

AN ENCYCLOPEDIC DICTIONARY OF
MARXISM

SOCIALISM

&

COMMUNISM

Jozef Wilczynski

An Encyclopedic Dictionary of
**MARXISM, SOCIALISM
AND COMMUNISM**

*Economic, Philosophical, Political and
Sociological Theories, Concepts, Institutions
and Practices – Classical and Modern,
East–West Relations Included*

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Preface

Marxism was originally conceived in the early 1840s and immediately became a controversial body of doctrine, destined to lead to far-reaching intellectual, social and political consequences. After Marx's publication of *Capital* vol. I in 1867, virtually all thought on fundamental social issues has been either in support or in opposition to Marxist postulates and interpretations.

Precisely half a century later, the 'ten days that shook the world' resulted in the first Marxist government being successfully installed in power in Russia. By 1980, the number of countries ruled by Marxist regimes had risen to 25 – Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, China (PR of), Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the German DR, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Kampuchea (DPR of), Korea, Laos, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, the Somali DR, the USSR, Vietnam (PDR of), the Yemen and Yugoslavia. These countries now constitute more than one-third of the world. In addition, there are some 100 Communist parties in the capitalist world, not to mention an even larger number of socialist parties of one description or another.

The ideology ushered in by Marx and further developed by his followers has been eulogized by some as 'the greatest conception in the world. It links world wealth with world welfare' (G. Baker) and offers 'light in the darkness of a depressed world; hope and opportunity for all people; economic wisdom, political salvation, religious practice' (J. W. Bowen). But some others have denounced it as 'a fake, a comedy, a phantom and a blackmail' (B. Mussolini) and as 'the system which is workable only in heaven, where it is not needed, and in hell, where they have got it' (C. Palmer). Whether one agrees with Marxist ideas and Communist practices or not, one thing is certain – they are here to stay and they are commanding increasing interest not only from their supporters, but also from uncommitted observers as well as from enquiring critics.

This *Dictionary* provides a quick reference, explaining doctrines, terms and phrases for the student of the social sciences and the educated or curious public. The scope of the *Dictionary* is indicated by its sub-title. Non-Marxist theories are also considered, if Marxists have a definite view on them. Modern practices in the countries ruled by Marxist regimes are explained and all significant Communist and socialist parties in the world are described in detail appropriate to their importance. Included are also personalities of significant theoretical interest or major political consequence.

The author's aim is to be as objective as is humanly possible, in what is after all the most controversial topic of our times. His task is to be informative and neither propagandist nor destructively critical. But he does not hesitate, still in the informative vein, to highlight the strengths and failings of Marxism, especially in comparison with capitalism.

This *Dictionary* is a product of several years' work carried out at different institutions. The author wishes in particular to thank the Central School of Planning and Statistics, Warsaw, the University of Pittsburgh and Carleton University, Ottawa, for financing or otherwise facilitating his research. He also wishes to acknowledge the untiring assistance given to him by the National Library of Australia and the Bridges Memorial Library of the Royal Military College of Australia. He further wishes to express his appreciation to Mr Alex Ikonnikov, of the Australian National University, for his valuable information and helpful advice.

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A

Abnormal Surplus Value In Marx's analysis of capitalist production, an abstract concept denoting a kind of monopolistic super-normal profit. Due to competition, the capitalist introduces innovations designed to increase the intensity of work and to reduce the INDISPENSABLE LABOUR-TIME, leading to a higher productivity of labour than in other rival firms. A.s.v. is the main driving force behind technological progress under capitalism.

Above-Compulsory Delivery Under AGRICULTURAL PROCUREMENT, the sale of products to the state over and above the compulsory quota determined by the state. The a.-c.d. is voluntary and generally attracts higher prices than those payable on COMPULSORY DELIVERIES, as an inducement to larger agricultural output and a compensation for higher production costs.

Above-Plan Profit In a Socialist economy, profit achieved by the enterprise over and above that laid down in the plan. A.-p.p. is largely due to the above-normal efforts of the enterprise personnel. As a rule, a proportion larger than that of the PLANNED PROFIT is allowed for the MATERIAL INCENTIVES FUND.

Above-Plan Profit Rate In modern Socialist accounting, the achieved profit rate which actually exceeds the PLANNED PROFIT RATE. It amounts to the over-fulfilment of the planned target and usually qualifies the enterprise personnel to additional bonuses on a progressive basis.

Absenteeism Non-attendance at work caused by reasons which may be socially justified (sickness, reasonable personal circumstances, furlough) or not (laxity, wilful absence). A. may be resorted to on an organized basis (especially in capitalist countries) in the form of mass sickness – an industrial tactic where open strikes are not allowed by law, custom or professional pride (police, teaching, government service, and the like). The extent of a. appears to be roughly the same under socialism as under capitalism. But, compared with the West, there are certain distinctive forces, operating in opposite directions. On the one hand, there is a more generous social security system, limited scope for spending incomes for private use, prevalent sellers' markets and longer standard working hours. On the other, there are lower income levels, workers' ownership of the means of production, workers' participation in management and control, state propaganda directed against laxity and social irresponsibility, all of which are further enhanced by SOCIALIST COMPETITION. The Socialist state takes a very serious view of a., regarding it not merely as a private affair, but a matter of considerable social concern. A. reduces output, adversely affects the achievement of targets, which may disrupt planned production flows creating bottlenecks. As such, a. delays the advance to FULL COMMUNISM. In each Socialist country, the labour code provides for penalties for unjustified a., viz. a warning, reprimand, transfer to a less important job, demotion, fines, dismissal and in some extreme cases, corrective labour camps.

Absentee Ownership

Absentee Ownership The ownership of income-yielding property (land, buildings or business firms, including shares) where the owner does not reside or work. A.o. has traditionally been identified with land, when historically, the owner would reside in the nearby town, a distant city or abroad. The land was farmed by peasants or tenants paying rent in one form or another which was administered by a professional hired manager. In Latin America approximately nine-tenths of the large landlords are a. owners. Since the end of the 19th c. another type of a.o. became an important feature in mining, industry, commerce, finance, transport and other services. Here, firms or large shareholdings are owned by proprietors or dominant shareholders, but otherwise such entities are operated by professional salaried managers. A.o. has been subject to bitter attacks by Marxists for the following reasons: 1. a. owners are idle capitalists, usually receiving high property incomes in the form of rent, interest, profits or dividends; 2. such non-labour incomes constitute the exploitation of those who operate the means of production, i.e. the workers who are the real producers and creators of value; 3. under a. land ownership, whilst income is produced in agriculture it is spent largely in other branches of the economy (or abroad), thereby depressing agricultural investment and progress; and 4. the a. proprietors or shareholders are interested in maximum income for themselves, not in the conditions of work and production, resulting in the neglect of the latter. However, it may be pointed out here that the extent and abuses of a.o. have been somewhat reduced since W.W.I by land reforms, heavy death duties and other taxes, nationalization, industrial legislation and other forms of state intervention.

Absolute Consumer's Sovereignty An economic regime where the 'consumer is absolute king'. It prevails where all economic activities are basically induced by, and geared to, consumers' preferences, whether such preferences are so-

cially legitimate or not. In effect, the allocation of resources is basically shaped by consumers through their spending power. A.c.s. was typical of *laissez-faire* capitalism where the extent of monopoly was small and the state refrained from intervening in the economy. Marxists are opposed to a.c.s., as some consumer's preferences are irrational leading to ANTI-SOCIAL CONSUMPTION and could interfere with the planned utilization of resources. See RATIONALIZED CONSUMERS' SOVEREIGNTY.

Absolute Equalitarianism The extreme form of equality amongst persons advocated by some social reformers, especially utopian socialists, Left Communists and impatient radical revolutionaries. On the whole, Marxism rejects a.e. as unworkable and socially detrimental. Stalin dismissed it as a 'petty bourgeois deviation' in his famous Uraivilovka Speech in 1931. The principle was widely discussed in China, especially during the GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION, when several efforts were made towards a.e. Mao Tse-tung had changing views on a.e., but finally he publicly condemned it in 1972 by reference to practices in the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (in 'On Absolute Equalitarianism', embodied in *Five Articles*). It is widely agreed amongst Marxists that even under full communism distribution will not be completely egalitarian, but 'according to needs' (which implies differences from one person to another).

Absolute Ethics The field of ETHICS concerned with immutable and eternal moral standards, which are considered to be universal, irrespective of society's geographical, political and social environment and historical development. The founder of a.e. was H. Spencer (1820-1903), who distinguished it from RELATIVE E. Marxist philosophers reject a.e., regarding it as a logical product of IDEALISM. They insist that there is no such thing as a completely neutral morality independent of the material and social conditions of life, as ethi-

cal standards vary geographically, socially and historically, reflecting the interests of different social groups.

Absolute Rent In a Marxian application to the capitalist economy, a form of **GROUND RENT** appropriated by the landowner. As such, it is an element of **SURPLUS VALUE** representing the exploitation of agricultural workers, tenants and consumers of agricultural products. A.r., as distinct from **DIFFERENTIAL RENT**, arises from the monopolistic private ownership of land and from a lower **ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF CAPITAL** in agriculture than in industry (i.e. amounting to under-capitalization in the former). Consequently, the value of agricultural products is higher than their cost of production. The difference between the two indicates the size of the a.r. Under socialism, as a rule, a.r. does not occur, but where it does it is generally absorbed by the state.

Absolute Surplus Value In Marx's analysis of capitalist production, value created by **SURPLUS LABOUR**, i.e. value which is produced by the worker as a consequence of the lengthening of the working day and the intensification of labour beyond the **INDISPENSABLE LABOUR-TIME** (necessary to support the worker and his family at subsistence level). It contrasts with the **RELATIVE SURPLUS VALUE**.

Absolute Truth In philosophy, truth that is indisputable and cannot be invalidated. In **METAPHYSICS**, true knowledge is regarded as eternal and immutable and consequently all truth, if it is truth, is absolute. The Marxist approach is different. It views the establishment of truth as a dynamic and historical process whereby the nature of truth differs according to historical circumstances. Thus, normally, truth is relative and only in the ultimate phase of perfection does it become absolute. Marxist philosophers reject the idealist and metaphysical interpretation of truth, regarding it as unscientific and an attempt to replace science with **FIDEISM** and **RELIGION**. See also **OBJECTIVE TRUTH**.

Abstract Art A movement in painting, sculpture and graphics which originated in the West in the early part of the twentieth c. It emphasizes individual feeling, symbolism, escapism and utilitarianism and is opposed to any form of regimentation. It is also known as **abstractionism**, non-objective art or non-representational art. Some of its supporters have hoped to influence Socialist art by offering it greater freedom, originality and variety. On the whole, the Socialist countries have officially repudiated a.a. as being subjectivist, egotistic, anarchical and reactionary. See **CUBISM**, **EXPRESSIONISM**, **FUTURISM**.

Abstract Labour Marxian term for labour performed in general. It is the productive expenditure of human energy leading to the creation of value, irrespective of its concrete form. As such, it is the common indicator of value constituting **SOCIAL LABOUR** and contrasts with **CONCRETE LABOUR**.

Abstraction The process of reasoning consisting in the identification of essential features of objects or phenomena and their relations and the formulation of generalizations, laws and theories. It is important to distinguish between the idealist (bourgeois) and materialist (Marxist) conception of a. Although Marxists recognize the cognitive and scientific value of a., they point to its potential misuse on philosophical grounds. They oppose ascribing an independent real existence to characteristics, relations and generalizations arrived at in the process of a. This in turn would lead to idealist philosophy (**IDEALISM**) and supernatural religious beliefs. A. may also involve an unrealistic divorce from reality, leading to **FORMALISM** and sterile speculation, incapable of dealing with social realities.

Academic Socialism A term disparagingly used by revolutionary Marxists to describe the mild version of socialism advocated by intellectuals from the safety and comfort of their academic positions. It is also

Academy of Social Sciences

known as 'armchair socialism' or 'socialism *ex-cathedra*'. A.s. emphasizes theory rather than action and ethics rather than practice. A.s. was originally identified with the ideas propagated in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century by such thinkers as B. Hildebrandt (1812–78), W. Sombart (1863–1941) and A. Wagner (1835–1917). They argued that socialism could be evolved gradually via peaceful reforms from above without either a class war or violent revolution, utilizing the state as an initiating and unifying force. K. Marx attacked a.s. (in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*) as too timid and too slow. To some extent, a.s. has found support in ECONOMISM, FABIANISM, LEGAL MARXISM, EUROCOMMUNISM, and REVISIONISM.

Academy of Social Sciences The highest institution of party education in the USSR. It is located in Moscow, is attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was established in 1946 as an indirect successor to the INSTITUTE OF RED PROFESSORSHIP. It admits only graduate students with experience in party, trade union or government work on the recommendation of higher regional party authorities. Its function is to train ideologically reliable specialists in history, philosophy, politics, political economy, literature, journalism, art, international relations and the critique of capitalism. The course involves a thesis leading to the degree of Candidate of Science (corresponding to Ph.D.) which the Academy is empowered to award.

Accounting Prices See SHADOW PRICES.

Accumulation The term used in Socialist national income accounting, corresponding to the Western concept of investment in its broadest sense. It is that part of national income which is produced but not consumed during the year in question ($A = NY - C$). Its main purpose is to increase the productive capacity of the economy. According to the official classification, a. consists of: (i) the stock of added fixed

assets in the sphere of MATERIAL PRODUCTION; (ii) the stock of added fixed assets in the NON-PRODUCTIVE SPHERE; (iii) net addition to the stock of circulating assets in the process of production; (iv) net addition to reserves (held idle as an insurance against unexpected contingencies); and (v) the foreign trade balance. In a Socialist economy a. is placed on a planned basis and great importance is attached to a high ACCUMULATION RATE.

Accumulation Rate The percentage ratio of ACCUMULATION (A) to the NET MATERIAL PRODUCT (NMP): $a.r. = A/NMP \cdot 100$. Depending on whether depreciation is deducted or not from accumulation, the a. r. can be calculated on a net or gross basis, the former being the commonly implied rate. The a.r. is determined at the top political level and is quite high, typically in the range of 15–30 per cent (higher than would be the case under capitalism at the same stage of economic development). In the traditional Socialist view, steeped in the EXTENSIVE GROWTH strategy, the level of a.r. determines the rate of ECONOMIC GROWTH.

Action Programme A short name for the 'Action Programme of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia'. It was a scheme for far-reaching economic reforms adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in April 1968. But it was never implemented, owing to the military intervention by the Warsaw Pact countries (INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA) and the dismissal of the liberal Communist government. Designed by Ota Sik (Deputy Prime Minister at the time), it aimed to establish a 'New Economic Model', a type of MARKET SOCIALISM in Czechoslovakia. Its main elements were: the decentralization of planning and management; the strengthening of material incentives; the predominantly free market formation of wholesale and retail prices; competition; the self-financing of enterprises and the liberalization of external economic relations.

Activist A person who is active in assisting the implementation of the party policies on a voluntary basis. His activities may be carried on in a political association, an educational institution, a cultural society, a sporting club or some other social organization.

Added Product In Socialist national income accounting, another (less commonly used) term for SURPLUS PRODUCT.

'Adresnost' A Russian term which has no exact equivalent in English, used in economic planning to describe the fact that a planned TARGET is specifically 'addressed' to an entity or a group of entities in an explicitly defined class for implementation.

Advertising The application of mass media (press, posters, leaflets, radio, television, cinema) by sellers or their agents to influence potential buyers' preferences as a method of sales promotion. A. can be informative or persuasive. It reaches its highest development and influence in industrialized capitalist countries which are noted for BUYERS' MARKETS, COMPETITION and private profit motivation. In Marxist political economy a. is considered to be largely a waste of resources in the social sense, and moreover, a. agencies are classed as non-productive entities since they do not contribute to MATERIAL PRODUCTION. Marxists see a. in a capitalist market economy as an attempt to overcome the inherent weakness of capitalism's tendency toward over-production in relation to demand, i.e. the insufficiency of the spending power at the disposal of the masses to absorb all the output. A. is motivated by private greed and is often designed to mislead the public, to eliminate rival firms and to establish and defend monopoly. In Socialist planned economies, a. is largely pointless and could be considered harmful. There is no lack of demand, for demand tends to outrun supply, as is evident in the number of prevalent SELLERS' MARKETS. But more importantly, a. could lead to unplanned

changes in demand, create bottlenecks and disrupt the economic plan. However, since the mid-1960s, the European Socialist countries have adopted a somewhat more positive attitude to a., as it is realized that a. can perform two useful functions in a planned economy: 1. consumers are able to make more advantageous decisions in spending their income, thereby increasing satisfaction from a given level of income; and 2. judiciously state-conducted persuasive a. can be used as an instrument of 'consumer education' and CONSUMPTION STEERING. Here consumers' preferences are adapted to the socially desired planned patterns of production on the one hand, and to the easy disposal of unwanted stocks of goods on the other, thereby rectifying planners' errors. A. of a kind is also utilized on a systematic and comprehensive basis in the form of PROPAGANDA.

Aeroflot The state owned and only Soviet airline in the country and which is also the largest in the world. It was founded in 1923 and has experienced an impressive development, especially since 1970. In 1978 it operated flights to 3,600 cities and settlements in the USSR, 80 cities in foreign countries, covered over 850,000 km of domestic and international air routes, carried 110m passengers, handled one quarter of all air cargo in the world and treated 100m sq. hectares of agricultural land by aero-chemical methods. It performs more than 100 types of avionic uses in the national economy.

AES In Russian, the abbreviation for *Atomnaya Elektrostantsiya*, meaning atomic power station.

Aesthetics The theory of art concerned with the criteria, characteristics and types of beauty in nature and man-made objects. Ae. has been one of the fields of controversy between materialist (MATERIALISM) and idealist (IDEALISM) approaches to art. This is exemplified by the attacks by V. G. Belinsky (1811-48), N. G. Chernyshevsky (1828-89), N. A.

AFL-CIO

Dobrolubov (1836–61), V. I. Lenin (1870–1924) and G. V. Plekhanov (1856–1918) against the divorce of art from reality, the ideological neutrality of art, the freedom of creativity and 'art for art's sake' advocated by such idealist philosophers as I. Kant (1724–1804) and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831). Marxists regard art as one of the forms of SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, an artistic approach to understanding human reality and social relations. They also consider that the elements of beauty (line, shape, shade, colour, sound) pleasing to man's senses and understanding exist in the object itself, whilst man's subjective appreciation is derivative and secondary, i.e. beauty is objective, belonging to the object and not the beholder's emotional response to his experience. See ART, SOCIALIST REALISM.

AFL-CIO The national trade union organization in the USA and partly covering Canada, formed by the amalgamation of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS in 1955. It has about 30m. members, embracing some 70 per cent of organized labour in North America. There are a number of important trade unions which are independent, such as the Longshoremen, Mine Workers, Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Teamsters.

African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cabo Verde (*Partido Africano de Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde*) The ruling political party in Guinea-Bissau, whose programme is largely Marxist but disclaims to be a communist party.

African Socialism A general name for the developing mixture of African traditionalism, Western social reformism, classical Marxism and some features of Soviet, East European and Chinese socialism adapted to modern national needs and local conditions. The ideas and practices introduced by Western and Socialist-educated indigenous intellectuals and colonial (mostly French) administrators and

settlers have been supplemented or modified by such local traditional quasi-socialist elements as the collective (tribal) ownership of land, co-operative pursuits based on mutual help and obligations, the absence or weakness of the conventional market mechanism, communal living and the persistence of egalitarianism. The development of A. s., going back to the early 1950s, has been linked with national liberation movements against COLONIALISM and NEO-COLONIALISM. The most publicized version of A.s. is TANZANIAN SOCIALISM.

Afro-Asian Journalists' Association A regional INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION established at the Bandung Conference in April 1963 by the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS in Budapest in August 1962. Its headquarters were originally in Djakarta, but after the abortive communist coup in Indonesia in 1965 its centre of operations moved to Peking.

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization A regional INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION established in 1958 to strengthen the struggle of the countries of Africa and Asia against imperialism and colonialism and to promote their economic, social and cultural development. From the start, it became strongly influenced by the USSR, China and the United Arab Republic, but since 1967 it has been dominated by the USSR. It claims national committees and affiliated organizations in 75 countries and its headquarters are in Cairo. It regularly publishes *Afro-Asian Bulletin* (monthly) and occasionally *Afro-Asian Publications*, *Afro-Asian Women*, and *Afro Asian Writings* – all in Arabic, English and French.

Afro-Asian Writers' Permanent Bureau A regional INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION originally set up on the Soviet initiative in Tashkent in 1958; however, the Permanent Bureau was established in Colombo in 1962. Owing to

the Sino-Soviet rivalry, two operational centres were subsequently (in 1966) created – the Chinese-dominated one in Peking and the pro-Soviet one in Cairo. The respective factions publish *Call* and *Lotus* at irregular intervals in Arabic, English and French.

Agitation A type of political activity consisting in the persuasive propagation of simple ideas and slogans designed to arouse emotions (rather than to appeal to reason) of a large crowd in order to influence its consciousness and mood in directions desired by the party. A. is usually associated with one simple fact or event that can be easily understood by a large mass of common people. It can be carried on by holding mass meetings, organizing discussion sessions, distributing leaflets and using mass media in one way or another, calculated for more or less immediate reactions. All communist parties have special a. sections, mostly combined with, but sometimes separate from, propaganda. The purpose of a. in capitalist countries may be to cause a state of excitement, discontent, indignation, disruption and even violent action. In the Socialist countries, a. serves the general interests of the party – the indoctrination of the masses, the explanation of the party and state policies, the enlistment of electoral support for the party, a wider participation in state programmes and campaigns and the arousal of anger and hostility against internal and external enemies. In Marxist practice, a distinction is made between a. and PROPAGANDA. Since the mid-1960s, a new view of a. has emerged in the more advanced Socialist countries. The traditional type of crude a. is being discarded in favour of more sophisticated politinform, designed to influence reasonably well educated and informed mass audiences.

Agitator A person who carries on AGITATION, either on a voluntary or professional basis. The a. differs from the propagandist in that the former uses simple facts or ideas appealing to emotions in order to

excite the common masses for immediate reaction, whilst the latter goes into a more substantive justification appealing to reason and directed at smaller and sophisticated audiences for lasting effects. More recently, the function of the a. has to some extent been taken over by the POLITINFORMATOR.

Agitprop The Russian syllabic abbreviation for the (*Otdel Agitatsii i Propagandy*) Agitation and Propaganda Section. The term was established in Soviet Russia in 1920 when such sections were first created in the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) and lower party organizations. It was responsible for AGITATION, PROPAGANDA and cultural activities for domestic and foreign consumption in accordance with the Party's directives or guidelines. The term A. is no longer used, as the Section was reorganized in the 1930s. Nonetheless, its work is still carried on in the USSR by some 400,000 activists in the field, trained in some 6,000 special schools.

Agnosticism A philosophical theory maintaining that nothing is known beyond material phenomena, as human mind is incapable of the cognition of the world and its laws beyond the limits of sensual experience, i.e. man can know only the features or externals of a thing but not the thing itself. This theory has also been extended to the religious sphere, denying the possibility of knowing the supernatural, and thus suspending judgement on whether god exists or not. The beginnings of a. go back to the ancient times and were contained in sophism and particularly SCEPTICISM. A. was accepted and elaborated upon by D. Hume (1711–76), I. Kant (1724–1804) and A. Comte (1798–1857), and further systematized in the second half of the 19th c., notably by T. H. Huxley (1825–95) who popularized the term after 1869. Although it may appear paradoxical, both Marxism and most religions have rejected a. but, of course, for different reasons. Marxist attacks

Agrarianism

against a. were led by F. Engels (especially in *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, 1888) and V. I. Lenin (in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, 1909). Engels, Lenin and other communist thinkers argue that a. does not go beyond sensory impressions, it renounces scientific enquiry and logical thinking, is essentially bourgeois and reactionary, diverts the attention of the working class from the cognition of the objective laws of social development and that its acceptance leads to IDEALISM, not MATERIALISM. In DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM the world is postulated as objective and man to be capable of knowing it. It is further stressed that there are no absolute limits to cognition and that all human experience disproves a., since the knowledge of nature and society is constantly being extended through scientific observation and study. To Marxists, the acquisition of knowledge is a dynamic process. Even if there are facts, phenomena or ideas unknown today, they will be discovered by experience and reasoning and verified by PRACTICE in the future. Ideologically, the Marxist rejection of a. implies that there is nothing mysterious, divine or immutable about nature and society. Man is capable of constantly extending his knowledge of and power over them, and in particular, is capable of improving them. Also ATHEISM, EPISTEMOLOGY, POSITIVISM, REFLECTION THEORY.

Agrarianism A movement led by social reformers which first appeared in Western Europe in the middle of the 19th c. and later spread to Eastern Europe and Russia. Its objective was to solve the socio-economic problem in the countryside by creating and strengthening reasonably-sized peasant farms and undertaking certain major tasks (purchases, marketing, etc) on a co-operative basis in order to protect their interests against large landowners, suppliers and traders. These objectives were to be achieved through state-implemented reforms and self-help. Marxists have never accepted this movement as a satisfactory solution, as it was

not radical and revolutionary enough and preoccupied too much with property ownership.

Agricultural Circles Voluntary self-governing associations of private farms in Poland for the purpose of mutual help and the growth of agricultural production (80 per cent of agricultural land in Poland is privately owned). They combine the private interest of the peasants with social interest by promoting technological and cultural progress and material well-being in rural areas. A.C. engage in various forms of co-operative activities involving the purchase and use of agricultural machinery, land improvement, the production of building materials and the processing of certain agricultural and pastoral products. In addition to their own resources, they receive support from the state. In the mid-1970s there were 35,000 a.c. embracing 2.5m. members.

Agricultural Commune One of the three types of collective farms in existence in the USSR from 1918 to 1931. It was noted for the highest degree of collectivism, compared with the TOZ and the 'ARTEL'. Not only all the means of production (land, farm buildings, equipment, livestock), but also the means of consumption (dwellings, kitchen, means of transport and most other consumer durables) were collectively owned or shared. Distribution was in accordance with the principle 'FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS'. These communities were established by the most revolutionary elements from amongst the rural as well as urban workers (including returned soldiers), mostly in the confiscated estates of the former landowners. The a.c. at first received a good deal of official support and in 1919 a model statute was promulgated to this effect. Some monasteries also converted to the a.c. in order to escape confiscation and persecution. The number of a. c.s increased from 260 in 1918 to 7,600 by 1931 when they constituted 9 per cent of all collective farms. In practice these communes proved

inefficient and conflicted with Bolshevik authoritarianism, and after 1931 were transformed into the *artel* system. Ever since, the a. c. has been officially regarded in the USSR as an early and inferior form of agricultural and social organization and attempts to revive them have been described as naive and reactionary. Also COMMUNE, PEOPLE'S COMMUNE.

Agricultural Procurement The system whereby the state purchases agricultural products from collective farms, private farms (where they exist) and individual plot holders at wholesale prices determined by the government. The quantities to be delivered can consist of compulsory quotas and above-compulsory sales, the prices in the latter case being more favourable to the growers. Compulsory deliveries were abolished in the USSR in 1958 and have since been virtually discontinued in other Socialist countries as well. The function of a.p. is to ensure orderly supply of food and other farming products for the population, industry and export, to maintain stable controlled prices and to absorb DIFFERENTIAL RENT thereby financing and otherwise facilitating industrialization. An increasingly important type of a.p. is CONTRACTATION.

Agrobiology The field of biology concerned with the systematic study and management of plant and livestock breeding, claimed to be the science of general biological laws. This term is peculiar to Soviet literature and was popularized by T. D. LYSENKO after 1935, although work along these lines had first been taken up by E. V. Michurin (1855–1935) (MICHURINISM). A. received a good deal of official support from the Soviet government, especially in the 1940s and 1950s for its belief that nature could be transformed on a planned basis. This appeared to be of great ideological and practical significance. In Lysenko's view, a. is a superior sphere of developmental biology, as only it can employ scientific methodology for the planned development of plants or animals consistent with DIALECTICAL

MATERIALISM. Like dialectical materialism, a. is concerned with the general laws of development from lower to higher stages and varieties. It also attaches a decisive role to the interrelation of matter between the organism and environment. The rule of the Lysenko-style a. partly contributed to the failures in Soviet agriculture during the early 1960s, and which contrasted with the remarkable successes in Western agriculture made possible by the modern science of GENETICS. Since that time the term a. has been virtually abandoned in favour of 'agricultural biology' and, as a consequence, genetics has in effect been rehabilitated in the USSR.

Agro-industrial Complex A large rural enterprise combining agricultural and industrial activities. It is noted for industrial methods of farming, including the wide application of agricultural machinery and other mechanical and automated devices, artificial fertilizers, large-scale production and strict commercial accounting. There is also industrial processing of farm produce, the exploitation of local resources (brick-making, quarrying, woodworking), simple manufacturing (haberdashery, souvenirs, basketware, pottery) based on local raw materials and the operation of certain service enterprises (power plants, engineering workshops, road-building). Typically an a.-i.c. comprises 5,000–30,000 hectares (12,000–75,000 acres) of land, with some 12,000 persons or 3,000 households. Although the idea of the Socialist a.-i.c. goes back to the 1920s (in the USSR), its systematic development only began in the late 1960s in the more developed European Socialist countries (notably the USSR, Bulgaria, the German DR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia). Ideologically the a.-i.c. is regarded as a step towards Full Communism, in that it enables the equalization of rural and urban, as well as physical and mental, labour and distribution based on the Marxian principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'.

Al-Ansar

Agro-town (*Agro-gorod* in Russian) An agricultural settlement with the urban amenities of life, viz. paved streets, apartment-type or individual dwellings, electricity, water, modern shops and services and educational and cultural facilities. The idea was first mooted in the USSR in the 1920s, then revived in the late 1940s and has been given serious consideration since the 1960s. In 1968 a scheme was adopted in the Orel region to transform the existing 4,170 villages into 960 agro-towns by the early 1980s. The programme announced in 1971 provides for the reduction of the 704,000 rural settlements in the USSR to 111,000, of which at least 60,000 are to be agro-towns. An a.-t. provides opportunities not only for decentralization but also for the implementation of the Marxian ideal of the equalization of the rural and urban population.

Al-Ansar The military arm of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF JORDAN. It was formed in 1970 and its size is apparently very small.

Albania, People's Socialist Republic of (*Republika Popullore Socialiste e Shqipërisë*) A small South-Eastern European country, with an area of 28,750 sq. km., a population of 2.7m. in (1978) and ruled by the ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR. The Communist regime emerged in 1944 and became firmly established after the elections of December 1945. To date A. has had about the most dogmatic and Stalinist regime of all the Socialist countries. A. was declared a 'People's Republic' in 1946 and a 'People's Socialist Republic' in 1976 when a new Constitution was adopted. The supreme legislative power rests with the People's Assembly, elected every four years by universal suffrage from a single list of the DEMOCRATIC FRONT, led by the Albanian Party of Labour in whose leadership the effective power is concentrated. During the Sino-Soviet dispute, A. supported China from the end of 1960 to mid-1977. A. ceased

participating in the work of the COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE and the WARSAW PACT in 1962, and formally withdrew from the latter in 1968 in protest against the military intervention in Czechoslovakia. During 1977-8 A. broke off friendly relations with China in protest against the 'revisionist' policies of Hua Kuo-feng's regime.

Albanian Party of Labour (*Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë*) The ruling communist party and the only legal political party in Albania. Its origins go back to 1928 when an Albanian Communist Party group was formed in Moscow. In 1941 it adopted the name, the Albanian Communist Party, but changed it to its present form in 1948. Its membership in 1975 stood at over 100,000 (out of the total population of 2,380,000), of whom workers accounted for 38 per cent. The highest authority is the Party Congress, held every five years, which elects the Central Committee (71 full members and 39 candidate members). The effective power rests with the Politburo (13 full members and 4 candidate members) headed by the First Secretary, ENVER HOXHA (1908-). It is assisted by two mass organizations - the Union of Albanian Labour Youth (for ages 14-26) which in 1977 numbered 370,000 members, and the Union of Albanian Women. The main Party's publications are: *Zëri popullit* (*People's Voice*), the daily organ of the Central Committee; *Rruga e partisë* (*The Party Road*), a theoretical monthly journal, and *Zëri i rinisë* (*The Voice of the Youth*), the daily organ of the Union of the Albanian Labour Youth.

Algerian Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Algérien*) A small illegal party without parliamentary representation, with a pro-Soviet (rather than a pro-Chinese) orientation. It originated in 1920 as a section of the Federation of the French Communist Party, separated in 1935 and became known as the Communist Party of Algeria but changed its name to the present form the following year. Throughout its existence it has operated

'All Power to the Soviets'

mostly through left-wing organizations (namely the Socialist Vanguard Party), owing to its several proscriptions, first by the French authorities and after independence (in 1962) by the Algerian Government. Its membership is believed to be about 400 (out of the total population of 17.0m. in 1977). Its organ is *Saut al-Sha'b* (*People's Voice*), published through the Socialist Vanguard Party.

Alienation The estrangement of the worker from his 'true' social being, his family, his colleagues, and his work as a result of unmeaningful and unnatural work. The concept owes its socio-economic connotation to K. Marx, who discussed it in his *Paris Manuscripts* (1844), the *GRUNDRISSE* (1857-58) and *CAPITAL* (1867). A. is a consequence of monotonous specialization, the rigid division of labour and the private ownership of the means of production. The worker loses interest in the objects he produces as he no longer has a meaningful relationship with the act or labour of producing the product himself. Consequently, the worker's relationship with the product of his work has a direct bearing on his consciousness. He is also conscious of the fact that he produces the means of labour (capital goods) utilized by the capitalist to replace labour, which leads to the continued expansion of the RESERVE ARMY OF WORKERS. In effect both the goods produced and the capitalist employer become 'alien' to the worker - who thus becomes de-humanized. In a capitalist society a. of a kind also exists between rural and urban, manual and mental and unskilled and managerial workers. In the official Socialist view, a. has been regarded as a phenomenon in pre-socialist societies and not in a communist or socialist society, where the means of production belong to the workers and where there is no class struggle. However, there is a good deal of evidence indicating that a. does reassert itself under socialism. It has manifested itself in the persisting reappearance of poor work discipline, a high labour turnover, the neglect of and damage to socialized property,

pilfering in factories and on farms, the embezzlement of public funds, elaborate ways of circumventing laws and regulations, the black market, dissent and conflicts between workers and management, enterprises and bureaucracy and between the individual person and the monolithic and ubiquitous state. A number of thinkers in Yugoslavia as well as in Czechoslovakia and Poland and the USSR have conceded that the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and the disappearance of the class struggle does not necessarily remove a. The opposite Marxian concept to a. is OBJECTIFICATION.

Allende Principle A basis for international compensation under which a less-developed country has a right to deduct super-normal profits, viz. those in excess of 10 per cent, from the amount payable to the foreign owners of nationalized firms. The principle was first embodied in a Decree issued in Chile in September 1971 when a left-wing coalition government was in power under President S. G. Allende (1908-73), a Marxist who believed that Marxism and democracy were compatible.

'All Power to the Soviets' A slogan of the revolutionary elements in Russia in 1917 which was utilized by the BOLSHEVIKS to their advantage. It was first used by Lenin after his return to Petrograd (now Leningrad) in April 1917 in his *APRIL THESES*. It was publicly launched by workers and soldiers led by the Bolsheviks in Petrograd and other cities on 20-21 April (3-4 May, New Style Calendar) 1917. After the Bolshevik Party was declared illegal (and Lenin's arrest was ordered) by the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT of Kerensky in July 1917, the Bolsheviks temporarily withdrew the slogan. But it was employed by them again after 1 (14 N.S.C.) September when the ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE received demands from 126 local SOVIETS to take power. This time the slogan became a revolutionary challenge, calling for armed

All-Russian Central Executive Committee

rebellion against the Provisional Government and the transfer of power to the Soviets, who had a majority. After the arrest of the Provisional Government by the Bolsheviks on 25 October (8 November N.S.C.) 1917, formal power was taken over by the Soviets (GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION).

All-Russian Central Executive Committee The highest executive body with wide legislative, administrative and controlling powers and which existed in the RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC during 1917–37. It consisted of over 100 members elected by the ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, to which it was responsible. The A.-R.C.E.C. included various non-bourgeois political parties and other groups, but the BOLSHEVIKS constituted the majority. Its highest working body was the Presidium, assisted by the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R.

All-Russian Congress of Soviets A type of parliament of the RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC in existence during the first two crucial decades of Soviet power 1917–37. It consisted of deputies representing urban and provincial Soviets (workers' and peasants' representative councils). It met at least once every 1–2 years, but the effective power was exercised by the ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE elected by it. In 1937 the A.-R.C. of S. was replaced with the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R.

All-Russian Extraordinary Commission See *CHEKA*.

All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy A special state agency, established by the RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, in existence during 1920–30. It was responsible for giving basic instruction to illiterate persons between the ages of 8 and 50. At the time of the Bolshevik seizure of power, 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. Its work was continued

for some years after 1930 on a smaller scale by the All-Russian Conference on the Liquidation of Illiteracy. An important secondary purpose of the literacy campaign was to increase the capacity of the ex-illiterates for absorbing communist propaganda.

All-Russian Socialist Revolutionary Organization A secret united association formed by Russian revolutionary intellectuals (mostly *NARODNIKS*) and industrial workers which was active during 1874–75. Its purpose was to develop a unified organization for the overthrowing of the autocratic tsarist regime, by violent methods, if necessary. It originated in Zurich but it concentrated its activities in Moscow (hence, also known as the 'Circle of Muscovites') and other industrial centres in Russia. Its leaders were arrested and severely punished after the 'Trial of the Fifty' in 1877.

All-Union Bureau of Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party An anti-Bolshevik association which operated in the *GOSPLAN* and other state agencies in the USSR in the 1920s. Its members were determined to restore to prominence the RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, but the group was exposed and liquidated during 1930–31 as a 'counter-revolutionary organization'.

All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions The highest permanent body in the USSR responsible for the control and co-ordination of the activities of trade unions. It consists of more than 400 full-time and candidate members who are elected for four year terms at the trade union congresses. Its PLENUMS take place at least once every six months, whilst the responsibility for the work between the plenary sessions is in the hands of the Presidium elected by it. The Council's main functions are to initiate labour and industrial legislation, to facilitate the implementation of the economic plan and to represent Soviet trade unions abroad.