But it does not negate the very positive contribution that the book, as a whole, makes. It is noteworthy that Brownstein and Easton do not make anti-Soviet editorial comments in their book, nor does the omission seemingly impede that volume's acceptance.

The foreign policy of the United States is carried

out by direct representatives of the transnational corporations, which plunder the Third World and accrue large-scale profits from investments throughout the capitalist world. The greed of these monopolists explains the criminal actions of the U.S. government in all corners of the globe, from El Salvador to Lebanon to southern Africa.

Reagan's all-out support of the South African apartheid regime violates countless United Nations resolutions and offends all decent humanity. Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs is Chester A. Crocker, a professional specialist on Africa. He is also an investor in South African gold mines, super-profitable operations based on the grossly underpaid labor of Black Africans. In addition he is an investor, from the Rhodesian colonial period, in certificates of deposit in Zimbabwe. He has written a book, *South African Defense Posture*. His \$15,000 in lecture and consulting fees were headed by \$2,000 from Utah International (the minerals subsidiary of General Electric) and \$1,500 from IBM, whose South African investments are particularly sensitive. He received smaller lecture fees from the U.S. Strategic Institute, Freedom House (a far-Right propaganda outfit), the CIA, the U.S. Armed Forces Staff College, the U.S. Air War College, and, evidently for articles, from South African Associated Newspapers. (Chester A. Crocker, Financial Disclosure Report to U.S. Office of Government Ethics, 1981.)

It is obvious, from this list, that Crocker specializes in military problems related to maintaining and implementing the expansionist wars of this racist regime. He is an exceptionally crude example of the personal ties between official personnel and the plundering policies of U.S. imperialism.

### The Foreign Policy Establishment

The following eight men may be considered the core of the Reaganite foreign policy team: Ronald Reagan, George Bush, George P. Schultz, Caspar Weinberger, CIA Director William Casey, National Security Assistant to the President William Clark, White House Chief of Staff James Baker III, and Counselor to the President Edwin Meese III.

These men illustrate a particular feature of this Administration: for the first time in this century, a president's team is not dominated by Wall Street

groups of the financial oligarchy but by the California financial/industrial complex, backed by that of Texas. Reagan, Schultz, Weinberger, Clark and Meese are Californians; Bush and Baker Texans; and only Casey a New Yorker. Changes during the first two years of Reagan's incumbency have strengthened the pattern: Clark replaced Richard V. Allen, an Easterner; Schultz replaced Haig, another Easterner, and press speculation on Haig's ouster included the Californians' supposed distrust of him on this account. In the latest shift, Weinberger has offered Easterner Carlucci's job as No. 2 man in the Defense Department to Paul Thayer, chairman of LTV Corporation, a Texas-based munitions firm. Californians and Texans are also overrepresented at lower Administration levels, although not to so extreme a degree.

The California/Texas base of the leading figures of the Administration interacts with their far Right coloration. The Southern California and Texas financial groups have long been conspicuous Right extremists. California has by far the largest concentration of armament industries, of which Texas also has a substantial share; both states have major military installations. They are strongholds of the military-industrial complex.

The Rightward shift of monopoly capital as a whole gave them their opening, but as the contradictions afflicting U.S. capitalism become more critical, and the harmful results of their extremism more apparent, their differences with other monopoly groups are aggravated, and may have important consequences for policy.

Meanwhile, one must not absolutize the geographical group factor. With the increasing concentration of capital, the links and merging of interests of various groups deepen, illustrations of which abound in the Reagan Administration. Wall Street influence is directly represented, as are Wall Street connections of prominent California and Texas Reaganites.

Schultz, while president of the Bechtel Group, was a director of J.P. Morgan & Co., while Stephen D. Bechtel, former chairman of the California construction company, is a member of the Morgan Directors' Advisory Council (formerly its chairman). And the Morgan-connected General Electric Company played a major part in Reagan's career.

Bush is a son of the late Connecticut Senator,

Prescott Bush, multimillionaire partner in the Wall Street firm of Brown Brothers Harriman & Company. He moved his share of the fortune to Texas, but it must be assumed that he retains important links with the family's Wall Street positions. Most of his investment portfolio is in stocks of northern-based national corporations, his loans are from Connecticut insurance companies, and his brokerage account is in New York.

Paul Nitze, the inveterate nuclear war extremist, is a prominent leader of the ultra-Rightists dominating the Reagan Administration and chief negotiator with the Soviet Union for long-range theater nuclear force reductions. He is related by marriage to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil groups Pratt family, and he was a business associate, as vice president of Dillon Read & Company, of his ideological predecessor, James Forrestal. In addition to the vast holdings of Standard Oil stocks he married, Nitze is a director of Schroders' Inc., holding company of the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation in New York and the U.S. branch of the British, West German and U.S. Schroder banking group.

The Reagan Administration foreign policy establishment has a specific political character, cutting across but related to its geographical/financial group basis. It is, more than any previous administration, tied directly to the military-industrial complex. And it represents the triumphant accession to power of the far-Right caucus of Big Business political ideologists currently organized in the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD).

Dr. Herbert York, former director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, the California atom bomb development center, pointed out to Scheer that the so-called experts who advise Reagan on foreign and military strategy are people who, in the main, have depended on the Pentagon for a living. For example, super-hawks Navy Secretary John Lehman and Undersecretary of Defense Richard Perle were partners in Abington Corporation, a consulting and lobbying firm, and each received hundreds of thousands of dollars in 1980 in fees from armament manufacturers. And Richard De Lauer, undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, is the key operating man in the Pentagon and chief contracting officer, and hence he is the main link with the armament manufacturers. De Lauer, an engineer, accumu-

lated his millions in investment holdings as a missile specialist for the California establishment of TRW Corporation.

The Committee on the Present Danger was organized in 1976, under the leadership of Nitze and Eugene Rostow, now director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). It brought together those capitalists and their advisors long involved in advocating a policy of nuclear aggression to destroy the Soviet Union. Scheer writes:

It was the fall of Reagan's first year in office, and Charles Tyroler II, the director of the Committee on the Present Danger, was boasting a little. Five years ago he and a small band of cold warriors had set out to reshape American foreign policy, which they felt was too soft on the Russians, and suddenly they had succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. One member of their group was now the President of the United States, and he had recruited heavily from the Committee's ranks for his top foreign policy officials. (Scheer, p. 35)

CPD members include, in addition to the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the chiefs of the CIA and ACDA, the Representative to the United Nations and most of the others in key foreign policy jobs. Scheer lists 51 members of CPD's Board of Directors in the Reagan Administration!

Some CPD members were active anti-Sovietees as far back as the 1930s and 1940s, when they favored a Hitler victory over the Soviet Union. It also includes an amalgam of postwar emigres and native-born Americans who can not tolerate the concept of peaceful coexistence. Deterrence had been accepted, however reluctantly and tentatively, by the more realistic sectors of the bourgeoisie by the early 1970s, a recognition of the changed balance of world forces.

In the early 1970s the CPD worked within the Nixon and Ford Administrations to sabotage detente, and in Congress, where their most impressive early successes were spearheaded by such hawks as Washington Senator Henry Jackson. While sustaining major defeats, they succeeded in preventing the real opening up of Soviet-U.S. economic relations by ramming through Congress the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and by using positions within the Administration to enforce a re-

strictive, Pentagon-dominated export licensing procedure. They managed to delay negotiation of a SALT II agreement for years before putting its ratification into the deep freeze in 1980.

In a deal with the beleaguered Kissinger-Nixon forces, their men were placed in control of ACDA, enabling them to sabotage efforts to negotiate further disarmament agreements.

An extremely important coup occurred in 1976 when George Bush, newly-appointed director of the CIA, brought into that agency his "Team B" to change the estimates of Soviet military strength prepared by the CIA's Team A, intelligence specialists who tempered their anti-Sovietism with a certain degree of objectivity.

Team B was chaired by Richard Pipes, a emigre from Hitler-occupied Poland, a fanatical anti-Sovieteer and director of Harvard's Russian Research Center. Also on the team was Nitze, who "lent an air of dignity, of history" to the efforts of the hawks, and "for over 30 years had been an influential hardliner favoring high levels of defense spending and tough bargaining with the Soviets on arms control." (Brownstein/Easton, p. 518.)

Nitze had participated in the Gaither Committee, the militaristic reaction of U.S. imperialism to the pioneering Soviet successes in the peaceful exploration of outer space. The Gaither Committee report popularized the hypocritical term "missile gap," which set the stage for the Kennedy Administration's huge missile buildup. Team B set the stage for the propaganda "gaps" and "windows of vulnerability" which have been used to justify the Carter and Reagan Administrations' aim for first-strike nuclear weapon superiority.

Team B, throwing realism to the winds, virtually doubled the earlier (already bloated) official CIA estimate of Soviet military spending. These fraudulent Team B figures remain the basis for official U.S. estimates of Soviet military spending and strength. They are widely publicized to justify the increased U.S. military budget and one-sided arms control demands. Weinberger and Reagan are widening that "window" exponentially in scaremongering speeches, with such blatantly unbalanced presentation of statistics that even major Establishment newspapers carry journalistic accounts in effect calling Reagan a liar—in some cases directly, and in others using more diploma-

tic language.

The overwhelming majority of scientists and military specialists with knowledge of weapons technology and arms control negotiations, as well as public figures applying common sense criteria, categorically reject the Team B-Pentagon-Reagan line. It is significant that current CIA Director William Casey, himself a member of the CPD, admitted in a conversation with Nader, Brownstein and Easton that he himself does not believe his agency's cooked-up figures about Soviet strategic military superiority:

Q: "Have you confirmed by your own analyses that the Soviets have superiority, and as of when did they pass us?"

A: "To start out, that is a matter of judgement. Some people judge it one way, some people judge it the other way. I don't think you know . . ."

#### Preparation for Global Genocide

The CPD crowd, from the President down, have lost touch with reality in their fear of progressive forces, the world's working people, and socialism. They are the political decedents of cold-war Navy Secretary James Forrestal, who self-destructed by jumping out of a mental hospital window shrieking that the Russians were coming.

Scheer's extensive interview with Dr. York is especially important. York confirmed Scheer's statement that "Among establishment people like yourself and McNamara, there is a sense of alarm." York agreed, explaining that "a whole string of Presidents, with the possible exception of this one" learned, when they reached the highest level in the nuclear warmaking establishment, just how intolerably destructive war would be, "you discover that . . . the way we're going is wrong, it can not lead to a good end."

York also confirmed, as have all other experts except the most brazen war-instigators, that the Soviet Union adheres to arms control agreements and that there is an effective strategic balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. He emphasized that the Pentagon is planning to destroy the Soviet Union:

It's amazing to actually be really briefed on the SIOP (Single Integrated Operational Plan) instead of just talk about it—go to Omaha (headquarters of the Strategic Air

Command—VP) and they tell you what it is . . . What the plan calls for is—not to exaggerate—the strip-mining of the Soviet Union.

And his characterization is important:

York: "What's going on right now is that the crazier analysts have risen to higher positions than is normally the case . . . when the ideologues come in with their fancy stories and their selected . . . data, the President and the Secretary of Defense believe the last glib person who talked to them."

Scheer: "From the right."

York: "That's the only people they talk to . . ."

The Reagan-CPD crowd consider a nuclear war tolerable and winnable. They fantasize that they will save themselves and be able to run the war from the AWACS planes and thousand-foot-deep special shelters prepared for the elite rulers. They are trying to pacify the rest of us with the illusion that we, too, may survive.

Bush told Scheer that a nuclear war can be won: "You have a survivability of command and control, survivability of industrial potential, protection of a percentage of your citizens, and you have a capability that inflicts more damage on the opposition than it can inflict on you." (P. 29.)

Pipes "announced in 1981 that the Soviets would have to choose between peacefully changing their system or going to war." He told a *Washington Post* reporter that a nuclear war was 40 per cent probable, but "Pipes says he is much more worried about his children driving safely, and not getting sick, than nuclear war." (Scheer, pp. 55, 65.)

Eugene Rostow, a leading CPD member and currently director of ACDA, said, "We are living in a pre-war and not a post-war period." He gave his estimate of the tolerability of nuclear war in response to the question of whether "either country would survive" in a nuclear war, as posed by Senator Pell (D-RI). He answered: "Well, there are ghoulissh statistical calculations that are made about how many people would die . . . some estimates predict that there would be 10 million casualties on one side and 100 million on the other. But that is not the whole population." (Brownstein/Easton, p. 506.)

Rostow and Co. are anxious to convince the U.S. public that on "our side" there will be "only" 10 million killed, if Congress approves all the Pentagon's first strike weapons, and that it is worth paying such a "limited" cost to destroy Communism.

An important part of the campaign to prepare for nuclear war is this attempt to pacify the population with the idea that they can survive. Reagan's 1983 budget includes the request for an appropriation of \$389 million for "civil defense," a large part of which is for the purchase of millions of shovels, to be used to dig holes. The cover of Scheer's book quotes T.K. Jones, deputy under secretary of defense, who explains how this will save the population: "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top . . . It's the dirt that does it . . . if there are enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it."

### Nuclear War for Colonial Conquest

Again and again, the warmakers admit that they do not really expect a Soviet first strike, but that they want to be ready to threaten or to start a nuclear war against the USSR in order to settle conflicts elsewhere. Richard Perle, for many years Senator Jackson's top assistant, put it this way:

I've always worried less about what would happen in an actual nuclear exchange than the effect that the nuclear balance has on our willingness to take risks in local situations. *It is not that I am worried about the Soviets attacking the United States with nuclear weapons . . . It is that I worry about an American president feeling that he can not afford to take action in a crisis because Soviet nuclear forces are such that, if escalation took place, they are better posed than we are to move up the escalation ladder.* (Scheer, p. 13. My emphasis—VP.)

Paul Wolfowitz, director of the policy planning staff of the State Department, in a speech opposing a nuclear freeze, explained, "we must preserve the credibility of our nuclear deterrent"—that is, willingness to start a nuclear war—to meet adverse changes in the world situation: "First, increased instability in the developing world, particularly in areas on which we have become dependent for energy, strategic raw materials, and vital sea routes." Also, and characteristic of this



administration, Wolfowitz stated as a prime objective of U.S. nuclear war threats, to "work for change" in the Soviet regime, for its "transformation." ((State Department, Current Policy Release No. 406.) Wolfowitz delivered this talk to the Naval War College on June 22, 1982—the 41st anniversary of Hitler's criminal attack on the Soviet Union.

In the same vein, Rostow said that U.S. forces were able to invade Korea in 1950 because of nuclear superiority, but, regrettably, could not invade Korea or its equivalent today because that superiority has been lost.

The hawks also dream about colonialist takeovers of socialist lands through nuclear warfare. Reagan approved a national security document that "undertakes a campaign aimed at internal reform in the Soviet Union and shrinkage of the Soviet empire," and affirmed, using basketball terminology, that it could be called "a full-court press" against the Soviet Union (an attempt to wrest the ball from the opponent in his territory).

### The Opposition and the Fightback

The fanatical ruling groups of U.S. imperialism have at their disposal enormous military and police power; a military caste with influential political ramifications; great wealth; domination of the mass media; well-placed agents in all sections of U.S. society and in other capitalist countries, including the rulers of many. The more rational sections of the ruling class, while exceeding the ultra-Rights numerically, are inconsistent and without sufficient determination in their opposition; they are torn between their fear of nuclear war and their fear of socialism.

Thus, a tremendous popular struggle is needed to defeat the Reaganites and to save our country and the world. It is in the interest of all social classes of the population to join in the peace movement. And because of the power of the pro-war groups, participation in the anti-war drive by the majority of the population is necessary. During the two years of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. peace movement has obtained a breadth never before known. This sentiment for peace probably exceeds the majority that contributed importantly to the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. In the contradictory political currents

of this country, it is extremely rare to find such a one-sided opinion as the 70 per cent-plus votes for the nuclear freeze resolutions on the ballots in a number of states and many local areas.

More politicians are finding that a pro-peace position is a significant asset in electoral campaigns, a trend which is likely to spread as the correlation of election victories to support for the nuclear freeze resolutions in 1982 is realized.

Among scientists and former officials who have intimate knowledge of the realities of the nuclear age and who have expressed strong opposition to the course of the Reaganites, in addition to the aforementioned Herbert York, are William E. Colby, former director of the CIA; Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr., former deputy director, science and technology, CIA; Gerard C. Smith and Paul Warnke, former chief disarmament negotiators; Hans Bethe, nuclear physicist; Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, former science advisor to President Kennedy; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; George Kennan, and many others.

The largest political organization of scientists, the Union of Concerned Scientists, headed by Henry Kendall, has shifted the main focus of its struggle from opposition to nuclear power to opposition to nuclear weapons.

A particularly impressive indication of the suicidal character of the nuclear war drive is the large number of retired military men actively campaigning against it. Prominent in this respect are Admirals Noel Gaylor, former head of the National Intelligence Agency; John Marshall Lee, Gene R. LaRocque, Eugene J. Carroll Jr.; Generals William T. Fairbourn and Robert M. Montague; and Marine Colonel James A. Donovan, former publisher of the *Journal of the Armed Forces*.

There is nothing new in political activity by retired, and even active-duty, military men, but almost invariably on the pro-war side. Even individual outspoken high-ranking military peace advocates have been rare. For a general or admiral to turn publicly against the policies of the Pentagon and the aggressive circles of Big Business requires an extreme wrench away from a lifetime of war-oriented anti-Soviet indoctrination.

Their numbers are undoubtedly augmented by active-duty officers who maintain a disciplined

silence. These U.S. officers, retired and active-duty, have their counterparts among European NATO generals and admirals.

In August a group of six former cabinet officials, all multimillionaire active leaders in major centers of monopoly capital, joined in an appeal for a \$25 billion cut in the 1984 military budget: John B. Connolly, a former governor and leading personality of the Texas financial group; Peter G. Peterson, chairman of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb; William E. Simon, married into the Philadelphia Girard family, prominent in Citibank circles; Douglas Dillon, heir to the Dillon Read fortune; Henry Fowler, of Goldman Sachs; and Michael Blumenthal, chairman of Burroughs Corp. and connected with Chemical Bank.

These men are far from being peace advocates in a broad sense, and some are overt hawks. For example, Fowler is co-chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger. It is all the more significant that even these men consider that the Reaganites are recklessly accelerating the drive to war and call for a more cautious and financially less extravagant approach. Coming out more positively for a policy of detente is the influential former chairman and leading stockholder in IBM, Thomas J. Watson, Jr., recent ambassador to the USSR.

Capitalists in basic industries in the central regions of the United States are sustaining reduced profits and, in many cases, are threatened with bankruptcy in the deep economic crisis. Fearing increasing struggles by the working class, they are urging that funds be shifted from the military to projects for rebuilding the country and reviving its trade with socialist and developing countries. This position is even expressed, in muted form, in statements of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce!

In a speech to bankers, M. Brock Weir, chairman

and chief executive officer of Ameritrust (formerly known as Cleveland Industrial Group) called for "the recapitalization of America." He urged a program to reduce unemployment, provide "a decent minimum standard of life for our own citizens," jobs where they live, and the spending of "trillions, not billions, in high priority" for the renewal of the nation's basic infrastructure. He called for financing this partly at the expense of the military:

. . . because I am a realist I believe that a policy that depends too heavily on military might is wrong. It has a double cost—the direct cost of the manpower and tools of war, and the hidden opportunity cost of the use of these funds . . . As a banker, it strikes me that our nation and our western allies are ignoring a powerful alternative to ever greater military expenditures, and that is our role as major and irreplaceable creditors to the Soviet-bloc nations.

Weir has illusions that credits and trade are "irreplaceable" and can be used to wrest political concessions from socialist countries, but one can not expect monopoly capitalists—who in this case are the ones who really "need" the trade—to overcome their ideological contradictions in this area. What is important is that the consistent peace forces can and must take advantage of the *partial* peace positions of these important sections of the ruling class.

The flow of books, magazines, and articles attacking the war policies of the Reaganites and advocating peaceful coexistence and disarmament is another indication of the range and intensity of mass sentiment against war, and an important factor contributing to the growth of the peace movement. The Brownstein/Easton and Scheer books are excellent examples.

# Poland: The Ideology of Counterrevolution

CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

The ideology of counterrevolution in Poland was not originated by the workers' movement which became known as Solidarity. It was injected into it by trained professionals who had long prepared for an opportunity to make use of workers' protests to further counterrevolutionary aims.

The injection did not take, as the record shows. Although Poland was brought perilously near chaos and disaster, and though efforts are continuing by internal and external subversive forces, the release of internees and the lifting of many martial law regulations at the end of last December are signs that Poland has entered a new stage.

Efforts to restore stability and normalcy in Poland have not been welcomed by anti-socialist forces in the United States. President Reagan has revealed his bitter disappointment and sanctions which harm the Polish people remain in effect.

It will be recalled that last June, in a speech to the British Parliament, Reagan called for a stepping up of the campaign of penetration of the socialist countries, an increase in broadcasts and other activities to bring about internal change.

Reagan considers himself a commander in the ideological "crusade" against socialism, but the crusade did not begin with him. The role of the CIA and other U.S. agencies against Poland goes back to the time of World War II and has never ceased.

All kinds of weapons have been used in this decades-long struggle to divert Poland from the socialist course chosen by its people. Ideological warfare has not been the least of these.

The group of counterrevolutionaries who took the name of Committee for Workers Defense (KOR) and, later, Committee for Social Defense (KSS), was born with the CIA as midwife. Its ideological arsenal ranged from petty-bourgeois

The following is based on materials being prepared for publication as a book. It deals with one aspect of developments and is not intended an an overview of the situation.

abstractions to an eclectic amalgam of concepts taken from social reformism, revisionism and a broad range of related concepts, including Eurocommunism.

Such spokesmen for U.S. cold war policies and anti-socialist ideology as Robert Straus-Hupe enthusiastically welcomed what he called "the Workers' Revolt in Poland," and the Right-wing Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, which published his article (Winter 1981), titled it "Poland's Proletarian Revolution," but the Polish people did not see it as such.

Within less than a year so many workers had dropped out of Solidarity's ranks that some of its leaders, among them Bodgan Lis, were complaining that one-third had left. And, as the anti-socialist, counterrevolutionary aims and character of the crew in control became better-known, they were rejected by the Polish working class.

The anti-socialist extremists who had taken control of the leadership of Solidarity claimed for it a membership of 10 million, the support of the overwhelming mass of the population and at least the neutrality of the armed forces, if not their support.

These claims were a myth, a myth which was demolished when martial law was instituted on December 13, 1981. The anti-socialist extremists found themselves without members, supporters, or army. Their manipulation of Solidarity for anti-socialist, anti-governmental purposes had alienated Solidarity members and most of the public.

Their planned power grab, scheduled for the middle of December 1981, failed not only because martial law was instituted on December 13.

Had the anti-socialist extremists really had mass support, they might have been able to prevail against martial law. They failed because their narcotic injection of counterrevolutionary ideology had not been accepted by the workers' movement,

despite 15 months of feverish effort.

Now, more than a year later, despite intermittent demonstrations and other actions during this period by hardcore political adventurers, the nation is returning to normalcy and workers are building new, independent trade unions within the framework of the socialist system.

Peace is strengthened because the anti-socialist elements failed to pull Poland out of the socialist system, the Warsaw Pact or the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. International reaction, the warhawks and their anti-socialist emigre collaborators have suffered another defeat, as they did earlier in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.



Who were the counterrevolutionary forces? What gave them their opportunity? What forces backed them?

The Reagan Administration, Wall Street, the bourgeois press, television and radio have made no secret of their support for the alleged "revolution" Solidarity was supposedly bringing about in Poland.

The top AFL-CIO leadership, and particularly President Lane Kirkland, have elevated support into a crusade. Although the AFL-CIO formerly banned visits by Polish trade unionists to the U.S. or by U.S. trade unionists to Poland, it has facilitated every possible contact with the anti-socialist leadership of Solidarity. Kirkland even agreed to speak at Solidarity's First National Congress in September-October 1981, but was denied a visa.

These diverse forces targetted Solidarity for their aid because they saw it as a movement of opposition to socialism. The strike-breaker in the White House has no more concern for Polish workers than he has for U.S. workers; neither has U.S. imperialism. And it is no secret that Kirkland has at all times put his anti-socialist, anti-Soviet concerns ahead of U.S. workers' interests.

In the eyes of these forces, Polish developments were a ripe opportunity for their anti-Soviet policies. For instance, Prof. William E. Griffith, a consultant to the National Security Council since 1977 and Ford Professor of Political Science at MIT, stresses in his recent article "Is Poland Not Yet Lost?" that "Poland is the USSR's most important ally."

He continues: "If the USSR lost all its influence over Poland it would face the loss of East Germany, German reunification and global encirclement" (*The Fletcher Forum*, published by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Winter 1982 issue).

A Brookings Institution study, "The Polish Crisis: American Policy Options," published in late 1982, also brings the anti-Soviet issue to the fore.

This Staff Paper by Jerry F. Hough speaks of the U.S. "ideological and economic struggle against the Soviet Union and to what extent should Eastern Europe be treated as an important region in its own right?"

It is an interesting question, but the record makes it quite clear that Washington and Wall Street have decided, and acted on that decision, to try to make use of Poland and the rest of "Eastern Europe" as an instrument of U.S. imperialist policy against the Soviet Union.

The policy is counterrevolutionary, directed against socialism and the Soviet Union as not only a socialist country but as the leader of the socialist world.

And, as we are reminded by George Kennan in his new book, "Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age," this anti-Soviet policy threatens nuclear annihilation of all. Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, author of the containment theory which he now rejects, writes:

To read the official statements emanating from Washington, one would suppose we were already in a state of undeclared war—an undeclared war pursued in anticipation of an outright one now regarded as inevitable.

In pursuit of this policy, the atom-maniacs in Washington gave aid to the anti-socialist elements in Solidarity, and now demand that the Polish government release them from prison so they can continue their anti-socialist activities.

In its search for means to carry out its "undeclared war" policy, U.S. imperialism and its CIA seek out and nurture especially those elements which claim to be socialist but are seeking a "third

way," "separation from Moscow," "new goals for socialism," "socialism with a human face," etc.

The Czechoslovakian events of 1968 are a case in point. International reaction uses the same method in capitalist countries also. Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of the operators of U.S. imperialism's anti-socialist drive, notes with satisfaction in his book, *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*, that "Cohn-Bendit—the radical leader of the French students in 1968—characteristically reserved his sharpest barbs for the French Communist Party."

Brzezinski also welcomed the activities of Poles who challenged Marxism-Leninism and socialism in Poland, and is viewed by many as directly connected with their concepts, policies, plans and activity.

He wrote in the mentioned book: "The more critical revisionists and the more outspoken opponents of the fusion of Marxist thought and a Leninist-type party have challenged" the premise that "Marxism as a science of history provides both practical and ethical guides to the future."

In Brzezinski's opinion, Polish philosopher Lezek Kolakowski "put it particularly eloquently," and quotes a long passage. Kolakowski, active in urging a "new way" in the critical 1956 events in Poland, has remained one of the leaders of Polish revisionism, although operating from abroad.

Among other leaders of revisionism who had come to Brzezinski's attention by the time he published his *Between Two Ages* in 1970 were Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, who later became leaders of the anti-socialist elements in Solidarity.

Their 1964 "Open Letter to the Party" became, according to Brzezinski, "the source of much of the theoretical inspiration for the political-minded leadership of youth." Their "Open Letter," wrote Brzezinski, "provided a scathing critique of the degeneration of Polish communism into an institutionalized bureaucratic despotism, with vested interests suppressing the egalitarian idealism of socialism."

"Institutionalized bureaucratic despotism" has become a common term among anti-Soviet, anti-socialists, starting with Trotsky and extending to today's opponents.

Kuron and Modzelewski were leaders of the

"New Left" type outbreaks in March 1968, and continued their oppositional activity, finally playing leading roles in the Solidarity setup.

International reaction, and especially U.S. imperialism and its CIA, knew what to fish for in muddy waters. As the reactionary daily *le Figaro* (Paris) wrote (Sept. 5, 1981), in the Solidarity leadership were assembled people of diverse orientation, from anti-Communists to Christian Democrats, (Second International-type) socialists to Trotskyites." It could have justifiably added anti-Semites and the dregs of prewar ruling bourgeois circles.

International reaction was fully aware of what purpose these elements were to serve. As the neofascist *Suddeutsche Zeitung* put it (Sept. 4, 1981), it was to "overthrow the communist dictatorship."

Although Kuron's and Modzelewski's "Open Letter" was written in 1964 (when they were expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party), it belongs in the discussion of the roots of the ideology of counterrevolution in Poland. It reflects their Trotskyite connections, as well as a shoddy and eclectic jumble of concepts, including anarchistic ideas.

In their view, socialism was imposed on Poland by the Red Army, and is not real socialism but a central political bureaucracy which exploits the working class. The working class has been deprived of its organizations, its program and its means of self-defense.

"The only road to progress is through revolution," Kuron and Modzelewski proclaimed, and also declared "Revolution is inevitable." Not only in Poland, but also in the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and—the Soviet Union. This is a notion voiced in 1964, but alive still in U.S. ruling circles, as the article by Griffith mentioned above and also the Brookings' Staff Report show.

The United States... has... retained a hope... that the Soviet system might actually collapse," the Brookings report states. It continues: "Poland demonstrated that workers can revolt in a Communist country... If... a similar crisis occurred in the Soviet Union and if the Soviet soldiers refused to fire on demonstrating workers, there are no outside troops that would intervene to save the

system."

Kuron and Modzelewski also advanced the idea that "the working class must organize itself into more than one party." The Open Letter is replete with Trotskyite slanders against Soviet policy.

This document was seized upon by *Kultura*, a Polish-language publication in Paris, which has played from its beginning an anti-socialist role, and which is an ideological center for conspiracies against the Polish socialist state and system.

It was also picked up by the Trotskyites internationally, and published by them in at least French and English. The anti-socialist elements in Poland have connections in many ways with the Trotskyite network.

The Trotskyites have glorified the extremist, anti-socialist element in Solidarity and their sabotage of the Polish national economy. They condemned martial law, which put an end to the deliberate policy of destabilization which would have led to chaos and benefitted only the imperialists.

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Imperialism, for its counterrevolutionary purposes, also values the ideas of Eurocommunism. Eurocommunism long ago adopted Kuron and his associates.

Wolfgang Leonhard, in his book, *Eurocommunism: Challenge for East and West*, puts the roots of Eurocommunism in Poland back to 1956. "All these discussions and disagreements in Poland in the autumn of 1956 represented an important step in the theoretical development of Eurocommunism," he states.

What was the nature of these "discussions and disagreements"? Leonhard lists them. Kolakowski, for example, was advocating "the independent development of an open Marxism"; Edward Lipinski "demanded the transition of the centralized economic system into a system of social self-management"; Wladyslaw Bienkowski, then Minister of Education, "advocated a new democratic structure in the party." Zygmunt Baumann "demanded departure from the Leninist Party doctrine."

Critics in 1956 of Polish socialism, the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism, and the Polish-Soviet alliance, they passed from published criticism to

active organized opposition to the Polish state and PUWP, as the riotous events of 1956 and 1968 show. Later they became KORites, and in this role were again fitted into U.S. imperialism's unremitting struggle to end socialism in Poland and open the way to toppling the Soviet state.

Leonhard, himself a defector from the GDR, considers that those who led the Hungarian counterrevolution in 1956 "can be considered true Eurocommunists." Note the word "true."

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In 1956, there were anti-Polish state and anti-PUWP groups in Poland which praised the Hungarian counterrevolution.

In 1968, they supported the Czechoslovakian counterrevolution and praised the false and demagogic slogan of "socialism with a human face" as a guide for Poland.

When the Carter Administration launched its falsely-named "human rights campaign," the Eurocommunists seized upon it to attack the Polish and other socialist governments, and particularly the Soviet Union.

In May 1975, anti-socialist elements among Polish emigres abroad and in Poland met secretly in Geneva to discuss ways to coordinate their activities with the Carter Administration's anti-socialist and anti-national liberation campaign conducted under the guise of "protecting human rights."

They established a Human Rights Committee. This job is credited to the work of the CIA, which stepped up activity in training anti-socialist forces for a more highly organized and direct campaign against socialism. The CIA sought to broaden the anti-socialist base in Poland.

On September 23, 1976, establishment of the *Komitet Obrony Robotnikow*—KOR—the Committee for Workers' Defense—marked the opening of a new stage of counterrevolutionary activity in Poland. Many factors, including serious errors by the PUWP leadership, offered KOR special opportunities. (These will be dealt with another time.)

A year later, on September 26, 1977, KOR activities were broadened and to its name was added Committee for Social Self-Defense—KSS-KOR. That same fall, the publication of a paper called *Robotnik* (Worker) was started.

A major weakness of the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian counterrevolutions, in the view of the experienced U.S. organizers of counter-revolution, had been failure to enlist the working class to build a bridge between intellectuals and workers. They were determined in the Polish situation to change this.

In addition to publishing *Robotnik*, KOR established study and organizational circles, schools for study in illegal organization, circulation of materials, harassment of management, undermining of confidence in socialism and its organs in Poland, organizing of strikes, training of cadre and placing cadre in strategic positions, and the like.

In the beginning, the KOR-*Robotnik* outfit talked in terms of establishing "free trade unions," the term commonly used by anti-socialist groups in capitalist countries. Attempts were made, for example, to organize "Free Trade Unions of the Baltic" by a Polish renegade who had been one of the hardcore misleaders in the 1970 strike in Gdansk.

The "free trade union" grouplets organized between 1977 and 1980 were secret organizations. Anna Walentynowicz and Lech Walesa were part of this "free trade union" and *Robotnik* network. Other future leaders of Solidarity were shaped in this counterrevolutionary atmosphere and activity, directed against the existing trade union movement, the Polish state and the PUPW.



The ideology of anti-Sovietism, of nationalism, of distortions of democracy and an anarchistic distortion of workers' rule, self-government and social relations along the lines of Eurocommunism prevailed in this schooling.

KSS-KOR to the end insisted it had only 31 members. It may be true; certainly it was a tight, centralized group. But it had its followers and pupils, among them Lech Walesa, who was to be pushed into service as a charismatic leader of an organization—Solidarity—which was actually dominated by "advisors," "specialists," and the like, among whom top KOR people, such as Jacek Kuron, ran the show.

In 1978 so-called "free trade union" grouplets had been established in Silesia and along the Baltic Coast. In this period there was intensive ideologi-

cal training in the ideas of the KORites. A "free trade union" unit was established at the Ursus tractor plant, where there had been a strike in 1976.

Along the Baltic Coast, Walesa and Walentynowicz edited a publication, *The Coast Worker*.

The "human rights" campaign was capitalized on. It furnished opportunities for Kuron and other KORites to conduct a seemingly legitimate campaign, raise money, etc., and at the same time provided a coverup for the actual anti-socialist organizing they were conducting, especially among workers. "Free trade unions" and "protection of human rights" had a misleading and demagogic appeal, especially to younger workers.

Their activities were given a push by the 18 hours of radio programs directed against Poland by Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and by the networks of the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France.

The KORites and their followers gave support to Eurocommunists in other countries, and received support in return from them and other groups seeking "political pluralism," "rule of the people," "democracy," and so on.

The KORites supported the Czechoslovakian signers of Charter 77, putting themselves on record as cooperating with the Eurocommunist groups. In 1976, Kuron wrote to Enrico Berlinguer, head of the Italian Communist Party, asking the ICP's support for protesters in Poland who backed the 1976 strikes.

The Eurocommunists supported the "civil rights movement in Poland," as Leonhard puts it. There is more to this can of worms, but sufficient has been noted to show that the counterrevolution in Poland was coordinating its activity with negative, obstructive, and harmful anti-socialist activities elsewhere—all of it being used by international imperialist reaction and its secret services, such as the CIA.

KOR and other counterrevolutionary groupings, such as the Confederation of Independent Poland, had four years in which to plant their illegal and secret, conspiratorial network.

During this period the Gierek leadership of the PUPW pursued a lax policy toward the increasing activities of the counterrevolutionary groups.

KSS-KOR extended its influence and connections at home and abroad, published illegal publications, increased its networks in workplaces.

Instead of stepping up socialist ideological education in all areas, it was neglected, and even reduced. The Gierek leadership even strengthened petty-bourgeois tendencies by its social philosophy of "enrich yourself," a "car for every family," boasts of successes when failures were occurring and a vain and empty boast of "building a second Poland."

A combination of many factors brought about a situation in July 1980 when spontaneous strikes broke out in many regions. All were settled, as was the strike in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk in August.

The agreement reached by the workers and the government on Saturday, August 16, to return to work on Monday, was broken when Walesa and others under the influence of KOR arbitrarily continued the strike and extended it to other workplaces, calling for a general strike. They took steps to bring strikers from different factories together, forming the nucleus of future organization.

Leaflets by KSS-KOR and *Robotnik* issued that day called for establishment of a "free trade union." That term was used only a little longer, when it was changed to "independent trade union," in an effort to hide its anti-socialist content, and its origin in imperialism's "free world" propaganda.

That marked the beginning of the takeover by organized, counterrevolutionary forces of the spontaneous, authentic protest of Polish workers against distortions of socialism, and the Gierek leadership's economic and other mistakes.

Some months later, in the spring of 1981, Walesa, now the public front of the "independent trade union" Solidarity, declared: "KOR—that is the foundation on which rose the beautiful house of Solidarity." He repeatedly paid tribute to KOR as the source of Solidarity's program and ideas.

By the time of Solidarity's First National Congress at the end of September and beginning of October 1981, the KORites had so completely taken over that a special occasion was made of the dissolution of KOR. Speeches were made proclaiming that KOR could now end its existence because Solidarity would continue its work.

Events soon showed what this meant. At a top official meeting in Radom, readiness to proceed with steps to take over power were discussed. At a following meeting in Gdansk, the plan was concretized, with dates set for specific steps, such as a general strike, etc.

But the government ended this counter-revolutionary conspiracy by declaring a state of martial law, and arresting the participants in the Gdansk meeting and other Solidarity-KOR leaders and activists in a national sweep. It was an inevitable and necessary move.

The issue today in Poland is not "free trade unions" or "democracy." Workers in the workplaces are organizing their own independent, self-managed unions, and democracy is expanding as the country returns to normalcy, freed of the destabilization tactics employed by the counter-revolutionary forces.

The issue is to end U.S. imperialism's plots against Poland, especially because those plots damage the peace the U.S. people in growing numbers demand.



# Child Development Under Capitalism and Socialism

CECELIA POLLACK

What are the processes by which consciousness develops in children? How do they learn? What is the relationship between intellectual and emotional development? These are critical questions to which psychologists have geared their thinking ever since psychology began as an independent science in the latter half of the 19th century. At that time, Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of psychology as a natural science, used introspection to analyze various states of consciousness into their constituent elements. These he defined as "simple sensations." In principle, he omitted from the realm of experimental psychology the more complex mental functions such as deductive reasoning. He believed these could be dealt with only through historical studies of cultures, including language, customs and folklore. Psychology of that period was inadequate to the task of investigating all aspects of mental life. Strategies had still to be found to study complex as well as elementary human mental phenomena (M. Cole and S. Scribner, *Culture and Thought*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1968).

By the beginning of the First World War, introspective study of human conscious processes came under attack. Two schools of thought appeared with alternative theories. Gestalt psychology in Germany and behaviorism in the United States began the systematic study of both integrated and simple forms of human mental functioning. The founders of Gestalt psychology, Kohler, Wertheimer and Koffka, rejected the theory of associationism, or the analysis of functions into their elements. They did not believe that complex processes could be broken down to simple ones. Instead they demonstrated the role of structured wholes, so-called "gestalts," in psychological processes. But gestalt psychologists failed to advance beyond the mere description of complex

phenomena. They did, however, have an important impact on later theorists.

On the other hand, Watsonian behaviorism in the United States, influenced by Pavlov's study of conditioned reflexes, identified the simple building blocks of human activity in stimulus-response bonds. But the conditioned reflex could not be employed to deal with more complex human mental functions any more than Wundt's contemplation of sensations. In effect, psychology until the second decade of the twentieth century dealt with consciousness by denying it. The processes it described were the same for complex human mental functions as for animal functions. They were the same for the elementary human processes of conditioning and the more complex forms of human activity. Further, psychology ignored the social origin of consciousness and assumed that complex psychological processes were the same for human beings in different cultures and in different historical eras.

In the early 1920's Lev Vygotsky presented a position on a completely new theoretical basis. Directly influenced by Marx and Lenin, he maintained: first, that consciousness is the highest form of reflection of reality; second, that it is neither unchanging nor passive, nor is it present at birth; and third, that it is shaped by social activity and is used by human beings not only to adapt to conditions but to restructure them. (A.R. Luria, *Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1976.)

At this point psychological theory and its application to children's education took opposite paths in the United States and in socialist countries.

In the United States, many different views of child development burgeoned, none approaching the rigor and clarity that an adequate theory had to achieve. These theories appeared to be not so much contradictory as unrelated to each other. (A.L. Baldwin, *Theories of Child Development*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1968.)

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Several schools of thought have been influential in shaping the education and child-rearing practices. Perhaps the theory of intelligence testing has had the greatest impact on American education. This theory is based on the unproven assumption that children are born with innate abilities that are, for the most part, independent of social experience. Another assumption is that innate differences of intelligence can be measured by a test. Later, such tests "discovered" differences in intelligence between races and socio-economic classes. The issue of "race and intelligence relationship" became one of the most popular subjects for Ph.D. dissertations. Whatever other differences the studies showed, test results always seemed to agree on the inferiority of non-white races and nationalities and poor whites.

However, with all the "scientific" test construction and sophisticated statistical analysis of results, there has never been agreement on the nature of intelligence itself. (Robert Sternberg, "The Nature of Intelligence," *New York University Education Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3.)

The theoretical question of the nature of intelligence was deemed unimportant. What was important in the period of development of monopoly capitalism was the role of IQ as an explanation of classes, of the existence of wealth and poverty. To socialize children into accepting the rightness of the existing social structure, they were "educated" to believe that innate intelligence was the basis for economic and social organization. Wealth could then be justified by intelligence. Only by accepting their inferiority as the basis for their class position would children grow up to accept the status quo in a "harmonious" society. Hugo Munsterberg, a Harvard professor of psychology, a pioneer of intelligence testing, wrote in 1909:

... The child who comes from the slums, the child who never saw a green meadow and the child who never saw a paved street cannot be educated after a uniform pattern. The education of the boy cannot be the education of the girl; the education of the intelligent child must differ from that of the slow-minded, ungifted child . . . The laborer and the farmer, the banker and the doctor all must help in building up the realm

of values. But they are equally prepared for it only if they are prepared for it in very different ways. (*Psychology and the Teacher*, Appleton-Century, New York, 1909.)

Intelligence testing has been disastrous for many children, particularly from the lower socio-economic classes and minorities. Perhaps the most pernicious practice in schools is ranking students into a hierarchy of "intelligence." Even where the group intelligence test has been discontinued as a result of community protest, standardized achievement tests have often taken their place to track students into slow, average and fast learners. All standardized tests unrealistically assume that basic reading and writing skills have been effectively taught. The prevailing notion that the child is responsible for his own learning stems directly from IQ theory, which places ceilings on children's assumed abilities early in life. Many children, taught to doubt their own potential, drop out and give up. The high drop-out rate, the functional illiteracy, the feelings of frustration and inadequacy are the visible aspects of the serious psychological damage done to children's development.

The failure of our schools to develop a degree of literacy equal to other industrial nations is shocking. Our true literacy rate has dropped down to the level of Burma, Albania and the Fiji Islands, according to 1980 UNESCO figures. (Rudolf Flesch, "Literacy in the U.S. Compared with the Third World," paper read at Annual Conference of the *Reading Reform Association*, Spring 1982.)

Another psychological theory that has prospered in the United States is behaviorism. Behaviorism relegates psychological processes to an unknowable "black box" in the brain. Behaviorists of B.F. Skinner's school are interested in analyzing behavior, but not conscious processes. They have refined the training of pigeons by a system of rewards and punishments to great subtlety. But they have also gone on to shape human behavior. Skinner ignores the social context in which the consequences of behavior are formed.

Behavior modification is particularly adaptable to the elimination of "undesirable" behavior. To a repressive administration, any struggle against

exploitation, inequality or injustice is considered "undesirable." But in the context of benign or humanistic programs, behavior modification has been successful in helping large numbers of people with problems of weight reduction, alcoholism, smoking, gambling, etc. In dealing with more complex mental health problems, however, more sophisticated types of therapy have been found necessary. An offshoot of the behaviorist school who call themselves cognitive-behavioral psychologists accept the complexities of conscious regulation of behavior and use more rational-emotive approaches to their clients.

Skinner's school of operant conditioning has also been applied in education. The product is the teaching machine, or more recently, the computer. Where these are applied to reinforce teaching or to make learning automatic, they serve some useful purpose. Where, however, they serve as a "labor-saving device" to replace the teacher, the education of the student is greatly impoverished. The possibilities for creativity, for excitement and motivation of learning, for the more subtly human aspects of imparting knowledge and developing the student's abilities, all require the interaction of student and teacher.

A third influential school of psychology is that of Jean Piaget. A most prolific writer, Piaget is perhaps the best known of the developmental psychologists. He was preoccupied especially with the nature of cognitive or intellectual development in the growing child. His theory affirms the development of new cognitive structures in a series of age-related stages. Summarized, these are: the period of sensory-motor intelligence (0-2 years), when motor behavior is dominant; the period of preoperational thought (2-7 years), characterized by the development of language and concept-development; the period of concrete operations (7-11 years), in which the ability to apply logical thought to concrete problems develops, and the period of formal operations (11-15 years), in which the individual's cognitive structures are most highly developed, enabling the adolescent to apply logic to abstract as well as concrete thinking.

Though Piaget does believe the role of the environment in development is strategic, he assumes that the child's intellectual potential is determined

biologically. In other words, certain functions must mature and development must reach a certain stage before the school can begin teaching knowledge and skills effectively. In the relationship between learning and development, it is learning that lags behind.

Serious efforts have been made to apply Piaget's theory of cognitive development to school curricula and practices with unimpressive results. The title of one article on just such attempts speaks for itself, "Either We're too Early and They Can't Learn It or We're too Late and They Know It Already: The Dilemma of Applying Piaget." (Eleanor Duckworth, *Harvard Educational Review*, August 1979.)

In actuality, Piaget's stage theory has provided the theoretical basis for such practices as giving children "Reading Readiness" tests. These have questionable validity and tend to categorize children into "readers" and "non-readers" at the very beginning of their school careers. In general, Piaget's theory of readiness stages has tended to delay the teaching of knowledge and skills until an assumed level of readiness. For example, children at a less advanced Piagetian stage have been demonstrated to learn content involving formal operations (11-15 years) in the Soviet Union.

Quite a different series of developmental stages were projected by Freud. Interested primarily in the psycho-sexual component of children's personalities, he delineated five stages of development, each stemming from instinctual sources. Each stage is characterized by appropriate objects of sexual attachment.

Freud saw all activity as personal struggle, ignoring the whole social context which distinguishes human conflict from other manifestations of conflict. He imported the sex concept wholesale into infantile life. All infantile expression or distortion of emotion is seen as sexual. He warned against interfering with children's instinctual development lest they become frustrated or neurotic. This view, supported by many child psychologists and pediatricians after World War II, resulted in a trend toward universal permissiveness in parent-child relationships. (Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and USSR*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1970.)

Certainly the rearing and schooling of children are key factors in the depressing statistics of mental health in our country. What messages are really trickling down to many children? With IQ theory the message is, "We can't expect you to learn with your low IQ." With Piagetian theory, the message is, "Wait, you are not yet ready to learn." Skinner's theory of stimulus response says, "If you learn you will be rewarded, but if you don't you will be punished." And Freud leaves the message, "You are free to learn or to refuse to learn. Follow your instincts. We don't want to frustrate you." The impact of this chorus of negative messages, which go hand-in-glove with unequal, racist, economic and social relationships, speaks for itself. According to the Mortality Branch of the National Center for Health Statistics, 1306 children between the ages of ten and fourteen took their own lives between 1968 and 1976. The National Institute of Mental Health claims one out of five children is suffering from depression.

All kinds of factors are held responsible, from "genetic loading" to environment. But "environment" includes not only the home but also the school. Over and above broken homes and alienated parents, five hours a day may be spent in school at activities irrelevant to the child's real life or to a future productive life; five hours fearing failure, fearing the test, the recitation, the teacher's scolding, the threat of punishment, of suspension, fearing competition with peers, fearing their scorn, feeling shame and guilt at failing to live up to parents' and teachers' expectations. The school can become a prison of negative emotions which lead to depression, to the use of drugs, and, too often, suicide.

I have briefly sketched some of the concepts which influence child rearing and education in our society. It is perhaps inevitable that these take their toll in waste of human potential, especially among the poor and minorities, where the schools have been the worst and the social inequities the most flagrant.

The children of the Soviet Union experience a very different development. To understand the underlying basis of differences, we must go again to Vygotsky's theory of learning and development. Vygotsky was dissatisfied with the behav-

iorists' position, which reduced all phenomena to a set of psychological "atoms." But he was equally dissatisfied with the failure of gestalt theory to progress beyond description of complex phenomena to an explanation of underlying processes. As a materialist, Vygotsky sought to identify the brain mechanisms underlying specific functions. He had to explain the logic of processes responsible for higher psychological functions. Marx offered him his point of departure. For Marx, it is in assimilating culture that the individual's consciousness is developed. The history of consciousness is therefore connected with the development of culture and its assimilation by the individual.

According to Vygotsky, the mental development of the human being continues right through his education and rearing as a universal form of assimilating the socio-historical abilities of his time. (Davydov & Zinchenka, "The Principle of Development in Psychology," *Social Sciences*, No. 2, 1982.) He believed that a profound qualitative reorganization of mental activity takes place in the process of human development. The essence of this reorganization is that elementary direct activity of the animal is replaced by complex functional systems in the brain. These systems are formed on the basis of the child's communication with adults in the process of learning. The basic tool in the formation of these functional systems is language, the means of communication between adult and child. These complex forms of mental activity eventually displace many of the laws governing elementary conditioned reflexes in animals.

The fundamental principle of communication between adults, carriers of a society's culture and values, and children, is assiduously applied in Soviet educational practice and upbringing.

The goal in the Soviet Union is to develop a new type of human being, a citizen whose first consideration is for the common good. Bronfenbrenner describes Soviet practice in the following terms:

The concern for nutrition and health for infants and pregnant mothers, the heavy use of modeling through large-scale involvement of older children and adults in work with younger age groups, the deliberate employment of group forces in reinforcing de-

sired behavior within the enduring social context of the collective, and the assignment of responsibilities even to the very young in the name of superordinate goals\* in the classroom, the school and community—all of these qualify as examples par excellence of the strategies laid out as representing powerful resources for influencing the socialization process. (Op. cit.)

Vygotsky believed that school learning contributes something qualitatively new to the child's development, that it stimulates processes of development which would not occur without it.

Traditionally, in non-socialist countries, the child must do tests to evaluate mental development without help from others. But Vygotsky believed that what the child can do with adult help today, he will be able to do independently tomorrow. He stressed potential and called the difference between what the child knows and what he can learn with help "the zone of proximal development." In the matter of the relationship between learning and development, Vygotsky differed from the learning theorists described above in that he believed that development "results" from learning. Development of higher mental functions does not just happen maturationally. It is built into school learning. (Vygotsky, "Learning and Mental Development at School Age," in B. & G. Simon (eds.), *Education in the USSR*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1962).

Vygotsky's major principle was that the human being's mind represents his social relations, transferred internally as complex forms and functions of the personality. The vehicle for this process is language. For him, "the word is the microcosm of consciousness."

Later, A.N. Leontiev and his associates critically evaluated and modified Vygotsky's theory. They believed that his stress on language in the origin of consciousness tends to intellectualize the process,

\*A Soviet formulation of the concept of superordinate goals and its importance in the socialization of the child is found in the following statement by Novikova: "The children's collective cannot develop, cannot move forward, unless there stands before it a common goal, which all the members accept as a vitally important aspiration, for the sake of which they enter into relations with one another, unite their efforts, and overcome difficulties." ("The Development of Personality in the Collective," *Soviet Pedagogy*, No. 3, 1967.)

separating it from practical activity. Leontiev held that "behind philological meanings is hidden social practice." He believed that "human thought as a product of social-historical development is a special form of human activity that is nothing else but a derivative of practical activity." (A.N. Leontiev, *Activity, Consciousness and Personality*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1978.)

The complex nature of "activity" has been studied by many Soviet psychologists. Of particular interest is the process by which practical activity becomes interiorized into cognitive or intellectual activity, for therein lie the laws of scientific pedagogy. P. Ya. Gal'perin has become very well known for his analysis of activity into stages. Unlike the developmental stages of Piaget or Freud or even Vygotsky, Gal'perin's theory bases itself on the principles of the interiorization of external activity (the theory of reflection). Because this theory is so widely accepted by Soviet psychologists, I briefly list its five stages:

1. The "orienting basis of an act." The act is first differentiated into operations adapted to knowledge, skills and habits the child possesses at the outset.

2. The "external act." An act executed on "material" objects or their representations (diagrams, drawings, models or simply written notes).

3. The abbreviation of operations and the transition of the act to the plane of audible speech, without the support of objects.

4. Transfer of act previously performed in audible speech to the inner plane "for oneself."

5. The automatization of the speech act: transition of the above stage into an inner speech form. (A.A. Leontiev, "Directing the Learning of a Second Language," *Soviet Psychology*, Summer 1973.)

What must be stressed is that under whatever conditions and forms human activity takes place, it can not be isolated from social relations. The activity of a human being represents a system which is itself part of a system of relationships in society. Mental development is therefore dependent on the motives and tasks of the child. In school, for example, a child's activity is concerned basically with the mastery of skills and concepts.

It may clarify this concept to illustrate the learning-to-read process. The process of learning

to read an alphabetic language (such as English or Russian) has its own development and is so drawn out that its complexity is apparent.

Learning to read in a deteriorating capitalist society is different than learning to read in a socialist society. In socialist society, the complex processes of reading and writing have been analyzed from a dialectical-materialist position, and methods and materials determined and then researched. They are then used consistently throughout the country. The economic, political and cultural needs of socialist society determine its goal of a well-trained, well-educated and highly literate citizenry. A recent example is Cuba. Many methods similar to those in the United States had been in use with indifferent results before the Cuban Revolution. In the early 1970s, teams of curriculum experts were assigned the task of developing a unified methodology based on tested scientific principles. After reviewing the relevant literature, the specialists chose a method of teaching reading originally developed in the Soviet Union by D.B. Elkonin. In Cuba, reading performance has been improved immeasurably. (Cecelia Pollack & V. Martuzi, *Journal of Reading*, Dec. 1981).

In the United States, the profit motive dictates a proliferation of reading methods by competing publishers. A virtue is made of "eclecticism" and children are exposed to a hodge-podge of methods as they progress from grade to grade. Many become confused and become poor readers. Frustrated, teachers give up expecting them to learn and too often blame the child rather than the instruction. Widespread illiteracy in the United States serves the interests of the policy-making class, which is not interested in the education of masses of poor and minority people for whom the deteriorated system is no longer able to provide employment.

What, according to Vygotsky, are the changes in the mental development of the child who learns to read? A structured, systematic education will stimulate and help organize the child's speech and language and at the same time transform his mental operations. It is analogous to physical development: the child learning to play ball not only learns the skill, but simultaneously develops mus-

cles, eye-hand coordination, etc.

When a child is systematically taught phonics, he simultaneously trains his perception and memory for sounds. When he is sequentially taught handwriting skills, he simultaneously develops visual-motor coordination and memory for symbolic recording. When a child is sequentially taught language concepts, he develops his ability to organize his thinking and writing. When he is taught number relationships systematically, he develops logical mathematical reasoning. When he is engaged in appropriate learning activities, he thereby lengthens his attention span. Finally, when he is successful in his learning, he develops a sense of confidence in himself.

Conversely, an inadequate and fragmented school curriculum can lead to failure to develop the abilities described above. Certainly, many poorly-taught children compensate and manage to make their own generalizations from inadequate clues and "do it their own way." Often, however, this self-teaching is less than adequate to meet the intellectual demands of getting through school and coping economically afterward. As Luria warned:

If special intellectual uses of language are not developed, it will remain entrapped in its rudimentary state. Speech may fulfill its communicative functions quite adequately yet be poorly suited for complex intellectual activity. Failure to develop such intellectual abilities prevents the child from competing at the levels of abstraction required by the average school. This places him at a disadvantage in becoming a productive adult in a technologically highly organized society (A.R. Luria, *Human Brain and Psychological Processes*, Harper & Row, New York, 1966).

Poor education produces not generalized retardation, but developmental immaturity in the perceptual and linguistic operations necessary for competent functioning in a highly complex industrial society. The retarded child might not be able to learn needed skills. A poorly-schooled child is quite different in that he has a normal potential, and under the right conditions of remediation is able to develop into a productive adult. This type of backwardness is neither permanent nor ir-

remediable. Unfortunately, in the United States such remediation is rarely available.

In the United States, such children are often labeled "learning-disabled," "dyslexic," "minimal brain dysfunction," etc. In an article exploring why so many children continue to be diagnosed and labeled in such terms, Coles correctly points out:

The reason lies to a great extent in our social system ... In an effort to make unassailable its deteriorating institutions, the system, in its own defense, has generated and nurtured the growth of such fields as learning disabilities—providing, in other words, biological explanations for problems that require social solutions.

There is certainly validity in Coles' thesis that our society biologizes educational underachievement and, in effect, blames the victim for his mis-education. Nevertheless, we can not thereby expunge the possible presence of some biological weaknesses. What is decisive is that such weaknesses are being constantly overcome by appropriate educational activity in a socially constructive climate. "Dyslexia" exists under both capitalism and socialism. "Learning disability" (United States and other countries), "spelling and writing weakness" (German Democratic Republic), "temporary retardation" (USSR) do exist.

Whatever the label, it is interesting to note that all of these exist in inverse proportion to the quality of the educational institutions. In the United States functional illiteracy pervades the school system and we continue to label children according to a medical model instead of establishing more effective special educational programs; special in the sense that they break down the steps of teaching sequentially and systematically for purposes of remediation.

We now enter a related area of development—the emotions. Soviet theory on emotional development in children is very different than that in the West. In the 1930s, Vygotsky viewed the development of the emotions and the intellect as a dynamic unity. Leontiev more specifically relates emotions to activity. He states that emotions are in no way subordinated to activity but seem to be its

result and the "mechanism" of its movement (Leontiev, 1978, op. cit.).

In the United States, cognitive and emotional development are viewed as completely independent though parallel processes. This dichotomy stems from two sets of theories of personality development in children. One, exemplified by Piaget, traces the stages of cognitive development. Another, following Freud, stresses psycho-sexual or need-affective aspects of development. Learning problems are separated from emotional problems.

A related dichotomy is the separation of intellectual activity from practical activity. Such a separation leads to emotional problems. A society based on private ownership of the means of production educates its working-class children primarily as performers of the operational and technical aspects of labor, and those of the upper class as specialists in the objectives and motives of that activity. Under socialism, the chasm between the two types of activity gradually disappears.

This is not to say that a Marxist theory of children's emotional development has been fully elaborated in the Soviet Union, although theories abound. For example, Elkonin developed an interesting hypothesis of developmental stages. (D.B. Elkonin, "Toward the Problem of Stages in the Mental Development of Children," *Soviet Psychology*, Spring 1972.) It claims to demonstrate the dialectical unity of the emotional and intellectual or cognitive development of the child. Generally, Soviet psychology analyzes emotions in relationship to practical activity and to their internalization as thought. Their psychology does not appear to involve itself with the actual content of feelings, of pain or pleasure, of sorrow, love or hostility. Nor has the mainstream of Soviet psychology dealt conceptually with the nature of unconscious activity or emotions.

For many years, however, the Georgian school under the leadership of Uznadze has been studying unconscious processes. Uznadze believes that "psychological set" is a category of the unconscious mind. No activity can be realized without readiness for a specific form of response, guiding the individual to act in one way and not in another. Thus motives and attitudes, concepts

and personality traits do not determine behavior piecemeal but are subject to "set." If "set" does not take place, the organization and sequence of the subject's experiences and actions are broken down. Disorganization and conflicts arise in them. This concept of the unconscious appears to fit in with the theory of activity, and with Leontiev's belief that "even when motives are not recognized consciously, they are still reflected in the form of the emotional coloring of the action."

It is apparent that this concept of unconscious function is very different from that of psychoanalysis, which underestimates the role of the conscious in human motivation and assumes conflict as the basis for conscious-unconscious relationships. Set, on the other hand, reflects the "sense of a situation" and determines the direction that activity and conscious processes will take. (A.S. Prangeshvili, "The Problem of the Unconscious in the Psychological Concept of Set," *Soviet Psychology*, Spring 1982.)

Different but related concepts of unconscious activities reflect an awareness by other Marxist psychologists that non-conscious processes play a far greater role in human thought and emotions than expected. G. Lozanov of the Institute of Suggestology in Bulgaria describes unconscious mental activities as including everything which is, for the moment, outside the scope of consciousness. This includes peripheral perceptions, emotional stimuli, secondary automated processes, unconscious components of motivation, attitudes, expectancy and many other non-conscious phenomena.

As a psychiatrist who employed hypnosis for many years, Lozanov studied the potency of suggestion under hypnosis as well as in the conscious state. His research convinced him that, under certain conditions, suggestion on a conscious level can be just as powerful, calling forth reserves of the unconscious which had been completely hidden as potentials. He turned educator and developed educational principles which have, in practice, accelerated learning of foreign languages in adults for the past 25 years. Using the same principles, children have gained two years academically while enjoying their activities far

more than usual. Lozanov achieves this by organically integrating cognitive content within the context of pleasurable and relaxing activity such as baroque music, art, games, role-playing, riddles and other activities which excite the imagination. If activity, as Leontiev describes, is a process that is elicited and directed by a motive, does not Lozanov have a point in looking at that motive power critically and integrating within it elements which will result in positive emotions? He believes that:

... in no case does the brain function only with its cortex structures or only with the sub-cortex, or with only the right or the left hemisphere. The functional unity of the brain is unbreakable no matter that in some cases one activity or another comes to the fore. Therefore the emotional and motivational complex, the image thinking and logical abstraction must be activated simultaneously in its complexity in indivisible unity (G. Lozanov, *Suggestology and Suggestopedia: Theory and Practice*, UNESCO, working document presented by the Bulgarian Ministry of People's Education, 1978).

Nor is Lozanov an isolated voice. The preface to a Soviet work on self-suggestion tells us that for the past thirty years extensive research on suggestion and self-suggestion has been conducted by special institutes in the Soviet Union and in other East European nations. In light of the accelerating scientific-technological information revolution, an urgency is felt to devise new stressless and rapid educational methods; to find practical mass-available means to "tap the reserve potentials of our amazing species" (A.S. Romen, *Self-Suggestion and Its Influence on the Human Organism*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, 1981).

These are the demands which socialist society poses. Such possibilities require socialist education to be geared to the development of the individual not as a stereotype, but as his or her own creator by means of relations which emerge from his or her own activity. In the final analysis, socialist education and child rearing are creative processes that harness human energy through the best and most humanistic aspects of culture.



# Transnational Corporations and Urban Decline

MORRIS ZEITLIN

*Things are seldom what they seem,  
Skimmilk masquerades as cream;  
Highlows pass as patent leathers;  
Jackdaws strut in peacock's feathers.*

*Gilbert and Sullivan  
H.M.S.Pinafore*

Gilbert and Sullivan, were they alive today, would find in the antics of bourgeois ideologues enough to spoof in several comic operas. The establishment's journalists, scholars and politicians blunder all over the scene trying to "explain" the plight of our cities and to divine their future. While some bemoan the "twilight of cities" or bewail the "death of the cities," others see a "new shine on the big apple." Some predict urban collapse; others trumpet an "urban renaissance." While some warn that only federal bailout can solve the fiscal crisis of cities, others tell Congress that federal intervention has been ruining them.

If all this performance suggests an honest concern and attempt to arouse public action to save our crumbling cities, it has had the opposite effect. For contradictory notions and politically sterile proposals bewilder people into feeling unfit to act on what is made to seem too intricate to understand—hence best left to the "experts." And this has absolved the ruling class of political responsibility for the intractable urban problem its system creates.

Precisely the interests of this class are served when the origins of these problems in the contradictions of capitalism are obscured. Most writers on urban affairs, looking at cities pragmatically, define their ills as "inevitable" effects of modern technological development. Most, but not all. Since the 1960s, a growing number of scholars have examined the urban scene with a depth of vision new to American urban studies.

The pragmatists look at long-obvious occurrences in older cities and see, on the one hand, a

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constant loss of manufacturing, medium- and high-income populations, trade, and city revenues; and on the other, increasing employment in high-technology and service activities. They see also that while residential and industrial sections of cities have been running down physically and socially, central business districts (CBDs) and nearby areas have been renewed with modern office and apartment buildings and by modernizing old homes. Moreover, while the old industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest—the Snowbelt—have been declining, the industrially undeveloped South and Southwest regions—the Sunbelt—have been rapidly industrializing, expanding their cities, and urbanizing their rural populations.

This simultaneous, seemingly contradictory, urban decline and growth leads pragmatist writers to what might be classed as pessimistic and optimistic deductions.

## **Pessimistic Deductions: The City is Dying**

Pessimistic notions that the economic, social and physical ills of cities can only get worse grow from the theory that present-day capitalist society is going through a period of transition from "industrial society" to "post-industrial society." (See Daniel Bell, *The Coming Post Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*, Basic Books, New York, 1973.) Modern science and technology, this theory holds, will constantly increase the ratio of workers in the production and processing of information in the "information machine" city to those employed in the production of goods. A concomitant increase in the mobility of people, things and data will lead to a wide dispersion of work places and homes and the end of urbanization. Thus, "modern society" is gradually moving from the "urban era" to a geographically footloose "post-city age." (For elaboration of these notions see Melvin M. Webber, "The Post City Age," *Daedalus*, Vol. 97, No. 4, 1969; R.L. Meier, "The

Metropolis as a Transaction Maximizing System," *Daedalus*, Vol. 97, No. 4, 1968; J. Gottman, "Urban Centrality and Interweaving of Quaternary Activities," *Existics*, Vol. 29, No. 174; J. L. Berry, "The Geography of the USA in the Year 2000," *Existics*, Vol. 29, No. 174, 1970.) Accordingly, cities as we know them, and their problems, will ultimately simply disappear.

This elitist theoretical construct of cities changing into centers of mainly intellectual production before disurbanizing over the countryside is the best explanation bourgeois scholars give for the stresses and strains within capitalism's major cities and the only hope for their future. Seeing no class forces in their idealized "socio-informational-managerial processes," they conveniently deny the force of social production relations and the efficacy of class struggle in social transformation and in the development of human settlement forms. In essence, these "explanations" of critical urban problems mask the wish that the contradictions tormenting their "ideal" society will somehow go away.

This theory is, in practice, a justification for vicious business and government policies toward the masses of unemployed and poor people inhabiting big-city slums. Since the cities are fated to die, the reasoning goes, one can only take palliative measures to make their last years as painless as possible. Let the "natural" depopulation of central cities, therefore, go on, speeded by prodding the "unemployables" to leave.

Thus adherents of the "post-industrial" and "post-city" theories proceed to realize their own prophecies. Business and government disinvestment and abandonment of poor housing on the one hand, and "urban renewal" and "gentrification" in and around CBDs on the other, are deemed sound policy, since economic functions in the "post industrial" age will need mainly skilled high-tech professionals and workers to staff the "information machine."

Perhaps the boldest practice of these notions is the brutal "shrinkage" policy by which city governments attempt to contract the size of declining old cities.

To many living in spread-out cities, a "shrinkage" policy may seem reasonable, if not fully clear. It may suggest planning designed to reduce

the waste of sprawl and long travel distances or to replace ugly and dangerous abandoned structures with more wholesome land uses. Indeed, "shrinkage" proponents say publicly that, dealing realistically with *de facto* contraction, they mean to ease the city's fiscal hardships and improve its business climate. But that isn't what "shrinkage" intends. Privately they admit that it aims mainly to squeeze out the no-longer profit-producing millions of unemployed whose presence in cities has become a "burden."

Where did this "bright" idea come from?

In 1969, an MIT scholar, using sophisticated computing techniques, found that cities could best improve their fiscal position by destroying the homes of their revenue-draining poor. Having no place to live, the poor would simply have to get out of the city. (William Tabb, "The New York Fiscal Crisis," *Marxism and the Metropolis*, William Tabb and Larry Sawyer, eds., Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 261.) In 1976, Roger Starr, then New York City's Housing and Development Administrator, built on this "wisdom" by proposing that the city close fire and police stations, schools and other municipal facilities and services in selected slum areas to speed their decline. Thus made uninhabitable, their occupants would have to move, hopefully out of the city, their obsolete buildings could then be cleared, and their land made available for profitable tax-yielding redevelopment. (Roger Starr, "Making New York Smaller," *New York Times Magazine*, November 14, 1976.)

The idea did not stop at New York's city limits. Population "shrinkage" has been deemed wise for other cities as well. In 1978, rationalizing the decline of old cities, a panel of urban experts advised a congressional committee "that the loss of population in old cities was not necessarily bad and the task of government should be to ease the economic and social impact of decline rather than to fight it." (Hearing before the House Select Committee on Population, reported by Robert Reinhold in the *New York Times*, June 7, 1978.)

Such pessimistic deductions and misanthropic schemes come naturally to thinkers and officials serving the capitalist establishment, for they suit the interests of its ruling class and reflect the logic of its point of view. To that class, radical urban

scholars point out, cities or parts of cities, either do or do not perform their "natural" profit-producing function and thus "naturally" live or die. To that class, city expenditures mean "investments" designed to maintain or create capital accumulation opportunities. Cities, or their parts, in which such "investments" prove unprofitable must "naturally" die. In such places, both corporate and municipal policies must cut back on "misallocative, redistributive, wasteful" programs which "misdirect funds" away from profit-generating investment strategies. This logic motivated Rogers Starr's "shrinkage," Felix Rohatyn's big MAC lordship over New York City, the "urban renewal" policies of federal, state and municipal governments and the thinking of a host of scholars and writers running interference for the ruling class. (Perry and Watkins, "People, Profit and the Rise of the Sunbelt Cities," in Perry and Watkins, eds., *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*, 1977, p. 299.)

Has "shrinkage" worked as intended? No. In practice, predictably, "shrinking" slums merely forces their people to crowd other slums in the city, for they have no means to find a better life elsewhere. Overcrowded slums inevitably spill over into adjacent higher-income neighborhoods, sending their populations into the suburbs. Thus the scheme backfires. It shrinks the "wrong" populations, caused more jobs to leave the city, and further reduces the ability of the young in the slums to acquire an education to fill the profit-producing jobs modern technology generates in the city. In effect, "shrinkage" produced an even poorer "business climate" in old cities and even greater frustration and anger in the slums, prompting some bourgeois scholars to warn of an inevitable rebellion, consequent repression, and the end of bourgeois democracy. (Seymour B. Durst, "Laetrile for the Urban Crisis: 'Planned Shrinkage' and Other Dangerous Nostrums," *Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Summer 1979.)

#### Optimistic Deductions: 'Renaissance!'

But seeing urban growth afoot in some old cities, pragmatist scholars also draw some optimistic deductions. For large-scale redevelopment in and around many central business districts suggests hopeful signs of revival amid the

urban decay.

The seeming revival, however, has proved deceptive. Actually, it is a further busting of poor neighborhoods the postwar federal Urban Renewal Program began. In some Snowbelt cities, a "partnership" of corporate leaders and city politicians leveraged massive CBD redevelopment. City fathers justified the neighborhood displacement and the high municipal expenditures this involved as necessary to counter the job-draining competition of Sunbelt industrial growth. They maintained that offering tax abatements, other incentives, and an "attractive urban climate" for corporate offices and high-tech industries would provide a strong counterweight. (Dennis McGrath, "Who Must Leave? Alternative Images of Urban Revitalization," *American Planning Association Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Spring 1982.)

Shining new office towers and urban amenities have, admittedly, expanded and enlivened economic activities of some old CBDs. And the many young professionals and clerical workers recruited to staff them provide a market for modern and renovated housing on nearby slum sites. To pragmatist scholars, this process of "gentrification"—that is, replacing low-income with high-income populations on the site of redeveloped slums—seems to herald an urban renaissance. "Look," they say bullishly, "it is happening in New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, even in Detroit and Cincinnati." But they can not say why it does not happen also in Newark, Cleveland, Youngstown, Akron and most other industrial cities. And it troubles them little that, in fact, "gentrification" masks a process of "shrinkage," albeit on a smaller scale, and with lesser violence to the cityscape and the displaced.

Neither CBD expansion nor gentrification can reverse the physical and social decline of old cities. First, because they affect only small fractions of city areas. But mainly because the limited employment they generate can not make up the heavy loss of production jobs from the Snowbelt's old industrial centers. Many of the runaway shops have gone to the Sunbelt, and elsewhere, to seek new profit-making opportunities in the non-union climate of low wages, low social-welfare costs, low taxes, lesser government restraints. Much capital investment, therefore, continues to

flow from the Snowbelt cities to stimulate urban growth in the Sunbelt.

### Sunbelt versus Snowbelt

Preoccupation with the contrast between economic and urban decline in the Snowbelt and growth in the Sunbelt marked urban studies for years. To radical scholars, the flow of capital from the industrially developed Snowbelt to the underdeveloped Sunbelt was another example of typically uneven capitalist development in which capital is invested to exploit profitable areas, is withdrawn when the profitability of these areas drops, and shifted to more profitably exploitable areas. (Perry and Watkins, op. cit., p. 302). To pragmatist scholars, however, the development of the Sunbelt seemed like quite something else. What it seemed to indicate to them, and why, illustrates the poverty and obfuscation of bourgeois social analysis which, with seeming innocence, manages to divert attention (and blame) from the ruling class and its cunning schemes.

Just what is behind the Sunbelt phenomenon?

The mainly rural postbellum South, whose economy depended on the industrialized North between the Civil War and the 1920s, supplied the latter with raw materials and labor and depended on it for capital, technology and most manufactured goods. Southern commercial capitalists, however, steadily accumulated capital, especially since the 1920s, for independent industrial investment. (Brownell and Goldfield, eds., *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South*, Port Washington, New York, 1977, p.129.) They also reared a more exploitable working class. Unlike the Northern cities, which recruited many of their workers from among militant fugitives from European political oppression, the Southern cities got theirs from their own moribund agricultural hinterlands. (Ibid, p.137) Also, Southern urban government was simpler and more tractable than in the North. Unlike the metropolitan fragmentation developed in the latter during the pre-auto era, Southern metropolises matured mostly in the heyday of automobile transportation. To the rising Southern bourgeoisie, the growing modern cities were models of profitable progress. Unlike its Northern counterpart, which turned its suburbs into en-

claved retreats, it regarded suburbs and towns as outposts of expanding metropolises and generally facilitated metropolitan expansion and political unity. (Ibid., pp. 143-144.)

Held back in the past, the Sunbelt's industrialization burst forth during and after World War II, with the massive infusion of federal funds to expand its industrial and urban infrastructures. Its strategic geographic relation to the European and Pacific war theaters and its temperate climate made the Sunbelt an ideal location for war production and the training and staging of military forces. Huge federal subsidies continued to swell its industrial capacity during the Korean and Vietnam wars in the '50s and '60s. Snowbelt capital rushed in to feed on the profit bonanza the federally subsidized defense and space programs and Texas oil and gas extraction presented, which the Sunbelt's cheap land, low-wage labor, new interstate highways and commercial air routes made doubly attractive. During the 1960s, capital investment in Sunbelt industries tripled, raising the number of industrial workers from 2.4 million in 1950 to 4.4 million in 1972. Service activities equally expanded as corporate offices, tourism and retiree settlement increased urban populations. All this widened the market for Sunbelt products and services, drawing still more business and people. (Edward F. Haas, "The Southern Metropolis," in Brownell and Goldfield, op. cit.)

To pragmatist scholars, this massive infusion of capital and movement of jobs and people from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt seemed like a shift of dominant economic and political power from Northern to Southern corporations; a manifestation of the freely competitive market's invisible hand bestowing victory on the more efficient economic enterprises, for the presumed good of society. And this, they concluded, explained the continuing industrial decline of the North and the rise of the South.

Radical scholars, however, showed that the pragmatists' pro-establishment biases limited their knowledge and led to fallacious conclusions. Their own research revealed that most Sunbelt corporations, in fact, depend on the Snowbelt-based complex of giant banking and auxiliary corporations for financing and managing their operations. In other words, there has been no spatial

shift in dominant corporate power. The same dominant monopoly corporations continue to rule capitalist society from the same old seats of power. They have expanded their exploitation in the Sunbelt states as well as other underdeveloped regions of the world. (Robert B. Cohen, "Multinational Corporations, International Finance and the Sunbelt," in David C. Perry and Alfred J. Watkins, eds., *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*, 1977, pp. 211-226.)

The expanding power of the long-dominant U.S. monopoly-capitalist corporations—now bigger, more productive, more cunning and more mobile—extending their grip over new regions at home and abroad, has affected the economic and political life of the capitalist world in new ways. The fate of our cities can not be understood without understanding their global magnitude, concerns, strategies and methods of operation.

### The Transnational Corporations

The origins and development of transnational corporations have been amply described. (For a brief, yet thorough, description, see "Transnationals in the Capitalist World," a study of specific aspects of the present stage in the crisis of capitalism by the *World Marxist Review* Commission on Problems of Class Struggle in Industrialized Capitalist Countries—*World Marxist Review*, April 1982.) What mainly concerns us here is how their world activities have affected our cities.

As the transnationals expanded their operations from world trade to technologically-advanced world manufacturing, they increasingly altered the established economic functions of cities. For they formed new global production-trade complexes through worldwide networks of subsidiary companies controlled from the commanding heights of their central headquarters. From these headquarters, where they concentrate their closely guarded business and technical secrets and make their strategic decisions, the transnationals can move capital and production from place to place. The mobility and access to enormous material resources, labor and markets thus gained enable transnationals to bend political-economic development at home and abroad, bypassing, evading, or altering political restraints over their profit-maximizing ventures. This has raised their

profitability from 12 per cent to 21 per cent above that of national corporations, inducing the latter to merge with transnationals or try going transnational themselves. (Ibid., pp. 57-58.)

The enormous economic power the transnationals wield may be seen in the following facts. The 100 largest of them control two-thirds of the capitalist world's industrial production. About 340 of its industrial enterprises hold two-thirds of its assets and reap two-thirds of its profits. Between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of its financial transactions go through the 100 biggest transnational banks. This high concentration of capital sharpens world competition among the transnationals and drives them to seek ways to higher productivity. In the process, transnationals often choose to close outmoded plants in unionized old industrial cities and shift production to new, technologically advanced, plants in geographic locations offering maximum profitability (see *Economic Notes*, June 1982, p. 4).

Thus, in the decades since World War II, the transnationals have created a new international division of labor and altered the economic relations between countries in the non-socialist part of the world. The old capitalist international division of labor was based mainly on trade between goods-producing developed countries and raw-materials supplying underdeveloped nations. The new one is based mainly on manufacturing extended to newly industrializing countries with trade increasingly conducted between the subsidiaries of transnational corporations producing goods in profitable locations everywhere. For example, the subsidiary companies of an American transnational corporation may make a number of products in France, South Korea, Sweden and Taiwan and sell them through its subsidiary trading companies within those countries and in England, Saudi Arabia, West Germany, Egypt, the United States and Argentina. The transnational thus profits not only from exploiting the labor where its products are made but also from selling them (and other products) on various markets. It therefore takes advantage not only of cheaper labor and production costs wherever in the world it finds them, but also of advantageous marketing conditions. A transnational can grow many such subsidiary tentacles in many parts of the world.

Should one or more of them fail in some places, the transnational can absorb their loss and grow new ones elsewhere. This reduces its dependence and accountability to any city or nation. Moreover, commanding economic clout in the countries and cities hosting its subsidiaries, the transnational exercises an inordinate political influence on their governments, in close cooperation with its own national government, to protect and promote its investments and profits. The profitability, adaptability and influence thus gained made the transnationals economically and politically dominant throughout the capitalist world. (Robert Cohen, "The New International Division of Labor, Multi-national Corporations and Urban Hierarchy," in Michael Dear and Allen J. Scott, eds., *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*, Methuen, 1981; S.H. Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the International Division of Labor," in S.H. Hymer, ed., *The Multinational Corporation: A Radical Approach*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.)

In this dominance, we find the roots of the growing plight of our cities. Responding to growing international competition, monopoly corporations have been shifting their manufacturing operations, especially in heavy industries, to new low-wage and least government-regulated centers all over the non-socialist world. This redistribution of industrial production from developed to developing areas both within nations (as from Snowbelt to Sunbelt in the USA), between developed capitalist states where profit-maximizing opportunities appear, and between them and developing nations, has closed "non-competitive" plants in older centers or speeded their rationalization to raise profitability. All this causes major shifts in production and trade with heavy job losses in the long established industrial centers of our big cities.

This explains the increasingly common plant closings in steel, auto, rubber and just about every mass production industry, the rise in permanent unemployment and the spreading decay in the working-class districts of our old cities. But what explain the seeming revival of central business districts and nearby residential areas in some of these cities? And why did this seeming revival stop short of other old cities? The answers lie in

other characteristics of transnationals and the way they operate.

The transnationals, and various other monopoly and auxiliary corporations, have tended to cluster in a few key world cities in which infrastructures of business and facilities serving their special needs have developed. Cities like New York, London, Frankfurt and Zurich, with their stock exchanges, communication hubs, research, engineering and design companies, have become world leaders in the global network of monopoly capital. In these cities, individual monopoly corporations formulate their investment and disinvestment strategies, which collectively determine the structure of capitalist-world economy.

In the United States, international decision making centers mainly in New York and San Francisco, and to a lesser extent in Pittsburgh, Houston and Chicago. With the rising dominance of transnationals these cities eclipsed the economic stature of other cities which had been leading centers of industry and trade in the earlier, national-market oriented, era of the capitalist economy. Jobs in banking, law, accounting, management, public relations, engineering, higher education, research and recreation grew less in cities like Cleveland, St. Louis or Detroit than they did in the main transnational centers.

Nevertheless, such jobs did grow in number in many other cities, and this explains the renewal activities in their CBDs. Why did the number of such jobs increase?

The growth of huge national and transnational corporations greatly increased their managerial activities. The modern monopoly corporation, whose size and scope often exceeds that of a fairly large state, requires obtaining, processing, compiling and communicating a variety of special information on a comparable scale. Its far-flung plants need more coordination, and rising production demands more market promotion, controlling national and worldwide competition, and manipulating influential leaders, politicians and governments to assure favorable profit-making conditions. Because of this complexity, corporate management, originally conducted at the points of production, because, like production itself, highly specialized. Long ago, managerial activities sepa-

rated to locate close to a multitude of auxiliary companies, businesses and agencies providing specialized financial, legal, accounting, advertising, design, public relations, educational, research, publishing, printing and consulting in various fields. Characteristically, these specialized services heavily rely on face-to-face communication in spatial concentrations of central business districts (CBDs).

But the service-job and CBD growth was much greater in some cities than in others. Why? To answer this, we must understand the structure and spatial organization of modern monopoly capitalist corporations.

The big corporation operates on three levels. The first and highest level includes top management, which determines the corporation's goals, strategy and tactics. The next, second, level translates the decisions made at the top level into management and activity programs conducted at the lowest, third, level. And third level conducts the corporation's routine day-today operations. The three levels usually separate geographically as corporations expand. Level one functions tend to concentrate mainly in world cities like New York and San Francisco. Level two functions center largely in national cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia or Boston. And level three functions locate mostly in regional cities like Columbus, Indianapolis, Louisville, St. Louis, Kansas City, Milwaukee and the many cities throughout the capitalist world the transnationals penetrate. (S.H. Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Underdevelopment," in J.W. Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and the World Order*, Macmilan, New York, 1972, pp. 113-140; Cohen, 1977.) Level two functions, smaller in scope and divided among a larger number of national cities, produce correspondingly smaller, less growing, CBDs employing fewer service workers. Level three functions, the smallest in scope, spread out over the largest network of regional cities, support relatively small, least growing, CBDs and generate the lowest number of service jobs.

In whatever cities they operate, the monopoly corporations, in true reflection of their power, expand central business districts to suit themselves, forcing the cooperation of municipal governments to modernize and maintain them at the expense of

most other districts of the city.

### Conclusions and Prospects

In the light of the present data, the decline of manufacturing and cities in the Snowbelt may be traced to the transnationals' new international division of labor and investment-disinvestment strategies. The obvious immediate objective of these strategies is to move capital from the least profitable to the most profitable places. Their implied long-range objective is to lower the cost of doing business in developed areas to the level of underdeveloped areas. This monopoly capital can accomplish only by destroying the economic-political gains of the working class, and the organized power which made them possible, in the developed industrial areas, while restraining working-class organization in developing areas.

"Shrinkage" and municipal cutback schemes fit into this global design like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. Seemingly rational measures to reduce the "wasteful" areas of an overexpanded city or reform of inefficient city government have, in reality, masked implementation of the transnationals' will. However they may state their purposes publicly, Starr and Rohatyn and their kind objectively play the transnationals' game by trimming the costs of profit-making in the Snowbelt to those of the Sunbelt, or even cheaper places abroad.

Well, then, can the transnationals continue to move capital destructively from high- to low-wage places with impunity? What counterstrategy options are open to the working class and its allies for saving their jobs, cities and homes? Are the transnationals as strong as their strategies and successes, make them seem to be?

The seemingly surging political-economic power of transnationals is deceptive. Actually, the giants stand on clay feet. Indeed, some well-informed writers think that they have erected an unstable international division of labor "fraught with many major contradictions" (Cohen, 1981, p. 292) and that "their potential has peaked" (Ernest De Maio, *Economic Notes*, August 1982, p. 4). To cite a few:

Increasing imbalance between production capacity and markets in the capitalist world sharpens the general crisis of capitalism and the competition and conflicts among transnational corporations.

Rising conflict between the transnationals and the developing states over the latter's demands for more equitable trade and a greater share of the surplus value produced in their countries.

Increasingly adverse impact of industrial imports from developing countries upon production, jobs, markets, politics and class struggle in advanced capitalist countries.

Increasing conflicts between city and national governments and transnationals, especially in developing countries, over interference with government policies.

Growing contradictions and conflicts between the worldwide production and market interests of transnationals and the home production and market interests of national corporations.

Growing class consciousness, organization and struggle of rising working classes in developing countries and increasing international cooperation of labor movements against the transnationals.

Ironically, the transnationals' greatest weakness lies in their seeming source of greatest strength: militarization of the economies of the national states they control. The sinking of huge public funds to subsidize arms production, military bases and reactionary regimes does yield fabulous corporate profits, but it exacerbates the inner contradictions of the capitalist system. Diverting capital from the civilian economy, it raises the price of credit, heats up inflation and lowers buying power. That, in turn, dampens business activity and increases unemployment. All this contributes to increasing the frequency, length and severity of cyclical economic recessions. Militarization also cuts city budgets, city services, and maintenance of urban infrastructures, eroding the quality of life for the three-quarters of the nation who live in metropolitan areas, and imperils the very lives of the poor. The economic consequences of militarization and the threat of nuclear war inevitably increase working-class and popular political resistance throughout the world.

In sum, the transnationals are vulnerable. And their vulnerability drives them to further adventurous scheming and further exacerbating the crisis of capitalism and the plight of the cities.

How, then, might these woe-begetting monsters and their schemes be effectively resisted

and foiled?

To be sure, the transnationals' global aggression does not go unresisted. It clashes with and is blunted by the world revolutionary process expressed in the struggle of the community of socialist nations and the national liberation movements.

The working class and its allies in the capitalist countries need to recognize this struggle as one with their own, and the need for a united global working-class counterstrategy to that of the transnationals. Clearly, resisting their growing menace to our cities and nation only within city and national boundaries while they operate on a world scale can have only limited effect. Labor and the people must confront the transnationals with internationally coordinated opposition to military adventures, bases and dictatorships and for diversion of national resources away from military budgets to peaceful civilian uses.

The best way to convert the national economy from military to useful, job-generating civilian production is to adopt a national policy to revitalize our cities and expand social services. Although this would not solve the problems of capitalist society, it would considerably improve the national and international economic and political climates. For it would:

- a) Revive national industries by creating an enormous home market for construction, mechanical equipment and engineering.
- b) Raise employment and demand for consumer goods.
- c) Improve urban life through housing, health, education, welfare and ecological programs.
- d) Strengthen working-class and people's organizations and extend civil rights.
- e) Improve international cooperation for peace and trade by reducing the economic and political influence of transnationals.

Trying to battle the transnationals by waging political battles for rebuilding the cities and urban life may seem like mere snapping at the heels of the monsters stalking the earth. But snapping at their heels may indeed prove more effective than it seems. For in the unpredictable fortunes of struggle, seemingly marginal fronts may in fact be decisive in critical moments. The cities they rob may well prove to be the monsters' Achilles' heels.



# How We Can Answer the Pessimism of Sociobiology

DAVID MATHEWS

In our day-to-day political work we often encounter perplexed people who, even if they sign an anti-war petition, then reflect gloomily that "It doesn't make any difference because warfare is inevitable. The sociobiologists have shown that it is part of human nature."

Sociobiology, one of the newest fads in American science, has received widespread publicity for its claims that human nature is a biologically determined and relatively unchanging quality. It got its start from a 1975 book entitled *Sociobiology* by E.O. Wilson, a Harvard expert on the behavior of ants, who applied the principles of ant behavior to those of humans and other complex social animals.

Sociobiology claims that human social behavior can be reduced to a series of genetic programs and brain mechanisms like the behavior of some simple animal. In his 1975 book, Wilson said that the social sciences of sociology, cultural anthropology, social psychology and economics must wait for sociobiology to provide their "fundamental theory." He speculated that such human phenomena as warfare, marriage systems, homosexuality, morality, esthetics, religion, etc. could be understood on the basis of genetically programmed and evolutionarily selected behaviors.

The media have given unprecedented publicity to sociobiology. Starting with Wilson's 1975 book (published by Harvard and heavily advertised), there have been over 50 books on the subject in the following six years, along with hundreds, if not thousands, of newspaper and magazine articles. Most of them have been favorable.

Of course, even a superficial examination of history and our own experience tells us that the pessimism of biological determinism is unfounded. Whereas genetic changes take thousands of years to occur (in fact, according to the most eminent of geneticists, Dobzhansky, such changes have virtually ceased to occur because of modern medicine), we know that changes in cultural in-

stitutions occur dramatically from one century to another, and in the case of revolution, from one year to another. Little more than a century ago, biological determinists were arguing that slavery was "part of human nature."

When they are pressed, even the most outspoken of the sociobiologists have to admit that the impression being conveyed by their writings and by the mass media is not correct. E.O. Wilson has admitted publicly that if one could express the percentage contribution of each, biology would contribute 10 per cent and cultural factors 90 per cent to the determination of social structure (*New York Times Magazine*, October 12, 1976). While it is not possible for Wilson, or anyone else for that matter, to make such a statement with scientific precision, I venture to guess that this is a ratio that any revolutionary can live with comfortably.

The fact that there is a historical interaction between biological and cultural factors in the development of human societies is perfectly consistent with the philosophical traditions of revolution. Marx and Engels were supporters of Darwin. Engels himself made major contributions to the study of the biological origins of the human species. The fact that humans derived historically from animal origins illustrates the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism, that all things change and that sometimes change occurs with qualitative leaps rather than just quantitative steps.

The pessimism that we encounter on the streets is not caused by a sudden discovery that there are biological factors in human history. It is not a theoretical pessimism. Instead, the pessimism comes from day-to-day experience with powerful institutions of American society that are trying to roll back the social gains of previous generations and trying to stifle everyone who is pressing for social change. It is a pessimism that comes from practical experience.

The mass media are major channels for spreading the mood of pessimism on the streets. They

give coverage to the government and corporations which call for rollbacks and no coverage to unions and civil rights groups and political movements which call for fightback. At the same time they fill pages with the "sensationalism" of murder, rape, plane crashes, wars, and warnings of economic catastrophe, not to mention anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. No wonder many readers skip the first pages of the paper and the television news and go right to the sports pages, the funnies, the soaps and the sitcoms, where at least somebody wins.

The mass media's extensive coverage of sociobiology adds to the overall pessimism. As documented carefully in a recent study (*Philosophical Forum*, Winter-Spring, 1981-1982) the media have given unprecedented support to the pessimistic aspects of sociobiology. Special responsibility goes to *Harvard Press*, the *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*, who have given it heavy news and advertising coverage. They have given little coverage and virtually no advertising to alternative theories and points of view.

Scientific theories and discoveries are presented by the mass media in the same distorted way that they treat news of the peace movement, the trade unions, civil rights movements, and news from socialist countries. They emphasize stories that deny the possibility or usefulness of social change, and they omit stories that might encourage people to take part in making history.

In view of all this, there is a major role for the Left press, not only in printing stories from movements for social change, but also for printing stories from science that are an alternative to the pessimism of sociobiology.

Sociobiology is not just the invention of the mass media, however, but of individual scientists and scientific organizations as well. They, too, share blame and responsibility.

Sociobiology is a symptom of a severe crisis in American intellectual and scientific history. Since World War II there has been an unprecedented outpouring of federal money for the so-called "hard sciences" of physics, chemistry and biology. At the same time there has been a remarkable failure to support the social sciences. Compounding the problem, the social sciences have been hobbled by the purges of the McCarthy era in a

way that other sciences have been spared. Sociology and economics and political science students have gone through an entire generation without Marxist teachers. The contradiction has come to a head.

Sociobiology, with its emphasis upon biology and its disregard for culture, is a reflection of federal funding. It reflects the fact that federal funds for biological sciences are from seven to fifteen times greater (depending on the year and measure used) than for the social sciences. It does not reflect an estimate that society is 10 per cent biological and 90 per cent cultural. Sociobiology reflects the fact that it is ten times easier for a researcher to get a grant if the project is in biology rather than social science.

Federal funding reflects ideology. One of the Reagan Administration's first acts was to exclude social science funding from the National Institutes on alcohol, drug abuse, and mental health. In particular, they expressly forbid "studies of large scale social conditions or problems (e.g. poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing and slums, divorce, day care arrangements, accidents, and criminal behavior); social class and groups and their interrelations . . ." Sociobiology is not the only topic that is distorted by this type of government policy; all of the health sciences become biased towards biological rather than social explanations. By way of contrast, in socialist countries the biological and social sciences receive balanced funding; in the Soviet Union, for example, there are 293,000 scientific workers in the biological sciences and 351,000 in the social sciences.

Now the crisis is deepening. Not only are the social sciences being cut off, but the other sciences are beginning to hurt as well. All federal support for science education was to be cut according to Reagan's plans. Overall research support for the basic sciences is being held below inflation levels. There are more and more unemployed scientists, little prospect for jobs, and no place for graduate students to go. The average age of scientists is rising as the young are laid off and the youngest are not hired at all. A recent report of the National Academy of Sciences (*New York Times*, October 1, 1982) says that the "effectiveness of American research is now seriously threatened by a number of economic and social forces" and that "the proj-

ected shortage of science and engineering talent can become the pacing factor in the U.S. technological advance."

Many of us entered science with a naive vision that social progress was not only inevitable, but that it was continual and that scientific progress was similar. We have learned our lesson, that in both cases progress is dialectical rather than incremental and continuous. Many of us worked in biology and (in my case) even sociobiology, hoping that somehow the social sciences would eventually "catch up" and use our scientific contributions to develop a balanced and historically relevant vision of human nature. Now we find that our work was not only unbalanced towards the biological, but that it is being misused by the mass media to discourage the very social forces that we had hoped to strengthen.

What can we do? There is much we can do, and the following is only a rough draft for the agenda that many of us should set together.

(1) We can form Left caucuses in scientific societies such as the AAAS to provide an analysis of the origins of the crisis and to formulate actions. There are many progressive scientists, but they have few links to each other yet. Many scientists are looking for an analysis of our current crisis, and they are not finding it in traditional explanations.

(2) We can address the unemployment of scientists. A description of how this was done in the field of psychology in the 1930s has recently been published by Finison in the *American Psychologist* (November 1976 and May 1978 issues). There is a national arena within each discipline for organiz-

ing and lobbying. But perhaps even more important is the local arena for action. Within each of our institutions we can link up with all other scientists, technicians, teachers, white collar and blue collar workers, to form committees to defend against layoffs.

(3) We can link the progressive struggles within science to those in the rest of society. For example, the struggle against biological determinism should be linked to anti-war, Black equality, and women's equality movements.

(4) We can intensify and radicalize the lobbying for a shift of funds from military science to science that meets human needs, including basic research. In particular, there should be more funding for social sciences to redress the historical imbalance that favors biological explanations.

(5) We can develop a coordinated and large scale relationship of organized science to the mass media, including the Left media, so that a few Right-wing sociobiologists can not capture all of the media's attention.

(6) On a most general level, we can insist that science take its place as a progressive force in both the ideological and practical struggles that characterize the 1980s.

In the final analysis, the only effective answer to the pessimism of sociobiology is the optimism that comes from victories in the struggle for progressive social change. By involving ourselves in successful actions, we give ourselves the intimate practical knowledge that biological factors do not stand in the way of human history.

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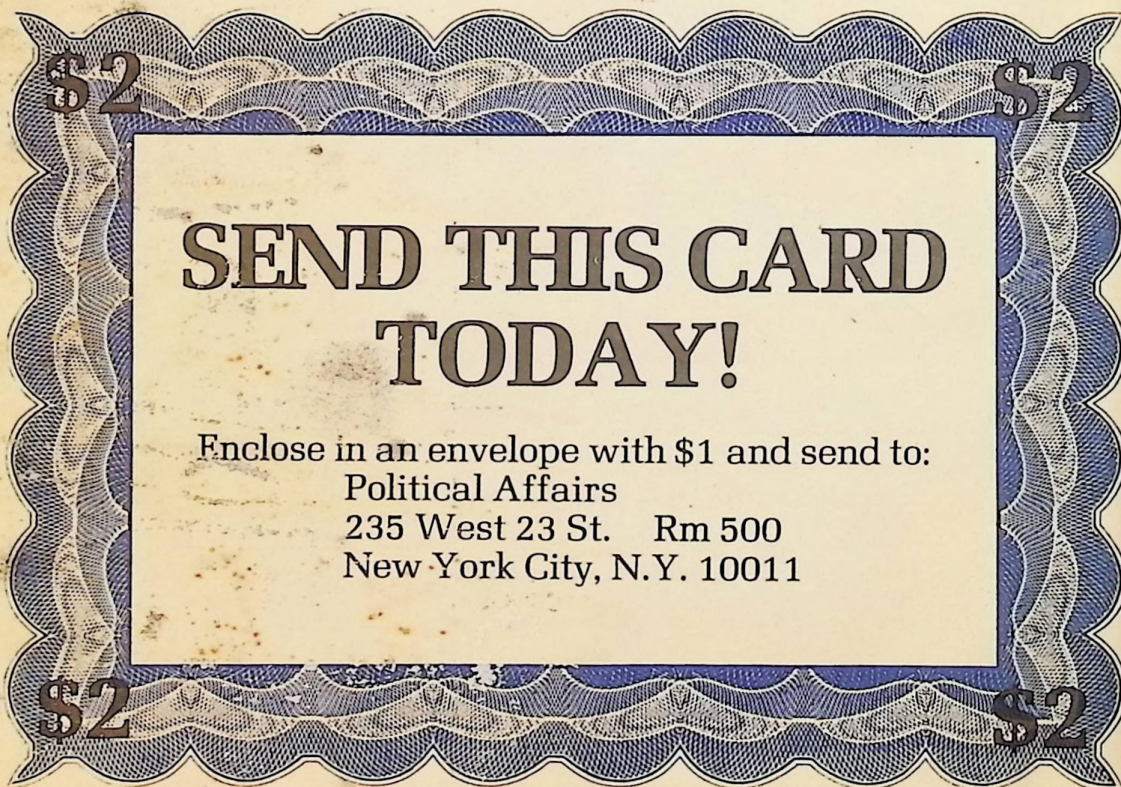
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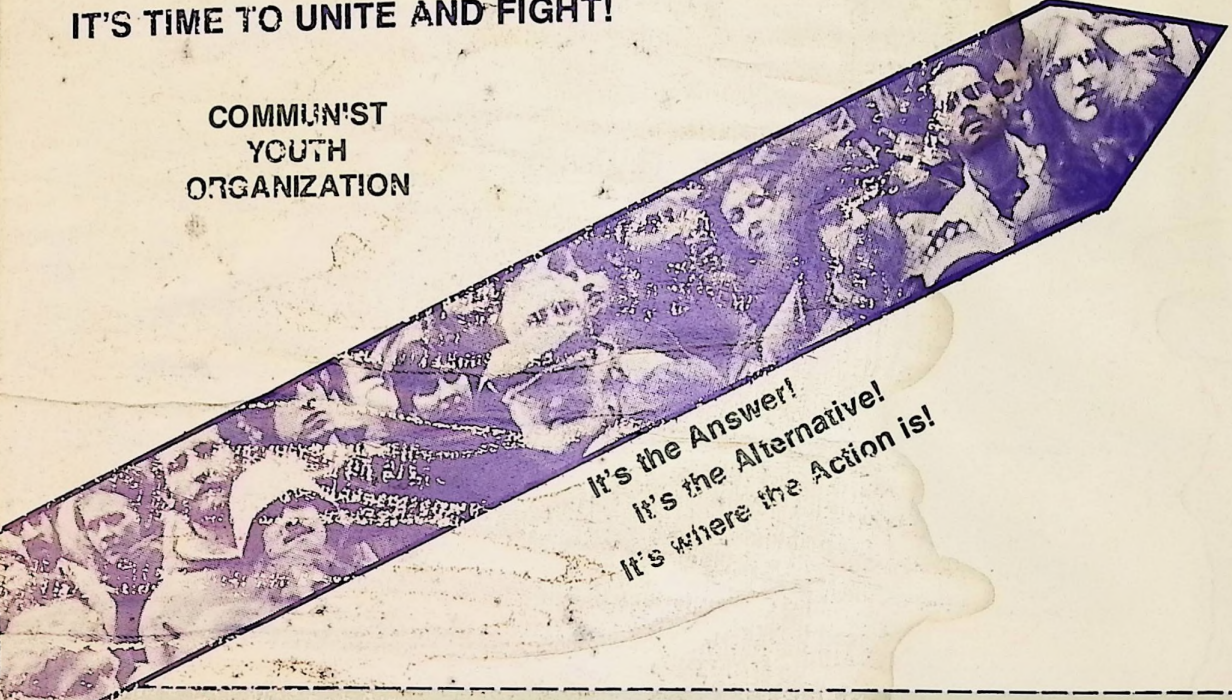
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