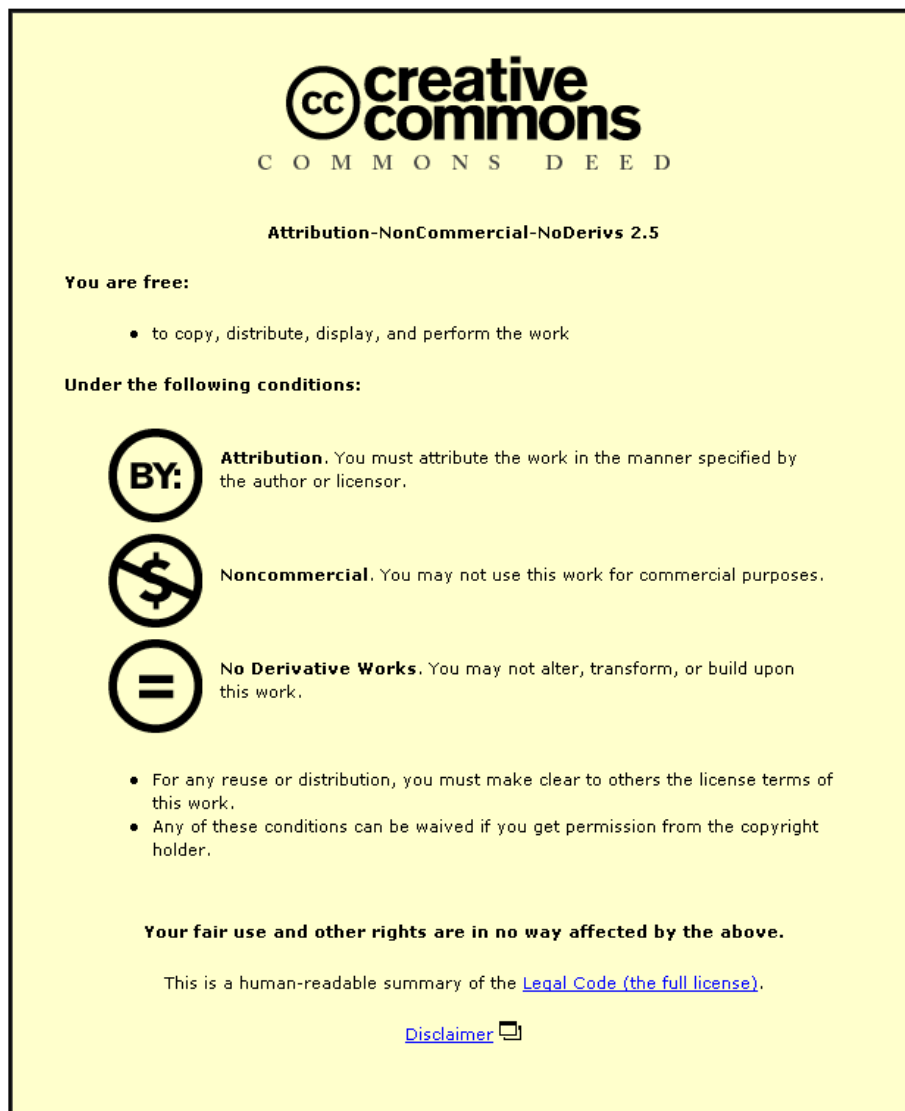


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THE MAJOR WORKS OF RUDOLF BAHRO

BY

GORDON W. SMITH

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology

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This thesis represents an original contribution to research in offering a comprehensive analysis of the work of Rudolf Bahro. The thesis combines a study of Bahro's work as a prominent opposition figure in the German Democratic Republic in the 1970s with an assessment of his career as an outspoken member of the West German Green Party in the 1980s. The core of the thesis is devoted to a thorough reappraisal of Bahro's major critique of 'actually existing socialism' in East Germany, Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Bahro's harsh critique of the SED is explored within the context of the GDR's historical development and Eastern European Marxist revisionism in general. A critical analysis of the extensive secondary literature which now surrounds this work is undertaken to discover how far existing interpretations offer an accurate assessment of Die Alternative. A further section compares for the first time the differing reception of Bahro's study in both East and West Germany. Bahro's earliest essays as an editor of the GDR journal Forum and his first critical work ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen are discussed as a key to establishing the particular nature of his opposition. Later chapters trace the development of Bahro's theories and discuss his contribution to the peace and ecology debates in West Germany in the 1980s. Bahro's efforts to achieve a synthesis of the interests of ecology and socialism are explored and his 'Fundamentalist' version of Green politics is discussed within the context of the Green Party's early development. The thesis concludes with an assessment of the increasingly radical utopianism permeating Bahro's writings and offers a critical examination of his attempts to infuse the ecology debate with a spiritual dimension, as detailed in Logik der Rettung, his chief work written in West Germany.

IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABI	Arbeiter- und Bauerninspektion
ADN	Agentur Deutsche Nachrichten
AMP	Asiatic Mode of Production
APO	Außerparlamentarische Opposition
BRD	Bundesrepublik Deutschland
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSSR	Czechoslovakia
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund
DKP	Deutsche Kommunistische Partei
EVA	Europäische Verlagsanstalt
FDJ	Freie Deutsche Jugend
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GAL	Grüne Alternative Liste
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEW	Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft
GIM	Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten
GLSH	Grüne Liste Schleswig-Holstein
GLU	Grüne Liste Umweltschutz
JuSos	Jungsozialisten
KB	Kommunistischer Bund
KBW	Kommunistischer Bund Westberlins
KPC	Kommunistische Partei der CSSR
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
KPD-ML	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Marxismus-Leninismus.
KPF	Kommunistische Partei Frankreichs
KPI	Kommunistische Partei Italiens

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NÖS Neues Ökonomisches System (der Planung und Leitung der Volkswirtschaft)
NSDAP Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
PCE Communist Party of Spain
PCF Communist Party of France
PCI Communist Party of Italy
RIAS Radio in the American Sector
SB Studentenbund
SED Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SEW Sozialistische Einheitspartei Westberlins
SU Sowjetunion
TU Technische Universität
VVB Vereinigung Volkseigener Betriebe
WTR Wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution

INTRODUCTION

In December 1989 Rudolf Bahro returned to East Germany, the country which he had been compelled to leave a decade earlier following the appearance in 1977 of his severely critical analysis of the GDR under the SED, Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus (henceforward referred to as Die Alternative). (1) With the publication of this work, the hitherto unknown SED-functionary came to prominence as one of the leading figures of the opposition in the GDR in the 1970s. The damning nature of this critique resulted in the author's arrest, but although sentenced to eight years in prison, Bahro was released after just two, conditional upon his departure for West Germany. In no small measure, Bahro owed his early release to an unprecedented campaign of international solidarity.

Bahro quickly established himself in the West as an active and forthright spokesman on environmental issues, a trend reinforced by his decision to join the Green Party shortly after its foundation in 1980. In his appraisal of his new surroundings Bahro proved to be as critical of the Federal Republic as he had been of the GDR. Although his career in the Green Party was relatively short-lived, Bahro's radical and controversial proposals for solving the ecological crisis served to ensure that he remained a prominent figure. Indeed, as a dedicated and practical advocate of alternative forms of living, Bahro has continued to arouse interest in his work since his resignation from the Green Party. At the time of writing, the future development of Bahro's career remains unclear. However, his decision to return to the GDR presents an appropriate juncture at which to examine the development of the work of this most original and independent thinker. Indeed, at a time of historic change in Germany, the career which Bahro has followed as a critical writer in both East and West affords a valuable opportunity to gain an insight into significant contemporary developments in the competing, yet contrasting social and political systems of the two German states.

As an authoritative critique of 'actually existing socialism', Die Alternative constitutes one of Bahro's major achievements. After its original appearance in the West, this work excited considerable debate on the nature of the opposition in the GDR and much discussion of Bahro's own critical ideas. Indeed, a vast literature now surrounds this work, a substantial amount of which has also appeared in English. Yet, despite the enormous interest shown in Bahro's critique a comprehensive assessment of the work itself and the extensive secondary literature which has arisen since its publication is still outstanding in both Britain and Germany. The core of this thesis is therefore devoted to a thorough reappraisal of Bahro's major work within the framework of an analysis of the varying responses which it has elicited. Here, the aim is to arrive at a balanced, yet critical interpretation of Bahro's theory whilst in evaluating the secondary literature the aim has been to discover how far it offers an accurate and objective assessment of Die Alternative.

The early stages of research revealed the shortcomings of the existing literature on Bahro's work. The thesis therefore begins with an assessment of Bahro's earliest essays dating from his period as an editor of the influential FDJ journal Forum. Hitherto, this material has been largely overlooked, although it is crucial in gaining a perspective on Bahro's future theoretical development. Similarly, ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen(2) proves instructive as an example of Bahro's nascent opposition, revealing a severe, but coded critique of the policies pursued by the SED in the 1960s. Bahro's work is thus invaluable as a key to understanding specific issues and trends in the early development of the GDR.

Bahro's writings need to be understood in the context of the GDR's development and of East European Marxist revisionism in general, but it is also necessary to explain why a critique of the SED should

arouse such interest in the West. In an analysis of the 'Bahro affair' an attempt is made to determine how the broader reception of Bahro's ideas differed in East and West. This reveals that Die Alternative is not only valid as a document of intellectual dissent in the GDR, but also holds a wider significance as an attempt to reevaluate Marxism in the face of the mounting challenges to conventional socialist theory. Bahro offers a strategy for human emancipation which, in overthrowing long-held theories, reveals his work to be one of the first efforts to confront Marxism with the issues raised by advanced industrial society, in particular those which have led to a crisis of ecology. Although thoroughly German in nature, most notably in its dense style, Bahro's work clearly tackles issues which are of interest to a much broader audience. This is all the more true of his work in West Germany, where as a member of the Green Party, Bahro struggled to achieve a synthesis of the interests of socialism and ecology.

In the Federal Republic the urgent call for a dialogue between the socialist, ecology and peace movements formed the central feature of Bahro's writings. In view of the global relevance of the issues he discusses, Bahro's fundamentalist views of the environmental crisis are a valid contribution to the ecology debate in their own right. In concentrating on this aspect of Bahro's work the intention is also to trace the development of his theory in the shift from his analysis of socialism to a critique of Western society. Moreover, it is helpful to discuss Bahro's role in the Green Party in greater depth to ascertain how far his resignation was an inevitable outcome of his own intransigent position. Although the intention is not to measure Bahro's influence on the young party, it is evident that his analysis reflects some of the major concerns of the party's membership in its founding years. As such, his work presents a valuable means of charting the initial problems of one of the most significant political developments in West Germany during the 1980s.

The vast dimensions of the ecological threat to the planet are reflected in the increasingly apocalyptic visions which have come to dominate Bahro's work in the West. In the final chapters of this thesis an assessment of these visionary calls for a radical utopia of the future is undertaken. Special consideration is given to the question of the similarities which link Bahro's contemporary theories with those advocated by turn-of-the-century utopian socialists. Finally, the responses which Bahro's apocalyptic visions have evoked in a society wary of appeals for a new millenium are examined. In particular, the controversial concept of 'exterminism' and the elements of Bahro's eco-spiritualist approach, as expounded in his principal study in West Germany, Logik der Rettung(3), are explored and placed within the context of his own intellectual development.

FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

1. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977.
2. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1979.
3. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987.

CHAPTER ONE - THE EARLY YEARS (1952-1968)

In contrast to the enormous attention which Die Alternative(1) received following its publication in the West and the author's imprisonment in East Germany, Rudolf Bahro's early writings have been all but ignored in previous studies of his work.(2) This is undoubtedly due to the way in which, on the appearance of Die Alternative, Bahro was dismissed by some as a rather insignificant functionary from within the official apparatus.(3) Whilst it is true that Bahro can scarcely be said to have been a seminal figure in the cultural and theoretical development of the GDR, to dismiss his work from this period as unimportant overlooks the value which it holds as a document not just of Bahro's personal development but also of that of the German Democratic Republic. Indeed, without an understanding of the attitude and aspirations which Bahro held in his youth, it is difficult to grasp the specific nature of the critique which he later articulates. Furthermore, in placing Bahro's earliest articles and essays within the socio-political context of the GDR's development, it becomes evident that despite the apparent inconsistencies between, for example, the stance he adopted in Forum and his later works, there is in fact a high degree of continuity. The intention in this section, therefore, is to point to some of the more salient features of Bahro's early career and thereby highlight those elements significant to his future development.

In a discussion in 1977 of his early life in East Germany, Bahro states with a certain degree of pride,

"Ich bin in meiner gesamten Entwicklung sozusagen ein DDR-Produkt, durch und durch. Ich bin hier zu Hause mitverantwortlich. Gerade darin möchte ich nicht mißverstanden werden."(4)

The path which he pursued in his youth certainly testifies to Bahro's appraisal of his own development. Bahro is indeed very much a child

of the GDR, his early career demonstrating the path of a largely unexceptional party member who wholeheartedly shared the objectives pursued by the SED in the country's founding years. This is evidenced by Bahro's decision to apply for membership of the SED at the early age of 16. It was two years later in 1954 that he finally became a full member, a move which he recalls with some affection:

"Sie werden sich schwer vorstellen können, wie stolz wir damals waren, ich und zahllose andere junge Genossen, dieses Parteiabzeichen zu tragen, die verschlungenen Hände auf dem Hintergrund der roten Fahne." (5)

Nevertheless, this move was itself not inevitable. It was not until the latter years of his education, Bahro recalls, that he became converted to the goals and objectives which the SED was seeking to implement, insisting that his decision to join the FDJ was taken with some reluctance simply because it "...was the expected thing to do." (6) As the turning point in his development, Bahro cites the influence of a secondary school teacher who, for the first time, drew his attention to the real nature of the struggle which the GDR was undertaking in this period:

"I suddenly realized that in all the previous discussion about democracy, the people and so on, the real issue had been a harsh power struggle in which certain people are held down." (7)

From this point onwards Bahro's career is very much illustrative of the idealism of some of the first generation of party members. One incident from Bahro's youth sheds light on the somewhat zealous form which this could assume. As the editor of a small newspaper in Seelow, during the period of enforced collectivization, Bahro recounts having written a rather scathing article criticizing a long-standing communist farmer who had resisted collectivization measures. Bahro, himself was reprimanded for his lack of tact and admits on reflection that he was perhaps too dogmatic in his attitude at this time. (8)

Yet, it would be wrong to depict Bahro as the very epitome of the spineless bureaucrats and party members of whom he is later to be so critical in Die Alternative for blindly adhering to the party line. Bahro's commitment is, rather, that of a devotee of the ideals of socialism, not that of the blinkered orthodoxy of the party hierarchy. Some examples from the traumatic 1950s provide an insight into the sort of idealism which Bahro sought to instil in others. Questioned on his reaction to the events of the 17th June 1953, Bahro admits to having accepted the official version of events: "It didn't impress me deeply, because I was so conditioned that I immediately saw it as the counter-revolution." (9)

In contrast, Bahro's response to the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 is an early indication of the misgivings about the SED which constitute the main thrust of his attack in Die Alternative. Thus, it is not so much Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin which concerned him, but rather the reaction of the SED to this news, which was conveyed completely without explanation. With the Soviet intervention in Hungary in the same year, Bahro felt some response was necessary:

"... I put up an article on the departmental notice-board to the effect that since we trusted the Party, the Party should also trust us and tell us the truth about Hungary and, above all, Poland." (10)

By the same token, Bahro's reaction to the early opposition efforts of the Harich group shows his overriding commitment to the cause of socialism rather than to the Party's strivings for hegemony. Initially, therefore, Bahro admits that he and his colleagues sympathized with the group's intention to depose Ulbricht, believing him to be an obstacle to the further development of socialism in the GDR. (11) On the other hand, Bahro does not hold a totally negative view of Ulbricht, conceding on reflection that his survival was indeed necessary for the socialist development of East Germany:

"By 1957 I had come round to the view that, given the circumstances in Germany, Ulbricht had been right to close ranks as he did. ... The party stabilized around Ulbricht chiefly because there had been a counter-revolutionary potential in Hungary, ... The issue became one of Party loyalty and Jesuit-type discipline." (12)

Despite some of the reservations noted above, Bahro's earliest published works provide a good indication of the way in which he identifies with the aims and objectives of the Party at this stage. One such is a poem entitled, "An die Studenten meiner Universität" (13), in which he calls upon his fellow students to show more commitment to the revolutionary cause. The work consists of an exhortation to overcome the bourgeois mentality which still persists in the academic world:

"Heute/entsteht hier/allmächtig,
der Bau/einer neuen Vernunft.
Nur - /das Vergangene/rächt sich
noch oft/an vielen/von uns ..." (14)

Bahro questions the reluctance of his fellow students to unite their efforts with the proletarian cause, and the work concludes with an emphatic affirmation of the importance of the role which the new intelligentsia holds at the forefront of the class struggle:

"Marx ist mit uns./In uns auferstanden,
hebt/der Atem Lenins/die Gelasse
stiller Träumer/einfach/aus den Angeln:
Junge Denker -/an die Front/der Klasse!" (15)

Bahro's emphasis here upon the contribution which the intellectual stratum has to make in the revolutionary process is a recurrent theme throughout his work. In this period such a perspective concurs with the views of the SED. Bahro himself exemplifies and embodies the aims of the Party which sought to abandon the bourgeois traditions of the

past and promote the well-being of the proletarian and peasant classes with the goal of constructing a classless society.(16) Bahro thus takes his own experience as an affirmation of the revolutionary processes within the GDR, regarding it as a model which the rest of society should be in a position to follow.

Probably the most significant period of Bahro's early development occurred during the 1960s. In this time Bahro progresses from being editor of the university newspaper at Greifswald, through work for the executive of the 'Gewerkschaft Wissenschaft'(17) to become an assistant of the influential FDJ journal, Forum in the latter half of the 1960s. It is a period which Bahro describes as being full of hopes and illusions and a time when he finally came to recognize his own discomfort at the way things were developing:

"In den Jahren bei der Gewerkschaft und beim Forum habe ich meine politische Naivität verloren, zunächst auf selbst noch naive Weise. Mir gefielen die Allüren nicht, die bürokratischen Spielregeln. Ich paßte da niemals richtig rein."(18)

The articles which Bahro produces in this period reflect his initial hopes in the advancement of the socialist development of the GDR, and the subsequent disillusion which came with the recognition that not all shared his idealism.

With his essay "Geistige Reserven"(19), written during his work with the trade union for scientists and academics, Bahro tackles a theme which he was later to develop in his doctoral thesis, namely the objective and subjective restraints which exist on and within the system of higher education. Here, Bahro focusses specific attention on the factors which inhibit students from fully realizing their potential and the effects which this has upon industry. In line with one of the chief objectives in the reconstruction period, Bahro is glowing in his praise of the way the bourgeois monopoly of higher education has been broken:

"Wir sind stolz darauf, daß unser Staat zum erstenmal in Deutschland die millionenfache Möglichkeit zu diesem wahrhaft menschlichem Glücksgefühl eröffnet, das vordem immer nur wenigen Auserwählten zugänglich war, auch ihnen nur gebrochen durch das Medium der Klassengesellschaft." (20)

Nevertheless, Bahro is not concerned with whitewashing the educational progress made in the GDR, but strikes instead a more critical note, pointing out the problems which the education system has to face up to in the light of the developments in the economic sphere.

Das Neue Ökonomische System (NÖS) or the New Economic System (of planning and management) introduced in 1963, marked an attempt to initiate a series of fundamental reforms within the economic system. To combat the serious decline in growth rates which the economy was suffering in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Party looked to a greater degree of decentralization in the economic process. The core of the reforms centred on the so-called 'system of levers' (21) (System ökonomischer Hebel), under which increased decision-making powers were granted to the enterprises themselves (VVB). Just as the enterprises were now encouraged to produce a profit, so too were material incentives perceived to be a suitable means to raise productivity amongst the workers. Behind the introduction of the NÖS lay the belief that increased rates of production were a justifiable means to achieving socialism, a material surplus for all being viewed as a means of overcoming remaining social and class contradictions. (22) Yet, some observers (23), especially Bahro himself in later years, are critical of the way in which the NÖS stressed higher productivity at the expense of greater worker democracy and participation:

"Nicht die Übernahme der politischen Macht durch die Arbeiter und die Revolutionierung der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen ist hier das Entscheidende, sondern die Erhöhung der Arbeitsproduktivität, deren Erfolge darüber

hinwegtäuschen sollen, daß die Vergesellschaftung ausgeblieben ist." (24)

At this time, Bahro's views are almost totally in accordance with the aspirations of the Party. His article, "Geistige Reserven", is indicative of his compliance with the objectives which the Party sought to achieve through the NÖS. In particular, Bahro is keen here to validate the principles behind the concept of the 'scientific and technical revolution' (wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution or WTR) which formed a fundamental constituent of the NÖS. Bahro draws attention to the heart of this concept:

"Jedoch steht der vollen Entfaltung dieser vorwärtsdrängenden Kräfte noch ein Komplex von temporären Hindernissen entgegen, die in erster Linie auf Mängel in der Leitung der Wissenschaft zurückzuführen sind und die wir nun mit dem neuen System der Planung und Leitung der Volkswirtschaft aus dem Weg zu räumen haben." (25)

Bahro shares the party's belief that increasing rationalization and automation of industry would create a situation where the working class would be relieved of the mundane and routine tasks of production. This, combined with higher rates of qualification and education would serve to overcome the gap between the working class and the intelligentsia. Most noticeably, this later forms one of the constituent elements of the 'cultural revolution' envisaged by Bahro in Die Alternative, where he sets great store by the effort to bridge the divide between the working class and the stratum of intellectuals/technocrats. (26) In his article, Bahro explores some of the features which obstruct the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution, chief amongst which he regards as the widening gulf between the abilities of graduates and their inadequate deployment in industry. In part, Bahro attributes this to the persistence of the 'Untertanengeist' (27) within the academic world which often inhibits students from expressing their own opinions; Bahro submits:

"Tatsache ist jedenfalls, daß man im Kampf um den wissenschaftlich-technischen Höchststand auch mal einen Streit riskieren muß und daß man dazu an der Hochschule nicht gerade erzogen wird." (28)

Striking a critical note, Bahro points to the way in which the current system restricts the opportunities for students to acquire more practical experience and develop their own decision-making abilities. Echoing much of his later work, Bahro asserts that what is required is a system which encourages young academics, "... zu selbständigem schöpferischem Denken und Handeln." (29) Bahro's attack on the indolence and conformity which exists in industrial and educational circles is not as controversial as it may at first seem. Rather, it reflects a new spirit within the Party at this time, which was ready to concede some degree of criticism as a means to stimulating greater initiative within the economy and bureaucracy. Bahro refers to the 'Jugendkommunique' issued by the SED in 1963 which he describes as having given "...grünes Licht für eine gewisse Kritik am bürokratischen Apparat durch die junge Generation." (30).

That Bahro himself stays within the bounds of the officially sanctioned criticism is evident from his proposals in "Geistige Reserven". Bahro points to organizations such as the trades unions and the FDJ as the means through which the younger generation should be encouraged to develop and exercise positive criticism: "Die Gewerkschaft und vor allem die FDJ müßten ihre Mitglieder viel mehr zum Mitregieren heranziehen." (31) Thus, Bahro accords importance to the channeling of any criticism through official bodies. In this respect he draws strongly on the orthodox Leninist tradition, viewing bodies such as the trades unions as an essential intermediary between the party and workers. (32)

The essay "Geistige Reserven" also focusses on themes which reemerge in Bahro's major work, Die Alternative. One such point is the proposal for a more concentrated economy of time. Reorganization of available labour time, Bahro suggests, would obviate the rather

haphazard and wasteful way in which work is organized at present. Implicit in Bahro's conception at this point is that the apparently conflicting aims of achieving higher levels of productivity and realizing man's full potential ('menschliche Totalität')(33) are not irreconcilable. Writing in Forum, Bahro asserts that, given the right conditions, the distinction between labour and leisure activities should become obsolete:

"Schöpferische Menschen, denen Produktivität zum ersten Lebensbedürfnis geworden ist, interessiert der Unterschied zwischen gesetzlicher Arbeitszeit und Freizeit selbstverständlich nur sekundär, in Abhängigkeit von den Arbeitsbedingungen, die die beiden Abschnitte repräsentieren." (34)

In Die Alternative Bahro returns to the Marxian idea of the need for an 'economy of time' in which priority is accorded to activity which fosters the full development of the individual:

"Das wird die Ökonomie der Zeit, an die Marx für das Reich der Freiheit gedacht hat: zweckmäßige Einteilung der Zeit für Allseitigkeit der Entwicklung und des Genusses im gesellschaftlichen wie im individuellen Maßstab." (35)

This notion forms one of the cornerstones of the 'Kulturrevolution' which Bahro envisages in Die Alternative, yet beyond the surface parallels there is a perceptible shift of emphasis in his later work. In Die Alternative Bahro moves towards a model in which the subjective element gains substantially in importance. As one of the fundamental features of the 'Kulturrevolution', Bahro emphasizes the ideal of "... Produktionsziel reiche Individualität" (36) In his 1963 Forum article Bahro's tenor still very much reflects the belief that it is possible to combine the goal of increasing economic output simultaneously with developing the individual's full creative potential, but his later work is tinged with the disappointment with the outcome of the

scientific and technical revolution. Bahro bemoans the way in which the opportunities presented by this initiative were not fully realized:

"... Mitte der sechziger Jahre war bereits deutlich, daß es sich (beim NÖS:G.S.) nur um taktisches Manövrieren handelte, und daß außer dem durch die internationale Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte getragenen Vordringen einer technokratischen Orientierung nichts Neues beginnen sollte." (37)

Bahro's other articles published in Forum appear at a time when he is assistant editor of the journal. The early articles from this period typify the exhortations of the Party for greater initiative to implement the on-going scientific and technical revolution, with the perspective shifting from lauding the achievements of the 'worker' to the responsibility which the 'manager' and 'planner' held for the future progress of society. Observing this development, Karl-Heinz Jakobs comments,

"Von da an wimmelte es in Romanen, Dramen und Balladen von Direktoren, Industriekapitänen und Durchreißern, wie der Fachausdruck heißt. Wer täglich Zeitung las, müßte bald zu der Auffassung gelangen, daß wir ein Volk von sozialistischen Leitern geworden seien." (38)

This is certainly the impression given by Bahro's articles in which he profiles the 'ideal' figures of socialist management. In "Wer sind Sie, Dr. Dodrowsky?" (39) and "Stufen und Kreise" (40) Bahro respectively details the proud triumphs of a technical director of the Eisenhüttenkombinat, and the successes of a manager of a 'Mineralölwerk' who has developed a chemical process crucial to the lignite industry. Dodrowsky and Keil are depicted as embodying the essence of the true socialist 'captain of industry', having risen from humble origins to command huge enterprises such as the steel plant at Eisenhüttenstadt. Characteristic of both men, in Bahro's description, is their determination and perseverance to overcome all obstacles in their path. Dodrowsky is portrayed as living according to the

formula, "Es liegt alles in unserer Hand" (41), whilst Keil is shown to possess all the necessary revolutionary attributes: "Er ist ein Ungeduldiger und Unzufriedener, so ungeduldig und unzufrieden, wie Kommunisten sein müssen." (42)

The profiles of these figures also reveal the concern of the Party to dismiss the accusation often made by Western critics that the implementation of the NÖS would necessarily lead to a convergence of the capitalist and socialist modes of production, their argument being that, given the rate of technological development, a similar social and economic order could emerge in both systems. (43) In the Forum articles this notion is keenly refuted, with Bahro emphasizing Dodrowsky's scorn for those who have debased the principle of socialist incentive to a simple revival of a bourgeois, capitalist mentality:

"Sie appellieren an diese 'Wartburgideologie', die er so haßt. ... Wir dürfen nicht zulassen, sagt er, daß das kleinbürgerliche ICH jeden Berufsstolz, jeden Leistungswillen, jedes gesellschaftliche Ideal fahren läßt und das neue ökonomische System, das Leninsche Prinzip der materiellen Interessiertheit als Tarnkappe benutzt." (44)

The introduction of materialist incentives under the NÖS, Bahro is keen to stress, is fully in accordance with the orthodox views of Marxism-Leninism. As Dodrowsky's example demonstrates, Bahro claims, a correct understanding of the developments of the scientific and technical revolution is essential in order to be able to compete in the world market. Dodrowsky's task is to instil this belief in all of those with whom he works. (45) Similarly, Bahro praises Keil's achievements in inspiring others:

"Sein größtes Verdienst ist, daß er hier mit seinem Vorbild ein Kollektiv von jungen Menschen geschaffen hat, die nicht individualistisch denken, die nicht ihrer Karriere leben, sondern etwas beitragen wollen zur gemeinsamen Sache." (46)

This appeal to the selfless commitment of the individual to the good of society as a whole is very much characteristic of the Party line during the early period of construction in the GDR. From his later works it is apparent that this attitude exercised an indelible influence on Bahro. In Logik der Rettung, for example, one of his chief criticisms of Western society is of the prevailing highly individualist ethos, where everyone is concerned purely with his own self-interest. As the final chapter will show, Bahro identifies this as a major contributory factor to the ecological crisis. (47)

In his earlier articles as assistant editor of Forum it is evident that Bahro still retains faith in the official objectives set out by the SED. He is convinced that the measures adopted by the Party can lead to the formation of a society which appeals to the socialist 'consciousness' of the people rather than their material interests. Nonetheless, it is this period which Bahro later comes to designate as the time where he began to lose his political naivety. (48) This transformation in Bahro's outlook is determined less by his own inner development (as has already been indicated, Bahro retains many of the views he held in this period) than by the changing circumstances of the mid-1960s. What Bahro terms as a loss of his own political naivety is rather the recognition that the hopes vested in the New Economic System have not been realized. The 'alternative' which Bahro postulates in his work bearing the same title has itself been criticized for its political naivety (49), since it revives the notion of the technocrat as a guarantor of society's future progress. Equally, as we shall see, Bahro's doctoral thesis represents a lament for the under-utilized potential of the stratum of technical and scientific engineers created under the WTR. (50) Zimmermann confirms this passing of the era of the NÖS:

"Die Vision der Technokraten von der durchrationalisierten Gesellschaft, in der die Automaten dem Menschen die körperliche Arbeit abnehmen und die Arbeiterklasse sich per Qualifizierung in die Schicht der Intelligenz auflöst, war gescheitert." (51)

By the early 1970s the SED saw itself confronted with the burgeoning problem of overqualification which necessitated drastic action to reduce the programmes which had expanded the higher education system during the 'Sixties. The NÖS as a whole was perceived to constitute a threat to the Party's leading role, in particular the emphasis which it had laid on expanding the intellectual stratum. In this light, Die Alternative can be understood as the reaction of part of this stratum to the less important role attributed to it by the SED.

THE 'LYRIKDEBATTE' IN FORUM.

By far the most notable event in Bahro's early career was the so-called 'Lyrikdebatte' which he initiated in his post as assistant editor of Forum. Bahro recalls that his attitude at this stage was still one of seeking to promote fruitful criticism, that is within the spirit of the Party's directives of 1963. Only later did he realize that the Party's cautious attempt to allow some criticism of the stagnating bureaucratic apparatus was coming to an end and that his stance was becoming increasingly inconsistent with the official line:

"Beim Forum bin ich dann allmählich bewußt auf besonderen Kurs gegangen, habe zuletzt versucht, Dinge zur Diskussion zu stellen, die nicht diskutiert werden sollten. »Die Widersprüche auf den Tisch statt in die Schublade«, war meine Devise." (52)

Bahro's attitude as seen during the 'Lyrikdebatte' is significant not just as evidence of his developing political awareness, but more importantly as testimony of the particular nature of his criticism.

The 'Lyrikdebatte' constituted an important element of the on-going debate which developed in the GDR during the 1950s and 1960s on the role of literature and the author in socialist society. The question of precisely what position the writer should adopt had been a controversial one from the earliest days of the new Republic. The 'Lyrikdebatte' was in many respects a continuation of the discussion emanating from the Bitterfeld Conference, where Ulbricht had called for greater commitment from the literary world to the interests of the workers. (53)

The emergence of 'dialectical theatre' in the latter half of the 'Fifties can be interpreted as a reaction against the strictures of the 'Bitterfeld Way'. Influenced by the tradition of Brecht, its main proponents such as Heiner Müller, Volker Braun, Helmut Baierl and Peter Hacks sought to overcome the rather one-sided view which the

'Bitterfeld Conference' had implored writers to follow, and instead sought to concentrate on exposing the contradictions in society. The debate concerning the responsibilities of the writer in socialism was, it can be seen, one which interested Bahro at an early age. As a young philosophy student at the Humboldt University, Bahro, together with some colleagues, entered the controversy surrounding Peter Hacks' essay on Aristotelian theatre, "Warnung" (54). Responding to the criticism of his attack, in which he had claimed that Aristotle had produced drama which merely served the interests of the rulers as an instrument of pacification, Hacks himself replied,

"Eine unpolitische, dogmatische, personenkultistische Ansicht der Geschichte verrät eine unpolitische, dogmatische, personenkultistische Ansicht der Gegenwart." (55)

Bahro's response to Hacks offers an insight into the strong orthodox line which he was to continue in his exchange of views with the writer Günter Kunert eight years later. At the heart of his criticism is the belief that Hacks has adopted an essentially 'idealistic' approach:

"Die Position von Peter Hacks geht implizite von einer Neigung zur ideologischen Koexistenz aus; sie verschleiern durch ihre unhistorische Allgemeinheit die Frontlinie zwischen bürgerlicher und sozialistischer Kultur." (56)

In Bahro's opinion, Hacks' conception of socialist art as "das Arrangement der Widersprüche" (57) discredits the essence of dialectical materialism. Bahro feels Hacks purveys a vulgar, western-style economic materialism, since he appears interested in presenting society's contradictions purely for the sake of it, rather than pointing to the potential for progress which lies behind the existing circumstances. This point is best illustrated in Bahro's response to Hacks' views on the revolutionary potential in the contemporary situation. Of Hacks' statement, "Man kann im Besonderen kein

Allgemeines zeigen, das nicht in ihm ist. Nicht im Arbeiter von heute ist der Mensch der klassenlosen Gesellschaft." (58), Bahro writes:

"Einfacher ausgedrückt bedeutet das: man darf im Arbeiter von heute z.B. wohl die materielle Interessiertheit gestalten, die im gesellschaftlichen Durchschnitt(!) tatsächlich noch sehr im Vordergrund steht, nicht aber die Tendenz eben dieser materiellen Interessiertheit, sich selbst aufzuheben in eine höhere Stufe des Bewußtseins, morgen schon Enthusiasmus aus sich hervorzubringen." (59)

Bahro takes further issue with Hack's presentation of the allegedly static nature of society, indicting his work as being at variance with the terms of 'socialist realism' and for its want of the necessary 'ideologische Parteidisziplin'. (60) Referring explicitly to Lenin's essay on 'Parteiliteratur' (61), Bahro argues that the disciplined commitment which Lenin called for is the single most important element of 'socialist realism':

"(Parteilichkeit ist:G.S.) ... das wichtigste Kriterium zur Unterscheidung und Abgrenzung der sozialistischen Kunst, des sozialistischen Realismus von der bürgerlichen Kunst..." (62)

The conformist position adopted by Bahro in the discussion on Hacks' work could be construed as evidence of his 'apparatschik' mentality. The orthodox stance which he came to hold in the 'Lyrik-debatte' does indeed show Bahro's willingness to toe the party line, as he affirms that the opinions he voiced during this controversial debate were indicative of his own convictions. Recalling the debate, Bahro writes:

"Ich selber hatte von ziemlich scharfer, sozusagen »linker« Position geschrieben, insbesondere gegen Günter Kunert. Ich dachte damals so, wie ich schrieb. Aber die Lyriker konnten

dann nicht schreiben, was sie dachten, und so weit sie es doch noch schrieben, durfte ich es nicht mehr drucken." (63)

The occasion of the debate was the publication of a collection of poetry selected by Adolf Endler and Karl Mickel entitled In diesem besseren Land (64), which provided the opportunity to question some of the fundamental issues pertaining to the role and function of the poet and writer in the GDR, with particular attention devoted to the extent which the scientific and technical revolution had exerted an influence on this aspect of literary activity. Although this anthology was the object of official disapproval (65), as Franke observes, the 'Lyrikdebatte' represented a step further in the debate, in that, for the first time, a major literary debate occurred without the usual background of meetings of the Writers' Union or Party conferences:

"...zum erstenmal seit Bestehen der DDR war die Diskussion fair: Forum druckte die besonders umstrittenen Gedichte ab, und das umstrittene Buch war auch nach beendetem Streit noch in den Buchhandlungen käuflich." (66)

Although it is difficult to judge whether the debate was 'fair', Forum did provide an open space in which writers could publicly express their opinions. Their responses to the survey revealed a broad range of views, a number of which demonstrated considerable scepticism as to any likely influence exerted by the changing circumstances of production. Those who affirmed the positive effect exercised by the WTR included Heinz Czechowski (67) and Uwe Berger (68). Others such as Endler (69) and Hanns Cibulka attempted instead to strike a more balanced note. Cibulka, for example, emphasizes the advances made possible by the scientific revolution but warns that technological achievements should not alone be the yardstick against which a society's progress is judged:

"Unser Menschenbild wird nicht allein durch die Wissenschaft geprägt. Eine neue Harmonie, ein neues schwesterliches Verhältnis zwischen den beiden großen Erkenntnisbereichen der

Menschheit, der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, muß heute gefunden werden. Nicht nur die Wissenschaft, auch Kunst und Literatur haben eine Forschungsaufgabe in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft." (70)

Contrasting sharply with such views were the replies from writers such as Sarah and Rainer Kirsch. Whilst conceding the positive benefits which have accrued under the WTR, Rainer Kirsch doubts whether it has exercised any major influence over the work of the poet-writer. Those changes which have occurred, he argues, are attributable to the changing perspective of the author. Kirsch instead believes there are more seminal influences affecting the contemporary writer; the potential of technological advance must be placed in perspective against the dangers of its political misuse:

"Der gegenwärtige politische Weltzustand ... dürfte, insbesondere nach der katastrophalen Verschärfung der USA-Aggression gegen das Volk von Vietnam, auf Inhalt und Struktur der Lyrik weit tiefer verändernd wirken als ein eben beginnender Prozeß technischer Revolutionierung." (71)

The response from Sarah Kirsch exceeded by far the moderate criticism exercised by others in the debate. Exercising little restraint, Sarah Kirsch totally negates any role which the scientific and technical revolution might play:

"Jetzt lasse ich der technischen Revolution, was ihrer ist, kümmere mich (...) um sie nicht ... Ich bin mir auch nicht sicher, ob sich die Stellung des Menschen in der Gesellschaft durch die technische Revolution so sehr verändert, und dann gar so, daß es sich gleich auf die Lyrik auswirkt?" (72)

Sarah Kirsch's negative response revealed a degree of disillusion hitherto unencountered in an official debate. For this reason, and in view of the wide range of opinions aired in the debate, it is all the

more remarkable that Bahro focusses his controversial remarks on the work of Günter Kunert. This led Kunert's contemporaries, and some authors since then(73), to view Bahro's action as an unnecessary provocation, revealing his lack of discretion and understanding.

The target of Bahro's vitriolic criticism was Kunert's dismissive attitude to the advances of the technological revolution. Kunert had adopted a position highly critical of the enormous potential danger contained within technological development, which, he argued, far outweighed any benefits which had accrued during the scientific and technical revolution:

"Mir erscheint als bedeutendste, technische Revolution (...) die Massenvernichtung von Menschen, das möglich gewordene Ende allen Lebens." (74)

Acknowledging the risk of being termed a 'sceptic', Kunert insists that the writer cannot afford to close his eyes to the enormous contradictions which persist in society, arguing that social progress cannot be measured purely in terms of its degree of technological achievement: "Ich glaube, nur noch große Naivität setzt Technik mit gesellschaftlich-humanitärem Fortschreiten gleich." (75)

In his initial response to Kunert's article, Bahro spares little in his criticism of the apparent fundamental change of perspective which Kunert has undergone, maintaining that he seems to have sacrificed the traditions of his Marxist background in favour of an "... intellektuell hilflose spätbürgerliche Gesamthaltung". (76) As evidence of this change of direction in Kunert's work, Bahro cites the poem "Notizen in Kreide" (77), which exemplifies the way in which Kunert appears to have become divorced from social reality and seeks to undermine the reader's capacity to view the positive aspects of developments:

"Für meine Begriffe arbeiten solche Gedichte wie 'Notizen in Kreide' bei aller Bescheidenheit ihres Einflusses mit an der Entmachtung, Zerstörung der Vernunft." (78)

In the ensuing debate Bahro intensified his attack, one of the main strands of which focussed on what he viewed as the betrayal of the early spirit of Kunert's original works. Not only was Kunert guilty of failing to nurture the promise shown in his early years, but he appeared also to be fundamentally revising his outlook. Bahro arrives at a damning conclusion: "Der Dichter ist innerlich abgewandert in geistiges Niemandsland." (79)

Although grudgingly accepting Kunert's latest anthology as being, "bei aller Problematik, noch hier zu Hause, hier im sozialistischen Deutschland" (80), Bahro is unrelenting in his criticism. Compared to his earlier work, Kunert's efforts show all the signs of defeatism and resignation; Bahro sums up with the assertion that Kunert has become "sozialismusküde" (81). For Bahro, these developments in Kunert's work are indicative of a subjective and abstract viewpoint. In depicting existing social contradictions in abstract terms, Bahro feels Kunert displays little understanding of revolutionary practice or of the materialist process of history and has forsaken important aspects of the Marxist tradition. What Kunert offers instead, Bahro dismisses as worthless, "... kulturkritische Lamentationen." (82) Contrasting this sharply with his own current position, Bahro refutes the notion, posited by Kunert, that the technological revolution represents an inherent danger to man's existence. Instead, he espouses the official view that the risks arising from new technology, such as a nuclear war, stem from the continuing class struggle in its most extreme form, namely the imperialist West's struggle against the socialist camp:

"Der Kampf gegen den III. Weltkrieg ist auch nicht einfach 'die Hauptform des zeitgenössischen Klassenkampfes' sondern ein überaus wichtiger Aspekt letztlich aller seiner Formen." (83)

In Bahro's view, Kunert totally abdicates his responsibility as an author in simply confronting the reader with an abstract and inexorable vision of the future in the shape of "(d)as drohende absolute Nichts".(84) As such, Kunert ignores the author's role as one who should raise the reader's awareness of the important contribution which the individual can make in his everyday existence to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Bahro's perception of the author clearly entails a strong didactic and agitational element. One of the party's main objectives, he submits, is,

"... daß wir den Menschen die *Vermittlungen* zwischen ihrem Alltag und den letzten menschlich-politischen Existenzfragen unserer Tage *bewußt machen* müssen, und zwar *konkret*."(85)

Kunert's selection of the 'Warngedicht' excludes this mediating role between the Party and people, Bahro claims, and simply causes confusion for the reader:

"übrigens glaube ich, daß diese poetische Schocktherapie meistens viel undramatischer versagt, indem sie nämlich nur Befremden und keinen Schock auslöst. ... Ich sage, es liegt ... am Dichter, der sich die realen und erkenntnistheoretischen Zusammenhänge, die seinen Gegenstand betreffen, nicht genügend bewußt gemacht hat."(86)

Underlying Bahro's indictment of Kunert's work is not just a criticism of the author's loss of direction, expressed in his negative attitude to contemporary developments in the GDR, although this is important. (In this respect, the strong emphasis on the distinction between Kunert's present and former material in Bahro's critique is by no means accidental. Although he considered it part of the remit as editor of *Forum* to impart a better reflection of the younger generation's more radical outlook[87], Bahro was cautious not to offend, since, as a young writer, Kunert had enjoyed considerable favour and encouragement from one of the leading figures of the East German literary establishment, namely Johannes R. Becher - the

Minister for Cultural Affairs from 1954-1958.) Rather, Bahro's attack can be understood as an attempt to dispel the argument implicit in Kunert's work that a degree of convergence exists between the socialist and capitalist formations. Kunert's assertion that the WTR necessarily heightened the risk of nuclear war is understood by Bahro to imply that, regardless of mode of production, the two industrial systems share a common structure.

In the debate which subsequently developed, Bahro's orthodox position was opposed by several writers from the younger generation who expressed support for their colleague Kunert. Thus, Mickel justifiably takes issue with Bahro's arbitrary selection of Kunert's essay alone as evidence of the current state of literature in the GDR. Kunert, Mickel contests, merely presents existing contradictions with the most clarity whilst Bahro's article simply aims to accentuate the polarities in Kunert's work and overlooks the elements of continuity. (88) In a further cogent defence of Kunert, Rainer Kirsch echoes much of Mickel's criticism, adamantly refuting Bahro's provocation that Kunert's work amounted to an attack on reason itself ('Zerstörung der Vernunft'). Referring to this attack, Kirsch writes,

"Bahro ... weiß zweifelsohne, daß diesem Vorwurf etwa entspräche, über einen Bauarbeiter zu verbreiten, er sprengt Wohnhäuser in die Luft." (89)

In Kirsch's view, the incident is, rather, a demonstration of Bahro's own want of familiarity with literary practice. The 'Warngedicht', Kirsch insists, is a form with which Bahro should be well acquainted:

"Kennt nun Bahro die poetische Form des Warngedichts nicht? Oder glaubt er, andere kannten sie nicht, so daß er sich für den Abdruck der Kunert-Gedichte derart entschuldigen müßte?" (90)

The intention of the 'Warngedicht' is to expose the possible dangers of 'rational' processes if they are carried through to their ultimate

conclusion, not to declare such developments as inevitable, as Bahro seems to believe. Kirsch feels Bahro has clearly chosen to disregard what is a difficult and controversial literary device, as de Vajser Wilke points out:

"The obvious relationship between the content of the *Warngedicht* - the warning of possible catastrophe (...) - and its actual strategy - the provocation of fear - makes it, even in the 1970s, a controversial poetic form." (91)

Certainly, Kirsch's criticism of the stance which Bahro adopted in relation to the 'Warngedicht' is a valid one. Yet, whilst it is true that the 'Lyrikdebatte' can be seen to highlight the differing perceptions of the author's role in socialist society held by those on opposite sides of the debate, it also demonstrates the difficulty of assessing the attitude adopted by Bahro. On the one hand, Jonsson is right to argue that Kunert was indeed an uncomfortable author who was liable to come into conflict with the rather more dogmatic official perception of literature's function:

"Die so ausgesprochene Absetzung von einem dogmatisierenden Verständnis des Realismus kann auf Kulturfunktionäre, deren literarische Orientierungsmaßstäbe sich nur allzuoft an unmittelbaren operativen Zielen bilden, nur verunsichernd wirken ..." (92)

However, the implied criticism here of the attitude of the cultural functionary is not wholly applicable in Bahro's case. It would be wrong indeed to regard Bahro purely as a functionary unwillingly enforcing the views of the apparatus. Superficially, it is possible to interpret Bahro's attack on Kunert as an early indication of the introduction of a more cautious approach to literary policy on the part of the SED. In a short space of time, the attempts at decentralization invoked under the NÖS were perceived as having weakened the Party's leading role. Equally, events in Czechoslovakia, notably the implementation of a more decentralized economic system, and the so-

called Kafka Conference of 1963(93) were understood in East Berlin as potentially dangerous developments, should such tendencies spread to the GDR. At the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED in 1965, the Party sought to put an end to the more liberal economic and cultural policy which had been in force during recent years. Honecker, at this time a member of the Politbüro, spoke out in a sharp attack on figures such as Wolf Biermann, Stefan Heym, Robert Havemann and Rainer Kirsch, voicing concern at the "schädliche Tendenzen" (94) in the artistic and literary world.

Bahro does appear, however, to have been genuinely interested in fostering an open debate during his time as an editor of Forum. True, his attack on Kunert coincided with official policy against authors who, "... durch »Darstellung angeblicher Fehler Skeptizismus und Unmoral verbreiten«" (95), yet Bahro clearly seems to have been sincere in seeking to promote an atmosphere of open dialogue on behalf of the younger generation. Viewing the 'Lyrikdebatte' in retrospect, Bahro's recollection is noteworthy for the way he retracts nothing from his standpoint, regretting only that Kunert himself did not have the means at his disposal to air his views:

"Am Ende hat das Ganze nur geschadet. Als ich begriffen habe, daß hinter meiner Schreibmaschine ganz andere Mächte stehen als meine persönlichen Überzeugungen, habe ich die Position dort innerlich preisgegeben, mich entschlossen, es darauf ankommen zu lassen." (96)

Further evidence of the authenticity of the views which Bahro voiced against Kunert in the 'Lyrikdebatte' can be seen in his reaffirmation of such views in the West. Despite the fact that Bahro has come to share Kunert's scepticism of the benefits to be enjoyed from technological progress, he still takes issue with the mood of resignation and pessimism which he perceives in Kunert's work. (97) Bahro's decision to publish Volker Braun's Kipper Paul Bauch (now re-worked and re-titled Die Kipper (98)) also provides some indication of his desire to instigate genuine debate:

"I didn't necessarily agree with the views of people like Volker Braun and his portrayal of the working class in the play *Kipper Paul Bauch*, but I did not conceal my opinion that such things ought to be discussed openly, not swept under the carpet." (99)

It was ultimately this decision which cost Bahro his position on Forum in late 1966.

Bahro's post as an assistant editor of Forum constitutes an important period in the development of his career. He concedes that at this time he was not "... yet set on a collision course" (100) with the Party. Nonetheless, his experiences at the centre of the Party's bureaucratic machine fill Bahro with a sense of scepticism at the course of events. In this respect, Bahro's growing unease at the way things were developing is less a reflection of the unfolding of his own critical awareness, than a reaction to the failure of the Party to give concrete form to the aspirations which Bahro had come to vest in it. This sense of disillusionment with the reality of the revolutionary process is seen equally in Bahro's response when questioned on the influence exerted by the Chinese Cultural Revolution: "Whether one calls it Maoism, Trotskyism or some other name, the initial attitude is that the revolution has been betrayed." (101) As the following section will attempt to show, Bahro's essay on the life of Beethoven gives cogent form to this sense of betrayal and Bahro's own commitment to the continuing revolutionary struggle.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977 (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
2. David Bathrick does mention some of Bahro's Forum articles in: The Politics of Culture: Rudolf Bahro and Opposition in the GDR. in: New German Critique. No.15 1978. pp.3-24.
3. See: Ilse Spittmann: Der Fall Bahro. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.10 1977. p.1009.
4. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.62. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation.)
5. *ibid.* p.70.
6. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1984. p.12 (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green.)
7. *ibid.* p.13.
8. *ibid.* p.35.
9. *ibid.* p.15.
10. *ibid.* p.26.
11. *ibid.* p.27.
12. *ibid.* p.27.
13. Rudolf Bahro: An die Studenten meiner Universität. in: Junge Kunst. No.1 1958. pp.45-46.
14. *ibid.* p.45.
15. *ibid.* p.46.
16. For details of Bahro's own family background and upbringing see: Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. pp.3ff.
17. A trade union including all those working in universities, technical colleges and the Academy of Sciences, from professors to ancilliary staff, something which the translation Trade Union for Scientists and University Staff does not manage to convey fully. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.38.

18. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.63.
19. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 18 1963. pp.26-27. and No.20 1963. pp.13-15.
20. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 18 1963. p.26.
21. For more on the NÖS see: Mike Dennis: German Democratic Republic. Pinter Publishers, London 1988. pp.134ff.; Kurt Sontheimer and Wilhelm Bleek: Die DDR. Hoffmann & Campe Verlag, Hamburg 5th edition 1979. pp.207ff.; Hermann Weber: Geschichte der DDR. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1985. pp.350ff. (henceforward referred to as Weber.)
22. See for example Walter Ulbricht's speech to the Sixth Party Congress in 1963 praising the virtues of material incentives as a means to advancing socialism. Cited in: Weber. p.350.
23. See: Gert-Joachim Glaeßner: Herrschaft durch Kader. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1977; Günter Erbe: Arbeiterklasse und Intelligenz in der DDR. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1982.
24. Peter Zimmermann: Industrieliteratur der DDR. J.B Metzler Verlag (Studienausgabe), Stuttgart 1984. p.188 (henceforward referred to as Zimmermann.)
25. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 18 1963. p.26.
26. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.450ff.
27. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 18 1963. p.27.
28. *ibid.* p.27.
29. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 20 1963. p.13.
30. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.63.
31. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 20 1963. p.13.
32. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.286. (Bahro holds sharply differing views on the role of trades unions in East and West; in Die Alternative he attributes important social functions to the trades unions whereas he attacks Western trades unions as integrated elements of society.)
33. Rudolf Bahro: Geistige Reserven. in: Forum. No. 20 1963. p.14.
34. *ibid.* p.13.
35. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.496.
36. *ibid.* p.485.
37. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.68.

38. Karl-Heinz Jakobs: Über den Arbeiter in unserer Literatur. in: Neue Deutsche Literatur. No.10 1972. p.157. (Cited in Zimmermann. p.21.)
39. Rudolf Bahro: Wer sind Sie, Dr. Dodrowsky? in: Forum. No.20 1965. pp.4-5.
40. Rudolf Bahro: Stufen und Kreise. in: Forum. No.21 1965. p.4.
41. Rudolf Bahro: Wer sind Sie, Dr. Dodrowsky? in: Forum. No.20 1965. p.5.
42. Rudolf Bahro: Stufen und Kreise. in Forum. No.21 1965. p.5.
43. On the theme of 'convergence' see: Alfred Meyer: Theories of convergence. in: C. Johnson(ed.): Change in Communist Systems. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1970.
44. Rudolf Bahro: Wer sind Sie, Dr. Dodrowsky? in: Forum. No.20 1965. p.5.
45. *ibid.* p.5.
46. Rudolf Bahro: Stufen und Kreise. in: Forum. No.21 1965. p.5.
47. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.446.
48. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.39.
49. See for example: Joachim Bischoff: Bahro - eine Alternative? in: Beiträge zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus. No.1 1978. pp.21ff.; Alec Nove: Review of 'Die Alternative'. in: Soviet Studies. Vol.31 1979. pp.595-600.
50. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative. Bund Verlag, Cologne 1980.
51. Zimmermann. p.256.
52. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.63.
53. See: Zimmermann. pp.20ff.
54. Peter Hacks: Warnung. in: Theater der Zeit. No.2 1958. (henceforward referred to as Hacks. Warnung.)
55. Peter Hacks: An einige Aristoteliker. in: Theater der Zeit. No.5 1958. p.28. (Cited in Zimmermann. p.140.)
56. Rudolf Bahro, Ulrich Döring and Heidi Mühlberg: Kritische Bemerkungen zu einigen Kunsttheorien von Peter Hacks. in: Theater der Zeit. Vol.12, Beilage No.9, 1958. p.20. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro. Theater der Zeit.)
57. Cited in: *ibid.* p.21.

58. Peter Hacks: Warnung. p.33.
59. Rudolf Bahro. Theater der Zeit. p.22.
60. ibid. p.24.
61. V. I. Lenin: Party Organisation and Party Literature. in: Lenin Collected Works. Vol.10. Progress Publishers, Moscow 5th edition 1978. pp.44-49.
62. Rudolf Bahro. Theater der Zeit. p.22.
63. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.63.
64. Adolf Endler and Karl Mickel: In diesem besseren Land. Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle 1966.
65. See Manfred Jäger: Kultur und Politik in der DDR. Edition Deutschland Archiv im Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne 1982. p.125.
66. Konrad Franke: Kindlers Literatur-Geschichte der Gegenwart. Die Literatur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Kindler Verlag, Zurich & Munich 1974. p.150.
67. Heinz Czechowski: in: Forum. No.8 1966. p.20
68. Uwe Berger: in: Forum. No.8 1966. p.23.
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70. Hanns Cibulka: in: Forum. No.8 1966. p.22.
71. Rainer Kirsch: in: Forum. No.10 1966. p.24.
72. Sarah Kirsch: in: Forum No.10 1966. p.22.
73. See for example: Fritz Raddatz: Traditionen und Tendenzen. Materialien zur Literatur der DDR. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1972. p.175.
74. Günter Kunert: in: Forum. No.10 1966. p.23.
75. ibid.
76. Rudolf Bahro: Abdankung des Grashüpfers? in: Forum. No.10 1966. p.23. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Abdankung des Grashüpfers.)
77. Günter Kunert: Notizen in Kreide in: Forum. No.10 1966. p.23.
78. Rudolf Bahro: Abdankung des Grashüpfers? p.23.
79. Rudolf Bahro: Wozu wir diesen Dichter brauchen. in: Forum. No.12 1966. p.16.
80. ibid.
81. ibid. p.17.

82. *ibid.*
83. *ibid.* p.16.
84. *ibid.*
85. *ibid.*
86. *ibid.*
87. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.40.
88. Karl Mickel: Über Bahro zu Kunert. in: Forum. No. 12 1966. p.16. Kunert does distinguish his early works from his later writings. In the mid '50s Kunert admits to abandoning the so-called 'Lehrauftrag' associated with much of his early work. See: Günter Kunert: Vor der Sintflut. Das Gedicht als Arche Noah. Carl Hanser Verlag, Munich & Vienna 1985. pp.32ff. (henceforward referred to as Kunert: Vor der Sintflut.)
89. Rainer Kirsch: in: Forum. No.12 1966. p.16.
90. *ibid.*
91. Marieluise de Waizer Wilke: The 'Warngedicht' in the work of Günter Kunert: its reception as political poetry. in: GDR Monitor. No.14 1985/6. p.16.
92. Dieter Jonsson: Widersprüche-Hoffnungen. Literatur und Kulturpolitik der DDR. Die Prosa Günter Kunerts. Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 1978, p.45. Kunert firmly renounces the 'operative' tasks of literature when he writes, "... zwischen den offiziellen Bekenntnissen zu einer Fiktion und den real existierenden Verhältnissen bringt kein Gedicht einen Brückenschlag zustande." in: Kunert: Vor der Sintflut. p.81.
93. For further details see: Zimmermann. p.197ff.
94. Erich Honecker. Cited in: Weber. p.367.
95. *ibid.*
96. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.63.
97. Rudolf Bahro: Noch ist vieles möglich. in: Die Zeit. No.4 1981. p.36.
98. Volker Braun: Die Kipper. in: Volker Braun Stücke 1. Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2nd edition 1981.
99. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.41.
100. *ibid.*
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CHAPTER TWO - FROM CONFORMISM TO DISSENT:
"... DIE NICHT MIT DEN WÖLFEN HEULEN."

... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen(1) was conceived by Rudolf Bahro as a series of four articles, originally bearing the title Das Beispiel Beethoven. The West German publishers took it upon themselves, somewhat controversially(2), to re-title the work in order to capitalize on the author's predicament as one who had been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment following his own decision 'not to run with the pack'. On the occasion of its appearance, one critic(3) rightly warned of the danger of interpreting this work as a continuation of the critique developed by Bahro in Die Alternative. In fact, this collection of essays was written during the period directly following Bahro's dismissal from the editorial staff of Forum, that is from 1967-1969, although it was not to be published until over ten years later, and even then was available only to a Western audience, eager to learn more from this most prominent of GDR critics after the appearance of Die Alternative. As such, ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen represents one of the earliest documentations of Bahro's growing discontent with the nature of socialist society.

As the original title suggests, Das Beispiel Beethoven is a work in which, at least on the surface, Bahro seeks to examine the life and career of Beethoven. Yet, to accept this at face value, would be grossly to neglect the author's chief objective. For, scarcely concealed beneath its surface, there rests, if not a subtle, then at least an inspired, lucid and harsh attack on the East Berlin regime. Furthermore, by drawing attention to the broader and deeper relevance which Beethoven's work holds for the contemporary situation, Bahro's analysis provides an invaluable insight into the author's own motivations and intentions in a period when his disillusionment with the existing state of affairs had begun to assume concrete form.

In his study of Beethoven, Bahro aims to avoid delivering a biography in the conventional sense. Indeed, the work presumes a good prior knowledge of the composer's life and an acquaintance with his work. Ostensibly, Bahro's decision to present an assessment of Beethoven's career can be seen in the context of the official celebrations marking the 200th anniversary of the composer's birth, planned for 1970. As with the 125th anniversary of Beethoven's death, held in 1952(4), such an occasion offered an opportunity for the SED to reinforce its image as the true guardian of Germany's cultural heritage. Thus, the official statement honouring the composer's birth is glowing in its praise for his outstanding artistic abilities, the strong humanist dimension in his work and his commitment to the revolutionary cause:

"Verwurzelt in den großen humanistischen Traditionen des deutschen Volkes, erfüllt von tiefem revolutionärem und demokratischem Ethos, gelangte Beethovens Musik zu völkerverbindender Universalität."(5)

Although it is, significantly, free of the underlying nationalist tones through which the SED sought to portray the socialist GDR as the rightful heir to the cultural tradition exemplified by Beethoven, Bahro's appraisal has much in common with the official reception of the composer, that is, it is primarily devoted to extolling his revolutionary and humanist qualities. As already mentioned, however, Bahro's work contains a further dimension which echoes, in many respects, the critical appraisal produced by Hanns Eisler in 1952 as a more reflective alternative to the SED's official honoration.(6) Emulating Eisler's defiant disavowal of the hollow and meaningless eulogies issued by the SED in honour of Beethoven, Bahro successfully adopts the composer as a metaphor through which he seeks to expose the contradictions of the contemporary situation in the GDR.

The device of using a well-known historical incident or figure as a means of illustrating a point relevant to the experience of the contemporary reader is a practice not uncommon to the author in the

GDR as a means of circumventing, sometimes successfully(7) sometimes not(8), the obstacles placed in his path by the official censor. In selecting Beethoven as his subject, it is evident that Bahro's choice was far from arbitrary. With his uppermost concern that of exposing the relationship of the historical figure to the present day environment, Bahro believes that music offers a unique form through which to explore and comprehend the guiding spirit of an age. Bahro concurs with Beethoven's reported views on the matter, regarding music as a "...higher revelation than all wisdom and philosophy..."(9):

"Man kann den »Geist einer Zeit« aus Philosophie und Weltanschauungsdichtung allein nicht rekonstruieren, denn in diesen Organen bleiben die Volksmassen fast immer stumm. Auch deshalb ist Musikgeschichte, die nicht isoliert betrieben wird, äußerst wichtig und aufschlußreich für das Verständnis der Gesamtgeschichte."(10)

More than this however, in selecting Beethoven, Bahro chooses a figure who, according to Newman,

"... lifts us to a height from which we reevaluate not only all music but all life, all emotion and all thought. This ... has long been recognized as the function of the greatest literature."(11)

From his tone, it is evident that Bahro shares this assessment. Beethoven comes to represent the ideal of the creative individual and apotheosis of revolutionary virtue. Hofmann is undoubtedly correct in his observation that Bahro's heroes are almost exclusively those who manage to combine the qualities of great idealism and steadfastness in pursuing such goals.(12) As the title of the first essay "Was für ein Klassiker?" suggests, Bahro does not seek to evaluate Beethoven's merit purely in terms of artistic ability:

"Es ist immer noch nicht eindeutig genug herausgearbeitet worden, was für ein Klassiker er war, während man erst

danach ermessen kann, welchen mehr als künstlerischen Rang es bedeutet, daß seine schöpferische Kraft nach 1815 nicht versiegt." (13)

Rather, Bahro aims to demonstrate, with considerable plausibility, that the extent of the composer's greatness should be measured in terms of his achievement as someone who surmounts enormous disillusion ultimately to retain his faith in the process of revolution.

In managing to overcome the wide gap between the high expectations raised by the French Revolution and the disappointment caused by the period of restoration, whilst retaining his creativity and faith in a new order, Beethoven is perceived by Bahro as exemplifying the qualities of total revolutionary commitment. (14) Beethoven's resolute stance contrasts sharply with that of his contemporaries. In particular, Bahro draws attention to the distinction with Goethe, who he feels was all too ready to sacrifice his principles and sanction the forces of restoration. Testimony to his betrayal of revolutionary principles, Bahro insists, was Goethe's assertion, "...es sei »nie etwas Größeres und für die Menschheit Wohltätigeres erfunden worden« als die - Heilige Allianz." (15) Similarly, Bahro indicts Hegel and Heine respectively as "(d)er repräsentative Philosoph und der repräsentative Dichter des groß-bürgerlichen Kompromisses..." (16) Beethoven's great strength, on the other hand, stemmed precisely from his refusal to sacrifice these principles:

"... er hat in all den überlebensnotwendigen Kompromissen und immer wiederkehrenden Anfechtungen seine Integrität bewahrt, hat sich die Maßstäbe des eigenen Gewissens nicht verrücken lassen." (17)

As a central part of his enquiry, Bahro aims to examine the qualities which Beethoven displays in response to the profound dismay he felt at the degeneration of the French Revolution following the ascent of Napoleon Bonaparte to the position of Emperor. It is through drawing inspiration from Beethoven's triumphant belief in the

forces of progress that Bahro himself seeks to overcome his despair at the course of events in the GDR. In choosing Beethoven as a subject, Bahro gives strong voice to his own sense of political disillusionment and to his determination not to bend to the prevailing wind. Bahro writes in 1988 of his essay on Beethoven: "Er entstand als meine Selbstverständigung in der Krise meiner politischen Identifikation mit der Partei." (18)

A number of examples may be adduced to illustrate further the connection which Bahro draws between his own position as one who has come to doubt the official version of reality, and the experience of disillusion with the reaction to the French Revolution sensed by Beethoven and his contemporaries. Thus, Bahro refers to Fichte's assessment of the options available as a means of counterattack. Regarding it as unwise to attempt to challenge the authorities themselves, Fichte concludes that the most feasible strategy is to undermine the existing system from within by appealing to the consciousness of the more enlightened elements in society:

"'Aber die Gebildeten, bis zur Idee der Freiheit Entwickelten auffordern, daß sie die Gelegenheit brauchen, um wenigstens ihr Recht geltend zu machen, und auf die Zukunft weisen.'" (19)

The essence of this approach, Bahro believes, determined the form of Beethoven's later works, whereby he too expressed his continuing criticism in the more intimate, and therefore exacting, forms of the piano sonata and string quartet. In contrast to the mighty gestures of his earlier symphonies, Bahro suggests, the sonata and string quartet offer a more direct means of imparting his message. In itself, this is hardly an innovative statement on Beethoven's work (20) but when read in the context of Bahro's own oppositional activities the significance of this statement becomes clear. Thus, Bahro reveals that he originally intended to signal his disapproval at the intervention in Czechoslovakia by submitting his resignation from the SED. (21) On reflection, however, in producing Die Alternative, Bahro

decided against such a full-frontal approach and opted instead for a more reasoned and, in his belief, more subversive form of attack in the shape of an intellectual appeal to those progressive elements within the Party he considered to be most receptive to the idea of change.

Although it forms the foundation of his study of Beethoven, throughout ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen Bahro refrains from direct criticism of the ruling Party in the GDR. Rather, he voices his disapproval of the way things are developing by implication. He is especially at pains to reveal the sharp contradiction between the Party's good intentions in theory and its shortcomings in practice. This is evident in his discussion of the legacy of the French Revolution, which, he rather prophetically asserts, has imbued the masses with the belief that they possess the ability to change the circumstances in which they live:

"Von nun an wird der Widerspruch von Postulat und Realität, wird die Unangemessenheit des je Errungenen auf die Dauer eher zum nächsten Kampf anstacheln als »was wir wollen, geht niemals« bedeuten." (22)

At the core of this first major critical work by Bahro lies the intention to lay bare precisely this contrast between the 'Postulat' of official Party dogma, and the 'Realität' which so blatantly contradicts it. Just as Beethoven did over a century-and-half earlier, Bahro questions in no uncertain terms whether the advances of the revolution have been lost along the way:

"Nach Waterloo ließ sich Beethoven selbst Byrons Wort 'Weshalb haben wir den Löwen verjagt, um uns vor den Wölfen zu beugen?' ins Konversationsheft schreiben." (23)

Bahro himself passes no comment on such observations; the very fact that he makes such references, however, suffices in itself as an indication of his conviction that, although the capitalist mode of

production has been abolished, this fact alone forms inadequate proof of an end to all forms of alienation. The crucial distinction between 'Verstaatlichung' and 'Vergesellschaftung' is one which Bahro later develops from this observation and which lies at the centre of his critical analysis in Die Alternative. (24)

The introduction, too, is awash with biting criticism of the way in which the full potential of the revolution has not been realized. Indirectly voicing his opinion through a speech held by Robespierre, Bahro reproaches the Party for having made minimal progress towards the realization of socialist society: "»Überall, wo die Gerechtigkeit nicht regiert, hat das Volk seine Ketten gewechselt, nicht sein Geschick!«" (25) Bahro goes on to castigate the Party for having presided over the degeneration of the revolutionary process into a system of corruption and decay,

"...» in dem die Intrige ewig über die Wahrheit triumphiert, in dem die niedrigsten Leidenschaften, die niedrigsten Befürchtungen in den Gemütern an die Stelle der heiligen Interessen des Vaterlandes treten«." (26)

Through his skillful and pertinent use of reference to the historical allegory, Bahro reinforces his rather pessimistic perception of the existing state of affairs, which, if left to itself, shows signs of becoming worse. Bahro tries to circumvent any official disapproval by quoting from Beethoven's correspondence to Brentano:

"...»Was mich anbelangt, so ist geraume Zeit meine Gesundheit erschüttert, wozu Ihnen auch unser *Staatszustand* (Beethoven selbst unterstreicht!) nicht wenig beiträgt, wovon bis hieher noch keine Verbesserung zu erwarten, wohl aber sich täglich Verschlimmerung desselben ereignet.«" (27)

Bahro's comment in parentheses remarking on the fact that the emphasis is in the original serves to drive home his own dismay at the present

state of affairs, implying that it would have been appropriate for him to do likewise.

As he stresses in his introduction to Die Alternative (28), Bahro is at pains to point out that he is not solely concerned with pointing the finger of disapproval. Bahro refuses, like Beethoven, to resign himself to the adverse circumstances which he perceives, and strikes, instead, a defiant note: "Es ist schwer, die Unwiderruflichkeit des Thermidor zu akzeptieren." (29) Similarly, Bahro shares the composer's belief that, despite the wide-ranging changes wrought by the advent of the Bonapartist era, the original spirit behind the revolutionary process persists beneath the surface and simply needs reawakening:

"Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß ihm der Bonapartismus bis zu seinem Zusammenbruch als eine Art wesensfremder Hülle erschien, unter der das wahre Wesen der Revolution unverletzlich fortlebte und seiner Wiederauferstehung harrete." (30)

...die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen is, then, a document of Bahro's belief not only in the necessity of, but, more importantly, in the possibility of reversing the trend towards stagnation which he feels has taken hold of the revolution. What were originally conceived as grand objectives, aimed at inspiring the masses, have degenerated into hollow statements of theory, which, Bahro judges, have gained little or no foundation in reality:

"(Es wird bewiesen, daß: G.S.) ... Wert und Wirkung einer sozialen Idee nicht allein, meist nicht einmal in erster Linie auf ihrem abstrakten Wahrheitsgehalt beruhen, dafür um so mehr auf ihrer dynamischen Spannweite und Mobilisierungskraft, die auch die emotionalen Tiefenschichten des menschlichen Bewußtseins elektrisiert, das Reich der Bedürfnisse." (31)

The essence of this work, therefore, can be understood as an indictment of the Party's failure to provide the type of inspirational leadership required to spur on the population to greater achievements. In this context, Bahro's reproach of Fichte, Hölderlin and Beethoven for their error in regarding the act of liberation as the panacea for all existing contradictions can be construed as a direct attack on the SED for its failure to advance the cause of socialism in the GDR. (32)

More specifically, Bahro's remarks on the stagnation of the revolution must be viewed in the light of the controversial speech delivered by Ulbricht in 1967 at a function marking the 100th anniversary of the appearance of Das Kapital. On this occasion, Ulbricht had enunciated his now discredited revision of the Marxian theory which saw 'socialism' as a short transition phase on the road to 'communism'. Instead, Ulbricht insisted, socialism was a "... relativ selbständige sozialökonomische Formation in der historischen Epoche des Übergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Kommunismus im Weltmaßstab." (33) In viewing the socialist phase, like capitalism and feudalism, as an economic order in its own right, Ulbricht attempted to justify the persistence of those features of capitalism such as commodity exchange and the profit motive which were held to be temporary necessary evils, but which, for Bahro, in fact constituted essential pillars of the GDR's economic system. In Die Alternative, Bahro leaves little doubt that he considers this corrective of classical Marxist theory to be a betrayal of the socialist cause. (34) It is precisely this official stance of clinging to the present instead of marching towards the future with which Bahro here takes issue.

Against the sclerosis of the existing situation, Bahro posits his call for a stronger commitment to greater dynamism dedicated to pushing ahead with the task of achieving socialism. It is this progressive element, Bahro argues, which Beethoven's very being encapsulates:

"Es ist aber das Entwicklungsgesetz der modernen Revolution, es ist die Konsequenz ihrer ursprünglichen Zielideen und -emotionen selber, die Beethovens ganzes Wesen beherrscht." (35)

Indeed, in Beethoven's Heiligenstadt Testament, Bahro finds confirmation of this view, since it inspires with its visionary element and, Bahro maintains, gives encouragement to continue striving for a goal even should it turn out to be unattainable:

"Aber wir werden unsere Freude daraus gewinnen, auch wenn wir das Ziel nie erreichen. Denn dies ist das menschliche Leben, das man zu führen berufen ist: der wissende Kampf um die Freiheit, und das heißt: um mehr Glück." (36)

In this context, Bahro can be seen to be advocating a more conscious struggle by the Party to win over and inspire the population to greater things. Medek's judgement of Bahro on this point is certainly valid when he identifies this agitational element as one of the most significant features of the text:

"(Bahro:G.S.) ... sucht in der Beschränkung auf einen Tonkünstler das »Beispiel« auf, um Kräfte im Leser zu mobilisieren, die sonst bei reinen Fachtexten nicht angerührt werden und daher uns Zeitgenossen so merkwürdig und bleibeschwert zugleich machen." (37)

Certainly, Bahro does seek to admonish those within the Party and its bureaucracy who have all too willingly resigned themselves to the corruption and principle of self-interest which Bahro so detests. Quoting from the essay of the Russian symbolist, Alexander Blok, on the intelligentsia and revolution, Bahro reveals his answer to those who have chosen to accommodate themselves with the system as it stands, after having lost their faith in it:

"»Zu leben lohnt nur dann, wenn man maßlose Forderungen ans Leben stellt: alles oder nichts. Das Unerwartete erwarten. Nicht an das glauben, 'was es auf der Welt nicht gibt', sondern an das, was es geben *MUS*, auch wenn es noch lange auf sich warten läßt.«" (38)

A constituent part of this renunciation of defeatism and accommodation is Bahro's advocacy of a strong utopian content within the revolutionary process. Thus, Bahro refers to '... die unwiderlegbare Utopie des Glücks' (39) contained within the first movement of Beethoven's "Große Fuge" and cites at length a German translation of Shelley's Prometheus Unbound who envisages an age where man becomes "Sein eigener König, mild, gerecht und weise." (40) The reverse side of this tendency towards the utopian is formed by Bahro's outright denunciation of those he dubs as the prophets of 'false positivism'. (41) Here, he attacks those Party members who have distorted Marxist theory into a science which merely declares existing circumstances as necessary and inevitable. Such corruption of original Marxist theory is evident in the attitudes of many who Bahro believes see socialism chiefly in terms of its ability to outperform capitalism. The spirit of Beethoven's work, he contends, stands in direct opposition to such attitudes:

"Sein Werk strafft sie alle Lügen, die Apostel der Prosperität, die Methodenlehrer des Erfolgsverhaltens, die philosophische Schergen des Status quo mit ihren schnellen, glatten Theorien, daß das Bestehende vernünftig ist und daß alles gar nicht anders sein kann, als es nun einmal ist." (42)

By the same token, Bahro begins to exercise criticism of the relentless pursuit of progress as displayed in the shape of the scientific and technical revolution to which he had earlier given, albeit qualified, support. (43) Bahro is of the firm belief that technological advance *per se* cannot alone suffice as an indication of a society's progress towards the humanitarian goals of socialism - this

is the underlying implication of Bahro's remark on Beethoven's "Große Fuge", which, he maintains, contains "Keine Idyllisierung des Fortschritts." (44) Bahro attempts to defend his sceptical view of the primacy attached to technology by emphasizing that, like Beethoven, he does not simply dismiss it in a 'romantic' flight from reality:

"Dabei ist das Großartige an Beethoven, daß er den kapitalistischen Fortschritt der Produktivkräfte, auf den Goethe setzt, nicht etwa romantisch negiert. ... Für die Leiden, die der Fortschritt mit sich bringt, hat er nicht distanzierendes Wissen, sondern das große Herz." (45)

This can clearly be interpreted as a reproach to the Party for its neglect of those humanitarian aspects which Bahro considers form an inalienable part of the socialist endeavour to create a just and humane society.

As in his major critique, Die Alternative, Bahro here not only lays considerable stress on the diagnosis of the problems of the socialist order as he understands them but also offers his proposals to overcome these difficulties. Bahro constructs his theory on an appeal to the intellect as an essential precondition for achieving change in society. As later chapters will demonstrate, this forms a significant constituent part of Bahro's theory of social change, both in East and West. Here, again, his argument draws inspiration from the example of the German Idealists in their response to the crisis of German Republicanism. Significantly, Bahro concurs with Fichte in his assertion that it would be false to anticipate success from any strategy based on the hope of igniting the consciousness of the masses. Fichte estimates the prospects thus:

"Was ... will ich? Das Volk anfeuern durch die vorausgesetzte Belohnung, politisch sich frei zu machen? Es will nicht frei sein, es versteht noch nichts von der Freiheit." (46)

Bahro clearly shares the scepticism of the German Republicans who saw the servile attitude of the people as one of the chief obstacles to realizing its own liberation. This pronounced conviction that the proletariat lacks the necessary level of consciousness to achieve progress towards liberation by dint of its own efforts is a theme which recurs again and again in Bahro's work, both in Die Alternativa(47) and his later writings(48). In citing Fichte, Bahro demonstrates at an early stage his unshakeable belief in the 'Leninist' style of avant-garde political organization in which Bahro attributes a significant role to the intelligentsia as the leading force of social transformation.

A major element of Bahro's views on such matters is his advocacy of a strong, disciplined, even despotic, yet virtuous force to implement social change. In a section entitled "Die Seele der Jakobiner" Bahro reveals the ascetic nature of Beethoven's outlook, paying tribute to the composer's uprightness, altruism and selflessness as the embodiment of the virtues of the true revolutionary, to which Bahro himself aspires. Bahro takes issue with Brecht's reported statement where he condemns Beethoven as one who simply emulated Napoleon's battles within his compositions, and claims instead that the composer sought to extoll the virtues of the true revolutionary leader which had been mistakenly anticipated in Napoleon:

"Ja, es steckt wirklich etwas von Diktator in ihm, aber der Napoleon, der tatsächlich gewesen wäre, wozu ihn die Federn der konterrevolutionären Koalitionen stilisierten: Robespierre zu Pferde, ein Führer, der Europas Völker befreit ... der Diktator des Ideals."(49)

This fascination with the concept of a 'Diktator des Ideals' constitutes one of the leitmotifs of Bahro's work, whether expressed in his controversial assertion that the Stalinist era was justified(50), or the still more radical proposal calling for a strong 'charismatic' leader as a solution to the ecological crisis.(51) Although in a recent interview Bahro admits to favouring the traditions of the

Russian Revolution as against those of the French(52), it is most apparent that, at this stage at least, he stands firmly in the tradition of the French Jacobins with their ideals of selfless discipline and strong moral code. Bahro appears, here, to want to redress the balance of the official perception of the Jacobin dictatorship, which attached more importance to the economic reforms which the Jacobins introduced. (53)

Those who have rightly pointed to the neo-Leninist nature of Bahro's major work(54) have tended to overlook this more deep-rooted influence on Bahro's revolutionary concepts and the broader cultural heritage in which he stands. Thus, in this text Bahro makes scant reference to Lenin or the Russian tradition, preferring to draw instead on the traditions of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century German classicism. In the end, as Bathrick points out, Bahro attempts to arrive at a synthesis of the more radical values of the classical German tradition and the experience of the Soviet revolution. (55) Foreshadowing what has been perceived as a neo-Leninist stance in Die Alternative(56), Bahro interprets Beethoven's renowned Fifth Symphony as echoing the rigorous moral stance of Fichte's work, insisting further that its rhythm contains something of the French 'Despotismus der Freiheit'. (57) An indication of what Bahro understands by this is revealed in his discussion of the 'puritanical asceticism' of figures like Hölderlin, Fichte and Beethoven, which gives strength to Bahro's view that the majority requires some form of (intellectual) elite to point the way forward:

"»Unser Zeitalter bedarf kräftiger Geister, die diese kleinsüchtigen, heimtückischen, elenden Schufte von Menschen-seelen geißeln«, heißt es 1825 bei Beethoven." (58)

As later chapters will demonstrate, asceticism constitutes a chief aspect of Bahro's understanding of man and his needs. In these essays this conviction is revealed in his belief that, given the right example, all men will act selflessly and in a disciplined manner. Beethoven's work, he asserts, aims to appeal to this innate good will

of the individual through an "... Appel zur Größe des Menschen ..." (59).

Nonetheless, an important contrast is discernible in respect to Bahro's current views and those expressed here on the nature of the individual's contribution to the revolutionary process. On the one hand, Bahro attaches an overriding importance to a convincing belief in one's own abilities as an essential revolutionary quality:

"Ohne so entschiedenes Selbstvertrauen bringt man nicht den Mut auf, »böse« zu sein, die überkommenen Zustände, die angestammten und angemäßen Rechte zu verletzen." (60)

With clearly implied reference to his own position, Bahro adds that the individual must assert his own position if he is to challenge the existing order:

"Wer die Grenzen des Bestehens überschreiten will, darf den Tugenden der Unterwerfung und des Gehorsams keinen Fußbreit Raum in seinem Herzen überlassen." (61)

In later works, however, Bahro is self-critical of his attitude here, and has attempted to accommodate his theory of social change with a reduced emphasis on the individualistic aspect. He has therefore altered his stance towards Beethoven, dismissing what he regards as the strong "... expansionist image of self-realization" (62) contained within Beethoven's concept of human emancipation. Instead, he argues, he had already come to favour the "non-antagonistic" outlook conveyed by the works of Mozart and Schubert before leaving the GDR. (63) Even his decision to write Die Alternative, Bahro now concedes, was testimony to the Nietzschean, individualist 'will to power' which he now holds to be one of the fundamental root causes of the 'exterminist' nature of the existing social order. (64)

Nonetheless, Bahro is still clearly reluctant to disavow Beethoven totally, regardless of his 'expansionist' overtones, and reaffirms his

interest in the spirit conveyed by Beethoven's work. (65) This unwillingness to cast off the assertive 'commanding' (66) spirit in Beethoven's work illustrates one of the major unresolved tensions in Bahro's thesis - between the assertion, on the one hand, that man must overcome his promethean individuality, and, on the other hand, the belief that any process of transformation requires precisely such individualistic qualities as discipline, control, foresight and determination.

In view of the close proximity in which they were written, it is perhaps not surprising that there exists a high degree of continuity between ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen and Die Alternative. However, this former work is instructive for the way in which it gives several indications of the future direction of Bahro's theoretical development. This is particularly notable in his interpretation of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, the strong religious nature of which marks it out from the main body of his other compositions. Dismissing previous interpretations which have sought to attest to the exceptional nature of this piece, Bahro understands this work as a natural development rather than as an inconsistency. He thus challenges the view that the *Missa Solemnis* is 'problematical' for those interpreting his work. (67)

The *Missa Solemnis* was penned in the period when the forces of Restoration had begun to consolidate their position. It is against this background that Bahro believes this work should be judged, as evidence of the composer's search for a temporary refuge in a period of despair. Furthermore, the religious aspect of this work, he argues, is not difficult to explain since, despite his disapproval of organized religion, Beethoven was never an atheist:

"So wie Robespierre in seinem Höchsten Wesen den Schutzgeist der Revolution anrief, als die Sansculotten sich von der Jacobiner-Diktatur zurückziehen begannen, braucht der isolierte Beethoven nun doch »Gottes Hülfe«, braucht einen Hort und Fels, das Trotzdem seiner Hoffnungen darauf zu

gründen, ein Feste Burg, von der aus er notfalls einer langen Belagerung standhalten kann." (68)

Although Medek is undoubtedly correct in noting the importance of Bahro's uncomplicated and unashamed acceptance of the religious element of Beethoven's works as an important step forward in the Marxist reception of his music (69), this aspect has a more fundamental significance. For, implicit in Bahro's argument is the more wide-ranging call for the greater recognition of the metaphysical aspect of man's existence and the need for a higher set of values beyond the political sphere. This interpretation also foreshadows much of Bahro's more recent works in which he accords priority to a reawakening of spiritual values. (70) Indeed the parallels with these later works are quite remarkable. Bahro writes, for example that the struggle for socialism has always had a fringe association with religious traditions:

"Noch in unserem Jahrhundert war bei vielen in idealistischer Tradition aufgewachsenen linksbürgerlichen Künstlern die Annäherung an proletarische Positionen von einem Aufbrachen mystischer Religiosität begleitet, zum Beispiel bei Becher oder Blok ..." (71)

Since coming to the West, Bahro's own political position has itself become noted for its 'upsurge of religious mysticism' as the chapter on Logik der Rettung will illustrate. (72) The conviction expressed in his most recent work, namely that spiritual commitment must form the foundation of any process of social transformation, can be seen in embryonic form even at this stage of his development. Bahro's own growing interest in the need to combine political change with a spiritual reformation corresponds to his observation that Beethoven was, in a sense, reviving the tradition of Joseph II in this respect. (73)

More significantly, the parallels which Bahro draws between Beethoven's religious beliefs and Robespierre's celebration of the

religion of the Supreme Being can equally be seen to have influenced the understanding of religion which Bahro himself holds. That aspect to which Bahro attaches most significance is the concept of unmediated communication between individual and deity. This is clearly the essence of the spirit conveyed in the Missa Solemnis, he feels:

"Auf die *Herrschaft* über die Menschen hat er (Beethoven: G.S.) verzichtet, aber er spricht nicht nur mit seinem Gott. Er ist viel weniger einsam als die Legende will. Doch in einem hat Rolland recht: Beethoven spricht seit 1815 mehr und vor allem anders als bisher »mit seinem Gott«." (74)

Bahro equates Beethoven's conception of religion with Robespierre's rejection of a Church based on clerical mediation between man and his God, whereby he asserts,

"»Wie ist doch der Gott der Natur so anders als der Gott der Priester! ... Der wahre Priester des Höchsten Wesens ist die Natur; sein Tempel die ganze Welt ..." (75)

Bahro subscribes to the view, best summed up by Mellers in his assessment of the Missa Solemnis as representing,

"... a communion with God and Nature. The segregation of a God 'up there' from Nature 'here around' us is abolished; to find God, which is to find the Self, is also to heal the breach between Man and Nature, wherein God *must* be manifest." (76)

In Logik der Rettung Bahro pursues this theme, searching for a 'transcendent perfection' (77) which attains a higher unity above and beyond the qualities of good and evil. The 'Unsichtbare Kirche' which Bahro postulates in Logik der Rettung as a non-hierarchical body, "... die allen offensteht, der alle angehören mit den für die neue Welt freien Anteilen ihres Bewußtseins" (78) can be seen to have its roots at this early stage in the corresponding notion of the 'Parthenon

chrétien' in which the Christian values of mercy and goodness are transfused with the arrogant qualities of Prometheus to attain a state, "»... wo alle Menschen ihre Bedeutung, die Schönheit ihres Strebens und die sie verbindenden Bande des Blutes erkennen werden.«" (79) Equally, the controversial assertion in Logik der Rettung that the German people as a whole are still receptive to the idea of charismatic leadership can already be detected in nascent form in this work. Thus, Bahro argues,

"Es ist eine Nationaleigenschaft der Deutschen, »seelisch« auf historische Forderungen zu reagieren, mit einer nicht sehr bestimmten Aufregung des Gemüts, und hier war der Resonanzboden da." (80)

As later chapters will seek to demonstrate, it is precisely upon this understanding of "deutsche(n) Innerlichkeit" (81) that Bahro bases his theory in Logik der Rettung - namely the belief that a deep-rooted psychological response is the only possible strategy by which to overcome the impending threat of ecological disaster.

Clearly, there are parallels between Bahro's vision of a spiritual element in the process of social and political transformation and the Reformation itself. Indeed, some authors have considered Bahro's position as analogous to that of Luther. (82) Such similarities clearly exist, for example, between Bahro's allusion to Beethoven's preference for direct divine communication in opposition to the institutionalized nature of Church dogma, and his own disavowal of the dogmatic form which the socialist credo has come to assume. Indeed, Bahro will go on to advocate that what the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe require is a reformation comparable to that which shook the foundations of the Church in the sixteenth century.

Against the background of Bahro's later attack on 'actually existing socialism', Das Beispiel Beethoven can be seen to constitute an indirect, but nonetheless still powerful appeal for the Party to recapture the spirit of the October Revolution. Just as Beethoven's

later works express a sense of rejuvenation and defiance of spirit in overcoming his feelings of doubt and despair, Bahro believes the Party should similarly submit itself to a new 'produktive(r) Transformation'. (83) This becomes evident when Bahro reaffirms the views expressed by Franz Werfel on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the composer's death:

"...»Alle, die Beethoven aus ehrlichem Herzen feiern wollen, müssen sich sagen, sie feiern einen Empörer und Erneuerer der Kunst und des Geistes... Wer prinzipiell gegen neue Kunst ist, muß gegen den Erneuerer Beethoven sein. Wie erhebend auch das Fest werden mag, es wird unvollständig sein, wenn wir uns weiterhin gegen alles Neue sperren, der Jugend mißtrauen, die Revolution von gestern in den Himmel heben, um die von heute in die Hölle zu bannen.«" (84)

Although a century has passed since Werfel's speech, the essence of his message is still pertinent to the contemporary situation, Bahro contends. As such, it encapsulates his own frustration at the way in which the revolutionary dynamic has become impeded by the abject failure of the ruling elites to adopt a self-critical stance towards the past and their corresponding reluctance to acknowledge the need for new impulses from the younger generation as an important contribution to the renewal of socialism. Despite its relatively short length, ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen must count as one of Rudolf Bahro's most important works. Even on the superficial level of an assessment of Beethoven, Bahro successfully manages to provide key insights into the historical and intellectual framework which shaped the composer's life and works. In the context of his own career, however, Bahro's celebration of the indefatigable approach which Beethoven showed in the face of political disillusion must be understood as an important statement of his own deep dissatisfaction with socialism as it exists. At its most compelling level the work ultimately represents a direct appeal for greater (intellectual) resistance against the status quo. This is most apparent in Bahro's appraisal of the heritage left by the composer:

"Der Horizont des sterbenden Milton ist hell. Und wie bei Beethoven, gibt auch bei ihm noch der Tod Anlaß zu einer Massenkundgebung geistiger Widerstands... (sic)" (85)

It is precisely with this aim in mind that Babro produces his fundamental critique of the GDR in the form of Die Alternative, a discussion of which now follows.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

1. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1979 (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht).
2. This point is criticized in: Martin Buchholz: »Wer die Grenzen des Bestehenden überschreiten will.« in: Die Neue. 16.8.79. (henceforward referred to as Buchholz.)
3. *ibid.*
4. Zum 125. Todestag Ludwig van Beethovens. Stellungnahme des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, March 1952. cited in: Elimar Schubbe (ed.): Dokumente zur Kunst - Literatur - und Kulturpolitik der SED. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1972. pp.231-233.
5. Sein Werk hat einen festen Platz in unserem Leben. cited in: Gisela Rüß (ed.): Dokumente zur Kunst - Literatur - und Kulturpolitik der SED 1971-1974. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. pp.27-30.
6. Hanns Eisler: Zu Beethovens Todestag. in: Sonntag. 23.3.52. (cited in: Wolfram Schlenker: Das »Kulturelle Erbe« in der DDR. Metzler Studienausgabe, Stuttgart 1977. p.117.)
7. See for example: Rainer Kirsch: Kleists Selbstmord. in: Ordnung im Spiegel. Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig 1985. pp.169ff.
8. See for example: Hans-Joachim Schädlich: Satzsuchung. in: Versuchte Nähe. Rowohlt, Reinbek/Hamburg 1980. pp.176-186. For further information on this work see: Ian Wallace: Living with the censor in the GDR: Some literary strategies. in: New Comparisons. No.7 1989. pp.55-67.
9. Ludwig van Beethoven, reported in correspondence of Elizabeth Brentano. Cited in: J.W.N. Sullivan: Beethoven. Penguin, Harmondsworth 1949 (1927). p.8. (henceforward referred to as Sullivan).
10. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.61.
11. Ernest Newman. Cited in: Sullivan. p.8.
12. Gunter Hofmann: Ein Held unserer Zeit? in: Die Zeit. No.45

- 31.10.80. p.32.
13. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.12.
 14. *ibid.*
 15. *ibid.* p.13. Bahro's negative view of Goethe is shared by other GDR authors , the most notable example of which is: Günter Kunert: Goethe, verfremdet. in: Diesseits des Erinnerns. Carl Hanser Verlag, Munich & Vienna 1982. pp.63-67.
 16. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.15.
 17. *ibid.* p.40.
 18. Rudolf Bahro: Correspondence with G. W. Smith, 18.2.88.
 19. *ibid.* p.29.
 20. See for example: Frida Knight: Beethoven and the age of revolution. Lawrence and Wishart, London 1973.; Bahro is strongly influenced by Romain Rolland's appraisal of Beethoven: Romain Rolland: Beethoven the Creator. Dover Publications, New York 1964 (Editions Du Sablier, Paris 1928).
 21. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1984. pp.54-55. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green.)
 22. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.53.
 23. *ibid.* p.57.
 24. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1977. pp.54-55. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
 25. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. pp.7-8. Bahro is referring here to Robespierre's speech to the Convention in June 1794. In Die Alternative, Bahro develops this point to condemn outrightly the condition of the workers in socialist society as differing little from, or having become worse than those of their counterparts in capitalist society.
 26. *ibid.* p.7.
 27. *ibid.* p.14.
 28. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.14.
 29. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.58.
 30. *ibid.*

31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.* p.51.
33. Walter Ulbricht: in: *Neues Deutschland*. No.252 13.9.67. Cited in: Hermann Weber: Geschichte der DDR. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1985. p.393.
34. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative*. p.19. Bahro himself refers to Ulbricht's 1967 speech, accepting his notion that the system has become 'relatively independent' in its own right, in order then to show this as being precisely what is wrong with the existing system.
35. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.52.
36. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.114.
37. Tilo Medek: *Vademecum zu Rudolf Bahros »Das Beispiel Beethoven«* in: Deutschland Archiv. No.8 1979. p.876. (henceforward referred to as Medek.)
38. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.86. Bahro's reference to Blok is interesting. As one of the first figures from the literary intelligentsia to declare his support for the Bolshevik Revolution, Blok appeals to Bahro's idea of intellectual commitment to the revolution. Yet, Blok himself was critical of the Russian intelligentsia, criticizing its separation from the people and lack of 'real' experience, a point which Bahro is keen to refute. Bahro's reference to Blok may be tendentious, since Blok's work was dismissed in the 1950s in the Soviet Union as containing 'formalist tendencies' and of being too 'subjective'. Bahro leaves aside mention of Blok's own sense of disillusion with the Revolution, and his outspoken 1921 'Pushkin' speech in which he attacked bureaucrats for trying to 'force poetry into artificial channels...' See: Marc Slonim: From Chekov to the Revolution. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1962. pp.196ff.
39. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.110.
40. *ibid.* p.111. Bahro is referring here to the speech made by the Spirit of the Hour in *Prometheus Unbound*. Act III, Scene IV. in: H.B. Forman(ed.): The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Reeves & Turner, London 1876.

41. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.120.
42. ibid. p.120.
43. See above pp.6ff.
44. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.108.
45. ibid. p.90.
46. ibid. p.29.
47. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.229-230.
48. See for example: Rudolf Bahro: Abschied vom Kapitalismus - Abschied von unserem Proletariatsbegriff. in: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. pp.76ff.
49. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.47-48.
50. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.106.
51. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987. pp.345ff. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung.)
52. Rudolf Bahro: Apokalyptischer Optimist. Interview in: Die Tageszeitung. 13.2.88. pp.11-12.
53. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.456-457. In Die Alternative Bahro refers to Rudolf Herrnstadt: Die Entdeckung der Klassen. Verlag das europäische buch, Berlin 1975. (Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin [East] 1966.) Herrnstadt refers to the necessity of a high moral code, but Bahro overlooks his caveat: "Die Moral ist in der Politik von außerordentlicher Bedeutung, aber sie ist nicht die primäre Frage: 'Erst kommt das Fressen, dann kommt die Moral.' (Brecht)" (Herrnstadt. p.202.)
54. See for example: Andrew Arato and Mihaly Vajda: The limits of Leninist opposition. in: New German Critique. No.19 1980. pp.167ff.; See Bathrick's response to Arato: David Bathrick: Rudolf Bahro's 'Neo-Leninism' in context. in: New German Critique. No.21. 1980. pp.147ff.
55. David Bathrick: The Politics of Culture: Rudolf Bahro and the opposition in the GDR. in: New German Critique. No.15 1978. pp.3-24.
56. See above: footnote 54.
57. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.28.
58. ibid.

59. *ibid.* p.47.
60. *ibid.* p.43.
61. *ibid.* pp.43-44.
62. Rudolf Bahro: *From Red to Green.* p.223.
63. *ibid.*
64. Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.* p.298 and also p.494. Bahro calls for "... den Willen zur verantwortlichen Teilnahme an der sozialen Macht herauszubilden."
65. Rudolf Bahro: Interviewed by Gordon W. Smith. Berlin, 20.5.88.
66. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.28.
67. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.76.
68. *ibid.* p.84.
69. Medek. p.878.
70. Rudolf Bahro: *Spirituelle Gemeinschaften als soziale Intervention.* in: Rudolf Bahro et al: Radikalität im Heiligenschein. Herzsschlag, Berlin 1984. pp.63-83.; Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.*
71. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.82.
72. See Chapter Six below.
73. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. pp.83-84.
74. *ibid.* p.74.
75. *ibid.* p.77.
76. Wilfrid Mellers: Beethoven and the voice of God. Faber and Faber, London 1983. p.368.
77. *ibid.* p.291.
78. Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.* p.314.
79. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.83.
80. *ibid.* pp.60-61.
81. *ibid.* p.61.
82. Ilse Spittmann: *Der Fall Bahro.* in: Deutschland Archiv. No.10 1977. pp.1009ff. Bahro himself refers to the analogy with Luther in: Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* pp.412-413.
83. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. p.118.
84. *ibid.* p.120.
85. *ibid.* pp.92-93.

CHAPTER THREE - "DIE ALTERNATIVE:
PART ONE - THE NON-CAPITALIST ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETY: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS IN "DIE ALTERNATIVE"

"Man kann die Kritik am gegenwärtigen Zustand des sowjetischen Staatwesens einfach auf den Nenner bringen, daß es noch nicht einen einzigen wesentlichen Schritt über die Strukturen hinausgelangt ist, die unter den sehr spezifischen Bedingungen der zwanziger Jahre für die erste der drei genannten Phasen geschaffen wurden." (1)

It is with this critique that Bahro concludes the first section of Die Alternative. In it he voices the conviction that the fundamental failing of the socialist systems of Eastern Europe is their failure to attain the goal for which they were originally established, namely the full emancipation of mankind:

"Einstweilen hat sich herausgestellt, wir bauen die alte Zivilisation nach, wir setzen in einem tiefsten, nicht politischen, sondern kulturellen Sinne einigermaßen zwanghaft, d.h. unter sehr realen Zwängen, »den kapitalistischen Weg« fort." (2)

For Bahro, what exists can neither lay claim to being socialism in the full sense of the word, nor can it be denounced, despite some similarities, as being only a continuation of the capitalist system. 'Actually existing socialism', Bahro suggests, is a system which can lay claim to being an economic and political formation in its own right.

In the section entitled 'Das Phänomen des nichtkapitalistischen Weges zur Industriegesellschaft', Bahro attempts to produce a comprehensive explanation of how this situation came about historically. The essential component of his thesis in this respect is his reference to the so-called Asiatic Mode of Production

(henceforward referred to as AMP), to which he attributes a key influence in determining the social and economic relations in the Soviet Union following the Bolshevik Revolution. (3) Drawing upon the concept of the AMP for his treatment of the complex historical factors behind the Russian Revolution, Bahro touches upon some of the most disputed questions in the socialist debate. For a large number of critics, Bahro's statements on this matter have proven to be the most controversial and dissatisfying aspect of his thesis. In assessing Bahro's application of this concept it is therefore necessary to examine its relevance and originality within the framework of his critique as well as the pertinence and value of the array of criticism which has been directed at this aspect of Die Alternative. It is of considerable importance to establish the consequences of Bahro's interpretation of the AMP, in particular, whether his thesis can be construed as an apologia for the terror of the Stalinist era.

Bahro's assessment begins with the tremendous contrast between the claims of theory on the one hand, and the reality of everyday existence on the other, where insufficient progress has been achieved in realizing the goal of human emancipation:

"Früher oder später stößt jede neue Generation von Marxisten und Sozialisten auf ... den Unterschied, den Gegensatz, den Riß, die Kluft, den Abgrund zwischen der Vision der Klassiker und der Wirklichkeit der neuen Gesellschaft." (4)

At the heart of his inquiry rests Bahro's aim of explaining how and why the October Revolution has led to a system in the shape of 'real existierender Sozialismus' which he believes differs markedly from the original conception of socialism.

One of the fundamental aspects of Bahro's approach here, one which has attracted considerable criticism, is his sharp denunciation of so-called 'deformation theories', as exemplified by Trotsky's work The Revolution Betrayed (5). Such theories, Bahro insists, divert attention to the wrong issues by stressing subjective factors as an

explanation for the nature of the systems which have emerged following the October Revolution:

"Leider läßt sich auch ein Großteil der sowjetischen Opposition immer noch von der persönlichen Bosheit und Niedertracht des großen Diktators beschäftigen, statt die Sozialstruktur zu untersuchen, deren Entstehung er präsierte und der die Oktoberrevolution nur als der große Kehraus vorherging." (6)

Against such 'deformation theories' Bahro posits the need for a more far-reaching examination of the objective historical circumstances which ignited the first socialist revolution in a country where it was least anticipated and which, Bahro submits, was in no position to undergo the direct transition from what was essentially an underdeveloped agrarian-based despotism to the state of full socialism. The intention of Bahro's thesis in this respect is to demonstrate that the influence of Russia's 'Asiatic' and despotic past was such that the revolution which occurred was not one charged with initiating the socialist era, but one which entailed fulfilling a different historical function:

"Ihre Aufgabe war noch nicht der Sozialismus, so aufrichtig die Bolschewiki daran glaubten, sondern die schnelle industrielle Entwicklung Rußlands auf einem nicht kapitalistischen Weg." (7)

The assertion that the Bolshevik revolution introduced a process of industrial modernization rather than full socialism is, as Scruton suggests(8), a highly emotive charge since it can be interpreted as a challenge to the legitimacy of the Bolshevik claim to power in the sense of denying the existence of a proletarian base for the revolution.(9) This may explain the array of criticism which has been directed at this aspect of Die Alternative.

In assessing Bahro's understanding of the AMP it is imperative, as Lombardo Radice remarks(10), to ascertain precisely what he intends, that is, whether the AMP simply serves as a device highlighting the analogies between the economic and political systems of Eastern Europe and the ancient Asiatic despotisms or if indeed Bahro is insisting on a direct historical continuity between them. As will become clear, many of the complications of his thesis in this regard stem from the fact that Bahro fails to distinguish adequately the two strands of this argument.

The scope of Bahro's undertaking in Die Alternative is well illustrated by the fact that neither Marx nor Lenin emerges unscathed from his analysis of the Marxist heritage and the significance which it holds for the contemporary systems of Eastern Europe. Marx's chief oversight was to have overstressed the importance of the role which capitalist private ownership of the means of production and its abolition plays in leading to the development of socialism. Experience has shown in areas such as Russia and China that abolition of capitalist private property is not a step synonymous with the immediate transition to socialism:

"Die Ablösung des Privateigentums an den Produktionsmitteln und die allgemeine Emanzipation des Menschen fallen um eine ganze Epoche auseinander." (11)

In particular, Bahro feels that Marx overlooked the possible alternative courses of development through which communism could be attained in countries where the requisite capitalist preconditions were absent:

"Der »nichtkapitalistische Weg«, der seit 1917 die Menschheit in Atem hält, wirft völlig andere als die von Marx analysierten Probleme auf und kann nicht unmittelbar diesselbe Perspektive haben, weil er die Voraussetzungen des Kommunismus auf eine ganz andere Weise erzeugt." (12)

Bahro, therefore, attempts to construct an alternative theory of development applicable to those countries which have not yet attained a level of development comparable to that of bourgeois society. The historical development of Russia, he submits, clearly lacked those elements which Marx had designated as characteristic of the advanced industrial societies of Western Europe, and consequently any postulated theory of advance to socialism could not be applied in full to Russia with the same effect since parallel conditions simply did not exist:

"Die Aufhebung des kapitalistischen Privateigentums konnte für Rußland nur eine geringe *positive* Bedeutung haben, weil es nur wenig kapitalistisches Privateigentum gab, das weit davon entfernt war, das ganze nationale Leben durchdrungen zu haben." (13)

In circumstances such as these, it is impossible to classify post-revolutionary Russia as the transitional period leading directly from capitalism to communism which Marx had envisaged. Instead, Bahro postulates the thesis that the new order which came into existence had a significantly different function to fulfil:

"Ihr (die neue Ordnung:G.S.) Platz in der Geschichte ist dadurch bestimmt, daß sie, wie der Kapitalismus auch, die Produktivkräfte an die *Schwelle* der sozialistischen Umgestaltung heranzführt, aber *auf formationell ganz verschiedene Weise*." (14)

In a society lacking the necessary level of capitalist development, Bahro argues, it falls to the state to accomplish the task of original accumulation. Implicit in Bahro's argument is the controversial claim that, because of the international nature of the capitalist world market, all underdeveloped societies must pass through a phase of industrialization before being in a position to develop communism:

"Die industrielle Zivilisation, die das europäische Leben in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verändert hat, läßt den Völkern keine Alternative: ob sie in ihrer eigenen Evolution schon an die Schwelle des Kapitalismus und der Industrialisierung gelangt waren oder ob sie durch Epochen von ihr entfernt angetroffen wurden - sie müssen durch diesen Schmelztiegel hindurch." (15)

'Actually existing socialism', Bahro believes, is precisely the form which this phase takes:

"Der real existierende Sozialismus ist die Ordnung, unter der sich Länder *vorkapitalistischer* Formationen eigenständig die *Voraussetzungen* des Sozialismus erarbeiten, wobei der Druck der vom Kapitalismus erzeugten industriellen Produktivkräfte den entscheidenden Anstoß gibt." (16)

Bahro, therefore, attributes a progressive role to the state in 'actually existing socialism' (17), but the form which it has imposed on society is not one of full socialism in his view. Despite this, from his use of such phrases as 'protosozialistisch' and 'Sozialismus im Larvenstadium' (18), it becomes evident that he is at pains to stress that what exists does contain the potential to develop into full socialism. Whether or not Bahro's optimism in this matter is justified, is discussed below. (19) What has occurred, Bahro explains, is, "Verstaatlichung statt Vergesellschaftung und das heißt: *Vergesellschaftung in total entfremdeter Form.*" (20) The state in 'actually existing socialism', in other words, has, through its ownership of the means of production, provided the basis for the socialization of society but has failed to progress beyond this step to the point where the need for the state no longer exists. It is in this context that Bahro perceives a distinct parallel between the present-day socialist systems and the 'Economic Despotisms' of centuries past.

At the crux of the analogy which Bahro detects between the AMP and the societies of Eastern Europe rests the belief that in the formation of class society in areas such as Asia and Africa private property played little or no part:

"In diesen Ländern hat das Privateigentum an den Produktionsmitteln, das die maßgebliche Triebkraft der historischen Dynamik in Europa war, niemals jene formationsbestimmende Rolle gespielt wie in unserer Antike, unserem Feudalismus und Kapitalismus." (21)

Bahro's thesis has met with some opposition for the way in which he subsumes systems from such varying backgrounds as South America, Asia and Africa under one category. Orthodox Marxists, especially, have taken issue with Bahro's method of equating the Bolshevik Revolution with the anti-imperialist revolutions of countries such as Persia, Zaire and Cuba. This denigrates the full socialist impact of the Russian Revolution, Harrer claims:

"Die Bedeutung der Oktoberrevolution reduziert sich somit auf eine bloße »Modernisierung« der menschlichen und sachlichen Produktivkräfte im Sinne einer Anpassung an ein durch den Kapitalismus bestimmtes Entwicklungsniveau und der Beseitigung vorindustrieller Entwicklungshemmnisse." (22)

Harrer accuses Bahro in no uncertain terms of having disregarded the full import of the proletarian aspect of the Bolshevik Revolution. However, this issue is not so clear-cut, since Bahro is careful to emphasize the way in which the Bolsheviks enjoyed mass support. (23)

Bahro's use of the AMP does, however, present a number of problems. At a very basic level, it is difficult to establish precisely what Bahro understands by this concept. As Move remarks (24), Bahro employs an array of terms such as Oriental Despotism (25), Economic Despotism (26) and Religious State Communism (27) which seemingly refer to the same idea. In this sense, Harrer's critique would be far more

pertinent if it was directed at the abstract nature of the way Bahro equates widely differing systems rather than simply objecting to the comparison of these systems with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, some authors have credited Bahro with some success for the way in which he attempts to do greater justice to the analysis of these societies than Marx, whose 'Eurocentric' outlook allocated such formations to the stage he designated as 'primitive communism'. (28) Damus, for example, views Bahro's survey of the historical conditions which spawned the first socialist revolution in a positive light, insisting that Bahro is not so much concerned with producing a damning indictment of the classical Marxist theorists, as some have claimed (29), but, rather, that he is intent on developing their heritage and improving on their errors and oversights:

"Bahro versucht ... die westeurozentristische Sackgasse des marxistischen Denkens aufzubrechen, das da meint, es könne sich beim real existierenden Sozialismus nur um Kapitalismus oder Sozialismus oder aber um eine Übergangsgesellschaft handeln." (30)

Equally, Björklund finds this element of Die Alternative most valuable for Communists in the West, since she feels Bahro offers

"... (e)ine plausible Erklärung für den Gegensatz zwischen den Idealen und der Praxis des Sozialismus. Eben dadurch, daß er die repressive Realisierung freiheitlicher Ideale weder als eine willkürliche Deformation irgendwelcher Ideale verschreit, noch als ein universell prädestiniertes Ergebnis, sondern als einen objektiv bedingten Prozess unter bestimmten historischen Voraussetzungen, der eben marxistisch zu fassen und auch zu analysieren ist." (31)

Further praise comes from Claussen who acknowledges Bahro's achievement in developing Marxist theory in this area. With his interpretation of the Bolshevik Revolution as a process of modernization, Claussen argues, Bahro establishes an important connection between

Western proletarian theories and the anti-colonial, agrarian revolutions of developing countries in the twentieth century. Whilst Marx and Engels essentially worked from a European perspective, Claussen feels Bahro has successfully managed to adopt Marxist theory for the Third World:

"Bahro kommt theoretisch zu den Kernpunkten der Emanzipationsinteressen, die der traditionelle Marxismus, der sich vorwiegend auf das Verhältnis von Lohnarbeit und Kapital stützte, aus der Arbeiterbewegung verdrängt hat." (32)

Undoubtedly, there are echoes of Bakunin's critique of Marxism in the way Bahro voices his disapproval of Marx's emphasis on the workers of the advanced industrial countries, thus ignoring the possibly greater potential for revolution in less developed regions. (33) Certainly, Bahro challenges the traditional Marxian view in his portrayal of the development of these non-European societies. As such Bahro believes the AMP best describes the transition from primitive society to class society:

"Genau genommen bezeichnet der Ausdruck »asiatische Produktionsweise« keine fertige Formation, sondern das *Verbindungsglied* zwischen der patriarchalischen Endphase der Urgesellschaft und den Klassengesellschaften Asiens ..." (34)

By the same token, he asserts that 'actually existing socialism' constitutes the period of transition from class society to fully developed socialism:

"Das einstmals »vorwärts« und nun »rückwärts« zu durchschreitende Übergangsstadium zwischen Kommunismus und entwickelter Klassengesellschaft ist beide Male gekennzeichnet durch eine spezifische, unmittelbar aus der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung und Kooperation erwachsende Funktion des Staates. Verstaatlichte, nicht mehr gemeinschaftliche

bzw. noch nicht vergesellschaftete Produktivkräfte machen das Charakteristische dieser beiden Epochen aus." (35)

Despite his good intention in seeking to overcome Marx's Eurocentrism, Bahro does not avoid repeating some errors contained within Marx's analysis of Asiatic society and, in some respects, further compounds them. The concept of the AMP as formulated by Marx occupies a controversial place in Marxist theory, with a number of critics demonstrating its inadequacies. Lubasz, for example, contends that Marx's conception was concerned more with delivering a systematic theory of history to prove that capitalism was a transitory phase rather than producing a socio-economic analysis of non-capitalist formations in Asia, a view with which Bahro himself concurs. (36) Similarly, Sawyer argues that Marx's views on Asiatic society rested not on any survey of such formations but instead perpetuated contemporary prejudices about Asiatic society, fostered by predecessors such as Hegel and Montesquieu. (37)

Although sketchy, Marx's views on Asiatic society are understood as denoting formations characterized by the absence of private property in land, the existence of large-scale irrigation schemes for agriculture, combined with a base of autarchic village communities which hold the land communally. The most salient feature of such societies is the presence of a despotic state machine, which in the name of a God or king holds the land for the good of all. Bahro's concept of the AMP clearly draws upon this tradition when he argues that geographic circumstances often precluded the development of private land ownership. Under circumstances such as those in Mesopotamia, cultivation of the land became a communal undertaking, due to the economic necessity of irrigation, drainage and control of flood zones in general:

"Die Aufgabe selbst zwang zur periodischen Zusammenfassung mehrerer Gemeinwesen, einer Masse von einfachen Arbeitskräften in der Form der *Großen Kooperation*, ... deren

property is not the sole factor leading to the formation of class society. Bahro aims to depict a class society where private property does not exist and in which production is not driven by the profit motive but is characterized by a bureaucracy which attains a dominant role due to its power over the distribution of the surplus product:

"Trotz gelegentlicher Experimente ist in den Ländern des real existierenden Sozialismus nie um irgendeines Staatsprofits willen produziert worden. Es ging nie primär um Mehrwert sondern um Mehrprodukt." (41)

From Bahro's references to Lenin, it is evident that the term 'Asiatic' in this context simply repeats the conventional European prejudice of equating 'Asiatic' with backward, underdeveloped or simply non-capitalist. (42) His rather generalized understanding of the ANP can be judged from the way in which he applies it to describe an array of civilizations. He especially refers to the Inca civilization, which, although exemplifying the traits he is trying to emphasize, can hardly be said to be Asiatic. The success of the Inca civilization, he argues, rested upon their control of the irrigation scheme developed for the system of terraced agriculture. At the most local level of the Inca system, the former village elders become incorporated in the national Inca bureaucracy to form its lower echelon. Such formations owed their success in no small part to the fact that the despot or deity figure assumes responsibility for the welfare of all, as the village community had done. Thus, through just and wise rule, these formations were far from tyrannical, and in Bahro's opinion, have scarcely been surpassed since: "Es kam kaum je eine Herrschaft dem ihr möglichen Optimum so nahe." (43)

This application of the ANP, through which Bahro derives the formation of class society from the division of labour on the basis of the so-called 'Große Kooperation', is fraught with difficulties. In his survey, Krader contests that a mode of production is, of itself, an inadequate criterion by which to establish the nature of a society:

"Die asiatische Produktionsweise ist manchmal als frühe Klassengesellschaft betrachtet worden; das ist jedoch ein Irrtum, denn eine Produktionsweise ist nicht dasselbe wie eine Gesellschaft." (44)

Krader emphasizes that the AMP cannot be directly equated with the earliest form of class society, making the distinction that it merely provided the economic conditions from which a class society could develop. Bahro's thesis in this regard has clear parallels with that promoted by Wittfogel, who advanced the idea of so-called 'hydraulic' societies where the need for irrigation gave rise to a strong bureaucratic stratum. In these societies, social and class differences were determined not simply by ownership of property:

"Wenn bürokratischer Reichtum einmal entstanden ist, bildet er Privateigentum, aber er wurzelt in staatlichem Eigentum und entspringt aus ihm. Seine innerbürokratische Verteilung erfolgt unter politischen Bedingungen, die nicht aus dem Privateigentum erklärt werden können." (45)

One reason for the severely critical reception of Bahro's analysis stems from the connotations associated with this concept, due to Wittfogel's practice of deriving the totalitarian nature of the Soviet Union from its retarded historical development. Bahro, on the other hand, introduces the AMP in a similar sense to that of Dutschke (46), that is, not as a means of condemning 'actually existing socialism' as totalitarian, but as a method of understanding the subsequent development of the Bolshevik Revolution as a product of its semi-Asiatic past.

A further difficulty arises from this attempt to attribute Asiatic features to Russia's past. In the context of Marx's designation of Russia as 'Asiatic', Anderson disputes whether it can be justified since the major characteristics of this formation have not been shown to have existed there since "Russia ... never knew either major irrigation systems or absence of private property in land." (47)

Indeed, on the basis of empirical evidence, Anderson suggests, the whole concept of the AMP fails to stand up to closer investigation. The evidence suggests that major irrigation schemes and the absence of private property in land, features denoted by Marx, and Bahro, as constituting mutual preconditions for the emergence of the state in Asia, rarely coincided:

"... it might be said that the two phenomena singled out by Marx and Engels as the key notes of Asian history paradoxically represented not so much *conjoint* as *alternative* principles of development." (48)

Hosfeld, Jäger and Scheffler go one step further to argue that, more often than not, grand undertakings such as irrigation were the product of, not the cause of, the existence of a bureaucracy:

"Vielmehr ging die Herausbildung autonomer Zentralstaaten historisch in der Regel der Entwicklung großer Bewässerungssysteme voraus." (49)

For such enormous projects to occur, according to this study, the initiative and organization would have had to originate from an already existing state bureaucracy. In a similar vein, Gellert dismisses the idea of the emergence of the state as a product of such 'Great Cooperation' schemes. Such monocausal theories, he correctly points out, overlook the influence exerted by such factors as demographic change and cultural development in general. (50) Indeed, empirical studies suggest that in technological terms alone the effect of irrigation was strictly limited. As a whole, Gellert dismisses Bahro's notion that such projects were a consequence of economic necessity. Rather, such undertakings were expressions of the sovereign's desire to consolidate their supremacy, and served as a means of ideological reinforcement of their existing power:

"Die große Kooperation war ... keine ökonomische Notwendigkeit, sondern wurde organisiert für hauptsächlich

ideologische und Repräsentationsaufgaben (Tempel, Pyramiden)
- nach Entstehung des Staates!" (51)

Spohn joins those who remain to be convinced of the empirical evidence proving Russia's Asiatic past. Moreover, Spohn questions whether the Asiatic mode of production can be at all relevant as a means of explaining the development of all non-capitalist formations:

"Die Kategorie des nichtkapitalistischen Wege der Industrialisierung ist historisch zu unspezifisch und unterstellt zudem eine Unabhängigkeit zur kapitalistischen Produktionsweise und eine prinzipielle Andersartigkeit ihr gegenüber, die historisch nicht zutreffen." (52)

In view of all this criticism directed at Bahro's use of the AMP, the question must be posed what value this aspect of Die Alternative can possibly hold. Where others have totally dismissed this feature (53), Spohn is one of the few authors to recognize the significance which rests behind the concept of the AMP. Despite its flaws and historical inaccuracies, Bahro's reliance on the AMP serves to clarify what he perceives as the true nature of 'actually existing socialism':

"Was Bahro an der asiatischen Produktionsweise herausstellt und was er eigentlich unter ihr versteht, ist vielmehr der grundlegende Sachverhalt der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung in unmittelbare Produzenten und gesellschaftliche Leitung, also eine staatlich regulierte Klassengesellschaft." (54)

The use of the concept of the AMP in Die Alternative is most helpful where Bahro highlights those features of ancient Economic Despotisms which 'real existierender Sozialismus' has come to emulate. He exercises scarcely concealed criticism of the bureaucratic order in 'actually existing socialism' when he refers to the way in which the ancient bureaucracies of Mesopotamia and the Incas come to monopolize and control access to information and education. His reference to an

ancient Inca proverb - "»Man soll nicht die kleinen Leute lehren, was nur die Großen wissen dürfen«(55) - finds its modern day equivalent later in the text when Bahro cites Gierek's slogan - "»Ihr werdet gut arbeiten, und wir werden gut regieren!«"(56). Further analogies by implication include a less than subtle reference to the existence of internal 'intelligence' systems(57), and also draw attention to the way in which such strict hierarchical orders lead to the, "... historische Disqualifizierung der unmittelbaren Produzenten ..."(58), a point upon which Bahro later elaborates in detail. (59).

Another significant feature is the strong insistence on obedience and submission to authority which characterized Oriental despotisms, whereby any contravention of the law is judged to be a direct attack on the state itself. The comparison with the systems of Eastern Europe soon becomes evident when Bahro laments the measures adopted by Lenin which culminated in restricting the formation of any opposition within the Party. As a result, Bahro concludes disappointedly, any opposition (such as his own) is construed not as an attempt to reform from within, but as a challenge to the Party's authority, since, "(w)er etwas ändern will, muß aufs Ganze gehen: muß versuchen, die Herrschaft über die Partei zu erobern." (60)

Bahro is also at pains to point out the lessons which can be learnt from such ancient Asiatic systems. It is essential, if the system is not to succumb to one of bureaucratic self-interest and privilege, that the bureaucracy should be ready to accept new blood into its ranks. In an ominous warning to the elites of Eastern Europe, Bahro cites the wisdom of Pta Hotep, an ancient Egyptian philosopher:

"»... nimm Rat vom Ungebildeten wie vom Gebildeten«(...). Die letzte Maxime ist entscheidend für die Stabilität der bürokratischen Herrschaft. Wenn der Kontakt mit den Unteren abreißt, ist die Stunde der Rebellion nicht mehr fern." (61)

Whilst the validity of Bahro's use of the ANP as an historical analogy has been at the centre of dispute, chiefly on the grounds of

setzung, daß Rußland, nur eben mit Verspätung, den von Marx analysierten westeuropäischen Weg »aus dem Mittelalter in die Neuzeit« einschlägt. Unter dieser Voraussetzung sah er zwar viele einzelne Besonderheiten, aber nicht die grundsätzliche Besonderheit Rußlands." (63)

Bahro's thesis, in simple terms, is that the weight of historical factors precluded any other form of action than that taken by Lenin and his colleagues:

"Die bolschewistische Machtergreifung in Rußland konnte zu keiner anderen als der jetzt gegebenen *Gesellschaftsstruktur* führen, und je mehr man ... die Stationen der sowjetischen Geschichte durchdenkt, desto schwerer wird es einem, selbst vor den furchtbarsten Extremen eine Grenze zu ziehen und zu sagen, jenseits begänne das absolut Vermeidbare." (64)

This constitutes one of the most problematic aspects of Bahro's use of the AMP. The implication that the Soviet Union represents a continuation of Russia's despotic and Asiatic past and more specifically, the notion that the AMP can be relevant as a means of explaining the systems of countries such as the GDR and Czechoslovakia has been seriously questioned. On this matter, Wittfogel does not go so far as to assert that the Bolshevik Revolution constituted a restoration of the same conditions as prevailed under Tsarist despotism, since he believes new and differing methods of securing power on a much wider scale were developed in Soviet Russia. (65) Gellert, however, goes too far when he suggests that Bahro is talking of Soviet Russia in terms of an 'Asiatic restoration'. (66). Any affinity which does exist between these two formations, past and present, Bahro argues, is purely structural in the sense of revealing similarities to Economic Despotism:

"Denn in ihrer klassischen Hochform als *Ökonomische Despotie* im alten Ägypten, Mesopotamien, Indien, China, Peru weist die asiatische Produktionsweise, die Formation des Übergangs

zur frühen Klassengesellschaft, eine aufschlußreiche Strukturverwandtschaft zu unserer Epoche des Ausgangs der Klassengesellschaft auf." (67)

Indeed, Bahro is at pains to deny that he wishes to define the systems of 'real existierenden Sozialismus' in terms of an historical mode of production and is quite definite that those elements occurring in both transitional periods do not imply that they are identical:

"Selbstverständlich wäre es sinnlos, die heutige Epoche und ihre Perspektiven aus solcher strukturellen Analogie erklären zu wollen. Die moderne staatsmonopolistische Struktur bewegt sich nicht nur in entgegengesetzter Richtung, sondern vor allem auch mit einer unaufhaltsam über sich hinausdrängenden Dynamik." (68)

This renders criticisms such as that of Gellert invalid. (69) By the same token, Givsan also wants to read too much into Bahro's use of the AMP, and is accordingly disappointed:

"Obwohl ... Bahros Geschichtsrealistik zum Ausdruck kommt, ist es für den Leser enttäuschend: man erwartete eine Geschichtsdynamik aus der kategorialen Ausgangsposition und nicht eine des Imperialismus." (70)

Givsan feels that, in resorting to the Asiatic mode of production, it behoves Bahro to demonstrate the internal dynamics of this formation which cause it to develop into the societies of 'actually existing socialism'. Although acknowledging Bahro's reference to the influence of capitalism's external contradictions on Russia's development, Givsan still mistakenly accuses Bahro of attempting to explain the shift of the revolutionary process towards Russia as the product of its internal contradictions, with the result that he pays too little attention to the role of Western imperialism. (71) This, despite the fact that Bahro dismisses the Marxist notion that one social formation emerges naturally from another. (72) This point is

one which has caused considerable objection amongst Trotskyist commentators. The effort to explain Soviet developments as a product of Russia's past, it is argued, neglects the influence exerted by world capitalism:

"Die ungleichmäßig-kombinierte Entwicklung, Ausdruck der Einbeziehung Rußlands in den imperialistischen Weltmarkt, erklärt das innere gesellschaftliche Kräfteverhältnis (...). Wird dieser Aspekt bei Bahro zumindest noch angedeutet, so liegt die schwerwiegendste Beschränkung Bahros darin, daß er die 'Reife' einer Gesellschaft für die sozialistische Revolution nur vom nationalen Standpunkt aus betrachtet." (73)

This difficulty, however, is not of Bahro's making. On the contrary, Bahro does make specific references to the role played by international imperialism. (74) Rather, this dissatisfaction with Die Alternative stems from Bahro's 'failure' to match already existing theories and the desire to impose such preconceived interpretations on Bahro's work. As the discussion below on the reaction to Die Alternative will show, this has played a major part in obscuring a balanced appraisal of this text.

Arato seems to have best grasped the intention behind Bahro's argument in this matter. Bahro is not claiming the Bolshevik Revolution as a direct product of Russia's Tsarist history. Instead, he believes the historical legacy of Tsarist and Asiatic Russia determined the room for manoeuvre available to the leaders of the Russian Revolution which was derived not as a historical development from Russia's past but was the result of the constellation of a variety of factors:

"(Bahro:G.S.) ... demonstrates the convergences of several factors in the revolution-restoration (Gramsci) of étatist bureaucratic power. The autocratic Russian heritage is only one factor in this context: the social, national, geographic

fragmentation of the empire inherited by the Bolsheviks, the superior capitalist environment encircling the Soviet Union, and the dynamics of the revolutionary situation itself ... are the others." (75)

One area where Bahro's approach poses major difficulties is in the connection it draws between the AMP and developed industrial societies, as in the case of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, whose historical development owes nothing to the AMP. With reference to the GDR, Spohn rightly observes that relying on the AMP overlooks the salient features of its historical heritage, in particular its Prussian, capitalist and fascist past. (76) By the same token, Miermeister's analysis is instructive if for no other reason than his objection that the imposition of the AMP on East Germany from outside must have provoked a different response than if it had been a natural historical progression. (77) In Miermeister's view this has strongly diminished the overall value of Die Alternative:

"Mir scheint die nicht gelungene Entwicklung eines allgemeinen Begriffs und der daraus resultierende Bruch zwischen seinem 1. Teil (...) und seinem 11. Teil (...) vor allem darin zu wurzeln, daß er ohne Vermittlung permanent methodische Ebenen wechselt und verwechselt, d.h. einmal von Rußland bzw. der SU, ihrer halbasiatischen Basis, ihrer zaristisch-bürokratischen Geschichte und deren Kanonierung in neuer Form durch die Bolschewiki ausgeht; deren Funktions- und Reproduktionsmechanismen dann aber aus der *aktuellen* DDR-Realität gewinnt, um diese wiederum in schlechter Verallgemeinerung, in die Entfaltung einer 'protosozialistischen' Formationsstruktur einzubringen." (78)

The complexity and sensitivity of the issues which Bahro touches upon with his theory in this respect is revealed by the responses which it has provoked. Arato points to the seemingly contradictory manner in which, having sought to trace the causes of the 'deformation' of socialism in the objective restraints on the

Bolshevik elite, Bahro then proceeds to employ the fruits which this argument has yielded to justify the Stalinist era:

"Bahro is the only theorist who both fully demystifies Bolshevik ideology, seeing the continuity between Leninism and Stalinism, and accepts the necessity not only of the authoritarian turn of the October Revolution but also of the Stalinist revolution from above. ... His criticism of the idea of partial degeneration is not motivated by a more critical stance toward the Leninist (and Trotskyist) origins of Stalinism, but by a clearly more affirmative relation to the Stalinist formation of the Soviet Union." (79)

In attributing the outcome of the October Revolution to the influence of historical conditions Bahro does affirm a high degree of continuity between the Stalinist era and its Leninist precursor. The assertion that the consequences of the Bolshevik assumption of power could not have been any different from those which did occur, and more controversially, the evaluation of Stalinism as basically 'progressive' has been viewed as Bahro at his most deterministic. (80) As Glaeßner observes, Bahro's thesis, here, differs substantially from the analysis offered by Dutschke:

"Die Differenz zu *Dutschke*, für den in jeder geschichtlichen Lage ein 'Rahmen von objektiven Möglichkeiten' gegeben ist, 'und damit ein Spielraum für unterschiedliche Entscheidungen', vertritt *Bahro* eine deterministische Position, die derjenigen der von ihm kritisierten kommunistischen Partei ähnlicher ist als der 'moralisch' argumentierenden Vorstellung *Dutschkes* von historischen Alternativen." (81)

Givsan, especially, takes Bahro to task for the way he seeks to attribute the roots of the Stalinist system in objective historical factors rather than as the result of subjective human decisions:

"Es sind dieser Aufgabenfetischismus und die metaphysisch objektivistische Geschichtskonzeption, die Bahro veranlassen, überall dort, wo die Opposition ein Stück Subjektivität geltend machen wollte, für den Stalinismus Partei zu ergreifen - es 'darf' auch nichts anderes sein, denn Stalin erfüllte einen 'welthistorischen Auftrag'." (82)

Nonetheless, Givsan chooses to disregard the emphasis in Die Alternative where Bahro claims that the social structure of post-revolutionary Russia could not have assumed a different form. Glaesner correctly notes that Bahro's emphasis implies that he believes an alternative *political* development was possible. This, as Glaesner points out, does not necessarily entail that the Stalinist phase could be avoided:

"Bahro bleibt, anders als Dutschke, in der einseitigen Produktivkraftorientierung Lenins befangen. Eine andere Entwicklung als die des Nachholens der kapitalistischen Entwicklung mit all ihren Folgen ist für ihn nicht denkbar. Bahro kritisiert nicht die Industrialisierungsvorstellung, sondern Lenins politisches Konzept, mit dem diese Industrialisierung durchgesetzt werden sollte." (83)

The implication that the Stalinist phase of industrialization was a historically, objectively determined phase has found little credence amongst Trotskyist critics. Mandel, for example, dismisses the notion that the decline of the Bolshevik Revolution into Stalinist dictatorship was somehow predestined by the forces of history: "Not some kind of 'objective material pressure' but social interests have determined the course of Russia's industrialization." (84) Mandel reiterates the Trotskyist thesis, viewing the shape of the existing systems as being determined not by the backwardness of Russia, but rather as the consequence of the proletariat's political defeat at the hands of the bureaucracy. In opposing this view, Klinger and Reinstein have attempted to show more even-handedness in their discussion of Bahro's thesis:

"For Bahro, a socialist revolution was not on the agenda in 1917; nor was socialism, but only an anti-imperialist revolution which paved the way for a despotic, non-capitalist industrialization of backward Russia. Stalinism appears here as a necessary stage on the road to socialism, a stage linked to very specific conditions." (85)

Klinger and Reinstein attempt to avoid making value judgements on whether Bahro's thesis amounts to an apologia of Stalin's terror, and argue with some justification that Bahro's intention is not to exculpate Stalin but instead to show that, given the same conditions it would have been unlikely that had the Left Opposition succeeded in Stalin's place, they would have been able to act any differently. Certainly this is the conclusion which can be drawn from Bahro's assertion:

"Es ist manches über die objektiven Widersprüche zu sagen, die sie nicht so ans Ziel gelangen ließen ... Aber man mag sich auch ihrer Biographien und ihrer Gesichter erinnern, von Lenin bis Stalin ..., um sich zu überzeugen, daß Rußland viel von seinen besten Menschen aufgeboden hatte und daß nur schwer eine Elite denkbar ist, die ihre Aufgabe besser hätte lösen können als diese." (86)

Without doubt, Bahro feels the measures employed by Stalin were, if not morally justified, then at least economically necessary. Trotsky and his colleagues, he argues, were not defeated by Stalin, rather they were unsuited to the state which had emerged under Lenin:

"Sie (Trotsky, Sinoviev, Bucharin:G.S.) haben die Macht verloren, weil sie nicht zu dem Staat paßten, der im Werden war. Stalin hat sie gewonnen, weil er dazu paßte. Nicht nur wegen der ständigen Bedrohung, nein, wegen der positiven Aufgabe, die Massen in die Industrialisierung hineinzuz-

treiben, die sie nicht unmittelbar wollen konnten, mußte die Sowjetunion eine eiserne »petrinische« Führung haben." (87)

A slightly more gifted individual than Stalin, Bahro controversially claims, might have been able to avoid the worst excesses of his terroristic methods but little more than that since the Bolshevik Revolution was unable to combine simultaneously the aims of achieving an improved standard of living and of increasing human freedom: "Das Auseinanderklaffen von materiellem Fortschritt und sozialpolitischer Emanzipation, ... war unvermeidlich." (88)

Although Mandel appears intent on rescuing the Trotskyist thesis that the shape of the Soviet state was determined by the interests of the bureaucracy rather than by the influence of Russia's semi-Asiatic past, his argument does deliver some valid points of criticism of Bahro's somewhat monocausal explanation. Indeed, Bahro outrightly dismisses the Trotskyist view that the defeat of the proletariat was due to their political exploitation by the bureaucracy:

"Jedenfalls ist es falsch, die Abwesenheit von Masseninitiative auf die Tätigkeit der Bürokratie zurückzuführen (wie es sekundär zweifellos der Fall ist!), ohne zuvor anzuerkennen, daß die Rolle der Bürokratie als »einzigster Initiator« primär der Ersatz für fehlende Masseninitiative war." (89)

Dismissing this view, Mandel denies that the victory of the Soviet bureaucracy was inevitable in the light of its decisive role in Tsarist Russia. Had a number of other factors unrelated to Russia's past been different, he argues, then the victory of the bureaucracy would not have been assured. Thus, had the revolution in Germany succeeded, the process of industrialization might have followed a less violent course in the Soviet Union. Equally, the process of enforced collectivization could have been avoided if the peasants had been won over to the cause of socialism. Moreover, if the process of industrialization had begun earlier, the pressure to achieve a rapid

rate of accumulation may have been reduced. Nonetheless, Mandel errs in his claim that Bahro's 'fatalistic attitude' to the rise of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy ignores the decisive effect which the destruction and dismantling of inner-party democracy had upon their rise to power. (90)

Whilst Mandel's criticism rests on a disapproval of Bahro's deterministic appraisal of history, Süß constructs his argument on economic grounds. Far from denouncing Bahro in terms of the moral justification of the Stalinist era, Süß questions whether a period of original 'capitalist' accumulation is indeed such a necessary step as Bahro perceives it to be. Certainly, Bahro is explicit in arguing the case for the progressive nature of Stalinism:

"Die Stalinsche Apparatur hat »wirtschaftlich organisiert« und sie hat »kulturell erzogen«, beides in größtem Maßstab." (91)

This interpretation of Stalinism as an economically necessary process, Süß maintains, presupposes a degree of economic rationality which was not necessarily a characteristic of this phase. (92) Süß reinforces his argument when he asserts that Bahro fails to explore adequately any possible alternatives to the Stalinist process of industrialization and fails to demonstrate why this should be the only path to socialism for underdeveloped countries.

Moreover, the evaluation of Stalinism as a progressive era finds itself on shaky ground due to Bahro's sins of omission. Tucker, for example, in his survey of Stalinism, refutes the notion that Stalinism can be reduced to the concept of representing an agency of progressive industrialization. Aspects such as the growth of forced labour and police power, as well as the extreme centralization of state power and expansion of the bureaucratic apparatus constitute fundamental features of the Stalinist regime which cannot be overlooked, Tucker insists. (93) These elements certainly receive scant attention in Bahro's treatment of this period of Soviet history, as evidenced by

his contentious views on the necessity of the enforced collectivization of agriculture:

"Ohne den Zwangsapparat, den die Bolschewiki in Bewegung setzten, wäre Rußland heute noch ein Bauernland, höchstwahrscheinlich auf kapitalistischem Wege. ... In Sowjetrußland waren die Bauern die stärkste Klasse der Bevölkerung und bis 1928 der eigentliche Nutznießer der sozialen Umwälzung. Sie mußten der Gegenstand einer zweiten Revolution werden." (94)

Paradoxically, Bahro's remarks in this context have united otherwise disparate figures of the political spectrum. Thus, the English neo-conservative Scruton spares Bahro little in his criticism of the author's tendency to think more in terms of the necessary fulfilment of objective historically determined tasks than the fate of the many individuals who suffered at the hands of the Stalinist terror:

"The use of such language shows an astonishing deadening of the sensibilities, a cold hearted disdain for the human reality, which only someone in the grip of sentimental emotion can mistake for an honest concern for truth." (95)

Scruton's sentiments are echoed in the work of Feher, a former Hungarian dissident. Feher also draws attention to Bahro's apparent lack of concern for the human consequences of the Stalinist era, arguing that '(h)is ultimate value is industrialization' (96), and concluding with the assertion that,

"Bahro ... sees their (Lenin and Stalin:G.S.) work as the continuous process of building a magnificent edifice. In this process of construction the victims do not count, for they are just 'objects of progress', the relations between *Volk* and *Regierung* being 'progressive' (...). All that counts is the accelerated rhythm of industrial development." (97)

The debate concerning the extent to which the Stalinist system owes its origins to the political conceptions of Marx and Lenin is one which far exceeds the limits of this thesis. (98) Nonetheless, it is instructive to place Bahro's position on this matter within some context. On the one hand, Bahro's own discussion of the origins of the Stalinist era is fairly clear cut, although the issue of the inevitability of a dictatorship occurring as a result of Marxist ideology is left somewhat obscured. Referring to Bakunin's prophesy on the dangers of the emergence of an authoritarian regime inherent in Marx's writings, Bahro comments:

"Man mußte wahrscheinlich Anarchist und Russe sein, um hinter der Autorität Marxens und seiner Lehre im Jahre 1873 den Schatten Stalins zu gewahren. Marx sah den Schatten nicht, konnte und wollte ihn nicht sehen." (99)

This leaves the matter unclarified. Where Bahro's analysis is more decisive is on the question of the extent to which Lenin's tactics and actions contributed to the emergence of the Stalinist dictatorship. Discussing the dismay and disbelief of many of the Bolshevik 'Old Guard' at the disintegration of the original revolutionary ideals, Bahro does not hesitate in finding the cause in Lenin's actions:

"Sie (die Bolschewiki:G.S.) wußten nicht mehr, woran sie beteiligt waren. Und doch war ihr Dilemma in der leninistischen Tradition verwurzelt, auf die sich Stalin nur höchst selten ganz zu Unrecht berief." (100)

At the heart of his argument, Bahro attributes the main reason for the emergence of Stalinism to the manner in which practices introduced by Lenin in the face of the severe difficulties encountered in the initial post-revolutionary and civil war period became, as it were, institutionalized under Stalin:

"Lenins Maßnahmen, die mit dem mörderischen Existenzkampf in einer belagerten Festung zusammenhingen, sollten keine

irreversiblen Beschränkungen für die Lebens- und Entwicklungsfähigkeit der Partei in neuen, veränderten Situationen sein. *Indem sie alles festschrieb, was Lenin einmal durchgesetzt hatte (wie das Fraktionsverbot, das die Bildung bloßer Parteiflügel unmöglich machte), hat die Partei unter Stalin die Erstarrung der ersten, frühen strukturellen Anpassungsform an eine außerordentliche Situation organisiert.*" (101)

This focusses attention on a rather difficult twist in Bahro's argument. Whilst asserting that the social structure of Soviet Russia was inevitably determined by its semi-Asiatic past, Bahro believes the measures undertaken by Lenin, although necessary in themselves at this time, contained the seeds of future developments under Stalin:

"... Aus dem Kräfteverhältnis der Klassen und aus der ganzen überlieferten Ökonomik in Rußland mußte sich bei Lenin von vornherein eine *andere Einstellung zur Rolle des Staates in der Übergangsperiode* ergeben als bei Marx." (102)

Bahro depicts a situation in which the Party, supposedly embodying the aspirations of the proletariat, comes to forfeit their support. In particular, the underdeveloped nature of the industrial proletariat necessitated the enforcement of a greater degree of discipline in the industrial workforce, which consequently led the working class to believe that it had become cheated by its own leadership. (103)

Once again, Bahro's argument is notable for the deterministic view of history which it contains. Thus, it was not only external pressures to industrialize, but also Russia's internal weaknesses which dictated such an outcome. The country's slower development ensured that only a relatively small 'enlightened' section of the industrial proletariat was in a position to guide the revolutionary process:

"In der Stunde der Revolution zeigt sich, daß die alte Gesellschaft nur einer Minderheit der unterdrückten Klasse die physische Energie für einen aktiven Aufschwung gelassen hat." (104)

Thus the gulf which emerges between the workers and their vanguard is attributed by Bahro to the force of historical circumstance. In this way he is able to exculpate the leadership of that time and still criticize the Leninist systems which have emerged.

Whilst he clearly feels that the Stalinist period was characterized by a more severe rule than the earlier Leninist phase - "Die Stalin-Periode hat den Leninismus seiner humanistischen Perspektive beraubt..." (105), Bahro is explicit in laying the onus for this development on the Leninist political conception:

"Lenins Entwurf vom Sozialismus als Staatsmonopol zum Nutzen des ganzen Volkes ist zwar eine Reaktion auf die russische Gesellschaft, aber er muß auch ohne die spezifische Rückständigkeit zu einer Sozialstruktur führen, die durch gehorsame Unterordnung der Produzenten unter eine politische Pyramide der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung charakterisiert wird." (106)

In further support of this argument, Bahro points to the developing crisis around the time of the Kronstadt rising which forced Lenin to act as he did, but which had a decisive effect on subsequent developments:

"In dieser Diskussion ergab sich einfach aus der polemischen Konstellation eine gewisse Akzentverschiebung in der Leninschen Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen Partei und Arbeiterklasse, d.h. er war gezwungen, den negativen Aspekt, die Unterscheidung zwischen Avantgarde und Klasse zu betonen, weil der Demokratismus von unten gefährlich zu werden begann, feindliche Einflüsse trug." (107)

Lenin's major subjective error, Bahro submits, arose from the measures he employed to stem the rising tide of bureaucracy which overwhelmed the Bolsheviks in the post-revolutionary period. In striving to counteract the power of the bureaucracy Lenin simply aggravated the situation, in taking the wrong steps at the wrong time:

"Das Dilemma des Leninismus ... kommt am deutlichsten darin zum Ausdruck, daß Lenins Heilmittel gegen den Bürokratismus, die Rekrutierung neuer, unverbrauchter Kader aus der Arbeiterklasse, ihre Rekrutierung für den längst mit den Massen konfrontierten Apparat war." (108)

Above all, Bahro is convinced that Lenin's effort to overcome the supremacy of the pre-revolutionary bureaucracy by concentrating the finest elements of Russian society within the ABI (Arbeiter- und Bauerninspektion) was destined to fail:

"... die ABI war und blieb nicht deshalb ein Fiasko, weil hier der Teufel zufällig mit Beelzebub hatte ausgetrieben werden sollen, sondern weil man den Apparat nicht mit dem Apparat kurieren kann." (109)

The striking point of this argument is, once again, Bahro's recourse to the history books to validate his deterministic view that such organizational devices are certain to arise where there is a lack of any real control from below. (110)

One critic has argued that this emphasis on the subjective factor tends to invalidate Bahro's reference to the objective historical restraints upon the Bolshevik leadership as an explanation for the subsequent development of socialism. (111) On the contrary, however, the essence of Bahro's argument is that the measures introduced by Lenin were historically necessary, but have long since ceased to be appropriate for the full realization of socialism:

"Die Leninsche *Konzeption* hat unter der Voraussetzung, daß man die Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse unter den gegebenen Bedingungen überhaupt als Realität bejaht, nicht die geringste Lücke./ Wenn man allerdings heute unter Berufung auf diese Konzeption unsere Staatsmaschine verteidigt, dann bedient man sich eines Taschenspieltricks. Man suggeriert als Selbstverständlichkeit, daß unser System nach dieser Leninschen Konzeption funktioniert, um seine fundamentale Blöße damit zuzudecken." (112)

Bahro's thesis differs substantially in this from those of other major theorists. The Polish revisionist Kolakowski, for example, has insisted on a direct continuity from Marx's conceptions to their bloody realization under Lenin. (113) At the other end of the spectrum, Tucker has postulated the thesis that Stalinism constituted a distinct phase in its own right, owing little to the forms and practices established under Lenin. (114) Cohen also refutes the thesis, claiming that the forceable collectivization, purges and industrialization initiated under Stalin were somehow a derivation and continuation of the Leninist programme. The nationalism, statism and reactionary content of Stalinism, he contends, represented a new ideology in itself, not simply an amendment of Bolshevik theory. (115)

Nonetheless, Bahro is not alone in advancing this view. With varying emphasis both Carr and Deutscher have attested to the existence of a continuity between Lenin's programme and the Stalinist era. (116) Bahro himself concedes that a prime influence on his appraisal of the development of 'actually existing socialism' was Deutscher's study of Stalin. (117) In view of the thesis promoted in Die Alternative, it is not surprising that Deutscher's attempt to provide a more balanced appraisal of the Stalinist reign was the feature which proved most attractive for Bahro.

In this first section of Die Alternative Bahro seeks to establish an alternative to existing interpretations by refocussing attention on the historical circumstances which gave rise to 'actually existing

socialism', and, in so doing, asserts his theoretical independence from existing schools of thought. Thus he undertakes a broad survey to show that this system cannot be classified as socialism in the true sense, and submits that, so much have circumstances changed, it has long since lost its validity for the present day. Yet, and this is where Bahro differs from previous critics, he is adamant that the formation which has emerged was historically necessary, essentially progressive and has formed an indispensable phase in attaining socialism. Section one of Die Alternative represents Bahro's conviction that the foundations of socialism have already been laid, but now require further substantial development. As such, this aspect of Die Alternative constitutes one of the most controversial elements in the whole work. Certainly, as some critics already have argued, Bahro can be reproached for his disregard of the moral issues raised by his thesis. More significantly, the fundamental weakness of his argument in this respect stems from the lack of sufficient evidence to convince that there was no means of circumventing the path of development which was followed.

Nonetheless, despite the many failings contained within Bahro's survey of the historical background to which the modern-day systems of Eastern Europe owe their origins, Bahro's accomplishment should not be underestimated. Undoubtedly, his attempt to trace the distortions of the present systems to the weight of objective historical factors which restricted the room for movement available to the Bolshevik leadership relies too heavily on a rather deterministic perception of history. Nevertheless, some commentators have been too quick to accuse Bahro of 'fatalism', since he does take other factors into account, such as the measures employed by Lenin, and capitalist penetration of Russia. Bahro's efforts should instead be viewed as being indicative of a dissatisfaction both with official interpretations which claim that what exists is the only possible path to the realization of socialism, and with those from rivals aiming to denounce socialism by insisting on the inevitability of the continuity from Marx's theory to Stalin's practice, or on the arbitrary distortion of the original ideal by one individual.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE - PART ONE

1. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.140. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
2. *ibid.* p.8.
3. Canfield misunderstands when he writes, "... economic, social and political relations in the Soviet Union took a given form as the result of historical necessity (because of the residue of the 'Asiatic mode')..." in: Jeffrey Lee Canfield: Marxist revisionism in East Germany: The case of Rudolf Bahro. in: The Fletcher Forum. No.4 1980 p.35.; As I show at pp.74-75. Bahro specifically avoids attributing sole responsibility to the AMP for the political system which emerged.
4. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.20.
5. Leon Trotsky: The Revolution Betrayed. Pathfinder Press, New York 1972. [written 1937.]
6. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.22.
7. *ibid.* p.58.
8. Roger Scruton: Thinkers of the New Left. Longman, Harlow 1985. p.70. (henceforward referred to as Scruton.)
9. The concept of the AMP was particularly controversial in the Soviet Union and was officially taboo in the Stalinist era. For more on this see: Stephen P. Dunn: The fall and rise of the Asiatic mode of production. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Henley 1982.; See also: Lawrence Krader: Die Asiatische Produktionsweise. in: Ulf Volter(ed.): Antworten auf Bahros Herausforderung des 'realen Sozialismus'. Verlag Olle & Volter, Berlin 1978. p.100. (Main text henceforward referred to as Antworten auf. Krader's article henceforward referred to as Krader.) Krader refers to the debate between Plekhanov and Lenin where the former claimed Lenin's proposed nationalization of land would end in 'Asiatic restoration' due to the underdeveloped nature of capitalism in Russia, which Lenin for his

- part described as absurd.
10. Lucio Lombardo Radice: Staatssozialismus. in: Antworten auf. p.33.
 11. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.24.
 12. ibid. p.28.
 13. ibid. pp.28-29.
 14. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.18. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation.)
 15. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.148. Such a view contrasts sharply with the position Bahro held as a member of the West German Green Party; see below pp.346ff.
 16. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.17.
 17. "In den Ländern des real existierenden Sozialismus andererseits hat die Staatsmaschine eine entscheidende Periode lang eine vorwiegend schöpferische Rolle gespielt." - Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.45.
 18. ibid. p.25.
 19. See Chapter Three: Part Two.
 20. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.44.
 21. ibid. p.59.
 22. Jürgen Harrer: Anmerkungen zu Rudolf Bahro: »Die Alternative«. in: P. Brokmeier and R. Rilling(eds.): Beiträge zur Sozialismusanalyse 1. Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne 1978. p.60. (henceforward referred to as Harrer.) Harrer's essay itself provoked considerable criticism. See below p.127. - footnotes 20. and 21.
 23. Bahro expresses himself cautiously but nonetheless acknowledges the popular support which brought the Bolsheviks to power: "Fest steht, daß die Bolschewiki mit dem Willen der Massen zur Macht gelangt sind." Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.108. As will be shown later, Bahro holds contentious views on the role and abilities of the proletariat.
 24. Alec Nove: Review of 'Die Alternative'. in: Soviet Studies. Vol.31 1979. pp.595-600.
 25. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.85.

26. *ibid.* p.85.
27. *ibid.* p.90.
28. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *The German Ideology.* in: David McLellan(ed.): Karl Marx. Selected Writings. Oxford University Press, London 1977. pp.159ff. (henceforward referred to as Marx: *The German Ideology.*)
29. This is particularly the case with the so-called 'Marburg school'. See for example: Harrer.; also: Wolfgang Abendroth: *Weder Strategie noch - insgesamt - richtige Analyse, aber eine wichtige Quelle zum Problem des gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsstadiums des realen Sozialismus.* in: Das Argument. No.107 1978 pp.60-66.; Joachim Bischoff: *Bahro - eine Alternative?* in: Beiträge zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus. No.1 1978. pp.21ff.; For an English criticism of Bahro's attacks on 'classical' Marxism see: Jürgen Thomanek: *Rudolf Bahro. Dissident in East and West. From apparatchik to environmentalist.* in: Ian Wallace(ed.): The GDR under Honecker 1971-81. GDR Monitor Special Series No.1 Dundee 1981. pp.63-81.
30. Renate Damus: *Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus.* in: Internationalismus-Rundbrief des SB. No.4. Reproduced in: So oder So?/Extra. Beiträge zum Marburger Bahro Kongreß. 1979. p.5.
31. Ilkka Christian Björklund: *Talk delivered at the Marburger Solidaritätsaktion (30.6.79. & 1.7.79.)* printed in: Sein Lied geht um die Welt. A collection of various papers and reviews collated by the Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros, Berlin. 1979. (This collection henceforward referred to as *Sein Lied.*) p.53. Björklund writes as a member of the Finnish *Volksdemokratische Kommunisten.*
32. Detlev Claussen: *Sozialismus in keinem Land.* in: Links. No.95 1978. Reproduced in: Bahro - eine Alternative? Bahros Echo in der linken Presse. (collected and edited by the ASTA der Carl-von-Ossietzky Universität, Oldenburg.) pp.4-5. (henceforward referred to as *Bahros Echo.*)
33. See: Aileen Kelly: Mikhail Bakunin. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982.

34. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.80.
35. ibid. pp.79-80.
36. Heinz Lubasz: Marx's concept of the Asiatic mode of production. in: Diptendra Banerjee(ed.): Marxian theory and the Third World. Sage Publications, New Delhi, Beverly Hills & London 1985. pp.107ff. Bahro makes this point too: cf. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.57.
37. For a comprehensive survey of the genesis of the theory of the AMP see Marian Sawer: Marxism and the question of the Asiatic mode of production. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1977.
38. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.82.
39. ibid. p.83.
40. Hassan Givsan: Eine Kritik an Bahros alternativer Geschichtsschreibung. in: Antworten auf. p.88. (henceforward referred to as Givsan.) Givsan is referring to Marx: The German Ideology.
41. ibid. p.114.
42. ibid. p.64.
43. ibid. p.89. (The similarities between the AMP and the society outlined by Bahro in West Germany as an advocate of 'fundamental' Green politics are hardly coincidental. See the discussion below pp.350ff.
44. Krader. pp.103-104. Hindess and Hirst go one step further and dispute the possibility of the AMP as a mode of production on theoretical grounds, rather than on any empirical basis. See: Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst: Pre-capitalist modes of production. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Boston 1975.
45. Karl A. Wittfogel. Oriental Despotism. cited in: Gert-Joachim Glaeßner: Sozialistische Systeme. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1982.p.152. (henceforward referred to as Glaeßner: Sozialistische Systeme.)
46. Rudi Dutschke: Versuch, Lenin auf die Füße zu stellen. Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, Berlin 1974.
47. Perry Anderson: Lineages of the Absolutist State. NLB, London 1974. p.491.
48. ibid.

49. Rolf Hosfeld, Michael Jäger, Thomas Scheffler: Bahros Kommunismus - eine Alternative. in: Das Argument. No.108. p.244.
50. Florian Gellert: Rudolf Bahro und die Asiatische Produktionsweise. in: Theorie und Praxis des Marxismus-Leninismus. No.3 1978. pp.35-36. (henceforward referred to as Gellert.)
51. Gellert. pp.32-33.
52. Willfried Spohn: Geschichte und Emanzipation. Bahros Beitrag zur Sozialismus Diskussion. in: Prokla. No.31 1978. p.13. (henceforward referred to as Spohn.)
53. See: Gellert. p.30.
54. Spohn. p.13.
55. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.89.
56. *ibid.* p.207.
57. *ibid.* p.90.
58. *ibid.*
59. See below pp.108ff.
60. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.131.
61. *ibid.* p.93.
62. *ibid.* p.105.
63. *ibid.* p.101.
64. *ibid.* p.106.
65. Wittfogel. Cited in: Glaeßner: Sozialistische Systeme. p.153.
66. Gellert. p.26.
67. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.79.
68. *ibid.* p.80.
69. Gellert. p.30.
70. Givsan. p.90.
71. *ibid.* p.90.
72. "Aufeinanderfolge ist hier nicht Auseinanderfolge." Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.76.
73. Bahros 'Alternative'. Analyse und Kritik. in: Spartacus. No.38 1977. Reproduced in: Bahros Echo. p.14.
74. See for example: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.58 and p.151. Canfield mentions this shift of emphasis in Bahro's resumé at the start of Section Two. Canfield. p.36.
75. Andrew Arato: Review of Ulf Wolter's Rudolf Bahro: Critical

- responses. in: Telos. No.48 1981. p.158. (henceforward referred to as Arato.)
76. Spohn. p.21.
77. Jürgen Miermeister: Opposition(elle) in der DDR: Rudolf Bahro - nur zum Beispiel. in: Langer Marsch. No.29 1977. Reproduced in: Bahros Echo. p.7.
78. *ibid.* p.7.
79. Arato. pp.155 & 156.
80. See for example: Erwin Steinbauer: Europa, Weltrevolution und 'nichtkapitalistischer Weg'. in: Theorie und Praxis des Marxismus-Leninismus. No.3 1978. p.52.; See also: Günter Minnerup: Rudolf Bahro - An introduction. in: The Socialist Register 1978. p.4.
81. Glaeßner: Sozialistische Systeme. pp.156-157.
82. Givsan. p.96.
83. Glaeßner: Sozialistische Systeme. p.156.
84. Ernest Mandel: Fatalism as an alternative. in: Critique. No.10/11 1978/79. p.128. (henceforward referred to as Mandel: Fatalism.)
85. Fred Klinger and Boris Reinstein: Bahro: on the threshold of revolutionary Marxism. in: Critique. No.10/11 1978/79. p.110.
86. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.100. Bahro's rejection of 'deformation' theories has been misunderstood by some authors. Nitsche, for example, misquotes Bahro to claim that he suddenly shifts his emphasis towards subjective factors: "Wenn die Menschen, speziell die bolschewistischen Parteimenschen, nur intensiver gewollt und weiser gehandelt hätten, wäre statt des real existierenden Sozialismus der Sozialismus da, wäre er zumindest auf anderem, besserem Wege." [Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.163.] Nitsche however omits the start of this quote and its conclusion where Bahro specifically attacks such notions: "Sie (Eine solche Auskunft:G.S.) liefert keinen Schlüssel zur Geschichte und Gegenwart, also auch nicht zur Zukunft unseres Systems." [*ibid.*] in: Hellmut Nitsche: Antwort an Bahro und Genossen. Verlag SOI, Bern 1984. p.31. This error

- is repeated in Scruton. p.71.
87. *ibid.* p.137.
 88. *ibid.*
 89. *ibid.* p.241.
 90. Mandel: *Fatalism.* p.123. Bahro does refer to the dismantling of inner-Party democracy - Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* pp.130-131.
 91. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* pp.45-46.
 92. Walter Süß: *Bürokratische Rationalität und gesellschaftliche Synthesis in der Konstitutionsphase des sowjetischen Systems.* in: *Prokla.* No.35 1979. pp.133ff.
 93. Robert C. Tucker: *Essays in historical interpretation.* W.W. Norton & Co., New York 1977. pp.77ff. (henceforward referred to as Tucker.)
 94. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* p.120.
 95. Scruton. p.70.
 96. Ferenc Feher and Agnes Heller: *Eastern Left, Western Left.* Polity Press, Cambridge with Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1987. p.21. (henceforward referred to as Feher.)
 97. Feher. p.22.
 98. For a good overview of the various standpoints on this theme see: Tucker. See also: David W. Lovell: *From Marx to Lenin.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1984.
 99. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* p.48.
 100. *ibid.* p.101.
 101. *ibid.* p.138.
 102. *ibid.* pp.109-110.
 103. *ibid.* p.123.
 104. *ibid.* p.121.
 105. *ibid.* p.138.
 106. *ibid.* p.116.
 107. *ibid.* p.128.
 108. *ibid.* p.133.
 109. *ibid.* p.135.
 110. *ibid.* p.136.
 111. Givsan. p.87.

112. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.126-127.
113. Leszek Kolakowski: Marxist Roots of Stalinism. in: Tucker. pp.283ff.
114. Tucker. pp.77-108.
115. Stephen Cohen. Bolshevism and Stalinism. in: Tucker. pp.3-29. (henceforward referred to as Cohen.)
116. E.H. Carr: Studies in Revolution. Macmillan, London 1950.
Isaac Deutscher: The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky, 1921-1929. Oxford University Press, London 1966. Cited in: Cohen. p.9.
117. Isaac Deutscher: Stalin. Oxford University Press, London 1967;
Isaac Deutscher: The Unfinished Revolution. Russia 1917-1967. Oxford University Press. London 1967. Cited by Bahro in: Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1984. p.60.

CHAPTER THREE: PART TWO -
'ACTUALLY EXISTING SOCIALISM' -
A NEW ANTAGONISTIC ORDER BEYOND CAPITALISM?

As we have seen, Bahro set out in Part One of Die Alternative to trace the historical foundations of the systems of Eastern Europe, pleading the case for interpreting the October Revolution, not as the first socialist revolution, but as the first anti-imperialist revolution charged with the task of establishing the preconditions of socialism. As a consequence of the particular historical circumstances in which the October Revolution occurred, the Bolshevik leadership had little option but to build up a powerful state machinery in order to push through the industrial development of the Soviet Union, which Bahro judges an indispensable prerequisite for attaining socialism.

By means of a comprehensive analysis of how these systems function and reproduce themselves, Bahro delivers in Part Two of Die Alternative a thorough-going critique of 'actually existing socialism', which some critics have viewed as one of the greatest achievements of the opposition in Eastern Europe since World War II. (1) The chief premise of this section rests on the belief that the formation brought forth by the Russian Revolution now acts as a barrier inhibiting, rather than fostering the further development of socialism. Bahro outlines a system, the chief features of which include a stratified social structure, based on the hierarchical organization of labour, which, taken together, serve to hold the great majority of individuals in a state of passive subordination to a bureaucratized elite. This penetrating insight into the mechanisms through which the societies of Eastern Europe function has been welcomed by most authors. (2) Nevertheless, the conclusions which he has drawn about the nature of 'actually existing' socialist society have provided fertile ground for discussion amongst critics, not least because of Bahro's radical reappraisal of some of the most important tenets in the canon of Marxist theory.

In undertaking an analysis of 'socialist' society, Bahro by no means sets his sights short. The intention behind Die Alternative was none other than to submit the systems of Eastern Europe to a critique in the same manner by which Marx sought to derive the key aspects of the capitalist mode of production in his A Critique of Political Economy. (3) In so doing, Bahro attempts to arrive at an evaluation of 'real existierenden Sozialismus' which neither seeks to adhere to official orthodox standpoints, nor to deliver an acrimonious 'Abrechnung' with the system as some critics have done. (4)

The fundamental question which is confronted in this section concerns the categorization of the societies of Eastern Europe. In his effort to provide a definition, Bahro joins a number of theorists in both East and West who have disputed the socialist nature of these formations. (5) Indeed, his analysis reveals several features which attest to the existence of a new antagonistic social order in its own right. Nonetheless, Bahro's work differs in many respects from both previous and contemporary evaluations of Soviet-style societies.

Underlying this examination of socialist society is the assertion that the systems resulting from the October Revolution have not led to the construction of socialism. In terms of their conduct in international and internal affairs such systems appear as strict defenders of the status quo, having seemingly abandoned the ideal of the general emancipation of mankind to some distant future. In many areas it proves difficult to detect any progress:

"Wie eigentlich alle Beteiligten wissen, hat die Herrschaft des Menschen über den Menschen nur eine Oberflächenschicht verloren. Die Entfremdung, die Subalternität der arbeitenden Massen dauert auf neuer Stufe an." (6)

The persistence of capitalist elements such as wage labour, commodity production and money in these nominally socialist societies, in Bahro's opinion, cannot be attributed solely to the survival of bourgeois ideology within the minds of the people, as Marx suggested.

Rather, it is vital to investigate the specific features of the new social order itself. Bahro is in no doubt as to where the root of the problem lies, and decisively challenges the Party's claim to represent the true interests of the workers:

"Die Diktatur der Bolschewiki war von Anfang an ebensowenig mit der Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse identisch wie die Jacobinerdiktatur mit der Herrschaft der Sansculotten." (7)

The Party has presided over the formation of a new social order, which can lay claim to being neither socialist nor capitalist. An explanation of precisely what the new order constitutes forms the focus of Bahro's inquiry in this section.

At the crux of his analysis of the social structure in East European societies lies Bahro's firm belief that such systems are still characterized by relations of domination: "... unsere Völker (haben:G.S.) den Horizont der Klassengesellschaft noch nicht überschritten ..." (8) Nonetheless, despite the use of the terminology 'Klassengesellschaft', it would be false to maintain that Bahro depicts the emergence of a new class society in the strictly Marxist sense. On the contrary, Bahro draws a sharp distinction between the Marxist concept of 'class' and the stratification model to which he himself adheres. Class concepts lose all validity in 'socialist' society, where the individual's position is no longer determined solely by his relationship to the means of production:

"Mit der Bourgeoisie verliert auch das Proletariat seine spezifische sozialökonomische Identität, so daß in der nachrevolutionären Situation ganz andere, interne Strukturkriterien relevant werden müssen." (9)

Consistent with the thesis he advanced in the first section, Bahro's 'anatomy' of 'actually existing socialism' rests on the assertion that the abolition of private property is not identical with the creation of a classless society. Anticipating in some respects

contemporary trends in Western Marxist thought(10), Bahro maintains that the simple transfer of ownership of the means of production does not suffice to attain full socialism, since this still leaves the state intact and the vertical division of labour untouched. It is precisely this social division of labour which underpins the division of society along 'class' lines:

"Gesamtgesellschaftliche Organisation auf der Basis der alten Arbeitsteilung kann nur gesamtstaatliche Organisation, kann nur Vergesellschaftung in dieser entfremdeten Form sein..."(11)

On the basis of the vertical division of labour, Bahro maintains, a new stratified society has emerged, organized according to a rigid hierarchy where the individual's position in society depends not on his relationship to the means of production but is determined instead by the specific position occupied within the hierarchy of labour and the level of consciousness associated with it. Society can be depicted as a pyramid, the base of which is formed by those involved in simple ancillary labour requiring a limited level of knowledge, whilst the apex of this construction consists of a comparatively tiny elite whose realm of activity encompasses the social totality, which in turn imparts a correspondingly higher level of consciousness.(12) Such a system compartmentalizes individuals according to a number of criteria:

"Entscheidend für die soziale Ungleichheit ist aber die vertikale Arbeitsteilung nach Arbeitsfunktionen verschiedener Anforderungsniveaus an Fähigkeiten und Kenntnisse, dementsprechend nach verschiedenen Bildungsgraden und nicht zuletzt nach hierarchisch übereinandergerürnten Leitungskompetenzen."(13)

Bahro stresses two points: firstly that any social differentiation arises from the lifelong subordination of the individual within this hierarchy not as a result of any specialization within the production

process. (14) Thus, he avoids calling for the abolition of the division of labour per se, focussing instead his criticism on its most excessive form, which subjects the individual's interests to the needs of society. Secondly, Bahro asserts that the present hierarchy is one which represents the social division of labour at a particular stage of historical development and which has been rather arbitrarily fixed in proto-socialist society:

"Es ist diese Hierarchie der Arbeitsfunktionen bzw. Bewußt-
heitsebenen, die in der qualifikationsabhängigen Schicht-
differenzierung der protosozialistischen Industriegesell-
schaft auf einem bestimmten historischen Niveau der gesell-
schaftlichen Arbeitsteilung festgeschrieben ist." (15)

The controversial nature of Bahro's thesis is revealed in the assertion that this social structure betrays a strong degree of coincidence with that found in capitalism. Bahro reproaches those who seek to deny the elementary level of similarity between the two social systems and who portray the system as a 'natural' state of affairs:

"Wenn man verbietet, für einen bestimmten Erkenntnisprozeß
von den konträren Aspekten der beiden Produktionsverhält-
nisse zu abstrahieren, plädiert man in Wirklichkeit dafür,
diese skizzierte Struktur als »naturnotwendig« und »ewig«
hinzustellen, während sie in Wirklichkeit die gemeinsame
historische Basis beider Industriegesellschaften und das
Unterpfand ihrer endlichen Konvergenz im Sozialismus
darstellt." (16)

The suggestion that both major forms of developed industrial society share a common basis which will ultimately lead to their convergence into socialism is one that strikes at the heart of official ideology, which has strongly contested such a notion. (17) In West Germany, self-appointed guardians of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy such as Harrer have denounced Bahro's analysis for its pronounced hostility to socialism. Die Alternative, in Harrer's opinion, constitutes

"... (e)ine verblüffend naive Beschönigung des Kapitalismus, der auf der anderen Seite eine Verkleinerung und Geringschätzung der durch den Sozialismus realisierten gesellschaftlichen Fortschritte entspricht, welche stellenweise schon an Verächtlichkeit grenzt." (18)

Harrer goes on to lambast Bahro's designation of socialism in Eastern Europe as 'allgemeiner Kapitalist' (19) and 'Staatsmonopolismus' (20). This merely serves to expose the somewhat suspect nature of Harrer's own scholarship (21), since Bahro is at pains to stress that any similarity existing between these systems is purely at a very elementary level:

"Die Substitution ... zielt nicht darauf ab, den Unterschied zwischen Kapitalist und Staat (...) zu negieren oder zu verwischen. Sie soll nur eine gemeinsame Grundstruktur vor aller Differenzierung betonen..." (22)

Nevertheless, Harrer's criticism is useful in drawing attention to some of the difficulties presented by Die Alternative, which have been the subject of some debate within the secondary literature which has appeared to date.

In his appraisal, Bartsch highlights one of the principal areas of difficulty in Bahro's study. Whilst aiming to convince of the 'proto-socialist' nature of East European society, Bahro actually depicts a system which proves difficult to distinguish from its capitalist counterparts in the West: "Der sogenannte Nichtkapitalismus erweist sich nach Bahros eigener Darstellung als ultrakapitalistisch." (23) Although this perhaps overstates the point, there is certainly substantial evidence that Bahro perceives an unspecified degree of affinity between the capitalist and socialist formations. This is apparent in Bahro's depiction of the consumerist style economy where priority is accorded to commodity production in a fashion scarcely dissimilar to the economies of the capitalist West.

"Mit dem RGW-»Internationalismus« unserer herrschenden Parteien ... sitzen wir der faktischen Interessenlage nach im gleichen Boot mit dem kapitalistischen Staatsmonopolismus und Neokolonialismus ..."(24)

Equally, with a few exceptions, Bahro detects scant difference in the social structure of the competing systems:

"Abgesehen von zwei hier nicht erfaßten Faktoren ... deckt sich diese Struktur völlig mit der vom Kapitalismus erzeugten, solange man eben hier den speziellen politischen Überbau und dort das fortexistierende Kapitalverhältnis außer Betracht läßt."(25)

It is in his analysis of the relations of production that Bahro casts particular doubt on the socialist nature of the Soviet style systems. Here, Bahro is at his most damning, maintaining that not only has the lot of the worker in 'real existierenden Sozialismus' failed to improve by any great measure but that in some respects it has actually worsened. The goal of achieving a situation in which the worker fully determines his own conditions of existence has failed to materialize, and instead the worker is confronted by a state managerial strata which fulfils a similar function to its capitalist counterpart:

"Wer wollte leugnen, daß es die Dirigenten sind, die ihnen als Einzelnen vereint gegenüber treten, nämlich hierarchisch vereint im Staat? Das Bild von den »Offizieren des Kapitals« erweist sich als nützlich, um die wirkliche Stellung der einfachen Arbeiter und Kooperationsbauern in unserem sozialen System zu bestimmen."(26)

Without doubt Bahro implies that the worker in socialist society finds himself in a similar position vis à vis the state to that which his colleague occupies in capitalism:

"... unsere Arbeiter behandeln die Fonds nicht wesentlich anders als die kapitalistischen Lohnarbeiter das vergegenständlichte Kapital." (27)

Despite these contentious statements, no explicit reference is made to any system through which the socialist worker is economically exploited. This has presented difficulties for some authors. Thus, Rossanda has stated that Bahro's analysis depicts a society characterized by the reemergence of capitalist relations of production, albeit with a form of state and ideology different to capitalist society. (28) Bahro's conclusion that the systems of Eastern Europe constitute social formations in their own right is hard to comprehend, Rossanda feels:

"Wenn ich die Merkmale herausnehme, die seiner (Bahros:G.S.) Meinung nach das Wesen des realen Sozialismus ausmachen, dann bin ich dadurch betroffen, daß sie genau dieselben sind, die eine moderne westliche Industriegesellschaft bezeichnen." (29)

The criteria Rossanda employs in support of her argument are the persistence of the commodity value of wage labour and the continuing alienation of the direct producer from any surplus value. In essence therefore, she views Bahro's portrayal of the worker in 'actually existing socialism' as equal to that of the capitalist worker. Certainly, there are a number of theorists who have testified to the capitalist nature of the East European economic and social systems. Bahro's best-known contemporary in this respect is Bettelheim who has suggested that such societies should be conceived in terms of the reemergence of capitalist relations of production. According to Bettelheim the abolition of private ownership of property has by no means led to the direct participation of the worker in society. Indeed the state, as the collective owner of the means of production continues to exploit the worker in a manner comparable to that of the capitalist bourgeoisie. (30) The substitution of market mechanisms by

a state-mediated plan, Bettelheim insists, is insufficient proof that commodity relations have been abolished, since the workers are still forced to sell their labour as a commodity. Bahro holds a view diametrically opposed to this, since he acknowledges the presence of a planned economy as evidence that capitalist relations of production have ceased to exist. (31) Thaa perhaps best resolves this issue, concluding from Die Alternative that the essential feature common to both systems is the same logic of production. (32)

Theses advocating 'actually existing socialism' as a form of state capitalism have nonetheless been challenged by a variety of critics. By contrasting Die Alternative with contemporaneous dissent elsewhere in Europe, the specific nature of Bahro's critique becomes evident. Thus, the Czech writer Pelikan has argued that such societies cannot be comprehended purely in terms of the prevailing forms of production. This overlooks a large number of factors which are characteristic of East European society, such as the Party's monopoly of power, the identity of Party and State, the repression of any opposition and the hegemony of the Soviet Union. (33) Without doubt, such factors are taken into consideration in Bahro's analysis. The so-called Budapest school in particular has contested the view that such societies can be conceived in terms of being a variant of capitalism. Vajda, for example, has questioned whether the categories of surplus value and the commodity value of labour are sufficient indices of the capitalist nature of Eastern Europe. He disputes Rossanda's view claiming the basic identity of the form of production in both systems, with differences existing only on the political plane:

"Bei uns muß der Arbeiter zwar auch seine Arbeitskraft verkaufen, aber es ist nicht der Marktmechanismus, nicht die Marktsituation, die den Preis der Ware Arbeitskraft bestimmt, sondern dieser wird von oben politisch entschieden. Dies ist ein Unterschied in der Produktionsform selbst." (34)

Equally, Vajda denies the existence of 'surplus value' as a feature of the 'socialist' form of production. In Eastern Europe, the point at issue is not that of access to surplus value:

"... bei uns existiert auch die Mehrarbeit, existiert auch die Ausbeutung, wobei dies nicht eine Frage des 'Mehrhabens' sondern der Entscheidungsmöglichkeit ist, der Frage, wer über den Mehrwert verfügt." (35)

Whereas in capitalism, the power of disposal over surplus value is determined by ownership of private property, in 'actually existing socialism' this privilege is accorded to those within the apparatus. Die Alternative reveals a stronger degree of affinity with this school of thought than with the theorists of the state-capitalist school as is demonstrated in its discussion of the situation of the direct producers in 'proto-socialism'.

The status of the 'socialist' working class, Bahro maintains, has become perceptibly worse in contrast to its capitalist counterpart. The essence of the workers' problem consists in the disadvantage suffered by the want of any independent means of organization and expression. The state's monopoly of all means of articulation forces the workers into a situation where they possess a purely negative means of influencing their lives:

"Wie in der Armee die Meuterei, so ist in unserer vorgeblich sozialistischen Gesellschaft die massenhafte Rebellion der einzige Weg für die unmittelbaren Produzenten, nachdrücklich auf die allgemeine Marschrichtung Einfluß zu nehmen." (36)

For Bahro, the trades unions simply represent ancillary arms of the state apparatus which, combined with the lack of access to any means of undifferentiated information(37), has had the effect of leaving the workers in 'real existierenden Sozialismus' virtually defenceless against an all-powerful state: "... die Arbeiter (sind:G.S.) dem Regime gegenüber automatisch atomisiert." (38)

In a most vigorous condemnation of the ruling elites in Eastern Europe, Bahro denounces the systems for the way in which the initiative of the masses is restricted by a number of mechanisms designed to reinforce their subaltern position in society. Contrary to the notion that such systems are characterized by the continuation or restoration of capitalist relations of production, Bahro maintains that exploitation has assumed a distinctly different form:

"... die Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung (besteht:G.S.) darin, die Produzenten der Entscheidungs- und Verfügungsgewalt über die Bedingungen ihres materiellen Lebens zu berauben, so daß ihre soziale und nicht selten sogar ihre biologische Existenz als Individuen in die Hände einer wesensmäßig ungreiflichen, väterlichen Schicksalsmacht gelegt ist." (39)

The true source of the alienation of the direct producers is their exclusion from activities which impart a greater level of consciousness and thereby deny them the opportunity to exercise any influence over their own lives. To attain the complete emancipation of mankind, Bahro believes, it is essential to raise all individuals to the level of consciousness required to contribute to all aspects of the decision-making process:

"Gemeint ist, daß die reale Möglichkeit, an der *Synthesis* des Geschichtsprozesses teilzunehmen, der einzige Weg ist, der subalternen Existenz zu entkommen." (40)

As will be discussed below, this notion forms one of the fundamental premises upon which Bahro constructs his alternative concept for achieving socialist society.

Merely establishing the fact that this exploitation exists forms just one strand of Bahro's attack. The more unacceptable aspect of his thesis for the SED comes with his forthright assertion that the Party itself is responsible for this state of affairs and, more

significantly, that the Party actively seeks to perpetuate this situation:

"Zweifellos erhält die Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus durch die Provokation einer Staatsmacht, die sich in der bestehenden Arbeitsteilung festgesetzt hat, *um sie zu konservieren*, ihren stärksten Anstoß." (41)

The fundamental reason for the severity of the SED's response to the publication of Die Alternative (42) stems from the provocative assertion lying at the heart of the text that the SED has failed in its duty to the proletariat and should thus be the object of a far-reaching process of reform. As a former member of the SED himself, Bahro is in little doubt as to where the root cause lies. His critique concentrates upon two fundamental features of 'actually existing socialism': on the one hand, the deadening power of the bureaucracy as the chief social force, and on the other hand the Communist parties which have presided over the creation of such systems.

As the central contradiction in society Bahro identifies the enormous divisions which exist between the masses and their nominal representatives in the form of the Party and its apparatus:

"Volk und Funktionäre - das ist die unvermeidliche Dichotomie jeder protosozialistischen Gesellschaft." (43)

It is the Party which occupies the central position in society and is responsible for undertaking all major tasks of social development by virtue of its claim to be the true guardian of the proletariat's long-term interests. From the outset, however, Bahro feels the party concept of both Marx and Lenin was fundamentally flawed. Marxism, he asserts, was never a working class theory, but rather the product of an intellectual stratum:

"Der Marxismus ist eine Theorie, die sich auf die Existenz der Arbeiterklasse gründet, aber ihre Theorie ist er nicht." (44)

Thus, the Party has never been completely in a position to articulate the interests of the proletariat, and, in Bahro's estimation, has now reached a point where its chief concern is to consolidate its leading role in society. In the process, moreover, the Party has become ensnared within its own bureaucratic apparatus. As such, Bahro is emphatic in his assertion that it is the Party itself which is at fault:

"In Wirklichkeit ist es gerade die gegebene Existenzform der Partei (nicht so sehr des Staates), die die Staatsvergottung notwendig macht. Denn technologisch gesprochen ist der Parteiapparat nicht nur der Motor, sondern auch der Steuer- mann der sozialen Entwicklung, die Staatsmaschine ist bloß das Werkzeug." (45)

Although it could be justified historically by the circumstances in which it emerged, Bahro believes the root of the problem can be traced back to the Leninist concept of the party. On the one hand, the role assigned to the trades unions as the chief link between party and people never materialized, whilst the apparatus set up by the Party to control the machinery of state simply served to aggravate the problem of bureaucratic domination. As a result of such attempts to police themselves, Bahro argues, the ruling Communist Parties have attained a position unparalleled even by that of the Church in former times:

"Der Parteiapparat als Kern der Staatsmacht bedeutet den säkularisierten Gottesstaat, wie er der Kirche zu ihrem Glück nie anders als lokal gelungen ist. Nie waren, seit die naturwüchsigen Theokratien der Frühzeit niedergingen, weltliche und geistliche Autorität derart in einer Hand vereint." (46)

In a welter of criticism, Bahro launches an attack on the Party's lack of internal democracy(47), its claim to ideological exclusivity (48), its bureaucratic-centralist form, and vigorously denounces the claim that such parties are compatible with the goals of socialism:

"Die zentralistische Monopolisierung aller ökonomischen, politischen Entscheidungsmacht führt zu einem unüberwindlichen Widerspruch zwischen dem sozialen Auftrag der Partei und ihrer politisch-organisatorischen Existenzform." (49)

Contrary to official espousals, Bahro refutes the claim that such parties actively foster the all-round development of the individual and ensure participation in the social synthesis. Bahro's conclusion is correspondingly damning:

"Ihre innere Verfassung und ihre Herrschaftsform als Überstaatsapparat sind die entscheidenden Entwicklungshemmnisse auf dem Wege zur weiteren Emanzipation der Menschen in unseren Ländern. ... Die Kommunisten sind in solchen Parteien gegen sich selbst und gegen das Volk organisiert." (50)

The thrust of Bahro's attack is directed at the Communist Party itself for the way it has perverted the socialist ideal and alienated the masses. Nevertheless, it would be false to suggest that Bahro simply advocates the necessity of reforms on the political level. Indeed, he is most dismissive of this idea:

"Bloße politische Veränderungen würden für sich allein überhaupt nichts an den Realitäten bessern, die die jetzige Ordnung erzeugt und ihre Abnutzung hervorgerufen haben." (51)

Without question, the need to alter radically the Party in its present form constitutes a central objective in Bahro's strategy, but nonetheless it still forms but one part of a multi-faceted process of reform, few critics of which have devoted attention to features other than the

League of Communists. (52) In dismissing the adequacy of reform in the political superstructure alone, Bahro clearly rejects one of the main tenets of the Trotskyist thesis. Klinger and Reinstein have rightly observed that Bahro goes further than Trotskyist theorists who accept society as essentially socialist but advocate the overthrow of the bureaucratic strata which has usurped the workers' state:

"... what seems worth keeping, namely the nationalized property and central planning, is (for Bahro:G.S.) really one of the socio-economic causes of bureaucratic itself, *if a series of other relations are not fundamentally changed.* It produces bureaucratic rule, just as private property in the means of production produces the rule of the bourgeoisie." (53)

There is some justification to support critics such as Mandel who have found Die Alternative attractive for the way in which Bahro exposes the bureaucratic domination of socialist society. (54) Bahro, however, explicitly rejects Mandel's thesis (and indirectly therefore, Trotsky's (55)) which denies that the bureaucracy enjoys any independent roots in the economic structure:

"Ich kann nicht recht begreifen, wie man ... darauf bestehen kann, unsere Bürokratie sei »lediglich ein parasitärer Auswuchs des Proletariats«, verfüge »über keinen politischen, sozialen oder ökonomischen Mechanismus, um ihre besonderen materiellen Interessen« ...» mit der Entwicklung der Produktionsweise zu vereinen, aus der sie ihre Privilegien bezieht« (...)." (56)

An account of the bureaucratic domination of society constitutes one of the major elements of Bahro's critique. Confirming warnings by Rosa Luxemburg (57), Bahro concludes that the leading feature of the formations of Eastern Europe is the overwhelming presence of the bureaucracy. (58) In a penetrating analysis he reveals how the real driving force in the Soviet systems is not that of the plan or market

but the rivalry and pursuit of self-interest which exists in the bureaucracy itself:

"Die Akkumulation von Mehrprodukt ist die progressive ökonomische Funktion, bisher. Aber zugleich ist der Zuwachs die eigentliche Domäne der zentralen Verfügungsgewalt, das Instrument und der Ausweis ihrer Wirtschaftspolitik, bei der es nicht nur um Ausbalancierung der Proportionalität, sondern auch um den Genuß, den Ausbau und die Sicherung der eigenen Macht nach innen und außen geht." (59)

The system of economic planning offers a prime example of the regulation of the interests of the majority of society according to the priorities of the bureaucratic stratum. Important economic considerations often take a back seat in deference to the main priority - namely the fulfilment of the plan. Bahro concludes that, in contrast to the primarily 'economic' nature of the capitalist entrepreneur, the socialist manager is "... zwangsläufig zuerst bürokratische Person." (60) The plan may prove the absence of capitalist relations of production, but Bahro is adamant that it cannot objectively reflect the true interests of the populace in general whilst contradictions persist in society. The plan is evidence of of an 'Interessenausgleich von oben' (61), determining society's needs in advance. Further, the planning process lacks any system of interaction and feedback with society upon which to base its judgements. In effect, therefore, the plan is distorted at two levels: the domination of the bureaucracy's special interests is compounded by the lack of knowledge of the true needs of the society as a whole. (62)

To a certain degree, however, the system still manages to function. The explanation for this, Bahro contends, is that despite the sclerosis of the bureaucratic system, members of the 'Apparat' recognize that their position is dependent on surviving in the hostile world of competition with capitalism. As such, the bureaucracy hinders the development of society in a particular fashion:

"Selbst heute noch reduziert die bürokratische Form unseres Überbaus weniger das quantitative als das qualitative Wachstum ..." (63)

Challenging previous theories on the nature of such societies, Bahro maintains that the chief focus of bureaucratic rivalry is directed less at the acquisition of greater material privilege and more towards the competition for those positions within the hierarchy of labour which bestow greater opportunities for personal advancement and career progression:

"... der Schwerpunkt des sozialen Interessenkampfes (muß sich:G.S.) sukzessiv von der Verteilung des Arbeitsentgelts zur Verteilung der Arbeit selbst verschieben, nachdem einmal die Subsistenzmittel im großen und ganzen gesichert sind." (64)

In this Bahro concurs with opposition surveys from elsewhere in Eastern Europe (65), which have affirmed that the major inequality in socialist society results not from the competition for limited material privileges, but is occasioned by inequalities in terms of access to economic, cultural and political power:

"Die Menschen streben eben danach, ihre Tätigkeitsfelder im Hinblick auf die Freiheitsgrade des eigenen Verhaltens zu optimieren." (66)

The question of what actually constitutes the chief characteristics of the bureaucracy is one which lies at the heart of the debate on how to determine the true nature of Soviet-style societies. Bahro resists the classification of such societies in terms of the restoration of capitalism, and is similarly dismissive of the Trotskyist thesis of a 'bureaucratic deformation' of the socialist ideal. In his definition of the status of the bureaucracy, Bahro once again demonstrates his spirit of intellectual independence from previous schools of thought. Some of the difficulties presented by the effort to determine the

exact nature of the bureaucracy within socialist society have been indicated by Deutscher:

"(Privileged groups in Soviet society:G.S.)... are a hybrid element; they are and they are not a class. They have certain features in common with the exploiting classes of other societies; and they lack some of the latter's essential characteristics." (67)

The chief problem in this respect concerns the position of the bureaucracy in relation to the means of production. Deutscher casts doubt on the idea of the bureaucracy as a new class founded on the collective ownership of property:

"Property has always been the foundation of any class supremacy. ... bureaucratic domination rests on nothing more stable than a state of political equilibrium." (68)

There are, however, a number of authors who have contended that the bureaucracy in the communist states amounts to the emergence of a new class. One of the earliest proponents of this thesis was Rizzi, who designated the Soviet Union as an example of 'bureaucratic collectivism', arguing that, although members of the bureaucratic stratum do not own property individually, there was still no evidence of the full socialization of the means of production:

"The members of this class do not share out this property, but are themselves, *en bloc*, and in the form of a class, the true owners of all the nationalized property." (69)

The idea of the bureaucracy as a class in its own right received its best known elaboration in the work of the Yugoslav dissident, Djilas. Aware of the contentious nature of his argument, Djilas notes the distinction between a caste, whose status is linked to its control functions, and a class, where power stems from ownership of property.

Yet, he concludes that the core of Bolshevik revolutionaries at the centre of the party has developed into a new ruling class:

"Ownership is nothing other than the right of profit and control. If one defines class benefits by this right, the Communist states have seen, in the final analysis, the origin of a new form of ownership or of a new exploiting class." (70)

Djilas defines the basis of class power as resting on the 'use, enjoyment and disposition' (71) of the nation's goods. In this respect Die Alternative contrasts sharply with the view of the bureaucracy as a new class. His thesis corresponds more closely to Marcuse's interpretation which denies that the bureaucratic stratum derives its power from any independent roots in the economy:

"Naturally, the traditional sources of economic power are not available to the Soviet bureaucracy; it does not own the nationalized means of production. But obviously 'the people', who constitutionally own the means of production, do not control them. Control, therefore, and not ownership must be the decisive factor." (72)

Marcuse argues that the bureaucracy cannot be truly sovereign as a class in its own right, since its economic powers are strictly circumscribed by the demands of state economic planning. The bureaucracy thus has no effective means of securing its own special economic interests against those of society as a whole. Equally, for Bahro, it is not direct access to the surplus value which determines the position of the bureaucracy, rather its power base rests on the rights it possesses in deciding how this surplus is allocated. It is precisely this aspect which must change:

"Die zentralisierte Verfügungsgewalt muß ja schließlich - und darauf konzentriert sich die bürokratische Rivalität der aktiven Elemente in Hierarchie und Spezialistentum - unter

die verschiedenen kollektiven und individuellen Subjekte des Wirtschaftslebens verteilt ... werden." (73)

The pursuit of surplus value alone has never been the sole focus of attention in 'actually existing socialism'. (74) Instead, the main objective has been to increase the surplus product, since its growth corresponds to the maximization of the bureaucracy's power of disposal. This is the determining factor in relations between the bureaucratic stratum and the workers:

"Wie jeder Arbeiter im Kapitalismus durch seine gute, verantwortungsbewußte Produktionstätigkeit nicht nur in den systemgegebenen Grenzen seine eigenen und die allgemeinen Existenzbedingungen verbessert, sondern vornehmlich das Kapital vergrößert, so vermehrt er im real existierenden Sozialismus das Potential für die Verfügungsgewalt der Partei- und-Staatsmaschine, vermehrt er seine Ohnmacht ihr gegenüber." (75)

Some critics have challenged Bahro's analysis on this point. Erbe, for example, insists that he essentially draws the wrong conclusion from his own findings:

"Der von ihm (Bahro:G.S.) diagnostizierte Ausbeutungszusammenhang ließe erwarten, daß eine auf diese Weise charakterisierte Gesellschaft auch in Termini der Klassentheorie analysiert wurde." (76)

Erbe feels that Bahro depicts 'actually existing socialism' as a variant of state capitalism without definitely stating so, despite his portrayal of the worker as being alienated in a manner similar to capitalist exploitation. As such, Bahro invalidates his own thesis that the division of labour constitutes an autonomous factor in the formation of class society. Against Bahro's view of a stratified society resulting from contradictions within the forces of production,

Erbe posits the notion of a class society based on antagonistic relations of production:

"Die Verselbständigung von politischen Leitungsfunktionen gegenüber unmittelbaren Produktionsfunktionen ist so nicht, wie Bahro wiederholt ausführt, das Produkt antagonistischer Produktivkräfte, sondern spezifischer Produktionsverhältnisse, allerdings auf der Grundlage einer Technologie, die weitgehend der kapitalistischen nachgebildet ist." (77)

The question of how this situation arose has also been the subject of discussion. Bahro, for his part, draws on the theory of the Asiatic mode of production, claiming there is sufficient historical evidence to demonstrate how one particular sector of society comes to monopolize the 'common interests' of the population in general. The historical basis of this power rested on the claim by a particular caste (such as priests or prophets) to hold superior knowledge of society and its needs. (78) From this, Bahro concludes that material advantage is not the basis of this stratum's power:

"Kurz, das gemeinsame höhere Interesse wird zum besonderen Interesse der Höheren. Ihre ökonomischen Sonderinteressen treten dann erst hinzu, ergeben sich zum großen Teil überhaupt erst daraus." (79)

For many Marxists this issue lies at the heart of the debate on the formation of class society, with Bahro's view lying diametrically opposed to conventional theory. Despite his own conviction that economic privileges accrue to this stratum only once it has already established its position in society, Bahro has justifiably been criticized for failing to clarify precisely how the bureaucracy owes its position to its monopoly of information. Lobe, pursuing the KPD (Maoist) critique of the elites within 'real existierenden Sozialismus' as the emergence of a new bourgeoisie, argues, for example, that it is fundamentally wrong to view the division of labour

as the root of social (class) divisions in the Eastern European societies:

"Empirisch ist daran richtig, daß der Widerspruch zwischen Gesellschaft und Staat stets eng zusammenhängt mit der Teilung von Kopf- und Handarbeit ... Stets ist die scheinbare 'Herrschaft der Geistesarbeiter' jedoch nicht das grundlegende Produktionsverhältnis, sondern beruht auf den materiellen Interessen einer Klasse an der Aneignung fremder Arbeit." (80)

Lobe's view has been echoed in Bischoff's strictly orthodox assessment of Die Alternative. Dismissing Bahro's work as an example of his 'Gegnerschaft zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus' (81) Bischoff undertakes a wide ranging attack on the concept of the division of labour as an autonomous factor in the formation of class society. In particular, Bischoff submits that the division of labour according to mental and manual tasks is a feature which goes hand in hand with the development of the productive forces and is an element associated with the capitalist mode of production:

"Die Scheidung von Hand- und Kopfarbeit ist also ein »sehr modernes« Phänomen, keinesfalls ein durch die ganze Geschichte sich hindurchziehendes Problem, geschweige denn der Motor und Ausgangspunkt der Existenz von Klassen-gegensätzen." (82)

Bischoff holds rigidly to the view that the domination of one class over another depends on the relationship of the owners of the means of production to the direct producers, but appears more intent on highlighting Bahro's departures from 'scientific socialism' rather than examining the validity of his analysis of the specific nature of 'actually existing socialism'. (83)

Despite such criticism, this aspect of Bahro's study has found favour in some circles. Altwater has greeted his analysis of the role

of the division of labour as evidence that the hierarchies of Eastern Europe are determined not by any basis in the economy, but are characterized by the primacy of the political sphere:

"*Positiv besteht der revolutionäre Akt darin, daß mit der Verstaatlichung der Produktionsmittel ein erster Schritt zur Abschaffung ökonomisch bedingter Herrschaft unternommen wird und nun die Entwicklungsdynamik der Gesellschaft politisch bestimmt werden kann.*" (84)

The basis of this political rule rests on the division of labour which fails to disappear along with the abolition of private ownership in the means of production. Support too, has come from Damus who concurs with Bahro's perception of the importance of the role of the division of labour:

"'Alte Arbeitsteilung' und 'Staat' (auf Basis der erweiterten Reproduktion) sind also die entscheidenden Stichworte zur Bezeichnung des Produktionsverhältnisses, das dem real existierenden Sozialismus eigen ist - zwei Säulen der Herrschaft, die es schon längst vor dem Kapitalismus gab..." (85)

A large gulf clearly exists between those like Damus who accept the possibility of relations of domination based on the division of labour rather than property relations, and those such as Bischoff who refute this argument. Erbe has perhaps come closest to bridging this gap in his suggestion that Bahro's position contains an element of both schools of thought. Although Bahro views the chief antagonism in society as a problem of the distribution of political power between the workers and the Party/state machinery, his discussion clearly implies the continuing influence of property relations on the position held by the direct producers:

"Im Gegensatz zu Stratifikationstheoretikern, für die die Stellung zum Eigentum kein sozial differenzierender Faktor

mehr ist, läßt Bahro in seiner Untersuchung der Sozialstruktur die Eigentumsverhältnisse nicht unberücksichtigt." (86)

In determining the nature of its definition of the East European societies, Die Alternative gains greater clarity through comparison with the work of the Budapest School, especially the analysis offered by Konrad and Szelenyi in The Intellectuals on the road to Class Power. As the title suggests, Konrad and Szelenyi have postulated the idea that the traditional ruling elites in socialist societies are in the process of being supplanted by the rule of a new class. In contrast to critics such as Djilas who designated the antagonistic relationship between the direct producers and the new ownership class in the shape of the bureaucracy as the chief class division in society, Szelenyi dismisses this definition. He argues that it is too restrictive to define a ruling class in terms of the monopoly which it enjoys over the right of disposal. (87) Contrary to the view of the bureaucracy as a new class, Konrad and Szelenyi have argued that the chief dichotomy of socialist society lies between the working class and the intelligentsia:

"We believe that the Eastern European intellectual vanguard abused our epistemological innocence and, while pretending to carry out 'the historical mission of the proletariat,' in fact gradually established its own class domination over the working class." (88)

Konrad and Szelenyi advance their thesis, however, with a number of caveats, acknowledging that the concept of the intellectual stratum as a new class does not coincide with the Marxist definition of classes in the strictest sense. They concede that this class has no means of increasing its personal wealth, nor of passing on any of its privileges through inheritance, nor indeed is it characterized by a strongly developed sense of class consciousness. The factor which Konrad and Szelenyi do feel justifies the description of the intelligentsia as the 'new class' is its self-appointed position as the best interpreter of society's needs. In 'state socialist redist-

ributive economies', the Hungarians argue, the true basis of class power stems from its alleged monopoly of the capacities required to allocate the surplus product on behalf of the rest of society. (89)

On the surface, Konrad/Szelenyi's thesis clearly finds its echo in Die Alternative. The designation of the power of redistribution as the source of power of this new class has strong parallels with Bahro's work, since both concur that social inequality finds its expression most patently in the economic, cultural and political disenfranchisement of the direct producers, not in any material disadvantage. (90) However, despite this measure of agreement, there are significant areas in which the respective sociological studies of Bahro and Konrad/Szelenyi differ. The most fundamental area of disagreement concerns the evaluation of the role of the intellectual stratum in society. Whilst for Konrad/Szelenyi the intelligentsia is a body essentially at odds with the interests of the populace as a whole, Bahro maintains that this stratum is confronted with the same situation as the workers:

"Das Grundverhältnis besteht nicht zwischen einer Arbeit-
klasse und den übrigen Elementen der Sozialstruktur, sondern
in ihrer gemeinsamen Gleichheit gegenüber einem dritten
Faktor." (91)

Whilst the Hungarians write with the aim of exposing the dangers of the rise to power by the intelligentsia, in his work Bahro controversially affirms the progressive nature of this stratum. Nonetheless, it is important to stress the respective interpretations of the 'intelligentsia' held by Konrad/Szelenyi and Bahro. Whereas for the former, the concept of the intelligentsia subsumes those exercising a variety of 'intellectual' activities (from the conventional artistic and scientific strata to bureaucratic mandarins and economic and technical planners[92]), Bahro denotes a more specific subject in his analysis. (93) The simple opposition of mental and manual labour no longer suffices to distinguish accurately the true nature of the divisions which exist in contemporary East European society, since

advances in the production process have served to blur the differences between the labourer as such and the 'intellectual'. Instead, Bahro argues, 'proto-socialist' society has seen the emergence of a broad new stratum of specialists in the technical and economic sphere:

"Der moderne Ingenieur, besonders der Hochschulingenieur, der beide in sich vereint (d.h. Naturforscher und Mechaniker:G.S.) ist die exemplarische Schlüsselfigur des reifen Industrialismus." (94)

Where Bahro differs significantly from the Konrad/Szelenyi study is in his assertion that this stratum of specialist is essentially bound to the working class:

"Wenn ... der Begriff der Arbeiterklasse verwandt werden soll, so ist der Ingenieur, der technische und ökonomische Spezialist, ihr privilegierter Repräsentant." (95)

As Bahro himself concedes(96), this notion reveals a strong affinity to the Party's position which refuses to acknowledge antagonistic class differences between the intelligentsia and the working class.(97) This stratum of specialists is characterized by its distinction to the bureaucracy on the one hand, whose stifling tendencies it strives to resist, and the working masses on the other hand, of whose potential Bahro is at best sceptical. Bahro's 'intellectual' is not conceived in traditional terms, but denotes the technical and economic specialist, who, as a result of the increased intellectualization of the production process, has acquired the 'capacity for abstraction' Bahro believes to be necessary for any process of social change:

"Daher steht der Ingenieur der »Philosophie« potentiell weitaus näher als die Köchin, und der soziale Gegensatz zwischen Spezialistentum und dem etablierten allgemeinen politischen und wirtschaftlichem Management dürfte das

progressiv bewegende Moment in der nächsten Phase des Übergangsprozesses sein." (98)

As the discussion below reveals, in this respect Die Alternative has been understood by a number of critics as an example of a bid for power by the technocratic and specialist stratum. (99) Certainly, the evaluation of the technocrat as an essentially "progressive Charakterfigur" (100) contains an explicit affirmation of the stratum from which Bahro himself originates, and contrasts sharply with the negative view which he holds of the bureaucracy:

"Der Technokrat arbeitet objektiv an der Liquidierung seiner Rolle, sofern er progressive Produktivkräfte durchsetzt, der Bürokrat heiligt täglich den Status quo." (101)

Whilst the bureaucracy labours hard to hinder any developments which threaten its privileged status, Bahro portrays the technocratic stratum as altruistic figures endeavouring to abolish their own right to exist. Not surprisingly this aspect has come under attack for failing to identify those aspects which would confirm such tendencies. As Claeys rightly observes, Bahro provides little evidence to support his view that a technocratic background imparts any greater capacity to determine objectively society's true needs. (102)

Without doubt, Die Alternative reflects the concerns and interests of a particular section of GDR society, namely those of the technocratic stratum. Whilst it is possible to interpret this critique as a general attack on the nature of 'actually existing' socialist society, in the rush to claim Bahro for their own particular school of thought, many critics have tended to overlook this specific nature of Bahro's criticism. (103) As Chapter One sought to demonstrate, Bahro's early career was marked by a firm adherence to the goals of the WTR ('wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution'). By the late 1960s as Baylis observes, this drive for modernization and technical progress, which had demanded big increases in the numbers of technical

and economic specialists, clearly confronted the Party with a serious dilemma:

"Virtually all contemporary Communist regimes place economic development at the top of their political ideological agenda. The more seriously they pursue this goal, the more at least some 'slipping sideways of power' is likely to occur." (104)

By denouncing the influence of special interests within the decision-making process and expressing a preference for the determination of society's needs according to objective technical knowledge, Bahro reveals his credentials as a member of this technocratic stratum, which he plainly considers to be an indispensable element for the future development of socialism. Above all, it is essential to remember the context in which Bahro was writing. Thus, the Eighth Party Congress of the SED in 1971 sealed the fate of the WIR, abandoning its grander aims to a distant future in favour of more practical objectives in the present. This move confirmed what had long been the case: the Party was simply unwilling to share its power with this stratum. Die Alternative clearly challenges the Party on this, and, in the final analysis, represents a claim to share in political authority resting on the belief that the exercise of power should be based on ability and expertise. The 'alternative' which Bahro outlines is indicative of this desire for a redistribution of power, as the following chapter will seek to demonstrate.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE - PART TWO

1. Ernest Mandel: From Stalinism to Eurocommunism. NLB, London 1978. p.100. (henceforward referred to as Mandel: Eurocommunism.); Günter Bartsch: Mehr als Alternative - ein Durchbruch und Neubeginn. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.12 1978. p.472. (henceforward referred to as Bartsch.); Greg Claeys: Bahro's Alternative. in: Radical Philosophy. Vol.25 Summer 1980. p.27. (henceforward referred to as Claeys.)
2. For a number of favourable responses see the special edition of: Prokla. No.31 1978. pp.5ff.
3. Karl Marx: Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie. in: Marx Engels Werke. Vol.13. Dietz Verlag, Berlin(East) 1975 (1961). pp.7ff.
4. See for example: Hermann von Berg: Marxismus-Leninismus. Das Elend der halb deutschen, halb russischen Ideologie. Bund Verlag, Cologne 1986.
5. On this debate see: René Ahlberg: Die sozialistische Bürokratie. Kohlhammer Urban Taschenbücher, Stuttgart 1976.
6. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.8. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
7. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.222-223.
8. *ibid.* p.165.
9. *ibid.* p.217.
10. See for example: André Gorz: The Division of Labour. The Harvester Press, Brighton 1976.; Alvin Gouldner: The two Marxisms. The Macmillan Press, London & Basingstoke 1980.; Douglas Kellner: Remarks on Alvin Gouldner's 'The two Marxisms'. in: Theory and Society. Vol.10 No.2 1981. pp.265-277.
11. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.166.
12. The pyramid construction of society is one of several features which Bahro's work shares with Volker Braun. See for example: Volker Braun: Büchners Briefe. in: Volker Braun: Verheerende

Folgen mangelnden Anscheins innerbetrieblicher Demokratie.

- Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1988. For an assessment of the striking similarities between Braun and Bahro see: Ian Wallace: Das Dennoch und der Triumph der Selbstbehauptung: Identitätssuche und Zivilisationskrise bei Volker Braun. in: Paul Gerhard Klussman and Heinrich Mohr (eds.): Jahrbuch zur Literatur in der DDR Vol.3. Bonn 1983. pp.185-208.
- See below p.218. footnote 48. Bahro now acknowledges this close relationship with Braun in: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Verlag Tribüne, Berlin(East) 1990. p.546.
13. Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.21.
 14. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.192.
 15. *ibid.*
 16. *ibid.* p.195.
 17. See: Autorenkollektiv(eds.): Geschichte der SED. Abriß. Dietz Verlag, Berlin(East) 1978. p.514.
 18. Jürgen Harrer: Anmerkungen zu Rudolf Bahro: »Die Alternative«. in: P. Brokmeier & R. Rilling(eds.): Beiträge zur Sozialismusanalyse 1. Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne 1978. p.55.
 19. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.224.
 20. *ibid.* p.72. Harrer fails to quote in full. Bahro writes of "ein vom Kapitalismus gereinigter Staatsmonopolismus".
 21. For a definitive rebuttal of Harrer's selective use of quotation see: Michael Stamm: Sozialismusforschung der 'Marburger Schule'. in: Die Tageszeitung. 20.6.79. p.10.
 22. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.197-198.
 23. Bartsch. p.474.
 24. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.313.
 25. *ibid.* p.195.
 26. *ibid.* p.199.
 27. *ibid.* p.197.
 28. Rossana Rossanda: Contribution to Podiumsdiskussion 2. Der Prager Frühling - Strukturbedingungen und Formen einer Systemkrise in Osteuropa. in: Der Bahro-Kongreß: Aufzeichnungen.

- Berichte und Referate. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1978. pp.57-59.
(Main text henceforward referred to as Der Bahro-Kongreß.
Rossanda's contribution henceforward referred to as Rossanda.)
29. Rossanda. p.57.
 30. Charles Bettelheim: Economic Calculation and Forms of Property. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Henley 1976. The depiction of such societies as state-capitalist has also been advanced by Tony Cliff: State Capitalism in Russia. Pluto Press, London 1974 (written 1948).
 31. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.180-181.
 32. Winfred Thaa: Die Gesellschaftsformation des sogenannten 'real existierenden Sozialismus'. in: So oder So?/Extra. Beiträge zum Marburger Bahro Kongreß. p.20.
 33. Jiri Pelikan: Contribution to Podiumsdiskussion 2. Der Prager Frühling - Strukturbedingungen und Formen einer Systemkrise in Osteuropa. in: Der Bahro-Kongreß. p.65.
 34. Mihaly Vajda: Contribution to Podiumsdiskussion 2. Der Prager Frühling - Strukturbedingungen und Formen einer Systemkrise in Osteuropa. in: Der Bahro-Kongreß. p.62.
 35. *ibid.* p.62.
 36. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.199.
 37. Bahro does note, however, the way in which the Western media actually serves as a corrective on the controlled flow of official information. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.294.
 38. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.224.
 39. *ibid.* p.178.
 40. *ibid.* p.171.
 41. *ibid.* p.179.
 42. On the response to Die Alternative in the GDR see below pp.200-213.
 43. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.285.
 44. *ibid.* p.232.
 45. *ibid.* p.286.
 46. *ibid.* p.288.
 47. *ibid.* pp.287-288.
 48. *ibid.* p.292.

49. *ibid.* p.291.
50. *ibid.* p.294.
51. *ibid.* p.179.
52. Fritz Vilmar is one of those who has devoted attention to this point. Fritz Vilmar: Eine klassenlose Arbeitsorganisation. Bahros 'Alternative' geht auch uns an. in: Hans Kremendahl & Thomas Meyer (eds.): Menschliche Emanzipation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1981. pp.121ff.
53. Fred Klinger and Boris Reinstein: Bahro: On the threshold of revolutionary Marxism? in: Critique. No.10/11 1978/79. p.115.
54. Ernest Mandel: Eurocommunism. p.105. "For Mandel, the Soviet Economy has a 'non-capitalist mode of production' but a 'basically bourgeois mode of distribution'. in: David Lane: The Socialist Industrial State. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1976. p.38.
55. Leon Trotsky: The Revolution Betrayed. Pathfinder Press, New York 1972 (written 1937).
56. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.453-454.
57. "Ohne allgemeine Wahlen, ungehemmte Presse- und Versammlungsfreiheit, freien Meinungskampf erstirbt das Leben in jeder der öffentlichen Institutionen, wird zum Scheinleben, in der die Bürokratie allein das tätige Element bleibt." Rosa Luxemburg: Politische Schriften III. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1968. p.136.
58. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.187.
59. *ibid.* pp.184-185.
60. *ibid.* p.262.
61. *ibid.* p.182. Bahro's description contrasts with Feher's more severe designation of this controlled distributive mechanism as a 'dictatorship over needs.' in Ferenc Feher: Dictatorship over needs. Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1984.
62. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.188.
63. *ibid.* p.278.
64. *ibid.* p.250.
65. See especially: Ivan Szelenyi: Whose alternative? in:

- New German Critique. No.20 1980. pp.117-134.
66. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.260.
 67. Isaac Deutscher: The Unfinished Revolution 1917-1967. Oxford University Press, London 1967. p.54.
 68. *ibid.* p.56.
 69. Bruno Rizzi: The bureaucratization of the world. The USSR: Bureaucratic Collectivism. Trans. A. Westoby. Tavistock Publications, London 1985. p.63.
 70. Milovan Djilas: The New Class. Thames & Hudson, London 1957. p.35.
 71. *ibid.* p.46.
 72. Herbert Marcuse: Soviet Marxism. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 2nd edition 1969.
 73. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.253.
 74. Bahro writes "Es ging nie primär um Mehrwert, sondern um Mehrprodukt." Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.114.
 75. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.284.
 76. Günter Erbe: Arbeiterklasse und Intelligenz in der DDR. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1982. p.28. (henceforward referred to as Günter Erbe: Arbeiterklasse und Intelligenz in der DDR.)
 77. Günter Erbe: Klassenantagonismus oder Schichtendifferenzierung? in: Prokla. No.31 1978. p.60.
 78. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.168.
 79. *ibid.* p.169.
 80. Henner Lobe: Arbeitsteilung, Klassenherrschaft, Staat - einige Thesen zur Bahro-Diskussion. in: Theorie und Praxis des Marxismus-Leninismus. No.3 1978. p.43.
 81. Joachim Bischoff: Bahro - eine Alternative? in: Beiträge zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus. No.1 1978 p.28. (henceforward referred to as Bischoff.)
 82. Bischoff. p.26.
 83. *ibid.* p.27.
 84. Elmar Altvater: Der Primat der Politik in nachrevolutionären Gesellschaften. Paper delivered at the Milan Conference on post-revolutionary societies, 4th-7th January 1979. Reproduced in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros (eds.): Freiheit

- für Rudolf Bahro. Eigendruck des Komitees, West Berlin 1979.
85. Renate Damus: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. in: Internationalismus Rundbrief des SE. No.4. Reproduced in: So oder So?/Extra. Beiträge zum Marburger Bahro Kongreß. p.7. See also: Renate Damus: Ökonomie als 'organisierte Verantwortungslosigkeit'? Alternative einer sozialistischen Wirtschaft. in: Der Bahro-Kongreß. pp.125ff. The striking parallels between Damus work and Bahro's deserve mention. See especially: Renate Damus: Der reale Sozialismus als Herrschaftssystem am Beispiel der DDR. Focus Verlag, Giessen 1978. Bahro himself refers to the affinity his work shares with that of Damus in Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.453.
86. Günter Erbe: Arbeiterklasse und Intelligenz in der DDR. p.28.
87. Ivan Szelenyi: The position of the intelligentsia in the class structure of state socialist societies. in: Critique. No.10/11 1978/79. p.58.
88. George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi: The Intellectuals on the road to class power. Harvester Press, Brighton 1979. p.3.
89. ibid. p.154.
90. Bahro now shares the concerns voiced by Konrad and Szelenyi: "Der Bau der Megamaschine, materiell und geistig ... ist das Selbstbestätigungsobjekt der Intelligenzia." Rudolf Bahro: Für eine Wirtschaftspolitik, in der Ökologie die Priorität besitzt. in: Neues Deutschland. 19.12.89. p.4.
91. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.216.
92. For a discussion of the differing conceptions of the intelligentsia see: Chris Rojek: Typologies of education and the capitalist world system. in: British Journal of Sociology of Education. Vol.5 No.3 1984. pp.213 -225. See also: Philip Schlesinger: In search of the intellectuals: some comments on recent theory. in: Media Culture and Society. No.4 1982. pp.203-223.
93. Note however Bahro's use of the term intellectual later in Die Alternative. See below pp.159ff.
94. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.204.

95. *ibid.*
96. *ibid.* p.236.
97. See for example: Manfred Lötsch: Zur Entwicklung der Intelligenz in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. in: Autorenkollektiv(eds.): Die Intelligenz in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Dietz Verlag, Berlin(East) 1980. Official theory acknowledges non-antagonistic differences between the working class and the intelligentsia but postulates their gradual convergence.
98. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.206.
99. See below p.159.
100. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.265. Bahro's view of the progressive nature of the intelligentsia is shared, in some respects by Gouldner. Gouldner posits the idea of the intelligentsia as a 'Flawed Universal Class', i.e. essentially elitist and self-seeking but potentially a progressive force in society. Alvin W. Gouldner: The future of the intellectuals and the rise of the New Class. The Macmillan Press, London & Basingstoke 1979.
101. *ibid.* pp.265-266.
102. Claeys. pp.27-30.
103. See below pp.221ff.
104. Thomas A. Baylis: The technical intelligentsia and the East German elite. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1974. p.19.

CHAPTER THREE: PART THREE -
THE STRATEGY OF A COMMUNIST ALTERNATIVE

The final section of Die Alternative constitutes arguably the most significant and interesting sections of Bahro's study, the controversial nature of which is reflected in the broad-ranging discussion which has come to surround it. In delivering his strategy of a 'Communist Alternative' Bahro seeks to avoid a purely scholastic discussion of Marxist theory, hoping instead to emulate Marx's achievement in combining theory with practice. Far from producing a simple condemnation of the failings of the Eastern European systems, the intention is to formulate an alternative path of development and depict the tendencies within society which will lead to its eventual transformation. For this reason Die Alternative can be said to stand or fall by the strategy which has been outlined, one which Bahro has strongly defended. (1) Despite the welter of proposals contained in this section, Bahro denies offering a blueprint for the society of the future. Instead, he tries to outline in a bold and daring manner his vision of the possible route by means of which the socialist ideal could be salvaged from its state of stagnation and decay to restore what he perceives as the original utopian content of the struggle for the emancipation of mankind. Undoubtedly the most striking feature of Die Alternative is Bahro's determined adherence to a belief in the capability of Marxist theory to deliver a strategy for the future. Yet despite this commitment, Bahro does not shirk from undertaking a sweeping series of revisions and dismissals of cardinal features of Marxist theory, affecting such hallowed concepts as the historical materialist understanding of history, the world-historical mission of the working class and the designation of the Party as the leading force in society.

In view of the broad scope of this section, it is perhaps of little surprise that it has provoked considerable debate, encountering on the one hand scathing opposition from the upholders of Marxist orthodoxy (2), whilst others have written approvingly of his attempt to re-

invigorate Marxism and restore its validity for the contemporary situation. (3) Such sharp differences of opinion plainly reveal more about the standpoints of respective critics rather than the merits and weaknesses of Die Alternative, since in an effort to claim or disavow Bahro, such studies have tended to focus on specific features of his strategy to the exclusion of other equally important factors. In order to grasp the significance of Bahro's alternative it is important to understand the various components of his strategy as part of an integrated whole. As Bahro himself concedes, his design is far from flawless, but it is nonetheless entirely consistent with the findings of his own analysis of 'actually existing socialism'.

THE ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION

In some quarters the news that Bahro had become actively committed to the cause of Green politics after moving to the Federal Republic was met with some considerable surprise. (4) Such reactions are all the more noteworthy since Die Alternative already contains explicit evidence of the author's concern for the ecology and environmental issues, and well signposts this future development in his work. Undoubtedly, writers such as Drewitz and Amery were perceptive in their initial judgements of Die Alternative in this light. (5) Amery confirms the importance of this work when he writes,

"... daß es sich um ein Buch handelt, das ins Fach der politischen Ökologie fällt. Es nimmt ... die Forderung ernst ... die bisherige Leitwissenschaft, die politische Ökonomie, durch eine neue Leitwissenschaft, eben die politische Ökologie, zu ersetzen." (6)

Amery's observation is all the more perceptive since he adds "(d)ies spricht Bahro allerdings nirgends aus; und ich vermute, daß es ihm auch gar nicht bewußt ist." (7) This serves as a useful reminder to guard against the temptation to interpret Die Alternative as testimony of the burgeoning ecological awareness in the GDR. Although Bahro produces a definitive statement on the environmental dangers facing

both industrial systems it would seriously overlook the specific background to his concern for ecological issues if his critique were to be received simply as evidence of parallel developments in both German republics. (8)

The preface to Bahro's critique is awash with indications of the direction which his work has assumed since his arrival in the West. Thus, he sharply condemns the crass contradictions occasioned by the North-South divide(9), identifies both major industrial formations as systems harmful to the future well-being of the planet(10) and he later postulates the need for a 'psychological' revolution(11) whilst championing the cause of a commune-based society of the future. (12) Indeed, the urgent call to restore the harmony between man and his natural environment clothed in the prophetic tones of impending catastrophe, typical of Bahro's work in the West, is present at this early stage:

"Die extensive Phase der Menschheit geht so oder so zu Ende, im Guten oder im Bösen. Die Gattung kann und wird ihre materielle Basis weiter qualifizieren, aber sie muß um ihrer Fortdauer und ihres Lebenssinnes willen mit der Megalomanie brechen, muß kollektive Rücksicht gegenüber dem Naturzusammenhang lernen, den sie bisher eher zu stören als zu verbessern vermocht hat." (13)

Bahro displays an unshakeable belief in the inevitability of a profound and far-reaching transformation, believing that the extent of the crisis necessitates a decisive change of direction.:

"Die Dinge steuern auf einen Umbruch hin, der noch tiefer geht als der gewöhnliche Übergang von einer Formation zur andern innerhalb ein und derselben Zivilisation." (14)

Yet, this statement begs the question why Bahro feels obliged to apply Marxist methodology, since it repeats his claim that the process of historical development is not necessarily one of unilinear progression

where the seeds of any new formation develop within the body of the existing society. (15)

Bahro submits that the non-capitalist formations have achieved the task for which they were unwittingly established but that they have come to perpetuate the alienation felt by the individual in society. Now, the situation demands a shift towards the creation of a cultural-aesthetic environment creating a society in which all can realize their full potential. The strategy proposed by Bahro contains a strong subjective element, shifting attention from the form of the relations of production, which he acknowledges as a prerequisite for socialism, to the nature of the productive forces. Bahro turns to the works of the younger Marx, particularly The German Ideology (16) to support his view that the universal appropriation of culture has always formed an integral part of the Marxist ideal. A close correspondence with Western theorists who have sought to revive Marxism's utopian perspective is also evident. He echoes Fromm in attaching priority to the development of 'rich individuality' rather than material expansion, arguing that "(e)s gilt die objektiven Bedingungen dafür zu schaffen, daß es die Menschen vorziehen können, »zu wissen und zu sein, statt zu besitzen«." (17) Die Alternative, in this respect, sharply contradicts the Party's interpretation of the future path of development and reveals the particular nature of the opposition voiced by Bahro. Moreover, Bahro's interpretation of Marxist theory also raises doubts about his claim to offer a 'Marxist' alternative, with critics perceiving the importance he attaches to the subjective factor as evidence that he has forsaken Marxism as a tool of scientific inquiry.

The 'Kulturrevolution' at the heart of Bahro's 'Alternative' is conceived in classical Marxist terms as a fundamental transformation of society in all its major aspects with the long-term goal of creating a society of fully-rounded individuals. Bahro espouses the view that the attainment of human emancipation in its fullest sense demands more than a transformation in the political sphere. As the experience of 'actually existing socialism' has demonstrated, the

overthrow of capitalist relations of production is wholly insufficient as a means of abolishing the capitalist mode of production unless it is to be accompanied by a revolution within the forces of production themselves. This point, he argues, has been overlooked by even the most prominent of socialist theorists:

"Selbst ein so tiefer Denker wie Gramsci akzeptierte die Technik, den Industrialismus, den Amerikanismus, den Fordismus als *Verhängnis* und stellte uns Kommunisten als die eigentlichen Vollstrecker der menschlichen Anpassung an die moderne Technologie und Maschinerie dar." (18)

The radical and provocative nature of Die Alternative as a work of East German opposition can be judged by the close correspondence which it reveals with prominent works of contemporary Marxist revisionism in the West. André Gorz, for example, has delivered a strikingly similar thesis arguing that "... 'collective appropriation' of factories can only be a completely abstract transfer of legal ownership..." (19)

The assertion that the struggle for existence has been won has itself stirred controversy. Bahro maintains that, in the process of constructing socialism, the effort to secure the living standards of the majority of people should no longer claim priority. Indeed, the very question of material progress must be fundamentally re-thought to address the issue of whether material advance ultimately inhibits the total emancipation of mankind:

"Die Masse und Vielfalt an Gütern und Genüssen, die sich der Konsumtion aufdrängen und den Zeitplan der Individuen einerseits nach der Vermehrung der abstrakten Arbeit, andererseits nach der passiven Rezeption des »für teures Geld Erworbenen« hin verzerren, kann sogar geeignet sein, die Quellen der Emanzipation zuzuschütten und eine parasitäre Mentalität zu erzeugen." (20)

This dismissive attitude towards the further material development of society forms one of the leitmotifs of the proposals at the heart of Die Alternative and is one which seriously undermines any suggestion that Bahro's work is one that reflects the broader range of opposition interests in the GDR. (21) Whereas for Bahro the increase in second car ownership in the GDR provides incontrovertible evidence that the economic development of the socialist countries has reached a more than adequate level, this clearly takes little account of the aspirations of the population in general. As Bahro recognizes (22), consumerist pressures on the GDR in particular are exacerbated by its proximity to the 'consumer paradise' of the Federal Republic. Nonetheless, it must be stated that Bahro's view is clouded by his own relatively comfortable position, writing from within the lower echelons of the state apparatus. For the stratum to which Bahro and his colleagues belong, the overriding aim is to match their material status with an equivalent degree of political power:

"Als wirkliches Problem der allgemeinen Emanzipation erweist sich hartnäckig die immer wieder vergebens von interessierter offizieller Seite eskamotierte *Entfremdung* der Individuen von den Quellen der selbsterzeugten gesellschaftlichen Macht." (23)

Kremendahl observes that this undermines any claim by the technocratic stratum to represent the interests of the society as a whole:

"... Die Forderungen nach Priorität für die Ökologie gegenüber dem ökonomischen Wachstum, nach Lebensqualität statt weiterer Erhöhung des Lebensstandards, werden vor allem von denjenigen vertreten, für die die Erfüllung von Konsumbedürfnissen kein drängendes Problem mehr darstellt." (24)

Inadvertently Bahro himself has offered evidence to support this view. In his doctoral thesis, Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative (25) he reveals that sections of the technical and economic stratum have still to relinquish aspirations for greater material and economic

privileges. (26) Similarly, the much disputed 'Spiegel-Manifesto', issued by an unidentified group claiming for itself the title 'Bund der Kommunisten', placed demands for improved living standards high on its agenda. (27) Further, as Zimmermann notes (28), Bahro's portrait of the technocrat as one inspired by the greater goals of socialism rather than personal material gain is firmly challenged in Loest's Es geht seinen Gang, which depicts the resignation and disillusionment of a typical middle-ranking economic functionary. (29)

It is quite evident that, despite its awareness of the wider interests of the population, Die Alternative voices the concerns of a quite specific section within the 'intellectual' stratum. Here, Rakovski's designation of the 'sub-intellectual' as a group within the intelligentsia is perhaps more helpful than Bahro's understanding of this stratum as an undifferentiated whole. (30) At a general level, Rakovski argues, this stratum has entered into an uneasy peace with their respective leaderships, sacrificing its more far-reaching ambitions in return for a relatively high degree of material comfort, whilst the 'sub-intellectual' represents a much smaller group which has repudiated such compromises. Although Die Alternative confronts the broad spectrum of issues concerning the state of 'actually existing socialism', the perspective behind the work's alternative strategy is that of a comparatively small but influential grouping within the state-machinery seeking to promote its own particular vision of a different path to socialism.

As the analysis of his earlier work indicated (31), Bahro was both a product and an ardent champion of the measures adopted in the formative years of the GDR's development. His unbounding optimism regarding the potential benefits presented by the advent of a new age of great technological advance is evident in some of his early poems, as this extract shows:

"Arbeit, nur Arbeit heißt das weite Feld,
der Startplatz, deinem Fluge nachzujagen
durch alle Kunst und Wissenschaft der Welt.

Philosophie - selbst dort noch offene Fragen?
Ergib dich, Königin Atomphysik!
Und du gib Antwort, KLEINE NACHTMUSIK!" (32)

Undoubtedly inspired by visions of an egalitarian society of the future - "maßloser Traum Universalität" (33) -, this work is clearly an example of what Bathrick terms a "homage to scientific-political-cultural revolution" (34). By the late 1960s and early 1970s such aspirations and idealism have given way to bitter disappointment with the regime's abandonment of seemingly unrealistic and, for the present at least, unattainable grand visions in favour of more pragmatic policies aimed at direct improvements in material living standards. (35) The disaffection caused by such measures is most apparent in Bahro's attack on the leadership's readiness to content itself with chasing the coat-tails of the Western capitalist economies:

"War das nur jener mittelmäßige, in sich selbst perspektivlose Wohlstand, mit dem wir dem Spätkapitalismus so erfolglos den Rang abzulaufen suchen, seinen Vorsprung auf einem Wege, der nach all unserer überlieferten Überzeugung in den Abgrund führt?" (36)

Although scarcely representative of society's interests as a whole, Bahro is joined in such criticism by an equally, if not louder than more lyrical voice of protest from the mid 1970s in the songs and poems of the balladeer Biermann, who also expresses a strong disavowal of the Party's consumer-orientated socialism. (37)

Such severe assaults on official policy at first appear difficult to reconcile with the seemingly contradictory claims of some critics who have detected a strong degree of affinity between Bahro's own design and that of the Party. One critic writes

"Bei aller gelegentlich durchscheinenden Kritik an der Theorie der 'wissenschaftlich-technischen Revolution' (...), die mit automatisch sich durchsetzenden Intellektualisier-

ungstendenzen von Industriearbeit rechnet, übernimmt Bahro selbst die prognostischen Aussagen dieser Theorie..." (38)

Conversely, the call to abandon the existing policies behind the WTR stands at the forefront of the demands in Die Alternative:

"Die sogenannte wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution, die jetzt noch überwiegend in dieser gefährlichen Perspektive vorantreibt, muß von einer neuen gesellschaftlichen Umwälzung her programmiert werden. Die Idee des Fortschritts überhaupt muß radikal anders interpretiert werden, als wir es gewohnt sind." (39)

Yet, critics claiming to sense a lingering faith in the hopes and aims of the WTR certainly have some justification. Bahro's criticism is directed at the particular interpretation of the WTR promoted by the SED, with its emphasis on the drive for greater commodity production and material growth at the expense of broadening social and political opportunities for those who have benefitted from the WTR:

"Die gegenwärtige Wirtschaftspolitik in den RGW-Ländern wird die Bedingungen für die Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit nur dort verbessern, wo es noch echten Mangel zu beheben gilt. Erzeugt sie doch selbst den für die wissenschaftlich-technische Entwicklung unerläßlichen Bildungszuwachs in solchen Formen, die dem Menschen schon im Lernprozeß allen Gewinn für die Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit versagen. In dieser Richtung dürfen wir nicht länger hoffen und suchen." (40)

In this respect, the 'Kulturrevolution' that Bahro postulates against the official path of development is understood as an attempt to retrieve the original utopian element of socialism. Whilst the Party espouses such goals in theory, it is incapable of realizing them in practice. Bahro rejects such willingness to compromise ideals and repeatedly stresses his commitment to the cause of socialism. At

first his strategy appears inconsistent with the severity of his critique since it bears a striking similarity to the existing state of affairs. Accordingly many, including Bahro's successor, Henrich(41), have been disappointed. Arato speaks for many when he writes of Bahro

"While his courage and integrity are undeniable, his theoretical synthesis ... belongs to that set of works from Trotsky to Hegedüs which criticize the social systems of Eastern Europe only in terms that remain deeply embedded in the presuppositions of these systems." (42)

This may be so, yet it fails to explain this apparent contradiction. Adams, however, succinctly clarifies the point when she concludes,

"Bahro's proposals ... are in some ways not so much an alternative to the SED's policies as an extension of them, a type of *reductio ad absurdum*, given present conditions and limitations." (43)

Bartsch reiterates this point when he calls for Die Alternative to be understood not just as an alternative but as a radical new beginning to enter the next phase of the construction of socialism. (44) It is precisely this question of whether Bahro's utopia can be termed as a radical new development of Marxist theory or whether, on the contrary, it signals an abandonment of sacred aspects of the Marxist 'theology' which has come to form the focal point of the debate in existing interpretations of this work.

'KULTURREVOLUTION'

Centre stage in Bahro's design is occupied by the concept of the 'Kulturrevolution', a term encompassing a broad sweep of measures crucial for the attainment of a society based on the free association of individuals. With its priority on a programme fostering the all-round emancipation of mankind, Bahro's 'alternative' presents a green-tinged package of measures which demand a thorough redefinition of

man's needs and restructuring of society's production goals. At the forefront of this design rests an unyielding(45) commitment to the creation of a cultural-philosophical state, where conditions are such that they enable all citizens to realize their full potential:

"Die allgemeine Emanzipation ... ist verwirklicht, so weit die Menschen positiv in die Lage versetzt sind, sich schöpferisch die soziale Totalität anzueignen - anders gesagt, sich die Quintessenz der Gesamtkulturleistung subjektiv zu eigen zu machen..."(46)

Unashamedly drawing upon the legacy of Marx's earlier works, Bahro asserts that the path to socialism has always had the universal development of man's abilities as its ultimate goal.(47) It is the task of the 'Kulturrevolution' to sweep away those obstacles which obstruct such development. Paramount amongst these is the need to abolish the vertical division of labour, which constitutes the primary source of the continuing alienation experienced by the majority of those who live under such regimes:

"Die massenhafte Überwindung der Subalternität ist die einzig mögliche Alternative zu der grenzenlosen Expansion der materiellen Bedürfnisse."(48)

The chief components of this revolution include a redistribution of labour; a programme of unlimited access to higher education; a system securing the best possible development of all during the years of primary socialization; increased emphasis on finding new communal forms of living; and the transfer of the social decision-making process from central control to that of society as a whole. In spite of the breadth of this programme and its revolutionary nature, Bahro is insistent that it can be attained peacefully and gradually. This has been greeted with scepticism by some, who argue that postulating an 'organic' process of change appears naive in the light of the portrayal of a society where the majority are powerless in the face of an elite who monopolize its major functions.(49)

The major revolutionary demand in Bahro's strategy is for the abolition of the vertical division of labour, which he feels dominates the forces of production in the Soviet-style systems, and which consequently forms the basis of the class division of society. Acknowledging that the abolition of routine labour is most unlikely, Bahro still feels that a redistribution of labour is possible. Only political restraints block the path to a society where all dispose of the capacities to engage in self-realizing activities. Bahro recognizes the dangers of this and attempts to preempt the critics by insisting it will not amount to a "»Degradierung« der Privilegierten" (50), but will instead foster the all-round development of those currently disadvantaged. Claeys, however, advises caution, pointing out that "(p)recedents for Bahro's vision... have... been caricatured as a 'levelution' or universalization of ignorance..." (51).

The call for the redistribution of labour provides a fine example of the tentative nature of the 'Alternative', but also demonstrates Bahro's frequent tendency to pass over important issues raised by his proposals. Postulating a future of harmonious reproduction, Bahro takes it for granted that the vertical division of labour has lost its validity. This belief is sharply at odds with conventional wisdom which maintains that the division of labour forms an inevitable part of the production process. Move bluntly asks "*How* does one transcend an inescapably necessary division of labour?" (52), whilst Kremendahl notes that even Marx conceded the necessity of the vertical division of labour. (53) Arato, moreover, questions whether Bahro takes into account the fact that the abolition of the division of labour could presage the return to those static, communal societies of which he was so critical in section one. (54)

Such criticism, whilst raising important issues, is also instructive for revealing how some critics have come to Die Alternative with closed minds. Whilst these critics have taken such suggestions as concrete proposals, Bahro himself denies offering any blueprint for the future, conceding that such measures are purely speculative to the

extent of risking utopianism. Feher's dismissal of Bahro's design as being "conceived of in deeply German Romantic terms" (55) is perhaps justified, but ignores Bahro's desire to address issues which, especially in the states of Eastern Europe, have been ignored for all too long. Vilmar, as one of the few to have recognized this point, strictly denies any 'utopianism' in Bahro's design. Bahro's long-term programme, he feels, confronts questions fundamental to industrial systems in both East and West:

"Es (das Langzeitprogramm:G.S.) ist keineswegs utopisch. Ich erinnere an die Tendenzen in den Vereinigten Staaten ... und selbst in der Bundesrepublik, Arbeitern qualifizierte Arbeit anzubieten, weil sie nicht mehr bereit sind, stupide Aufgaben auf Dauer gut auszuführen." (56)

By the same token, Marcuse has greeted Die Alternative with enthusiasm and has insisted that it delivers a pertinent analysis of industrial society in general, exposing tendencies common to both capitalist and socialist modes of production:

"Wenn Bahros Kritik ... für beide Gesellschaftssysteme gilt, meint das nicht, daß Bahro irgendeine Konvergenztheorie entwirft. Er zeigt vielmehr die in der je eigenen Struktur der beiden (sehr verschiedenen) Gesellschaften gründende Einheit von Fortschritt und Destruktion, Produktivität und Unterdrückung, Befriedigung und Mangel." (57)

Bahro's plans for a radical reappraisal of the education process also illustrate the difficulty in his work. The transformation of the conditions determining the individual's early development, especially in education, occupy a central place in the 'Kulturrevolution'. Against the existing 'antiästhetisch' and 'rationalistisch' (58) system of education which reinforces the hierarchical division of society, Bahro posits a system of universal access to higher education that draws strongly on a traditional and classical understanding of education. These proposals deserve thorough examination; the claim

that this programme of education "wird immer einen gewissen kulturell gesicherten Zwang erfordern..." (59) has important implications for the question of individual freedom. Waterkamp's point that Bahro underestimates the complexities of the learning process and exaggerates the individual's thirst for knowledge is also valid. (60)

Yet, this criticism overlooks the motivation behind Bahro's proposals. His treatment of such issues stems not from any claim to possess expert knowledge of the fields he discusses, but reflects his belief in the need for a visionary socialism. His proposals, however flawed, are significant if for no other reason than for the fact that they expose the want of any such vision in the existing Party leadership. Understood in this light, Die Alternative represents a powerful indictment of the Party's abject failure to fulfil its role as a source of ideological inspiration both for its members and its wider constituency in the form of society as a whole.

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY SUBJECT

Bahro's radical reappraisal of the concept of class struggle offers a further example of how some authors have approached this work with preconceived ideas. Bahro is less than confident in the abilities of the proletariat to undertake the all-embracing programme of reform he envisages. Presaging the outspoken views which have served to alienate him from large sections of the socialist and workers' movements in the Federal Republic (61) Bahro resolutely dismisses the hallowed concept of the world historical mission of the proletariat. This has sparked vociferous opposition from various quarters in the socialist camp. Commenting on Bahro's disavowal of the proletariat's leading role, Thomanek, for one, is convinced of one thing:

"Bahro's new concept of socialism is essentially non-Marxist, because he glibly re-associates the defenceless Marx with the utopian socialists, but also because he rejects Marx's interpretation of history as the history of class struggles." (62)

In a much stronger invective against Bahro's treatment of this issue, the Hungarian dissident, Szelenyi scathingly remarks that "Bahro's theoretical coup d'état within Marxism applies the Marxian concept of Aufhebung to the working class and emancipates the workers by eliminating them." (63) Such outright condemnations however must themselves be treated with some caution. Admittedly, Bahro leaves little doubt as to his dismissive attitude concerning the potential of the workers as the leading force of social change:

"Die unmittelbaren Bedürfnisse der subalternen Schichten und Klassen sind immer konservativ, antizipieren in Wirklichkeit nie positiv eine neue Lebensform." (64)

Essentially Bahro's argument is determined by two factors. First, he challenges the suppositions upon which Marx formulated his theory of the proletariat and, secondly, he questions its validity for the contemporary situation:

"... eine welthistorische Mission des Proletariats im Rahmen der marxistischen Theorie (ist:G.S.) nirgends zwingend bewiesen. Marx und Engels haben sie postuliert, bevor sie detailliert die Gesetze der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise analysiert hatten." (65)

The hopes placed in the working class as the class which would overcome its oppression and alienation and become the first ruling class to establish its rule in the interests of society as a whole, were excessively optimistic. Such notions reflected the philosophical considerations of an intellectual elite rather than any true socialist consciousness on the part of the working class: "Die Arbeiter ... waren nie marxistisch in einem einigermaßen strengen Sinne." (66) This dichotomy in the origins of the workers' movement represents for Bahro one of the chief contradictions pervading the socialist movement and leads him to launch a direct attack on the Party's claim to be the true representative of the workers' interests:

"Die sozialistischen Parteien waren von vornherein, und durchaus nicht nur in Rußland, ambivalent sowohl Parteien des Proletariats wie Parteien für das Proletariat." (67)

This is more than just an example of Bahro's strong rhetoric, for he touches upon issues fundamental to Marxist theory. Not only have his views on this subject been censured by those who contest the notion that Marx designated the proletariat as passive actors in an inevitable abstract historical process (68), but more importantly Bahro has also been charged with abandoning the concept of dialectical materialism; that is, ignoring the potential within the proletariat in favour of a purely empirical analysis of their conditions. (69) This is especially the case with the second strand of his argument where Bahro justifies his lack of faith in the revolutionary capacities of the working class by reference to historical experience. Numerous occasions have failed to convince Bahro that any revision is necessary of Lenin's sceptical attitude towards the workers' self-organizing abilities:

"Das reale empirische Proletariat ist, obwohl von ihnen (Marx und Engels: G.S.) zum Repräsentanten der ganzen vorschreitenden Menschheit berufen, eine Klasse, die aus sich selbst heraus nur zu gewerkschaftlichen, tradeunionistischen Ausdrücken ihrer Interessen gelangt." (70)

Such arguments have found little favour in many quarters, with critics citing considerable historical evidence to refute Bahro's assertion, especially the examples of self-organization by the workers in Poland. (71) One of the firmest rebuttals has come from the otherwise favourable voice of Mandel, who takes issue with the selective historical perspective upon which Bahro's argument is founded. Referring to events such as the Spanish Civil War, Mandel argues:

"This sort of political wisdom as a substitute for comprehension of the objective dynamic of class struggles is unworthy of Bahro's Communist vision and passion." (72)

In his comprehensive analysis from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, Klein disregards the fine detail of such historical arguments to accuse Bahro of a more fundamental fault in his understanding of the workers' position in the class struggle. Bahro's argument rests on a misconception of the Leninist position, according to Klein. It simply does not suffice to 'introduce' ('hineintragen') the necessary level of consciousness into the workers, as Bahro seems to suggest. On the contrary, the revolutionary potential of the proletariat depends first and foremost on an analysis of their own economic exploitation in capitalism:

"Je gründlicher und unerbittlicher diese Analyse durchgeführt wird, je mehr sie Wurzeln schlägt in der Arbeiterklasse, desto besser kann die Arbeiterklasse ihre eigene Diktatur ausüben. Nur in diesem Sinne ist das Leninsche 'Hineintragen' zu verstehen, nicht im spießbürgerlichen Auspinseln einer schönen Zukunft, eines 'Endziels' der Geschichte." (73)

In view of the direction which Bahro's work has followed in the West, Klein's denunciation of Die Alternative as an example of petty-bourgeois socialism is instructive:

"Ein 'Hineintragen' dieser Art, nach Art der Verkündigung eines 'Gottesstaates', braucht die Arbeiterklasse nicht und ist auch von Lenin nie praktiziert worden." (74)

The complaint often made since Bahro's arrival in the West is that he has exchanged scientific analysis of the existing conditions and potential capacities of the working class for utopian images of a brighter future with no basis in objective realities. This is a view which some have held to be true of Bahro's work from the start. (75)

Nonetheless, Bahro has stoutly defended himself. As he has stated repeatedly, the doubts he raises about the revolutionary potential of

the proletariat do not necessarily entail abandoning the workers' interests to the winds:

"Selbstverständlich bleiben die historisch älteren Arbeiterschichten auf dem Plan, und sie müssen in der kommunistischen Partei ihre Vertretung behalten, aber es ist nicht mehr möglich, auf ihre Interessen die allgemeine Strategie zu gründen." (76)

Although explicitly stated, this aspect has been ignored by some critics. Bahro is insistent, however, that such are the changes required that any transformation process can only be executed by a broad coalition of social forces, rather than through the interests of one particular section of society. In the West, Bahro has felt compelled to reinforce this point, and has refuted criticism from certain sections of the Left:

"Jedenfalls bitte ich ... die anderen Genossen ... um das Zugeständnis, daß die Preisgabe eines bestimmten Begriffs nicht unbedingt bedeuten muß, daß die unter ihm zusammengefaßten Objekte - in diesem Fall also Subjekte - nicht mehr wahrnehmen und ihre Interessen ignorieren will." (77)

If Bahro's abandonment of the 'Proletkult' has proved controversial, his pronouncements relating to the new agent of revolution have sparked a no less heated debate, not least because, having discarded the proletariat as the leading agent of transformation, he ultimately proves somewhat equivocal in his attempt to find a substitute. The crux of the new revolutionary strategy proposed by Bahro rests on a radical revision of the class struggle. The principal source of alienation in society stems from the monopoly which the Party/state machinery holds over access to information and knowledge, thus condemning the majority of the populace to a 'subaltern' existence:

"Durch die bloße Tatsache, daß bestimmte Teile, Gruppen, Schichten ... die Arbeit monopolisieren, die durch sich

selbst zur Entfaltung der individuellen Wesenskräfte führt - durch diese Tatsache verurteilen sie andere Gruppen und Schichten zu hauptberuflicher Beschränkung, wenn nicht Abstumpfung der Gehirne." (78)

Accordingly, Bahro regards the manifest contradiction between those possessing a monopoly of knowledge and those with 'emancipatory' consciousness as the key source of the new revolutionary struggle. Central to this concept is the notion of 'surplus consciousness', which Bahro understands as the excess of intellectual capacities not absorbed by the routine of activities in the production process. The failure of society to utilize the full potential of its constituent members is the theme which formed the focus of Bahro's doctoral thesis, Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative. (79) In dealing with this theme, Bahro highlights one of the fundamental dilemmas facing the SED in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As a result of the drive for greater economic success and progress, itself conditioned by the need to compete with capitalism and to meet domestic demands, the regime was compelled to extend levels of education and qualification to keep pace with increasing advances in technological development. For Bahro this has created a unique situation:

"Wir haben zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte wirklich massenhaft »überschüssiges Bewußtsein«, nämlich energische psychische Kapazität, die nicht mehr von den unmittelbaren Notwendigkeiten und Gefahren der menschlichen Existenz absorbiert wird und sich daher den ferneren zuwenden kann." (80)

For the Party itself these circumstances had incalculable consequences, threatening to undermine its authority at the head of society. Glæßner sees this paradox as a necessary outcome of the Party's attempt to preserve its legitimacy at the head of a rigid centralized system whilst simultaneously seeking to meet the demands of a dynamic industrial society:

"Den regierenden kommunistischen Parteien stellt sich ... das Problem, wie gesellschaftlich mehr Bildung produziert werden kann (und damit auch soziale Erwartungen), ohne daß dadurch ihr Herrschaftsanspruch in Frage gestellt wird, der sich vor allem durch die vermeintliche, auf Wissen beruhende, höhere Einsicht ihrer Kader in die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung legitimiert." (81)

In what Arato has termed Bahro's 'dialectics of consciousness' (82), four elements require distinction. The pendant of 'surplus consciousness' is the 'subaltern consciousness' characteristic of the behaviour of large sections of society. It either takes the form of bureaucratic consciousness serving to perpetuate a hierarchic order of knowledge, or of 'absorbed consciousness' corresponding to the "»normales Verhalten«" (83) of the mass of the people. It too plays an important part in endorsing the status quo. Consistent with his doubts about the working class, Bahro rejects arguments such as those of Luxemburg and Trotsky (84), going so far as to suggest that the proletariat was itself, albeit unwillingly, an accomplice in acceding to the domination of the bureaucracy. (85)

Bahro's limited faith in the workers' potential for change is seen in his understanding of 'surplus consciousness', which also assumes two forms. On the one hand, 'emancipatory' interests are precisely those which will point the way ahead to the full realization of socialism. Not all surplus mental energy, however, finds its expression in activities which will ultimately help to transcend the existing order. Such energies are easily diverted to 'compensatory' interests, most notably in the form of material consumption as a response to the sense of helplessness in the face of Party/state domination. In this guise, surplus consciousness serves to impair drastically the opportunities for individual growth of personality. For Bahro, one of the Party's greatest crimes is to have actively fostered the development of socialism in this direction:

"Die heutige Parteiorganisation ist eine Struktur, die *aktiv massenhaft falsches Bewußtsein produziert.*" (86)

The distinction between Bahro and the opposition elsewhere in Eastern Europe is once more evident. In contrast to Bahro's views on the 'compensatory' nature of material consumption, the Hungarian critic, Hegedüs, points to the necessity for socialist regimes to take greater account of the individual's differentiated needs in the shape of 'appropriate goods and services' (87). Hegedüs' conclusion differs sharply from Bahro's:

"Differential consumption does not only promote economic development, it also allows the many sided development of the human personality." (88)

Whether Bahro's redefinition of needs away from the material to the intellectual underestimates the extent to which creative activity acts as a complement to, rather than a replacement for material consumption, is a question which Claeys has rightly posed. (89)

The concept of 'surplus consciousness' as the principal agent in bringing about the next phase in the construction of socialism raises difficult questions for the more orthodox Marxist. In relocating the class struggle to the ideological sphere, Bahro earnestly strives to overcome the rigid dogmatism of the Party interpretation of Marxist social theory, which seeks to purvey an understanding of man's being as conditioned solely by his material existence. Reiterating the views expressed in his doctoral thesis (90), Bahro incorporates an understanding of anthropology to assert that man's being has always been conditioned by both material and ideological needs. He is at pains to stress that this perspective, far from signalling a radical departure, was never alien to Marx: "Immer schon kam im Marxismus auch vor, daß das Sein das Bewußtsein bestimmen kann, das Sein neuzubestimmen." (91)

The monopoly of knowledge, information and the powers of the intellect have always formed the basis of the bureaucracy's domination since the earliest civilizations, Bahro insists. Now, as a result of the technological advances in the production system, access to such knowledge is no longer confined to an elite. Bahro thus feels justified in designating consciousness as a material force in its own right and it is this which must form the basis of any change:

"Es kommt darauf an, die »Überproduktion« von Bewußtsein zu forcieren, um das ganze historische Geschehen »auf den Kopf zu stellen«, die Idee zur entscheidenden materiellen Gewalt zu machen." (92)

For some critics this constitutes a radical, and unacceptable revision of one of the fundamental tenets of Marxist theory. Thomaneck, especially, takes issue with Bahro's suggestion that the process of emancipation must be the product of a revolution of consciousness, arguing that, far from being a shift in emphasis, this "... is essentially a rejection of the fundamental importance of the class struggle." (93) Canfield, too, remarks on what he observes as a radical departure from the conventional understanding of Marxist theory in Die Alternative:

"In demanding the predominance of the idea over the material base as the progressive force of history, he has essentially rejected the Marxist tenet of historical materialism." (94)

Without question Bahro departs from the prevailing dogmatic and schematic interpretation of historical materialism. Yet, far from invalidating his credentials as a Marxist thinker, this aspect has been welcomed by some as evidence of his independence of thought. Support for Bahro has come from the eminent scholar of Western Marxism, Herbert Marcuse. As a leading voice in the liberation movements of the 1960s, Marcuse called for a revision of the class struggle towards greater emphasis on psychological liberation. (95) Marcuse thus writes approvingly of Bahro's stress on altering

consciousness as a precondition for the future transformation of man's social being. Discussing this perception of human emancipation as a subjective struggle, rather than as a process determined by objective material pressures, Marcuse asserts emphatically,

"Das ist die Wiedergewinnung des ursprünglichen idealistischen Elements im Historischen Materialismus: Die Befreiung von der Ökonomie, die im Historischen Materialismus visiert ist." (96)

Similarly, Williams has cautiously welcomed this fresh perspective on the question of emancipation. However, he rightly casts doubt on whether the concept of surplus consciousness could be universally applicable as a model for general emancipation:

"... on any wider historical scale it can be reasonably argued that this 'surplus consciousness' is at once a cultural and material variable. There is no unilinear progression of 'free consciousness', but on the contrary a highly variable and always complex relation between this sphere of mental possibility and the local imperatives of specific modes and types of production." (97)

This reinterpretation of the traditional class struggle forms one of the central features of Die Alternative and reflects the growing awareness of opponents such as Bahro of the need to free Marxist theory from the restraints of official dogma. In his doctoral thesis, the urgent need to integrate findings from contemporary scientific fields into Marxist theory constitutes an explicit challenge to the exponents of orthodoxy:

"Disziplinär läßt sich die ... Studie in erster Linie vom historischen Materialismus leiten, verbindet einige seiner grundlegenden philosophischen Fragestellungen mit persönlichkeits-, sozial- und arbeitspsychologischen Erkenntnissen, um zu Schlußfolgerungen zu gelangen, die in das

Gebiet der sozialistischen Leitungswissenschaft hineinreichen." (98)

In Bahro's opinion, Marxism can benefit greatly from spheres which it has hitherto ignored, taking more account, for example, of the work of Freud, Reich and Sève. (99) In this, Die Alternative corresponds to developments in the West, where theorists such as Garaudy and Sève have sought to broaden the horizons of traditional Marxist theory, pointing to the need for a greater examination of the role of human psychology in Marxism. (100) Bahro himself has determinedly pursued this intention in the West, stressing particularly the necessity of a synthesis of Marxism and religious teachings. (101)

If the traditional class struggle is not to usher in the new age of socialism as anticipated by Marx, how then does Bahro view the process of transition? Surplus consciousness forms the crucial category in this respect. But for many Bahro's concept is either too unspecific in its designation of who will carry out the transformation, or amounts to a scarcely concealed neo-Leninist solution to the further development of socialism. Bahro himself recognizes many of the dangers inherent in his design, but is quite adamant that 'surplus consciousness' is not bound to any one particular class, and that, potentially at least, it is present in all strata of society:

"... Die Konfrontation in unserer Gesellschaft kann nicht in den Kategorien der traditionellen Klassenwidersprüche verstanden werden. Das Subjekt der Emanzipationsbewegung findet sich in den energischen, schöpferischen Elementen aller sozialen Schichten und Bereiche." (102)

The struggle to establish an egalitarian society must be founded not on the sectional interests of the industrial proletariat but instead calls for the "*Schaffung eines übergreifenden, sei's auch formell eklektischen Konsensus zur Lösung der allgemeinen Krise...*" (103)

This appeal for a redefinition of the revolutionary subject has formed the core of efforts by critical Western theorists to reinvigorate Marxism. A high degree of affinity exists, for example, between Bahro and Marcuse, who has insisted that Marx's concept of the proletariat has been corrupted. It should not be equated solely with industrial wage-labour, but instead ought to encompass a wider subject. Accordingly, Marcuse presages Bahro's move, when he stresses that new forms of oppression have spawned new potentially revolutionary groupings. (104) More recently, Gorz has postulated the so-called 'non-class of non-workers' as the new revolutionary subject, which on the surface at least, bears some similarity to Bahro's conception. Both are united, for example, in their scepticism towards the traditional working class, and their perception of it as a rather privileged grouping. (105) Gorz bases his evaluation on an assessment of developments within capitalism, which he believes make it increasingly impossible to accept that the industrial proletariat has a vested interest in change:

"I have used the term 'a non-class of non-workers' to designate the stratum that experiences its work as an externally imposed obligation in which 'you waste your life to earn your living'. Its goal is the abolition of workers and work rather than their appropriation." (106)

Bahro, however, is doubtful about the prospects for the complete abolition of 'work', and believes any transformation must acknowledge the existence of necessary labour, whilst striving to improve disposable free time for all:

"Allerdings müssen wir dabei in Rechnung stellen, daß die vollständige Liquidierung einfacher physischer und schematischer Arbeit - ohnehin ein äußerst fragwürdiges und nach meiner Überzeugung schon vom biologischen Standpunkt gar nicht wünschenswertes Ziel - in einer absehbaren Zukunft liegt." (107)

The radical nature of Bahro's views on the 'myth of the proletariat' is revealed in the distance between his scepticism and the more affirmative outlook of the more cautiously critical GDR author, Volker Braun. Bahro specifically repudiates Braun's optimistic attitude (108), whilst Braun's less than favourable response to this revisionism can be judged from his critical appraisal of Gorz's essay which also redefines the revolutionary subject. (109)

The concept of a social transformation based on surplus consciousness located in all strata of society has been challenged by some critics, not least on the grounds of Bahro's own imprecise formulations on this matter. Doubts are raised, especially when, despite having stressed that such potential exists in all social strata, Bahro affirms that some groupings are more likely to possess the requisite levels of consciousness:

"... Die Veränderungen werden ausgehen auch von den objektiven *Widersprüchen*, von den Belastungen, die für die ganze Gesellschaft und ihren Reproduktionsprozeß mit der Existenz subaltern gehaltener Schichten gegeben sind. Aber die Initiative dazu kann nur von den mit den Entwicklungsfunktionen und -tendenzen der Produktivkräfte und Produktionsverhältnisse verbundensten Elementen ausgehen." (110)

As a result of the key position which they occupy in the production process, certain groups are more favourably placed to acquire the knowledge and skills required in the initial period of transition. As already mentioned (111), it comes as little surprise to learn that Bahro puts his faith in the abilities of the technical and economic specialists, who, more than ever, scarcely differ from the engineer in terms of their function and position in the hierarchy of labour: "Ich gehe nur davon aus, daß dem Ingenieur die Schlüsselrolle in der gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsetappe der Produktivkräfte fällt." (112) Despite such statements, Bahro vigorously seeks to dispel the notion that his design will necessarily amount to a repeat of the existing

situation and is insistent that this new revolutionary force will not usurp the interests of society in general:

"Es geht nicht darum, die angeblich »führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse« durch eine faktische »führende Rolle der Intelligenz zu ersetzen. Die Interessen der in ihren Augen kompetenten managerialen, wissenschaftlichen und ideologischen Intelligenz tragen ebensowenig universalen Charakter wie die der unmittelbaren Produzenten." (113)

Such arguments fail to convince that Bahro does not ultimately resort to a neo-Leninist vision of the transition to the next phase of socialism. True, Bahro himself is convinced that the dominance of this new elite will be restricted to the initial phase - "Die Funktion des Katalysators kann vorläufig hinreichend effektiv von einer entschiedenen Minderheit ausgefüllt werden" (114), but he ultimately fails to provide any evidence to justify this faith.

The foundation of this concept is Bahro's faith in the altruism of the specialist/intellectual stratum. Significantly in the light of his most recent work, it is evident that a new moral code forms an essential component of the 'Alternative'. A point repeatedly stressed in his outline of the new form of Communist organization is the need for Party members to regain their integrity (115) and display some moral standing in ending their abuse of privilege. (116) The period of Jacobin rule during the revolution should serve as an indication, Bahro claims, of how unpopular measures can be enforced provided those in authority set a high moral tone through their own example. (117) Such references are indicative of the way in which Bahro's alternative is strongly influenced by his own decidedly ascetic outlook on life which he seeks to make the cornerstone of any new civilization:

"Dieser Asketismus in bezug auf die Befriedigung der eigenen unmittelbaren Bedürfnisse ist geradezu die Bedingung der Zugehörigkeit zur Partei der allgemeinen Emanzipation, der Prüfstein der Fähigkeit, kommunistisch zu denken." (118)

In contrast to his scathing appraisal of the accomplishments of the working class, it is apparent that Bahro holds a rather rose-tinted view of the intelligentsia, especially its supposedly selfless role played in assisting the oppressed in history. (119) In addition, on the basis of a Gramscian understanding of 'intellectual' in the broadest sense (120), he feels the contradiction of interests between the intelligentsia and populace in general can be overcome, to the extent that the intellectuals can be trusted to police themselves:

"... der Bund der Kommunisten wird und muß als der kollektive Intellektuelle in der Lage sein, das besondere Problem der Intelligenz schon in sich selbst zu lösen." (121)

The elementary question why historical experience has so far failed to confirm this optimistic assertion is left unanswered by Bahro.

Omissions of this type have formed the focus of the almost overwhelmingly negative response to this aspect of Die Alternative, with most united in their criticism of the dangers of installing a new elite at the head of, but unanswerable to, society. Although he acknowledges Bahro's good intentions, Szelenyi justifiably remains unconvinced that a repetition of the errors of the existing system could be avoided by the 'Kulturrevolution' and defines his alternative "as a new version of 'the alternative from above', an alternative *of and for* the Bolshevik intellectuals." (122) Claeys, too, detects "... a surreptitious plea for the guiding hand of the technical intelligentsia..." (123), whilst Klein maintains Bahro's design is instrumental in endorsing the status quo:

"Statt Aufhebung des Spezialistentums Verallgemeinerung des Spezialistentums - das ist Bahros Ei des Kolumbus, das überhaupt nichts mit dem Kommunismus, sehr viel aber mit der Verteidigung der bestehenden Produktionsverhältnisse zu tun hat." (124)

him. However, it is equally true that Bahro's strategy rests on a particular interpretation of the Czechoslovakian experience which is not shared by all critics.

Above all else, it is his belief that 'real existierender Sozialismus' possesses the capacity to reform within itself which Bahro finds confirmed in the Prague Spring. He remains convinced that a majority of those within the Party/state machinery, although disillusioned with the Party's present state of inertia, retain a high degree of loyalty to the socialist cause. Given the right circumstances, this potential will surface once again:

"In der Stunde der Umgestaltung wird sich überall wie 1968 in der CSSR herausstellen, daß unter der harten Schale eine andere, neue Partei - wir müssen sagen: *mindestens eine* - auf ihre Entbindung gewartet hat." (129)

The transformation of the SED into the PDS following the revolutionary events of autumn 1989 in the GDR would appear to confirm Bahro's optimism here. Yet, where Bahro interprets 1968 in Czechoslovakia as an affirmation of the vitality of socialism, the chief response of opponents elsewhere in Eastern Europe to the suppression of the Prague reformers was to abandon any remaining hopes of a process of reform from within. (130) However, for Bahro, Prague not only demonstrated the potential lying just beneath the surface, but reaffirmed his belief in a 'Leninist' interpretation of the Party as an avant-garde by providing conclusive evidence of the necessity for a controlled process, steered by an intellectual elite:

"... die Wendung begann bei den Ideologen und *die Mobilisierung für die Reform lief als Kettenreaktion durch die Bildungsstruktur von oben nach unten ab.*" (131)

Those directly involved in the Czech movement tend to support this interpretation. Hejzlar writes "(d)ie Intelligenz war wirklich die aktivste Kraft der tschechoslowakischen Reformbewegung ..." (132)

Pelikan, however, concedes the need for a certain amount of control, but sees the contribution of the masses in a more favourable light, insisting that "(a)ction at the base is always decisive." (133) In contrast, Arato has dismissed Bahro's faith in the prospects of reform from within, maintaining that the surplus consciousness behind the Prague Spring emanated from every source but those of the official state institutions. Other critics have also warned against accepting the features of the Czech reform process as a universal model for change in Eastern Europe. (134) Pelikan argues that factors peculiar to the Czech situation must be considered, such as a longer democratic tradition and a more politically mature working class. (135) To this, as Kusin notes (136), must be added the prominent role played by the intelligentsia in Czech history. This contrasts with the Prussian experience of militarism and authoritarianism, and the role of the Church in the Polish opposition movement. Such features distinctly belie the notion of a heterogeneous reform movement in Eastern Europe.

Whether Bahro's affirmation of the model of an intellectual vanguard as a necessary part of the transition process can be justified, depends to a large degree on whether one accepts this assertion of an identity of interests between the intelligentsia and the masses. Strongly echoing the official viewpoint (137), Bahro holds that this identity is self-evident:

"Die Ideologen, die sich vom Apparat lösen, und die Massen, die sich hinter ihnen in Bewegung setzen..., repräsentieren bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit der Motive von vornherein ein *allgemeines* Interesse..." (138)

The Prague Spring corresponds to Bahro's analysis of the existing social contradictions, demonstrating the mobilization of the whole of society in common cause against the domination of the state. As the discussion above indicated, Bahro's thesis diverges from those which see the chief dichotomy existing between the intellectual stratum and the masses. (139) Klein, for one, has attacked the empiricism implicit in Bahro's appraisal of Prague:

"Empirisch deshalb, weil Bahro die bloßen Erscheinungen ... schlicht und einfach in soziologische Kategorien verwandelt, nach dem Motto: Es handelt sich um eine ideologische Bewegung, also ist es eine Bewegung der Ideologen..., also sind sie die historische führende Kraft im bevorstehenden Umwandlungsprozeß..." (140)

Yet Klein is only half right. Certainly, Bahro does tend to underestimate the differences between the various social strata. Bahro ignores the post-invasion period when the working class struggled to avoid the compromise into which large sections of the intelligentsia were all too ready to enter. (141) Such events seriously weaken the identity of interests claimed by Bahro. Yet, he is aware that differing interests were at work and explicitly acknowledges the danger from the forces of restoration (142), conceding that, by restricting their protest to short-term interests, the aims of the majority failed to coincide with those of the intellectuals. (143) Moreover, Bahro agrees with those such as Kusin (144), who dispute the image of the intellectuals as a homogeneous stratum, distinguishing between those concerned with achieving profound changes and those opportunists within the Party who were merely interested in a change of leadership and intent on preserving their own position:

"Neben der im Aktionsprogramm der KPC festgelegten Politik formierte sich spontan jene Richtung, die die Sonderinteressen der Intellektuellen, der Wirtschaftler und Techniker in den Vordergrund stellte. Ihr Kennzeichen war der oberflächliche und ungeduldige politische Radikalismus, der ... letztlich dem Zweck diente, die uneingeschränkte, unkontrollierte Entfaltung dieser privilegierten Kräfte ... zu sichern." (145)

Where Klein's objection is justified is in the suggestion that Bahro fails to draw the correct conclusions from this insight. Thus, when he elaborates on the idea of a 'Bund der Kommunisten' as the potential

force to replace the existing Party, he provides scant indication of how this strategy will guard against a repetition of such a situation.

As a product of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Die Alternative has been identified by some authors as an example of the spread to East Germany of the broader tendencies which were developing in the Communist Parties of Western Europe during the early and mid 1970s. These were themselves in no small way a direct reaction to the Soviet suppression of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's attempt to embark on its own version of socialism. Eurocommunism, as it became known, was an attempt to define those specific developments peculiar to the Communist Parties which were striving to distinguish their brand of socialism from that offered in the increasingly ossified and repressive systems of Eastern Europe. Whether Eurocommunism actually amounted to a systematic, coherent body of thought is a hotly disputed question, with the term itself widely employed to designate a number of differing conceptions. (146)

The appearance of Die Alternative led some authors to conclude that it signalled the existence of a strong undercurrent within the SED professing allegiance to the ideals of Eurocommunism, with Dutschke, for example, writing of "der werdende Eurokommunist, Rudi Bahro." (147) Certainly, the work of Bahro's contemporary, Biermann, suggested such tendencies, but it is apparent that such conclusions about the 'Eurocommunist' nature of Die Alternative were somewhat hasty. (148) Bahro does indeed make reference to developments in the West European Communist Parties, contrasting them with the lack of any similar activity within their East European counterparts. (149) But his admiration stops a long way short of promoting a Eurocommunist solution for Eastern Europe.

Given the timing of its publication, scarcely a year after the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist Parties (150), and, more importantly, its content, there are those who mistakenly, but for good reasons, perceived Die Alternative as an example of Eurocommunism. A degree of correspondence undoubtedly exists between Die Alternative

and works such as Carillo's Eurocommunism and the State. (151) Alongside Marchais and Berlinguer, leaders of the French and Italian Communist Parties respectively, Carillo, as leader of the Spanish Communist Party, is widely recognized as one of the chief exponents of Eurocommunism. In their analyses both Carillo and Bahro join in articulating deep dissatisfaction with the ideological stagnation of actually existing socialism and in challenging the claims of these regimes to have established true workers' democracies.

On the question of what should replace these systems, however, a marked difference of opinion is apparent. Carillo's Eurocommunism is committed to advancing the cause of socialism by democratic means, and to upholding features of the Western democratic tradition, such as freedom of speech and a multi-party system. This entails a rejection of certain fundamental tenets held by the Parties in Eastern Europe, undermining the idea of the monolithic unity of the Party, the concept of democratic centralism, and the principle of the historical mission of the proletariat. Eurocommunism, therefore, contained an implicit belief, executed however equivocally in practice, in the organizational and ideological autonomy of individual Communist parties. On a number of these issues, Bahro's vision differs sharply from that of those like Carillo. The discussion below, for example, illustrates the way in which Bahro's ideas on party pluralism and freedom of speech are at best vague, and, at worst, reveal scant appreciation of democratic values, as understood in the West.

Even where Die Alternative does correspond closely to the Eurocommunist school, caution is necessary. Whilst doubts about the revolutionary capacities of the proletariat are common to both, the solutions offered vary. Bahro redefines the class struggle to discover a new source of revolutionary potential available across all social strata. The Eurocommunists, however, in advocating 'popular alliances', attempted to seek accommodation by means of electoral alliances with the so-called bourgeois parties within the existing system. (152) The fact that parallels have been drawn is all the more surprising since Bahro voices disapproval of exactly this point. He

concedes that the leading Eurocommunist parties have not emulated the reformism of the traditional social-democratic parties, but feels the tendency to "»Resozialdemokratisierung«" (153) is one implicit in the stance they have adopted, a belief in which Bahro has felt vindicated since coming to the West. (154) The distance between Bahro and the Eurocommunists, moreover, was highlighted in their muted response to the appearance of his work. (155)

'DER BUND DER KOMMUNISTEN'.

The vision of a new Communist society as portrayed by Bahro is one which raises serious questions about the nature of his 'Alternative' as a whole. Despite his devastating critique of 'real existierenden Sozialismus', Bahro ultimately delivers a design for the future development of socialist society which appears to ignore completely the detailed findings of his analysis. Yet, even though the absence of any unequivocal commitment to Western style guarantees of human rights perhaps justifies Arato's condemnation of Die Alternative as a 'negative' utopia (156), such criticism overlooks the extent to which, in many respects, Bahro's design is consistent with the character of his opposition.

The 'Bund der Kommunisten' is conceived by Bahro as the form of organization best suited to direct and guide the forces of emancipatory consciousness, taking the shape of a progressive movement, open to all members of society. The 'Bund' constitutes a direct attack on the monolithic unity of the present Party, and is charged with dissolving the existing contradiction between a small party elite at the head of society, and the masses at its base. In short, it will sharply contrast with existing Communist parties which have lamentably failed in their obligation to the societies they claim to represent:

"Die herrschenden Parteiapparate haben so mit dem Kommunismus zu tun wie der Großinquisitor mit Jesus Christus." (157)

The principal task of the League of Communists is to reestablish the integrity and authority of the Communist movement by integrating the particular and corporate interests of the whole of society:

"(Die oppositionelle Gruppierung kann:G.S.) gar keine andere Intention haben, als die Einheit auf der Stufe des aufgehobenen Widerspruchs, der negierten Negation wiederherzustellen und der Partei für die nächste Etappe eine solche interne Verfassung zu geben, mit der sie möglichst gegen einen erneuten Verlust ihrer revolutionären Potenz gesichert ist." (158)

The concept of the 'Bund' is influenced by Gramsci's theory of hegemony and the collective intellectual, which, in warning of the dangers of the elitism of the Party and stressing the need for it to constantly renew its links with society, has found little acceptance amongst the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe. (159) The collective intellectual, understood in the broadest sense as those who recognize the need to overcome their subjective immediate interests in order to achieve lasting change, forms an essential part of Bahro's belief that an organization such as the 'Bund' can accurately reflect the interests of the whole of society. (160)

The concept of the 'Bund' as a means to overcoming the rigid centralization of the existing Party is undermined by Bahro's confusing notion of a state of 'Doppelherrschaft' (161). This implies that the 'Bund' will serve to rival the existing Party only during an unspecified period in the interim, and will itself come to replace the Party as the sole force articulating the interests of society. The vague nature of the way this is formulated, the want of any indication how long the transition period would last and which mechanisms would ensure that the existing state would comply with this outline, have all been reflected in the differing interpretations of this aspect of Die Alternative. Arato observes that Dutschke equates 'Doppelherrschaft' with the interim period between the February and October Revolutions in Russia, whilst Pelikan feels Bahro anticipates

the 'Solidarity' era in Poland where competing social institutions from below came to challenge the authority of the Party. (162) Such views are valid, although Marcuse seems to have misunderstood this concept as one which implies the coexistence of both Party and 'Bund' over a longer period. (163)

Havemann, a fellow GDR dissident, is more direct than most in his criticism of the 'Bund', discounting its chances of success; any such body, he argues, would be regarded as illegal and subversive by the existing regimes. At his most scathing, Havemann concludes "(e)ines Bundes der Kommunisten bedarf es nicht, weil es ihn schon gibt: Die Partei." (164) Even were it to receive some sort of official sanction, he asserts, such a League would still prove thoroughly inadequate as a means to solving the problems of 'actually existing socialism':

"Dieser Bund wäre eine oppositionelle Gegenpartei, und zwar eine rein ideologisch formierte, die keine ökonomische oder soziale Grundlage in der Gesellschaft hat, sondern einfach nur als Besserwisser und dann womöglich mit einem noch weit verschärften Anspruch auftritt, Avantgarde und elitäre Kaderpartei zu sein." (165)

Coming from a prominent figure of the East German opposition, Havemann's criticism is instructive, indicating how far Bahro's perspective is at odds with the general tenor of the opposition in the GDR. Connor similarly casts doubt on whether this work is representative of the broader discontent of the populations in Eastern Europe, arguing that "Bahro's design is not self-evidently something East-Europeans want, or *would* necessarily want." (166) Bahro's comments on the question of democracy and party-pluralism certainly permit this conclusion, although, once more, his statements lack clarity.

Underlying the idea of a new path to socialism, there exists a pronounced tension between Bahro's well-intentioned reforms and his manifest doubts as to the capabilities of the masses. His honest intention is quite evident, since the 'Bund' is so conceived as to

permit the free flow of diverging ideas: "Der Bund der Kommunisten wird erkenntlich unterschiedliche Strömungen, Flügel haben, zeitweilig bis zu Fraktionen..." (167) On the other hand, Bahro outrightly rejects Western-style democracy, maintaining that any process of transformation should set its sights far higher than merely seeking to emulate 'bourgeois' democracy.

Bahro's inability to reconcile an essentially 'Leninist' outlook with the programme of democratic measures which his analysis shows to be all too necessary is well illustrated by his contradictory views on workers' organizations. Thus, he bemoans the lack of autonomous bodies to guard the interests of the workers against an all-powerful state (168), but dismisses free trades unions as the solution:

"Bei einem Erfolg (...) der tschechoslowakischen Reformbewegung hätten die Arbeiter ihre Gewerkschaften zurückbekommen, was ihre sozialpolitische Lage verbessert hätte. Doch andererseits wäre gerade mit dieser Restauration ihre subalterne Rolle als Lohnarbeiter des von einer Bürokratie gehandhabten Staates anerkannt worden." (169)

Even the concept of workers' councils fails to satisfy Bahro (170), but he fails to explain how the 'Bund' will differ from the existing Party in securing an independent forum for the expression of 'dissident' views. Indeed, it is indicative of the extent to which he is still bound to the dogma of the official Party line, that Bahro repudiates party-pluralism as a vestige of capitalist bourgeois democracy:

"... die *parteien*-pluralistische Konzeption erscheint mir als anachronistische Gedankenlosigkeit, die den konkreten historischen Stoff in unseren Ländern ganz verfehlt." (171)

Bahro's argument is quite simple; party-pluralism demands a class structure, a feature Bahro considers to be alien to the systems of 'actually existing socialism'. Yet, paradoxically, he is prepared to concede that diverging social interests exist on the basis of gender

and age. (172) Equally, he stresses the importance of guaranteeing the individual's freedom to act according to his or her own conscience. (173)

The degree to which this design will necessitate some element of coercion is an issue which Bahro also fails to resolve. Thus, assessing the potential for reform within societies such as the GDR, Bahro writes confidently,

"Es geht gar nicht darum, diesen Ablösungsprozeß der Individuen künstlich zu forcieren, Brüche zu erzwingen... Das besorgt, wenn die Widersprüche reif sind, die Situation selbst." (174)

Yet, Bahro argues emphatically elsewhere that the exact opposite will be the case: "... (m)an muß die bereits spontan in Gang gesetzte Produktion überschüssigen Bewußtseins noch aktiv forcieren, muß mit voller Absicht einen Bildungsüberschüß erzeugen." (175) Such statements, combined with the stern refusal to countenance a pluralist political system, raise serious doubts as to how such a system would prove more capable of securing a sphere of independence for the individual than those which already curtail such freedoms. The fundamental failure to consider these aspects thoroughly has exposed this work to some of its severest criticism. Noting the continued allegiance of opponents such as Bahro to the cause of socialism, Georgescu comments that "(t)heir attitude is as dogmatic as the one they criticize. They are absolutely certain that they alone know the correct answers." (176) Feher, a critic of the Hungarian regime, has been just as forthright in his condemnation, accusing Bahro of delivering an "... indirect but powerful appeal for all that was worst under Lenin and Stalin." (177)

Undeniably, Die Alternative fails to convince that it will secure a greater sphere of freedom for the individual against the all-embracing power of the state. In the light of the authoritarian tendencies, which Bahro himself acknowledges as implicit to his design, this

constitutes a remarkable omission by Bahro, and is one which ultimately serves to undermine Die Alternative as a whole. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that, although flawed from a Western perspective and possibly from an Eastern European one too, Bahro cannot be faulted on the premises of his own form of opposition. The essential thrust of Bahro's critique consists not in an assault on the Party and the Communist idea *per se* as some critics have mistakenly suggested(178), but rather in an appeal for the regeneration of the Party and the reinvigoration of the Communist idea. This is to be achieved only if society, organized in the League of Communists, succeeds in substituting for control by the apparatus control of the apparatus:

"Die Unterwerfung des Staatsapparats unter die Gesellschaft ist die Quintessenz des lange angekündigten Übergangs von der Herrschaft über Menschen zur Verwaltung von Sachen." (179)

Bahro's underlying desire for a return to the original ideals which inspired the Bolshevik revolutionaries as a counter to the corrupting influence exercised by the bureaucratic apparatus, becomes apparent when he calls for the restoration of a strong code of party discipline and insists that "(d)ie Disziplin muß sich in erster Linie auf das Parteiprogramm beziehen,... und nicht auf das Schalten und Walten einer Parteibürokratie..."(180) Indeed, Bahro openly declares his intention to uphold the essence of the Marxist-Leninist idea, confirming his reluctance to call for the outright overthrow of the Party and attaching hope instead to the possibility of reform:

"Die Spaltung ist vorübergehendes Moment des historischen Prozesses. Sie richtet sich nicht gegen die Idee der Partei, sondern gegen ihren Apparat, gegen ihre Verfallenheit an den Staat, die im Parteiapparat verkörpert ist." (181)

Bahro, in fact sees a direct analogy (from which he draws inspiration) between Luther's efforts to reform the theoretically sterile Church of the Middle Ages and what is required today. In the pseudo-religious, messianic tones which have since become the hallmark of his most recent writings in the West, Bahro asserts,

"Die Kirche ist trotz Staatsreligion, Orthodoxie und Inquisition selbst heute noch nicht tot, weil und insofern es ihr gelingt, die im Neuen Testament als Verhaltensideal aufgezeichnete Mission Christi in wenigstens einigen ihrer Glieder glaubhaft gegenwärtig zu halten (in ihren schlimmsten Krisen werden Kirchen von ihren Ketzern gerettet)." (182)

Bahro's parenthentic statement provides a strong indication of the importance he attaches to his own work, a point he concedes in Logik der Rettung (183) and which has provided fuel for those who feel he has adopted a self-designated role of prophet of a new age in the West (184), a fact which some critics sensed even at this stage. (185) Bahro has held the strategy he advocates here to be vindicated by the process of reform initiated in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev. (186) This claim merits closer attention below (187), but suffice it to say at this point, it is evident that as regards the idea of a steered process of reform carried out by the Communist Party, with the aim of broadening democracy within the parameters of the existing system there is strong evidence to support Bahro's view.

In the reception of Die Alternative, the attention devoted to the 'Bund' has perhaps exaggerated its significance. Although unquestionably one of its most important aspects, the 'Bund' forms but one element of the 'Kulturrevolution', and should be placed within the broader context of the wider number of measures Bahro discusses. As with the wider framework of the 'Kulturrevolution' it is important to grasp the intention underlying the measures he advocates. Thus, behind the idea of the 'Bund' there rests an essentially genuine and sincere desire to free the societies of Eastern Europe from their

domination by the existing bureaucratic regimes. For Bahro, the idea of the Communist Party as a unique force capable of articulating the interests of the whole of society is a sound one which has been corrupted in practice. Unfortunately, in passing over a number of important issues, Bahro's 'Alternative' itself founders on its inability to suggest how such good intentions might be realized in practice.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE - PART THREE

1. See for example: Günther Minnerup: Interview with Rudolf Bahro in: Labour Focus on Eastern Europe. Vol.3 No.5 1979. pp.13-15. (henceforward referred to as Minnerup.) Note Bahro's reappraisal in Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung.) Bahro admits he was too bound to official dogma in calling for a new Party - but nonetheless arrives at a similar solution in this work. See below pp.322ff. and pp.389ff.
2. See for example: Joachim Bischoff: Bahro - eine Alternative? in: Beiträge zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus. No.1 1978. pp.21ff. (henceforward referred to as Bischoff.); Jürgen Harrer: Anmerkungen zu Rudolf Bahro: »Die Alternative«. in: P. Brokmeier & R. Rilling(eds.): Beiträge zur Sozialmusanalyse. No.1 Pahl-Rugenstein, Cologne 1978. pp.54-83. (henceforward referred to as Harrer.); Peter Klein: Rudolf Bahros 'Alternative'. Eine marxistisch-leninistische Kritik. Verlag Neue Strömung, Erlangen 1980. (henceforward referred to as Klein.) Contrasting with these criticisms are those who consider Bahro repeats many of the errors of official doctrine. See for example: Andrew Arato: Review of Ulf Wolter's Rudolf Bahro: Critical responses. in: Telos. No.48 1981. pp.153-168. (henceforward referred to as Arato: Telos.); Ivan Szelenyi: Whose Alternative? in: New German Critique. No.20 1980. pp.117-134. (henceforward referred to as Szelenyi.)
3. See for example: Günter Bartsch: Mehr als Alternative - Ein Durchbruch und Neubeginn. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.12 1978. (henceforward referred to as Günter Bartsch: Mehr als Alternative.); Herbert Marcuse: Protosozialismus und Spätkapitalismus. in: Kritik. No.19 1978. pp.5-27. (henceforward referred to as Marcuse: Protosozialismus.); Raymond Williams: Beyond actually existing socialism. in: New Left Review. No.120 1980. pp.3-19. (henceforward referred to as

Williams.)

4. See for example: Hans-Joachim Schabedoth: Rudolf Bahro und die Grüne Partei. in: Hans Kremendahl & Thomas Meyer (eds.): Menschliche Emanzipation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1981. pp.104-112. (Main text henceforward referred to as Menschliche Emanzipation.)
5. Ingeborg Drewitz: Nein zur Machtnahme. in: Vorwärts. No.1/2 1979. p.9.; Carl Amery: «Gnade und Ungnade: Angst machen sie beide...». in: Hannes Schwenger (ed.): Solidarität mit Rudolf Bahro. Rowohlt Taschenbuch, Reinbek/Hamburg 1978. (henceforward referred to as Amery.)
6. Amery. p.39.
7. *ibid.*
8. For one of the first noteworthy contributions on the ecology question by a GDR author see: Wolfgang Harich: Kommunismus ohne Wachstum? Rowohlt, Reinbek/Hamburg 1975.
9. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.9. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
10. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.8.
11. Bahro calls for a 'Reise nach Innen'. in: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.315.
12. *ibid.* pp.520ff.
13. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.315.
14. *ibid.* p.304.
15. "Aufeinanderfolge ist hier nicht Auseinanderfolge." Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.75ff. See above, p.76 Bahro is referring to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: The German Ideology. in: David McLellan (ed.): Karl Marx. Selected Writings. Oxford University Press, London 1977. pp.159ff. (henceforward referred to as Marx: The German Ideology.)
16. Marx: The German Ideology.
17. *ibid.* p.333.; Erich Fromm: Haben oder Sein. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1979.
18. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.309.

19. André Gorz: The Division of Labour. The Harvester Press, Brighton 1976. See also: Ivan Illich: Tools for Conviviality. Calder & Bayors, London 1973.
20. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.320.
21. The tendency to exaggerate Bahro's importance as typical of GDR opposition is most notable in Tony Judt: The dilemmas of dissidence: The politics of opposition in East-Central Europe. in: East European Politics and Societies. Vol.2 No.2 1988. pp.185-240. and also Pedro Ramet: Disaffection and dissent in East Germany. in: World Politics. Vol.37 No.1 1984. pp.85-111.
22. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.316.
23. *ibid.* pp.320-321.
24. Hans Kremendahl: Rudolf Bahros 'Alternative' - menschliche Emanzipation und politische Strategie. in: Menschliche Emanzipation. p.151. (henceforward referred to as Kremendahl.)
25. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative: Zur Kritik von Arbeitsbedingungen im real existierenden Sozialismus. Bund-Verlag, Cologne 1980. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer.); see below pp.187ff.
26. *ibid.* pp.134-135.
27. See the so-called Spiegel Manifesto. in: Der Spiegel. Nos. 1 & 2 1978. Reproduced in: Deutschland Archiv. No.2 1978. pp.199-219. See also the documentation in Günter Johannes and Ulrich Schwarz: DDR - Das Manifest der Opposition. Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Munich 1978. A further Marxist opposition grouping from the GDR makes explicit reference to Bahro. See: Marxisten aus der DDR zur Lage in der DDR. in: Was Tun. No.312. 11.6.1981. pp.7-10.
28. Peter Zimmerman: Industrieliteratur der DDR. J.B. Metzler Verlag (Studienausgabe) Stuttgart 1984. p.296.
29. Erich Loest: Es geht seinen Gang. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 5th edition 1986. (1980)
30. Marc Rakovski: Towards an East European Marxism. Allison & Busby, London 1978. pp.58ff.
31. See Chapter One above.

32. Rudolf Bahro: in: Forum. No.20 1963. p.15.
33. *ibid.*
34. David Bathrick: The Politics of Culture: Rudolf Bahro and opposition in the GDR. in: New German Critique. No.15 1978. p.22.
35. See for example Walter Ulbricht at the Sixth Party Congress. Cited in: Hermann Weber: Geschichte der DDR. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1985. p.350.
36. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.7.
37. Wolf Biermann: Für meine Genossen. in: Hetzlieder, Balladen, Gedichte. p.91. Berlin 1972. Cited in: H. J. Hahn: Dissidents in East Germany: 'Staatlich anerkannte Staatsfeinde'. in: Quinquereme. Vol.4 No.2 1981. p.170.
38. Krisztina Manicke-Gyöngyösi: Thesen zur Arbeitsgruppe 6. Sozialismus und psycho-soziale Emanzipation des Menschen. in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros (eds.): Materialien. Umbruch in Osteuropa - Die sozialistische Alternative. p.65. (Main text henceforward referred to as Bahro Komitee: Materialien.)
39. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.311.
40. *ibid.* p.320.
41. Rolf Henrich: 'Die Wahrheit öffentlich machen.' in: Der Spiegel. No.13 1989. p.77.; Rolf Henrich: Der vormundschaftliche Staat. Rowohlt Taschenbuch, Reinbek/Hamburg 1989.
42. Andrew Arato & Mihaly Vajda: The limits of Leninist Opposition. in: New German Critique. No.19 1980. p.167. (henceforward referred to as Arato & Vajda.)
43. Marion Adams: A reform Communist from East Germany: Rudolf Bahro's 'The Alternative'. in: Meanjin. Vol.39 No.2 1980. p.193.
44. Günter Bartsch: Mehr als Alternative - Ein Durchbruch und Neubeginn. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.12 1978. pp.472-476.
45. See Rudolf Bahro in: Minnerup.
46. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.301-302.
47. Marx: The German Ideology.

66. *ibid.* p.232.
67. *ibid.* p.228.
68. Revolution is "... a task to be actively accomplished not passively awaited." - Richard Hyman: André Gorz and his disappearing proletariat. in: Ralph Miliband and John Saville (eds.): The Socialist Register. 1983. The Merlin Press, London 1983.
69. Bischoff.; Klein.; Harrer.
70. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.229. See also Lenin: Better fewer, but better. in: Lenin: Selected Works. Vol.3. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971. pp.776-788.
71. See for example: Alexa Mohl: Im Osten nichts Neues? in: Prokla. No.35 1979. p.171-189.; Arbeitsgruppe 1: Arbeiter und Intelligenz im Prozeß krisenhafter Aufbrüche in Osteuropa. in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros(eds.): Der Bahro-Kongreß: Aufzeichnungen, Berichte und Referate. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. pp.92-108. (henceforward referred to as Arbeitsgruppe 1. Der Bahro-Kongreß. (Main text henceforward referred to as Der Bahro-Kongreß.)
72. Ernest Mandel: From Stalinism to Eurocommunism. NLB, London 1978. p.118.
73. Klein. p.38.
74. *ibid.*
75. For those critical of Die Alternative as 'petty-bourgeois' in its outlook see for example: Hillel Ticktin: Rudolf Bahro: A socialist without a working class. in: Critique. No.10/11 1978/79. pp.133-139.; see also footnote 69 above.
76. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.218-219.
77. Rudolf Bahro: Fragen an Rudolf Bahro. in: "rot und grün". 15/16.3.1980. Reproduced in: Marxistischer Studentenverband (eds.): Krise des Marxismus? Marxistischer Studentenverband, Zurich 1980. p.89.
78. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.212.
79. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer.
80. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.303.; Volker Braun also refers to surplus consciousness: Volker Braun: Notizen eines

- Publizisten. in: Neues Deutschland. 8.12.89. p.4.
81. Gert-Joachim Glaesner: Die Macht der Wissenden. in: Bahro Komitee: Materialien. p.29.
 82. Arato: Telos. p.160.
 83. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.374.
 84. Rosa Luxemburg: Die Russische Revolution. in: Politische Schriften III. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1968.; Leon Trotsky: The Revolution Betrayed. The Pathfinder Press, New York 1972 (written 1937).
 85. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.241.
 86. *ibid.* p.292.
 87. Andras Hegedüs et al: The Humanisation of Socialism - Writings of the Budapest School. Allison & Busby, London 1976. p.157.
 88. *ibid.*
 89. Claeys. p.30.
 90. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. pp.101ff.
 91. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.303.
 92. *ibid.* p.304.
 93. Thomaneck. p.72.
 94. Jeffrey Lee Canfield: Marxist Revisionism in East German: The case of Rudolf Bahro. in: The Fletcher Forum. No.4 1980. p.40.
 95. See David Kellner: Herbert Marcuse and the crisis of Marxism. Macmillan Education Ltd., Basingstoke & London 1984. especially pp.276ff. for a survey of the similarities between Marcuse and Bahro. (henceforward referred to as Kellner.)
 96. Marcuse: Protozialismus. p.7.
 97. Williams. p.10.
 98. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.17.
 99. "Wir hatten die Kritik an Freud ehe wir auch nur ein einziges seiner Werke gelesen hatte." Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.347.
 100. Roger Garaudy: Die Alternative. Fritz Molden Verlag, Vienna, Munich & Zurich 1973 (Published France 1972); Lucien Sève: Marxism and the theory of human personality. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1975.
 101. See below pp.381ff.

102. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.387.
103. *ibid.* p.306.
104. Kellner. pp.284ff.
105. André Gorz: Farewell to the working class. Pluto Press, London 1982. p.69. [Adieux au Proletariat. Editions Galilée, Paris 1980.] (henceforward referred to as Gorz. Farewell.)
Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.69. (Bahro is referring to the working class in the West.)
106. Gorz: Farewell. p.7.
107. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.327.
108. *ibid.* pp.388-389. Bahro refers to Volker Braun: Arbeiter? Aristokraten! in: Es genügt nicht die einfache Wahrheit. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1976. pp.53-54.
109. Volker Braun: Der Freizeitpark. in: Verheerende Folgen mangelnden Anscheins innerbetrieblicher Demokratie. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1988. pp.45-58.
110. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.389.
111. See above pp.121ff.
112. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.204.
113. *ibid.* pp.238-239.
114. *ibid.* p.412.
115. *ibid.* p.441.
116. *ibid.* p.438.
117. *ibid.* p.457.
118. *ibid.* p.433. & see below pp.350ff.
119. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.434.
120. *ibid.* p.435. Gramsci writes "There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded: *homo faber* cannot be separated from *homo sapiens*. Each man, finally, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity..." Antonio Gramsci: Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 9-10. Cited in: David Forgacs(ed.): A Gramsci reader. Selected writings 1916-1935. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1988. p.321.
121. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.435.
122. Szelenyi: Whose Alternative? p.120.

123. Claeys. p.29.
124. Klein. p.70.
125. Arbeitsgruppe 2. in: Bahro Komitee: Materialien. p.23.
126. *ibid.*
127. Rudolf Bahro: *From Red to Green*. Verso Editions & NLB, London 1984. p.54. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: *From Red to Green*.)
128. *ibid.* p.62. Note also that Die Alternative appeared around the time of the ninth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Prague.
129. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative*. p.295.
130. Referring to Poland, Connor notes "... a movement which would base itself on Marxism-Leninism ...to produce a reform in the existing system is hardly conceivable..." Walter D. Connor: *Varieties of East European Dissent*, in: Studies in Comparative Communism. Vol.15 No.4 1982. pp.399-400.; also Ludvik Kavin: Bericht über die CSSR. in: *Der Bahro-Kongreß*. p.101.
131. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative*. p.371.
132. Zdenek Hejzlar: Contribution to Podiumsdiskussion 2. *Der Prager Frühling - Strukturbedingungen und Formen einer Systemkrise in Osteuropa*. in: *Der Bahro-Kongreß*. p.61. (henceforward referred to as Hejzlar: *Der Bahro-Kongreß*.); see also: Zdenek Mlynar: Night Frost in Prague. Colin Hurst, London 1980.; Vladimir Kusin: The intellectual origins of the Prague Spring. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1971. (henceforward referred to as Kusin.)
133. Jiri Pelikan: Socialist Opposition in Eastern Europe. Allison & Busby, London 1976. p.52. (henceforward referred to as Pelikan.)
134. See for example: Arbeitsgruppe 1: *Der Bahro-Kongreß*. pp.92-108. On Poland see: Maria Hirsowicz: The Bureaucratic Leviathan. Martin Robertson, Oxford 1980.
135. Pelikan. p.51.
136. Kusin. p.136ff.
137. See Manfred Lötsch: Zur Entwicklung der Intelligenz in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. in: *Autorenkollektiv(eds.):*

- Die Intelligenz in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Dietz Verlag, Berlin (East) 1980. pp.89-118.
138. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.366.
139. See above pp.121ff.
140. Klein. p.99.
141. See: Arbeitsgruppe 2.: Die Rolle des Staatsapparates und der osteuropäischen KPen unter den Bedingungen von Revolution und Reform. in: Der Bahro-Kongreß. p.121.
142. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.366-367.
143. *ibid.* p.224.
144. See Kusin.; Hejzlar: Der Bahro-Kongreß. p.61.
145. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.365.
146. The features held to be typical of Eurocommunism "... do not... add up to a homogeneous phenomenon..." Philip Elliot and Philip Schlesinger: Eurocommunism: Their word or ours? in: David Childs(ed.): The changing face of Western Communism. Croom Helm, London 1980. p.38. (henceforward referred to as Childs.) Childs understands Eurocommunism as a contemporary expression of the tensions between reformists and revolutionaries, a battle that has raged in the socialist movement virtually since its inception. Childs. p.7ff.; Mandel views Eurocommunism as a product of the continuing polycentrism occurring in the wake of the breakdown of the Stalinist system. in: Mandel.; Croan links the term with all efforts to establish a German road to socialism since the GDR's foundation. Melvin Croan: Eurocommunism and East Germany. in: Vernon V. Aspaturian(ed.): Eurocommunism Between East and West. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1980.
147. Rudi Dutschke: «... und geistig Dir nicht den Rücken brechen läßt». in: Hannes Schwenger: Solidarität mit Rudolf Bahro. Rowohlt Taschenbuch, Reinbek/Hamburg 1978. p.92.; See also: David Stark: Consciousness in command. in: Socialist Review. Vol.57 1981. p.137.; Jiri Valenta: Eurocommunism in Eastern Europe: Promise or threat? in: Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone and Andrew Gyorgy(eds.): Communism in Eastern Europe. Indiana University Press, Bloomington & London 1979. pp.290-307.

- Valenta goes too far with his claim that Bahro "...called for the spread of Eurocommunism..." *ibid.* p.305.
148. Wolf Biermann: So soll es sein. in: Das geht seinen sozialistischen Gang. Recorded at the Sporthalle, Cologne 1976.
 149. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.9-10.
 150. On the Berlin conference of communists see: Mandel. pp.57ff.
 151. Santiago Carillo: Eurocommunism and the State. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1977. [Editorial Critica, Barcelona 1977.]
 152. Note, for example, the efforts of the PCI to enter into a 'historic compromise' with the Christian Democrats in Italy and the cooperation of the PCF with the socialist government in France. See: Childs.
 153. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.218.
 154. At the Socialist Conference in Marburg 1981, Bahro attacks the Eurocommunists as an example of those who contribute to the divisions of the Left. Rudolf Bahro: Etwas anderer Vorschlag für die zweite Sozialistische Konferenz. in: Kritik. No.27 1981. pp.26-39.
 155. See below pp.235ff.
 156. Andrew Arato & Mihaly Vajda: The limits of Leninist opposition: in: New German Critique. No. 19 1980. p.167.
 157. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.425.
 158. *ibid.* p.424.
 159. Bahro mentions learning of Gramsci from West German sources. in: Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.60.
 160. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.430
 161. *ibid.* p.429.
 162. Arato: Telos. p.165.
 163. Marcuse: Protosozialismus. p.11. Marcuse criticizes the gradual approach called for by Bahro. p.16.
 164. Robert Havemann: Morgen: Die Industriegesellschaft am Scheideweg. Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt am Main 1982. p.222. (henceforward referred to as Havemann.)
 165. *ibid.*
 166. Connor. p.410.
 167. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.436.

168. *ibid.* pp.223-224.
169. *ibid.* p.224.
170. *ibid.*
171. *ibid.* p.416. See also Bahro's remarkable invective against Western democracy in: Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.* pp.446ff. See below pp.395ff.
172. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* p.418.
173. *ibid.* p.441.
174. *ibid.* p.412.
175. *ibid.* p.486.
176. Vlad Georgescu: *Dissident images of Eastern Europe.* in: Problems of Communism. Vol.29 1980. p.79.
177. Feher: *Eastern Left.* p.22.
178. Thomanek.; Harrer. On Thomanek's appraisal of *Die Alternative* see below pp.193ff.
179. Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative.* p.442.
180. *ibid.* p.440.
181. *ibid.* p.424.
182. *ibid.* p.281.
183. Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.* p.298.
184. See below p.406. footnote 69.
185. See for example: J. Wolf: *Die anarchistische Alternative. Zum real existierenden Sozialismus.* in: Konkret. No.10 1977.; also the highly sarcastic article by Henryk Skrzypczak: *Rudolf Bahro oder die Wiedergeburt des Marxismus aus dem Geiste der Religion. Allgemeinverständliche Einführung in Leben und Werk eines neuen Messias.* in: Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. 1980. pp.125-191.
186. Rudolf Bahro: *Logik der Rettung.* pp.325ff.
187. See below pp.390ff.

CHAPTER THREE: PART FOUR
"PLÄDOYER FÜR SCHÖPFERISCHE INITIATIVE"

Before proceeding to an assessment of the varying responses to Die Alternative, some comments on Bahro's doctoral thesis are merited. Written during the period between the first and final drafts of his major critique, Die Alternative, (between 1973 and 1975), and bearing the title Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative - Zur Kritik von Arbeitsbedingungen in real existierenden Sozialismus (1), this thesis bears a strong relationship to Bahro's principal work. Despite the consequent risk of some repetition, an assessment of this work, itself long overdue, is instructive for the further light which it sheds upon Die Alternative.

Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative (henceforward referred to as Plädoyer) was presented by Bahro as a doctoral dissertation to the authorities of the Technische Hochschule 'Carl Schorlemmer' in Leuna-Merseburg, and was conceived as a contribution to the preparatory discussions surrounding the forthcoming Ninth Party Congress of the SED in 1976. (2) The fact that Bahro felt sufficiently confident to risk open publication in the GDR is significant in itself. In spite of certain compromises, required to lessen the risk of official sanctions against his thesis, Bahro believes that 'die konzeptionelle Substanz' remains unaffected. (3) Given this, Woods' reminder that Bahro's thesis met with the approval of three members of the examining board (4) provides firm evidence of the extent to which Die Alternative, albeit in a more severely critical tone, tackles issues considered to be areas of legitimate discussion.

Perhaps to a greater extent than Die Alternative, Plädoyer provides an insight into the concrete problems facing the SED in the early 1970s. Bahro regarded his thesis as a potential contribution to the Ninth Party Congress of the SED. Indeed, its central theme was certainly one which the Central Committee of the SED placed high on

its agenda of "Grundfragen der weiteren Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (5):

"Die Entwicklung der schöpferischen Fähigkeiten der Menschen und die Heranbildung qualifizierter Kader ist eine Grundvoraussetzung, um die qualitativen Faktoren der Produktion stärker zur Wirkung zu bringen." (6)

It is exactly this issue which Bahro explores in Plädoyer. Based on a series of interviews with graduates in industry(7), his thesis aims to examine the circumstances which they face on entering the world of industry. Despite the nature of its subject, Plädoyer offers little comfort to the Party and, instead, highlights one of the regime's fundamental dilemmas - namely the need to develop an increasingly qualified workforce to keep pace with rapid technological advances in the production sphere, without simultaneously jeopardizing its position by having to concede any of its authority to such strata.

Many critics of Die Alternative, as the discussion above indicated, were convinced that, despite claims to have the interests of society in general at heart, Die Alternative was a document reflecting the ambitions of the technical and specialist stratum to complement their preeminent position in the production process with a corresponding increase in political influence. (8) Such suspicions are confirmed in Bahro's dissertation. From his investigations, he concludes that the increased dependency of the regime on highly qualified 'Kader' has not been matched with any corresponding social recognition, understood as political concessions. The mood amongst the best educated 'Kader' in industry, Bahro's interviews reveal, is one of considerable disillusionment and resignation, which, significantly is associated with the failure of the economic reforms of the 1960s to deliver all that they promised:

"Aufschlußreich ist ..., daß sich in Diskussionen mit betrieblichen Kadern über Grundfragen unserer Wirtschaftspolitik die Zustimmung zur Politik des VIII. Parteitag

immer wieder mit der Erinnerung an enttäuschte Erwartungen aus der Zeit verbindet, in der das neue ökonomische System der Planung und Leitung der Volkswirtschaft begründet wurde." (9)

A major problem facing the societies of 'entwickelter Sozialismus' identified by these 'Kader', which the measures introduced under the New Economic System failed to resolve, is the yawning gap that exists between the central authority and those economic units at the base:

"Diese Stellungnahmen zielen insbesondere darauf, daß die optimale Relation zwischen zentraler Planung und Eigenverantwortung der Kombinate und Betriebe ungeachtet mehrfach abgewandelter kompletter juristischer Regelungen in der Praxis noch nicht gefunden ist." (10)

For Bahro, this points to a central contradiction which continues to exist in the societies of Eastern Europe, of which the dissatisfaction experienced by these technical 'Kader' is but one small, yet significant consequence. The lack of motivation so evident amongst middle- and lower-ranking functionaries in industry, he feels, is directly linked to objective factors in the relations of production, since the existing system is unable to utilize adequately the productive forces which it has been instrumental in creating:

"Der relative 'Überhang' an Fachleuten, von dem gegenwärtig in manchen Industriezweigen die Rede ist, dürfte ein Effekt mangelnder sozialer Organisation, ihres Zurückbleibens hinter dem Entwicklungsstand der Produktivkräfte sein..." (11)

The extent of Bahro's attack on the policies of the existing regime can be judged by this indirect reference to Marx's statement positing the transition from one mode of production to another once the relations of production come to obstruct the development of the productive forces. (12) The stance he adopts in Die Alternative leaves little

doubt that Bahro feels the time has come to move on from the primary phase of communism, or 'Protozialismus' (13), to the next phase in the realization of communism. Although this point is not explicitly mentioned in the dissertation, the intention is nonetheless all too clear, and by no means escaped the notice of the authorities. Precisely one of the points which met with disapproval in the official statement of rejection centred on the implied attack on the Party's understanding of socialist democracy:

"Es wird der verfassungsmäßige Grundsatz des demokratischen Zentralismus angezweifelt, negiert. ... Das ist völlige Negierung des Wesens der sozialistischen Demokratie." (14)

Thus, despite the somewhat coded nature of the arguments contained in Plädoyer, the broader implications of Bahro's critique are well understood by those in the Party.

All the same, there are important differences of degree between the two works. In his dissertation Bahro concentrates on the particular problems of industrial management, allowing his more widespread attack on the 'management' of society as a whole, which forms the substance of his unreserved critique in Die Alternative, to be understood through implication. Thus, his attempt to determine those factors of industrial management which restrict the full development of the creative potential of graduates can be construed as an indirect examination of those elements which prevent the further advancement of socialist society in general. With differing degrees of emphasis, Bahro incorporates into his thesis many of those features he identifies as barriers to the future development of socialism in his major critique.

One of the fundamental premises of Plädoyer is Bahro's belief that the full potential of socialism has still to be realized. The foundations have been established irrevocably, yet further progress must be made, he insists:

"Wir haben die Form des Eigentums an den Produktionsmitteln weitgehend vereinheitlicht und ein umfassendes, funktionsfähiges System der gesamtstaatlichen Planung geschaffen. Jetzt muß die sozialistische Vergesellschaftung der Produktivkräfte ... vor allem dadurch weiter fortschreiten, daß wir die reale sozialistische Demokratie qualitativ vertiefen." (15)

Whilst, here, the need to develop socialism further is presented as a positive challenge to the Party, in Die Alternative this forms a direct attack on Marx for equating the abolition of private property with the overcoming of all forms of alienation. A transformation of the relations of production does not alone lead to the general emancipation of mankind, he believes, and the failure to move beyond such basic steps is an integral part of the Party's downfall. Bahro is unwilling to be so forthright in his thesis, but states his general dissatisfaction all the same. Confirming his effort to stay within the broad framework of acceptable criticism, a notable feature of Plädoyer is Bahro's frequent recourse to established sources in support of his statements. Thus, he refers to the work of academics in other socialist countries to demonstrate that his views, although perhaps somewhat radical for the SED, have in fact gained official sanction elsewhere. For example, he cites a Polish study to reinforce his views "... 'daß die Vergesellschaftung des Eigentums als historischer Prozeß mit der Nationalisierung der Produktionsmittel beginnt und nicht etwa endet'..." (16)

In his assessment of Plädoyer, Bartsch suggests that the principal difference to Die Alternative rests on the respective strategies advocated in each work, claiming that they essentially represent opposite sides of the same coin - "einmal reformerisch, einmal revolutionär." (17) Bartsch's statement is, however, misleading, most especially in respect to Die Alternative where Bahro attaches importance to a gradual process of change (18), but also because it overlooks the underlying similarity in the transformation proposed by Bahro in both works. At the centre of his research Bahro sets out to investig-

ate which factors serve to inhibit the working motivation of highly qualified 'Kader' in industry. Undoubtedly, the research for this work provided the basic material for the later analysis of 'actually existing socialism' in Die Alternative, since the fundamental obstacle in both is identified as the hierarchical organization of labour, rooted in the vertical division of labour. The resulting pyramidal form of organization, Bahro argues, leads to a situation where "(d)ie unter sie subsumierten Individuen werden mehr voneinander getrennt als miteinander verbunden, werden tendenziell atomisiert und subalternisiert..." (19), a point which forms a constituent part of Bahro's more severe attack on the Party in Die Alternative. Such language is itself strong in its indictment of the organization of society and can hardly be deemed an example of 'lip-service' to the SED.

Equally, Plädoyer confronts an issue which forms one of the chief indictments of 'real existierenden Sozialismus' in Die Alternative. This centres on the accusation that the Party has sacrificed the long-term goals of socialism in exchange for a vain struggle to compete with the capitalist systems of the West. Indeed, in some places Bahro feels strong similarities exist between the two modes of production. (20) Whilst such views are never outrightly expressed in Plädoyer he does, with reference to another GDR study, point to the need "»... die weitreichenden und gesellschaftlich tief verwurzelten Erbschaften des Kapitalismus weiter zurückzudrängen ...«" (21) Moreover, he clearly hints at the link between continuing forms of alienation and the existing system's tendency to emulate capitalism:

"Wie kommt es, daß man bei der Auseinandersetzung mit bürgerlichen Managementtheorien (...) an zahlreichen Stellen den Eindruck hat, zumindest phänomenal hätten wir mit sehr ähnlichen Problemen zu schaffen, wie diametral verschieden auch ihre Zuordnung auf den gesamtgesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang sei?" (22)

As in Die Alternative, therefore, Bahro is at pains to stress the essential differences between the two systems but suggests that the

particular problems encountered in the GDR are perhaps linked to those of industrial organization in general.

One critic, however, has taken exception to Bahro's claim that the general thrust of his argument remains unaltered in his dissertation. Thomaneck argues that a wide gulf exists between Die Alternative and the Ph.D thesis to the extent that the validity of the latter must be severely questioned. Perceiving Die Alternative essentially as a misguided appeal for the overthrow of the Communist Party - an interpretation which is itself open to question, since Bahro aims rather at its reconstitution and reinvigoration - Thomaneck notes the absence of any such demand in Plädoyer:

"... Bahro is compelled to propogate the overthrow of the existing party and its apparatus by the conspiratorial formation of a new communist party under the (old 19th century) name of Bund der Kommunisten. It is in these respects that Die Alternative is a radical departure from Bahro's Ph.D thesis. The term 'compromise' would hardly seem appropriate." (23)

As a result, Thomaneck feels Bahro's motivation behind the decision to produce Plädoyer must be questioned. Challenging the more pragmatic approach adopted by Bahro in his dissertation, Thomaneck queries why he "... felt compelled to pay the conventional lip-sevice to the SED throughout his thesis." (24) Thomaneck's accusation is itself incredible, implying that Bahro could easily have delivered the unreserved criticism of his major critique in dissertation form without endangering his own freedom or jeopardizing his efforts to ensure a wider audience for his ideas. Thomaneck's remarks not only reveal an apparent failure to grasp the problems of opposition in such regimes, but are based on a false premise which neglects the true extent of the critique exercised by Bahro in his thesis. Admittedly, Plädoyer contains no explicit assault on the Party's capacity for leadership, yet Bahro's discussion of the conditions which hinder the all-round development of scientific and technical 'Kader' scarcely permits any

other conclusion than that this is the underlying premise of his thesis. Furthermore, the reaction of the academic authorities in rejecting his thesis provides firm evidence that they at least believe this work fell far short of making any concessions to the SED.

Where Thomaneck's criticism is partially justified is with regard to Bahro's failure to condemn the Party outright as he does unequivocally in Die Alternative. Nonetheless, he still manages to include some less than favourable remarks on its dismal efforts to overcome the bureaucratic formalism which he so vividly portrays in his main work. As there, he points to a potential conflict between the inert forces of the party apparatus and the more progressive elements of the 'Kader' in the technical and economic spheres, by whom he sets so much store for the future development of socialism. (25) He explains that one of the chief causes of discontent amongst such 'Kader' is that

"... die funktionsplangemäß zu lösenden Aufgaben und Probleme nach einer Einarbeitungszeit keine Herausforderung an das Qualifikations- und Anspruchsniveau der wissenschaftlichen Praktiker mehr darstellen, während sich die psychologisch lohnenden betrieblichen Probleme weitgehend ihrem Zugriff, oft sogar ausdrücklich ihrer Kompetenz entziehen." (26)

Precisely such rewarding tasks tend to be the preserve of the bureaucratic sector, which, he feels, has grown disproportionately. (27) Bahro even goes so far as to suggest that this represents a potential threat to all that has been achieved so far:

"Der Kampf gegen das Alte (gegen die von der früheren kapitalistischen Ordnung überkommenen Widersprüche) muß schon deshalb organisch mit dem Kampf gegen das Veraltete (gegen die von den Hauptwidersprüchen früherer Etappen des Sozialismus geprägten Verhaltensweisen, Leitungsmethoden, spezifischen Organisationsformen) verbunden werden, weil das Veraltete, wenn man sich nicht davon trennt, unweigerlich

zum Hort, ja zum Regenerationsstimulus des Alten wird (...)" (28)

This statement encapsulates much that is crucial to Bahro's understanding of the problems afflicting the societies of Eastern Europe. On the one hand, he is prepared to accept the Marxian claim that current problems can be attributed to the persistence of capitalist elements(29), but also introduces the views more forthrightly expounded in Die Alternative. Thus, he hints in vague terms such as 'Organisationsformen' and 'Leitungsmethoden' that the forms of organization inherited from the initial phase of socialist construction must be reevaluated, and warns of the danger of the domination of society by a new bureaucratic stratum. In his concluding summary Bahro ventures to be more explicit and warns of the threat to the Party's ideological hegemony,

"... wenn die integrative schöpferische Kraft der politisch verantwortlichen Faktoren an Ort und Stelle nicht ausreicht, um die Menschen für die positive Beherrschung der Umstände zu organisieren." (30)

Where Plädoyer does differ perceptibly from the better-known Die Alternative is in the absence of the more utopian emphasis in his depiction of an alternative strategy for the realization of full socialism. Yet, here too, the general tenor of Bahro's argument is unmistakably that which inspired the proposed 'Kulturrevolution'. Thus, Bahro calls for the abolition of the division of labour, a shift of accent in the production system to one which actively fosters the all-round development of the individual, and advocates measures to democratize decision-making within enterprises and reduce the bureaucratic tendencies restricting greater initiative by the masses. (31) To this must be added an indication of the environmental awareness which forms a strong element of Die Alternative. This is evident in his reference to the complaints from the 'Kader' about the continuing emphasis on commodity production:

"M.E. ist die Knappheit der materiellen Ressourcen - als ökonomisches Regulierungsphänomen, nicht im Sinne der aktuellen Rohstoffversorgungsprobleme - eine Konsequenz der *Priorität*, die wir dem quantitativen Wachstum, ausgedrückt in der Zuwachsrate der *Warenproduktion*, in unserer Wirtschaftspolitik geben." (32)

An outstanding feature of the 'Kulturrevolution' proposed in his main work is Bahro's call for the reinvigoration of the Communist Party in the form of the 'Bund der Kommunisten', since he feels it has long since abdicated its position as the ideological inspiration for the rest of society. This belief undoubtedly underlies the criticism in his dissertation, which concludes with a reminder of the Party's responsibility to offer a firm guiding hand:

"Der Erfolg hängt von der *Verbindung* einer offensiven ideologischen Arbeit an den neuen Problemen mit einer politisch zielklar geführten Praxis ab..." (33)

Similarly, although the direct call for the renewal of the Party which forms the core of Die Alternative is missing in Plädoyer, this goal is nevertheless quite apparent. In particular, those who warned of the dangers of the neo-Leninism in Bahro's concept, find ample evidence to confirm their suspicions. (34) For, where he feels the restrictions of censorship prevent a direct appeal for the renewal of the Party, he draws upon the original inspiration for his ideas. Thus, directly citing Lenin's maxim on the contribution to be made by organizations like the trades unions in preventing a bureaucratic stranglehold over the revolution, Bahro submits:

"Die Überlegungen ... dieser Studie können nur dann Anspruch auf schrittweise Realisierbarkeit erheben, wenn die sozialistischen Massenorganisationen unter Führung der Parteikollektive ihre Praxis im Sinne dieser doppelten Aufgabe - Schule des Kommunismus und Hauptmittel des Kampfes gegen die

Bürokratisierung (gegen die Verselbständigung des Funktionierens) zu sein - konzipieren und weiterentwickeln." (35)

Despite the self-imposed limitations on the content of his doctoral thesis, Bahro nonetheless draws attention to an array of factors which have obstructed the full development of socialism in the GDR which he goes on to analyse and criticize in the much more thorough appraisal, Die Alternative. Although it may lack the biting edge and severity of the attack evident in this work, Plädoyer unmistakably bears the mark of his better-known critique. He not only refers to the persistence of capitalist elements in socialist society, the hierarchical social structure occasioned by the continuing division of labour and the bureaucratic tendencies obstructing the further advance towards socialism, but also leaves little doubt as to where he feels the responsibility for this situation rests. Plädoyer is certainly not the damning indictment of the SED which forms the crux of Die Alternative, but nonetheless presents its argument in such a way that it can scarcely be construed as an apologia for the existing Party. To argue otherwise, as Thomanek does in suggesting Die Alternative marks a 'radical departure' from the content of his thesis, underestimates the full scope of the criticism contained in this work.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE - PART FOUR

1. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative. Zur Kritik von Arbeitsbedingungen im real existierenden Sozialismus. Bund Verlag, Cologne 1980. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer.) The full title of Bahro's academic thesis runs: "Voraussetzungen und Maßstäbe der Arbeitsgestaltung für wissenschaftlich ausgebildete Kader im industriellen Reproduktionsprozeß der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Eine theoretische Studie über die Freisetzung der subjektiven Antriebe zu schöpferischer wissenschaftlicher Arbeit im sozialistischen Industriebetrieb."
2. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.20
3. ibid. p.8.
4. Roger Woods: East German intellectuals in opposition. in: Survey. Vol.28 No.3 1984. pp.111-123.
5. Autorenkollektiv: Geschichte der SED. Abriss. Dietz Verlag, Berlin (East) 1978. p.638.
6. ibid. p.640.
7. Bahro notes that the interviews with these Kader were confiscated on his arrest. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.11.
8. See above pp.121ff. and pp.159ff.
9. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. pp.81-82.
10. ibid. p.82.
11. ibid. p.10.
12. Karl Marx: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. (edited, Lewis S. Feuer) Fontana/Collins, London & Glasgow 3rd edition 1971. p.84.
13. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.) p.25.
14. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.231. The absence of any official comment on Die Alternative makes the section detailing the

rejection of the thesis all the more important. For more on Bahro's reception in the GDR see below pp.201ff.

15. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.19.
16. *ibid.* p.144.
17. Günter Bartsch: Kreativität unter dem Hammer. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.10 1980. p.1092.
18. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.488.
19. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.68.
20. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.195.
21. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.143. Bahro cites: G. Stiehler: Gesellschaft und Geschichte. Zu den Grundlagen der sozialen Entwicklung. Berlin (East) 1974.
22. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.143.
23. Jürgen Thomaneck: Rudolf Bahro: Dissident in East and West. From apparatchik to environmentalist. in: Ian Wallace (ed.): The GDR under Honecker: 1971-1981. GDR Monitor Special Series No.1, The University, Dundee 1981. p.71.
24. *ibid.* p.70.
25. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.204.
26. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.62.
27. *ibid.* p.72.
28. *ibid.* p.80
29. Bahro refutes this point in: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.166-167.
30. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.194.
31. *ibid.* pp.158-159. & p.170.
32. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.177.
33. *ibid.* p.195.
34. See for example: Andrew Arato: Review of 'Rudolf Bahro': Critical Responses. in: Telos. No.48 1981. pp.153-168.; Ivan Szelenyi: Whose Alternative? in: New German Critique No.20 1980. pp.117-134.
35. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer. p.152.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE RECEPTION OF 'DIE ALTERNATIVE' IN THE TWO GERMAN STATES

Over a decade after its original publication in West Germany, Die Alternative has become a standard work of reference on the Marxist opposition in the GDR. As previous chapters have demonstrated, the appearance of this work excited considerable academic interest and was hailed by one critic as the greatest example of opposition theory to emerge in Eastern Europe since the war(1) and by another as a work which would secure its author a permanent place in the annals of the workers' movement.(2) Even more recent examples of opposition, both actual and theoretical, testify to the enduring influence of this work on some opposition circles in the GDR.(3) Yet, any overall assessment of Bahro's contribution to socialist theory would have to conclude that Die Alternative contained few original insights, its chief significance stemming from the resurrection of a theoretical heritage of ideas long resisted by the party leadership. The major theoretical breakthrough with which this work was originally credited has proven to be vastly exaggerated in retrospect. How then does one explain the enormous publicity and attention which this work received? In the West, it is now clear, the reception of Die Alternative reflected the particular circumstances in which the Left found itself rather than the nature of Bahro's critique of 'actually existing socialism'. The impact of Die Alternative in the country for which it was intended, on the other hand, was assumed to have been fairly limited due to the lack of information available. Rudolf Bahro himself has proved reluctant to reveal too much detail of the work's origins, whilst his almost immediate imprisonment barred him from any thorough knowledge of the effect of its publication. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some conclusions as to the very real impact which this work had upon the opposition in the GDR.

CHAPTER FOUR: PART ONE - EAST GERMANY

In attempting to evaluate the reaction to Die Alternative in East Germany the author's intentions must necessarily be borne in mind. Thus, Bahro has repeatedly asserted that, despite his anger at the suppression of the Prague Spring, his decision to write this work was not inspired by any thought of capitalist counter-revolution:

"I always emphasized, as I stated in my application to renounce GDR citizenship, that I had worked actively for twenty years for the establishment of socialism in the GDR, and that my book was a contribution towards the further development of the country." (4)

Die Alternative was conceived as a direct ideological challenge to the party's narrow concept of socialism, an intention evident in Bahro's statement explaining his decision to leave for the West:

"If I left, the ideas presented in my book could be divorced from my own person and would have to be discussed in an ideological context as such." (5)

Yet, such open and free discussion of Bahro's work was, officially at least, not sanctioned by the SED. Contrary to the aim of stirring fresh ideological debate within the party, the official response to Die Alternative was characterized by the enforcement of strong repressive measures and a hardening of attitudes. The severity of the sentence imposed on Bahro provides ample demonstration of this. Initially, he was taken into custody on the grounds of involvement in 'intelligence' activities ('nachrichtendienstliche Tätigkeit' (6)), a charge later substituted by accusations of 'Sammlung von Information' and 'Geheimnisverrat'. (7) Commenting on the eight year sentence imposed on Bahro, ADN refers to the author's contact with Ulrich Schwarz, the accredited journalist of Der Spiegel in the GDR, and accuses Bahro of contravening currency laws by receiving the sum of DM

200, 000 "...zur Befriedigung seiner Geldgier..."(8) As a whole the official response consisted of an attack on Bahro on the basis of espionage activities. The SED was keen to enforce this point as a means to refuting the Federal Republic's accusation that Bahro's arrest contravened the newly signed Helsinki agreements.(9) In all statements referring to Bahro no mention was made of his work, and, until the SED's emergency party congress in December 1989, there was no direct response to Die Alternative, since, for the SED, the work did not exist.(10) Moreover, aside from the report of his arrest there was no official reference to Bahro at all, although there were some slight exceptions to this.(11) That the SED proved so unwilling even to acknowledge the existence of this work in itself testifies to the extent of the threat it was considered to pose for the party.

Nevertheless, evidence does exist which offers a more detailed picture of the response to Die Alternative within official circles. In particular, two speeches by leading officials in the immediate period after the publication of Bahro's critique shed light on the party's position. In a speech noted by one paper for its 'milde Kritik'(12), Hans Koch, a professor in the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the SED, argues that those who advocate the path of West German social-reformism must inevitably fall foul of conservative-reactionary forces which seek to undermine communism.(13) With the slightest hint that Bahro may indeed have highlighted areas of concern recognized by the party itself, Koch insists on the need for a firm distinction between positive criticism of the failings of the existing order and the 'antikommunistische Verleumdung'(14) of those who deny that what exists is socialism even though capitalist conditions no longer pertain. Although he avoids explicit mention of Bahro, Koch's reference to 'Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus'(15) leaves little doubt as to the target of his criticism. Those, like Bahro, who posit the ideals of communism against the reality of 'langwierige und widersprüchliche Vorgänge'(16) are accused of displaying 'Ungeduld, Schwachheit und Kleinmut'.(17) In a speech by Hans Pischner to the Ninth Congress of the Kulturbund, specific features of Bahro's critique come under attack:

"Immer neu werden ewig-gestrige Konzeptionen und Themen ausgedacht, um das geschichtliche Gesetz zu leugnen, das vom Roten Oktober vollstreckt wurde, und seine allgemeingültigen Lehren in Abrede zu stellen. Die siegreiche proletarische Revolution wird als 'Unfall der Geschichte bedauert'. Ihr komme als sogenannter 'Entwicklungsrevolution' nur lokales Interesse zu: Ein rückständiges Land werde in eine 'Industriegesellschaft' umgewandelt." (18)

Pischner is clearly referring to the first section of Die Alternative in which Bahro seeks to show that the Russian Revolution was charged with the task of the 'non-capitalist' industrialization of Russia as a prelude to socialism, rather than the immediate creation of the first socialist state. (19) A further criticism, echoed in the works of orthodox Marxists in the West (20), concentrates on refuting the claim that 'actually existing socialism' merely imitates capitalism in many fundamental features. Pischner starkly underlines the regime's sensitivity on this issue in reaffirming that "(n)icht zuletzt deshalb schließt unser geistiges Programm eine überzeugende Kritik der heutigen kapitalistischen Welt ein." (21)

Common to both speeches is the SED's avowed intention to refute accusations that it is not following the true path to socialism. Bahro is portrayed as a tool of capitalist propaganda forming part of the continuing Western campaign to undermine the GDR. Koch, for one, detects the influence of an organized international campaign, a view reinforced by Erich Mielke. Then head of the Ministry for State Security, Mielke specifically cites the activities of the West Berlin Bahro Defence Committee as evidence of a concerted Western effort to undermine the GDR. He accuses these countries of attempting,

"... in allen sozialistischen Staaten feindliche Kräfte und Gruppierungen zu mobilisieren und diese Kräfte zusammenzuschließen, d.h. ihre antisozialistischen Aktivitäten zu internationalisieren. ... Ich erinnere z.B. nur an solche

von der Art des sogenannten 'Schutzkomitees Freiheit und Sozialismus', des 'Komitees für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros'..." (22)

Mielke's purported speech may or may not be authentic. It is however consistent with the SED's general desire to discredit Bahro and the campaign for his release as part of the West's traditional virulent anti-communism. In some respects, Bahro laid himself bare to such charges through his premeditated use of the Western media to publicize his work(23), an approach which was certain to incur the wrath of the party leadership. This reveals one of the peculiarities of opposition in the GDR, where, due to the access they had to the Western media, opponents could easily be dismissed as the tools of Western manipulation, as Bahro's case well illustrates.

Further evidence of the SED's reaction to Die Alternative can be deduced from the stance adopted by its sister parties in West Germany. Here, the DKP (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei) and SEW (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Westberlins) sought to counter the Western solidarity campaign by denying that Bahro had been imprisoned for his ideas(24) and by seeking to tarnish the solidarity movement with accusations of promoting Strauß-like anti-communist propaganda.(25) The DKP also played on the fears of some in the 'New Left' in warning that the campaign for Bahro's release was being manipulated by the SPD as a means to restoring its hegemony in the Left. The precise effect of this crude propaganda war is hard to assess, but it reveals nonetheless the extent of the SED's readiness to ensure ideological orthodoxy at home even at the risk of alienating left-wing support in West Germany. Moreover, repercussions of the affair consisted of more than a mere battle of words. Thus, the unprecedented alliance of the SEW with the CDU served to topple the Social Democrat President of Berlin's Technical University (T.U.), Rolf Berger. Berger's decision to offer the T.U.'s facilities for the Bahro Congress in November 1978 is generally acknowledged as the reason for the SEW's unlikely support for the CDU.(26) The deep scars left by the affair, moreover, can be ascertained by the fact that, even a decade after Bahro's release, the

GDR was still closed to some members of the Berlin Bahro Defence Committee. (27)

As a whole, the reaction of the SED to the appearance of Bahro's work consists of a strong counter-offensive on two fronts: domestically, the harsh sentence imposed on Bahro shows the party's determination to discourage such opposition, whilst internationally its efforts signal a decisive bid to undermine the case of the solidarity campaign. The reasons for this vigorous response are many and complex, and must be viewed in the broader context of the GDR's development in the 1970s. Die Alternative marked the culmination of a period of considerable opposition activity, most notably in the cultural sphere. (28) In the wake of the upheaval of the Biermann affair (29), Bahro's work represented another damaging challenge to the SED's authority. The extent to which the party saw its authority being undermined can be judged from the subsequent introduction of a more severe penal code in August 1979. A number of those articles revised were clearly a direct response to the activities of opponents such as Bahro and Havemann, with harsher penalties enforced for 'staatsfeindliche Hetze' (anti-state activities) and engaging in illegal contact with persons hostile to the state. (30)

Despite its appearance at a time of considerable upheaval in the cultural and literary sphere, in many respects Die Alternative represented a qualitatively different element of opposition to the existing regime, as Die Zeit remarked at the time:

"Fuchs, Pannach und Kunert wollten zwar möglichst nicht die DDR verlassen, aber sie argumentierten eher moralisch als politisch, sie waren eher frech als inquisitorisch, Rudolf Bahro dagegen kritisiert die DDR nach zehnjähriger stiller Reflexion vom Standpunkt eines bewußten Marxismus aus." (31)

Opposition from the cultural sphere could be anticipated to some extent after the enforcement of a harder line subsequent to a revision of Honecker's celebrated 'No taboos' speech in the early 1970s. (32)

Figures such as Wolf Biermann had long been identified as troublemakers by the party.(33) Bahro's opposition, on the other hand, was an unknown quantity in some respects. That such opposition should emerge from a relatively obscure, middle-ranking functionary offered the party leadership firm evidence of unease within its own ranks. Moreover, the party's efforts, mentioned above, to dismiss Die Alternative as a piece of anti-communist propaganda well illustrate its anxiety that Bahro presented himself not as a critic of the GDR but as an opponent of 'actually existing socialism'. The appearance of a considered, theoretical discourse claiming to be firmly committed to the authentic path to socialism would appear to pose a far more serious threat to the party than the satire of the balladeer Biermann.

The advent of opposition within the SED assumed greater significance against the background of a wider challenge to the party's ideological supremacy. The 1970s saw the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe on the defensive on a number of fronts. Foremost amongst these was the threat from the so-called Eurocommunist school. In contrast to the strict orthodoxy of the East European parties, the Communist Parties in Spain and Italy especially were in the process of revising significant elements of doctrine.(34) The major differences which emerged in the Communist movement at this time were publicly exposed in East Germany following the Conference of European Communist Parties held in East Berlin in 1976.(35) Although Bahro openly dismisses the Eurocommunists(36), Die Alternative does take on board some of its essential features in rejecting the leading role of the proletariat and questioning the Soviet Union's hegemony in the Communist movement. The publication of this work shortly after the 1976 Conference, therefore, no doubt raised fears within the SED leadership of the existence of Eurocommunist tendencies within the party.

In addition to the particular circumstances surrounding the appearance of Die Alternative, the reaction to Bahro needs to be understood within the broader context of the tradition of internal party opposition in the GDR. Weber has concluded that Bahro is a latter-day example of a long tradition of anti-Stalinist opposition.

(37) To the extent that the core of Bahro's critique appeals for the further development of socialism in the GDR rather than its overthrow there are strong parallels between Bahro and previous examples of dissent from within the SED. However, as regards the respective programmes advocated by these opponents, there are substantial differences. Thus, the platform of the Harich group in the 1950s pledged, like Bahro, its continuing commitment to communism but had as its central objective a demand for reunification by means of all-German elections, a point notably absent from Die Alternative. (38) Havemann's criticism was also directed at the want of democratic freedoms in the GDR, but this is not recognized as a major problem by Bahro. (39) One critic has viewed such differences as evidence of the progression in Marxist dissent in East Germany:

"To move from Harich to Havemann to Bahro is to move from criticism of the application of Marxism to a reassessment of certain central Marxist premises to a systematic examination of the Marxist concept altogether." (40)

Yet Ramet's assessment is imprecise; although Bahro attacks various tenets of Marxism, he nonetheless draws widely on the younger Marx's more utopian works. (41) Moreover, Bahro is severely critical of previous efforts at opposition in the GDR:

"Vor allem waren sie (die progressiven kommunistischen Kräfte: G.S.) schlecht über das Terrain verständigt, auf dem sie kämpften. Die verschiedenen Aktionsprogramme beruhten mehr auf temporären Negationen als auf sozialökonomischer Analyse." (42)

This is not to deny, however, that Die Alternative draws attention to many issues which had not only been the concern of past critics of the party, but had also been the subject of discussion in party circles.

The extent to which Bahro tackles long-held issues of concern can provide some measure of the likely reception of Die Alternative by the

SED. In highlighting the weaknesses and inefficiencies of the economic system, for example, Bahro deals with a subject which had long been the focus of dispute. In the 'Fifties, Behrens and Benary had advocated a move from the rigid Stalinist economic system towards the introduction of greater decentralization, demands which saw both leading economic functionaries demoted from their posts.(43) Bahro's own doctoral thesis confirms that such problems were still relevant in the transition to Honecker(44), although, as mentioned above, Woods comments that Bahro's proposed radical restructuring of the labour system differs sharply from the solutions sought by the economic Kader.(45) More surprisingly, Bahro's daring attacks on the priority accorded to material growth also reflected contemporary debate within the party apparatus. Thus, despite, or perhaps in spite of, the SED's commitment to raising material and cultural standards of living embodied in the 'Hauptaufgabe' of the Eighth Party Congress, a few voices could be heard critical of the relentless pursuit of growth. The former Economic Director of the 'Zentralinstitut für Wirtschaftswissenschaften' Harry Maier argued, for example, that the quality of work and the amount of disposable free time should be emphasized as criteria in measuring the efficiency of the production process.(46) Although distinctly in a minority, Maier's views nonetheless show the extent to which Bahro reflects broader divisions within the party apparatus.

Further strong indications that Die Alternative tackles widely recognized points of concern are evident in the work of Volker Braun. Reference has already been made to the parallels between the two authors' work.(47) Like Bahro, Braun employs the image of a 'Pyramide der Verfügungsgewalt'(48) to characterize the system as it stands and stresses the need to overcome outstanding forms of domination such as those between town and country, man and woman, and manual and intellectual labour.(49) Although initially published only in the West in 1978(50), the appearance of Braun's essay in the GDR over a decade later offered a strong indication of the tacit recognition by the party, or sections of it, that such problems as detailed by Bahro and Braun did indeed deserve broader discussion.(51)

Besides the official response to Die Alternative, the extent to which Bahro reflects the broader interests of East German society also merits attention. In this context, Bahro's work is notable for precisely the fact that he does not detail the everyday problems of the wider population, for whom the most pressing issue was the desire for substantial improvement in living standards. As mentioned above, Die Alternative argues not for any major material improvements; indeed, the contrary is true since Bahro argues that socialism has fulfilled its task in this respect. (52) Instead, he gives voice to the concerns of a specific stratum within the GDR which viewed the Honecker reforms with some anxiety. The injustices of the system for this stratum did not exist in the distribution of goods but rather in the realm of limited career opportunities. Undoubtedly, the SED's Eighth Party Congress marked a watershed in the party's attempt to legitimize its leading role in society on the basis of wider mass support. Staritz notes this significant shift of emphasis:

"Wichtiger für die Parteiführung war freilich Massenloyalität, und die war eher durch einen höheren Lebensstandard als durch theoretische Entwürfe zu erlangen." (53)

Glaeßner confirms that the changes wrought by Eighth Party Congress signalled, if not the reversal, then the postponement of the idea of 'scientific and technical revolution' as a means to the realization of socialist society. (54) For the technocratic strata which owed its position to such policies the new measures adopted by Honecker were regarded as a sharp deviation from this original course.

There are, however, tentative indications of the wider reception which this work received in the GDR. As a work of opposition, it undoubtedly stirred some debate within the GDR, despite a ban on its publication and distribution. Bahro's appearances on West German television alone would suffice to ensure a broad awareness that something was afoot. In addition a series of short expositions of the basic features of the text were broadcast by RIAS in West Berlin. Guntolf Herzberg, a former member of the Akademie der Wissenschaften

now living in the West, relates that these broadcasts were most influential and multiplied the number of discussion groups like 'Pilze nach dem Regen'. (55) Such claims are substantiated by the Bahro Defence Committee in Berlin which received correspondence from opposition groups in the GDR appealing for a wider discussion of Bahro's theses. (56) Certainly, if the so-called Spiegel Manifesto issued shortly after the publication of Die Alternative in January 1978 is to be believed, Bahro's work had been rapidly assimilated by some sections of the opposition. (57) The question of this document's authenticity has been examined elsewhere (58), but accepted at face value, the Manifesto goes some way to confirming Bahro's theses. Thus, the unnamed authors laid claim to be members of the secretive 'Bund der Kommunisten' postulated in Die Alternative. Bender notes the same sense of disillusionment with the degeneration of socialism in the GDR evident in Bahro's work:

"Der Eindruck, der von diesem Teil ausgeht, entspringt einem spür- und glaubhaften Engagement: hier ist die Verzweiflung von einstmaligen Gläubigen in unerbittliche Aggressivität gegen die Verderber des Glaubens ungeschlagen." (59)

Conversely, despite subscribing to the thrust of his critique, the authors of the Manifesto differ radically from Bahro's outlook on significant points. Most critics have noted the influence of Eurocommunism on the Manifesto, a development decidedly rejected by Bahro. (60) In addition, the Manifesto's commitment to German reunification recalls the programme of the Harich group in the 'Fifties (61) but has little in common with Die Alternative, where this issue merits no attention. Equally, the Manifesto's pronounced anti-Soviet tone is not shared by Bahro. (62) Indeed, as one commentator observed, it sharply contradicted the optimistic tone of Die Alternative:

"Bahro redet selbst dort einer Erneuerung des Kommunismus in der DDR das Wort, wo die Verfasser des Manifestes schon längst jede Hoffnung haben fahren lassen." (63)

The Spiegel Manifesto illustrates perhaps the discontent of specific 'Kader' within the GDR who, largely unacquainted with the detail of Bahro's critique, mistakenly perceive it to be evidence of more widespread dissatisfaction. By contrast, the document published in Was Tun a few years later purporting to represent the views of Marxists within the GDR on the GDR, displays a greater knowledge of Bahro's text. (64) The authors of this document share Bahro's objective in seeking to develop socialism further and generally accept the tenor of his critique. The means by which they feel this can be attained, however, reveal a substantial difference in outlook. It is clear from the demands of this manifesto for greater political safeguards such as the right to strike that its authors articulate the interests of the workers. This is nowhere more evident than in their criticism of Bahro's dismissive attitude to the trade unionist mentality of the workers. (65) In a similar vein, members of an opposition circle in Jena confirm that acquaintance with Bahro's text did not necessarily imply endorsement of its content as they prove highly critical of its theoretical nature and lack of relevance for the population in general. (66)

In view of the fact that no official debate on Die Alternative was sanctioned by the SED, a surprising amount of material is available to draw some tentative conclusions as to the nature of its reception in academic and literary circles. The response of GDR citizens now living in the West is particularly instructive here and has generally proven to be severely critical of Bahro. The former Humboldt professor, Hermann von Berg, for example, was quick to distance himself from Bahro on his arrival in the West (67), and the Germanist Hellmuth Nitsche has subjected Die Alternative to a damning, although occasionally erroneous, critique on the basis of its want of any democratic safeguards. (68)

Amongst other opposition figures, opinions were mixed. For Wolf Biermann, living in forced exile in the West as a result of his satirical songwriting, Die Alternative constituted "das wichtigste Buch dieses Jahrzehnts". (69) The stance of Robert Havemann, on the

other hand, revealed a less enthusiastic side to the reception of this work. Thus, he actively supported the call for Bahro's release, despite the restrictions of his own house arrest. Yet, Havemann's support was by no means uncritical. He took issue, for example, with Bahro's concept of 'subalternity' (70) and challenged the idea of the 'Bund der Kommunisten'. (71) Above all, it was Bahro's decision to leave the GDR which provoked Havemann's sternest criticism, leading him to conclude that this diminished the significance of his critique. (72) This disappointment at Bahro's departure has been echoed elsewhere. (73)

Wolfgang Harich, himself a noted opponent of the party in the 1950s, records that he actively supported the Bahro solidarity campaign, but distances himself from many of his arguments, particularly refusing to share Bahro's faith in the technical intelligentsia as the potential new revolutionary subject. (74) An unattributed article from an SED functionary has supported Bahro's critical portrayal of the party's weaknesses, but has also emphasized the extent to which the former economic functionary remains bound to official ideology in accepting the party's view of history and in his refusal to condemn openly matters such as restrictions on travel. (75) This criticism is reinforced by Rolf Henrich's insider critique of the SED:

"Bald jedoch wurde mir klar, wie inkonsequent und dem alten Schematismus verhaftet Bahro mit seinem Ansatz blieb, wenn er unsere Verhältnisse charakterisierte «als protosozialistisch, d. h., wir haben Sozialismus im Larvenstadium»." (76)

Henrich does credit Bahro as a seminal influence on his own development and acknowledges Die Alternative as having achieved a major breakthrough with its historical interpretation of the roots of 'actually existing socialism'. (77) Henrich, however, takes this criticism a major step further in denying even the 'protosocialist' nature of the systems in Eastern Europe:

"... Wir haben keinen Sozialismus im Larvenstadium, sondern wir leben in der Gesellschaftsform, die weltweit gesehen das Erbe der «asiatischen Produktionsweise» angetreten hat. Nach dieser Vorstellung ist der Sozialismus nicht mehr die Nachfolgeformation des Kapitalismus; er ist, jedenfalls in der Form, in der er in der Wirklichkeit existiert, allgemeiner Ausdruck eines selbständigen (industriellen) Entwicklungspfadens der «östlichen Welt»." (78)

Henrich's comments are most instructive in showing the extent to which, even in the GDR, Die Alternative has been subject to critical reappraisal with the passage of time. Yet, although Bahro's principal work neither sparked a mass exodus from the party, nor the immediate start of a movement towards reform from within in the manner which he had postulated, it is clear that his unprecedented work constituted a major landmark of opposition in the GDR. Whether Bahro can be said to speak for the East German opposition in general is, on the other hand, highly questionable. The evidence available would suggest the contrary. It is abundantly clear that Bahro has little time for the everyday concerns of the general population, whilst the response of other opponents of the regime such as Havemann would suggest that even amongst the broader intellectual opposition his vision of the future is decidedly that of a specific, but for all that, significant minority within the ranks of the party. The severity of the measures employed against Bahro bear witness to the extent to which even the opposition of a small group threatened to undermine the authority of the party.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR - PART ONE

1. Ernest Mandel: Für Bürger, gegen Demokraten. in: Die Zeit. 4.11.77.
2. Anon ('Ein hoher SED-Funktionär'): 'Pfeffer in offene Wunden'. in: Der Spiegel. No.39 1977. p.114. (henceforward referred to as Der Spiegel. No.39 1977.)
3. Rolf Henrich: Der vormundschaftliche Staat. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg. 1989. (henceforward referred to as Henrich.) See also footnotes 75.-77. below; Note also the influence of Bahro's 'Alternative' on the 1989 opposition movement. Referring to the Neues Forum group, Die Zeit cites "Wir sind im Grunde allesamt Schüler von Rudolf Bahro." in: Aufbruch gegen die Autorität. in: Die Zeit. 27.10.89. p.2.
4. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Trans. G. Fagan. Verso Editions & NLB, London 1984. p.76.
5. ibid. p.97.
6. Neues Deutschland. 25.8.77. p.2.
7. Cited in: Der Tagesspiegel. (West Berlin) 1.7.78.
8. ADN press release 30.6.78. Reproduced in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros Berlin(ed): Sein Lied geht um die Welt. Eigendruck des Komitees, Berlin 1979. p.22.
9. See: Bonn wertet Urteil gegen Bahro als Verletzung der Menschenrechte. in: Der Tagesspiegel. 4.7.78. The SED had become a signatory to the Helsinki agreements on 1st August 1975. Fricke reports how this raised expectations amongst many for greater liberalization. Karl Wilhelm Fricke: Opposition und Widerstand in der DDR. Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne 1984. pp.183-184. (henceforward referred to as Fricke.) The authors of the so-called Spiegel Manifesto also make reference to the Helsinki agreements. See: 'Wir sind gegen die Einparteien-Diktatur'. Das Manifest der ersten organisierten Opposition in der DDR. in: Der Spiegel No. 1 1978. pp.21-24. & No.2 1978. pp.26-30. (henceforward referred to as Das Manifest. Der Spiegel.)

10. At the emergency congress of the SED in December 1989 the SED finally acknowledged Bahro's work and confessed to mistakes in its treatment of him. Referring to Bahro's address at the conference Wolfgang Berghofer declared "(Wir haben:G.S.) heute alle ein kleines Stück Schuld abgetragen, indem wir (Bahro: G.S.) zugehört haben." in: Neues Deutschland. 19.12.89. p.4. Bahro's critique has now been published in the GDR. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Verlag Tribüne, Berlin 1990.; In one of the first reviews in the GDR Die Alternative is described as "... der Prolog, das Urbuch des Aufbruchs im Herbst (1989:G.S.)." in: Steffen Schmidt: Ein Philosoph, der zwischen allen Stühlen sitzt. in: Neues Deutschland. 24/25.3.90. p.14.; On Bahro's rehabilitation in the GDR see: Mensch über Bord. in: Der Spiegel. No.12 1990. p.85.
11. Scathing reference to Bahro as 'Mädchen für alles' was made in one work: Stefan Bollinger and Bernhard Maleck: Denken zwischen Utopie und Realität. Dietz Verlag, Berlin (East) 1987. p.126.; Mention of Bahro's work as an editor of Forum also appeared in an official journal: Ursula Heukenkamp: Interview with Heinz Czechowski. in: Weimarer Beiträge. No.5 1988. p.812.; Allusive reference to Bahro appeared in a poem by Volker Braun published in the GDR: Volker Braun: Das gebremste Leben. in: Gerhard Wolf: Wortlaut Wortbruch Wortlust. Phillip Reclam jun., Leipzig 1989. p.89. (henceforward referred to as Wolf.)
12. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 5.12.77.
13. Hans Koch: Das alte Dilemma der neuen Reformisten. in: Sonntag. No.49 1977. p.3.
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.*
16. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.*
18. Hans Pischner: Wir identifizieren uns mit dieser Macht. in: Sonntag. No.40 1977. p.4. (henceforward referred to as Pischner.)
19. See above pp.63ff.

20. See for example: Jürgen Harrer: Anmerkungen zu Rudolf Bahro: »Die Alternative«. in: P. Brokmeier and R. Rilling (eds.): Beiträge zur Sozialismusanalyse. Pahl-Rugenstein, Cologne 1978. pp.54-83.
21. Fischner. p.4.
22. Erich Mielke cited in: Die volle Härte unserer Macht. in: Der Spiegel. 28.2.79. p.30.
23. Bahro prepared interviews for both major t.v. channels in West Germany, broadcast on 23.8.77. Transcripts in: Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. pp.90-100.
24. See for example: 'Times' veröffentlicht Appel mit falscher Begründung. in: Die Wahrheit 2.2.78.; Wem dient die Kampagne um den Agenten Bahro? in: Die Wahrheit. 5.7.78.; 'Seltsames Verhalten' zur Verurteilung Bahros. in: Unsere Zeit. 6.7.78.; Emil Carlebach: Das Schack-Bahro Rezept. in: Marxistische Blätter. No.5 1978. pp:8-10.
25. See for example: 'Fruchtbar' für welche politische Ziele? in: Unsere Zeit 18.11.78.; Erika Herzog: Rudolf Bahro und die Nachrichtendienste. in: Unsere Zeit. 7.7.78.
26. See for example: Ein Berliner Hochschulschandal. in: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 23.12.78.; Jürgen Engert: Alle gegen einen. in: Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt. 22.12.78.; Kleine Lage. in: Der Spiegel. 18.12.78. p.93.
27. Elmar Altvater: Interviewed by G.W. Smith. 31.5.88. Berlin; Rudolf Steinke: Interviewed by G.W. Smith. 22.7.88. Berlin.
28. On opposition in the cultural sphere see: David Bathrick: The politics of culture: Rudolf Bahro and opposition in the GDR. in: New German Critique. No.15 1978. pp.3-24. (henceforward referred to as Bathrick.); Roger Woods: Opposition in the GDR under Honecker 1971-1985. Macmillan Press, Basingstoke and London 1986.
29. On the Biermann affair see: Bathrick.; Derek Fogg: Exodus from a promised land. The Biermann affair. in: Ian Wallace (ed.): The Writer and Society in the GDR. Hutton Press, Tayport, Fife 1984. pp.134-151.; Peter Roos: Exil. Die Ausbürgerung Wolf

- Biermanns aus der DDR. Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Cologne 1977.
30. See: Die SED hat jetzt den großen Hammer hervorgeholt. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 2.8.79.; DDR Strafrecht verschärft. in: Der Tagesspiegel. 1.8.79.
 31. Joachim Nawrocki: '... daß wir alle die Macht haben'. in: Die Zeit No.37 1977. p.3.
 32. Erich Honecker: Schlußwort auf der 4. Tagung des ZK der SED Dezember 1971. in: Gisela Rüb(ed.): Dokumente zur Kunst- Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED 1971-1974. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. pp.287-288.
 33. See Bathrick. p.3.; Fricke. p.158.
 34. See above pp.161ff.
 35. For more on this see: Ernest Mandel: From Stalinism to Eurocommunism. NLB, London 1978.; Melvin Croan: Eurocommunism and East Germany. in: Vernon Aspaturian(ed.): Eurocommunism between East and West. Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1980. pp.140-156. (henceforward referred to as Croan.); Über die Berliner Konferenz europäischer kommunistischer Parteien. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.8 1976. pp.1106-1107.
 36. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main & Cologne 1977. p.218. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
 37. Hermann Weber: Der dritte Weg. in: Ulf Wolter (ed.): Antworten auf Bahros Herausforderung des 'realen Sozialismus'. Verlag Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1978. pp.145-164.
 38. See: Die politische Plattform Harichs und seiner Freunde. in: SBZ Archiv. Vol.8 1957. pp.72-75.
 39. Robert Havemann: Berliner Schriften. Verlag Europäische Ideen, Berlin(West) 1977.; Ein deutscher Kommunist. Rowohlt, Reinbek/Hamburg 1978.; Öffnet die Zeitungen für die Stimmen Eurer Kritiker. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 22.6.79.
 40. Pedro Ramet: Disaffection and dissent in East Germany. in: World Politics. Vol.37. No.1 1984. p.102.
 41. Rudolf Bahro: Was vor der Zukunft zusammengehört. in: Rudolf Bahro: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin

1980. p.53.
42. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.369-370.
 43. See Martin Jänicke: Der dritte Weg. Neuer Deutscher Verlag, Cologne 1984.
 44. Rudolf Bahro: Plädoyer für schöpferische Initiative. Bund Verlag, Cologne 1980. See above pp.187ff.
 45. Roger Woods: East German intellectuals in opposition. in Survey. No.28 1984. p.114.
 46. For more details of this debate see: Arbeitsgruppe 8: Wachstums-, Technik- und Konsumkritik bei Bahro. in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros Berlin (eds.): Der Bahro-Kongreß. Verlag Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1978. pp.218-236.
 47. See above pp.126-127. footnote 12.
 48. Volker Braun: Büchners Briefe. in Volker Braun: Verheerende Folgen mangelnden Anscheins innerbetrieblicher Demokratie. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1988. p.99. (henceforward referred to as Braun. Verheerende Folgen.) Cf. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.192ff.
 49. Braun. Verheerende Folgen. pp.106-107.
 50. Volker Braun: Büchners Briefe. in: Connaissance de la RDA. No.7 1978.
 51. Volker Braun: Verheerende Folgen mangelnden Anscheins innerbetrieblicher Demokratie. Verlag Phillip Reclam jun., Leipzig 1989.
 52. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.318.
 53. Dietrich Staritz: Geschichte der DDR 1949-1985. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1985. p.203
 54. Gert-Joachim Glaesner: Herrschaft durch Kader. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1977.
 55. Guntolf Herzberg: Interviewed by G.W. Smith. 25.3.88. Berlin.
 56. Photocopy of papers of the Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros Berlin.
 57. Das Manifest. Der Spiegel.
 58. Günter Johannes and Ulrich Schwarz: DDR. Das Manifest der Opposition. Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Munich 1978. (henceforward referred to as Johannes and Schwarz.); Peter Bender:

- Das Klima trübt sich wieder. in: Vorwärts. No.1 1978 p.5.;
- Peter Bender: Nicht zur Konfrontation aufreizen lassen. in: Vorwärts. No.2 1978. p.8.
59. Peter Bender: Episode oder Alarmzeichen für Honecker? in: Deutschland Archiv. No.2 1978. p.116. (henceforward referred to as Bender. Deutschland Archiv.)
60. Bender. Deutschland Archiv.; Croan. See footnote 35. above.
61. Die politische Plattform Harichs und seiner Freunde. in: SBZ Archiv. Vol.8 1957. pp.72-75.
62. Bahro does not perceive his work as 'anti-Soviet': "Ich denke ... nicht in Kategorien der Feindschaft zur Sowjet-Union." Rudolf Bahro aus der Strafanstalt Bautzen. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.12 1978. p.1339. (originally in: Der Spiegel. No.44. 1978. In this respect Naimark errs in stressing Bahro as an example of strong anti-Soviet sentiments within the party apparatus. Norman N. Naimark: Is it true what they are saying about East Germany? in: Orbis. Vol.23 No.3 1979. pp.549-577.
63. Fred Oldenburg cited in: Johannes and Schwarz. p.245.
64. Marxisten aus der DDR zur Lage in der DDR. in: Was Tun. No.312. 11.6.1981. pp.7-10. (henceforward referred to as Was Tun.)
65. *ibid.* p.9.
66. Reinhard and Christina Klingenberg: Interviewed by G.W. Smith. 15.3.88. Berlin.
67. Hermann von Berg: 'Es herrscht Willkür selbst in der Partei'. in: Der Spiegel. No.21 1986. p.77.
68. Hellmuth Nitsche: Antworten an Bahro und Genossen. Verlag SOI, Bern 1984. On Nitsche's errors see above p.96 footnote 86.
69. Wolf Biermann cited in: Ny Dag. No.36. 1979. Translated and collated in a survey of reaction to Die Alternative in Northern Europe by members of the Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros Berlin.
70. Robert Havemann: Aus der 'besseren Hälfte' Deutschlands. in: Die Tageszeitung. 11.6.79. p.8.
71. Robert Havemann: Morgen. Die Industriegesellschaft am Scheideweg. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main

- p.221.
72. *ibid.*
73. "Wir fordern ihn (Bahro: G.S.) hiermit auf, nicht so viel für die 'Grünen' zu arbeiten, sondern uns in der Analyse der DDR-Verhältnisse zu unterstützen." in: *Was Tun.* p.8.; Volker Braun's reference to Bahro in 'Gebremstes Leben' also implies criticism of Bahro's failure to continue the line of opposition he pursued in the GDR: " Oder Rudi in Oregon/ In der orange-farbenen Gemeinde/ Einen Lebenszusammenhang/ Sucht er mit Hacke und Sichel/ Der Ausgewiesene/ Flieht uns voran/ In die bessere Steinzeit" Volker Braun in: *Wolf.* p.89. Braun is referring to Bahro's involvement with the Bhagwan community. See below pp.387ff.
74. Wolfgang Harich: 'Ich hatte alle gegen mich' in: *Der Spiegel.* 11.6.79. p.75.
75. *Der Spiegel.* No.39 1977. pp.113-114.
76. Harich. pp.312-313.
77. *ibid.* p.312.
78. *ibid.* p.313.

CHAPTER FOUR: PART TWO - WEST GERMANY

Reflecting on the reaction to his work a decade after its appearance in the West, Bahro draws a rather sombre conclusion:

"Freilich, meine »Alternative« war wegen der sensationellen Umstände sehr viel mehr gekauft als gelesen worden. Viele, die den Fall bloß aus dem Fernsehen kannten, waren enttäuscht, weil ich trotz des Zusammenstoßes mit den DDR-Autoritäten nicht in das west-östliche Entweder-Oder paßte, vielmehr überzeugt war (und bin), es kommt auf Veränderungen in beiden Teilen Europas an." (1)

Although he underestimates the scope and significance of the debate which did emerge, Bahro is justified in his assessment of the initial reaction to his work, since for many Die Alternative was just further evidence of the oppressive nature of the East German regime. (2) The sensation value alone does not, however, explain the enormous publicity which surrounded his work. Nor, indeed, could this be explained by the originality of his critique, which had appeared in a similar text in the West. (3) In order to understand why Bahro's work was the subject of such great attention, it is necessary to look instead beyond the initial media response which had placed Bahro in the category of a 'Cold War' opponent of the GDR.

In its English translation, the title misleadingly attributed to Bahro's analysis was The Alternative in Eastern Europe. (4) A minor point, perhaps, but significant nonetheless, since it overlooks an important aspect of the work. For, although he declares that his objective in writing Die Alternative was to outline a process of human emancipation and identify the features within 'actually existing socialism' which both furthered and hindered this process, he also stresses that this work contains valid lessons for communists and socialists in the West where parties such as that in France found themselves in a similar crisis of ideology. (5) This relevance for

communists outside Eastern Europe goes a long way to explaining the enormous attention which his work received in the West. In West Germany, especially, there was a most receptive audience. Here, the debate surrounding Die Alternative stemmed less from its value as a critique of the GDR than from the relevance of its theoretical and strategic considerations for the situation of the Left in the Federal Republic in the late 1970s. The discussion within the West German Left touched upon fundamental issues concerning its own development and became an important part of the process of reflection on the identity of the Left. However, this debate clearly illustrated the difficulty of overcoming long-held standpoints, and it was often the desire to maintain these which served to obstruct the development of an objective appraisal of Bahro's work.

Analysing the West German reaction to Die Alternative, three distinct phases are discernible. The initial response was conducted within the mainstream press, and it was not until a considerable time had passed, late in 1977, that the first signs of a response from the Left began to appear. These mark the start of an intensive period of debate on Bahro's work, which culminated in the 'International Congress for and about Rudolf Bahro', held in West Berlin in November 1978. Subsequent to this event the campaign of solidarity almost immediately evaporated in West Germany, with the initiative behind the Congress subsiding into a somewhat acrimonious internal debate. In order to understand why the debate followed this particular path it is necessary to examine the broader context of the development of the West German Left in the latter half of the 1970s.

The initial response to the appearance of Die Alternative was undertaken mainly within the conventional press and placed Bahro in the usual context of internal GDR opposition, portraying him as an embittered, disillusioned opponent of the East German regime. The response of Der Spiegel, the magazine which first presented Bahro's views to the general public was typical of this approach, describing his work as "... die bislang unerbittlichste Abrechnung eines scheinbar loyalen Genossen mit dem DDR-Sozialismus." (6) In strongly

anti-GDR terms, Bahro is presented as an individual who represents the mere tip of the iceberg of the opposition and as an evidence that the SED was being undermined by "der Spaltpilz des Eurokommunismus". (7) Although the article makes fleeting reference to his assertion that he remains a committed Marxist (8), Der Spiegel is more interested in Bahro as a means of illustrating the SED's problems than in the actual content of his theses. Noticeably, when the solidarity campaign developed in the Federal Republic, Der Spiegel ceased coverage of Bahro's case. Bahro himself quickly admonished the magazine for its one-sided presentation of himself as just another GDR dissident:

"Wissen Sie, mein Buch ist eigentlich in Wirklichkeit gar keine DDR-Kritik, so wie »Der Spiegel« das etwas sehr kurz gefaßt hat. Mein Buch ist eine Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus." (9)

As someone who insisted his aim was to analyse the weaknesses and strengths of the existing system and examine its potential to progress to full socialism, Bahro felt that to dismiss his work as just another condemnation of East Germany overlooked its real purpose. Here, the coverage of Bahro's case demonstrates some of the difficulties which the German-German relationship entails for opposition in the GDR, since the latter is often seen purely in terms of its denunciatory value. The response of the Süddeutsche Zeitung, illustrates this point in its description of the text as a "Kritik an der Diktatur der Moskauer und Ostberliner Politbürokraten" (10) and as a condemnation of "die »spätstalinistische Apparatherrschaft«" (11) without mention of the true substance of Bahro's work. Certainly, the traditions of anti-Communism fostered during the Cold War years of the Federal Republic's foundation, still persist and these serve to obscure an objective appraisal of events in its Eastern neighbour. In fact, the initial (and indeed subsequent) reluctance of the West German Left to become involved in the debate on Die Alternative is probably best explained as an attempt to avoid being labelled as an 'anticommunist'.

The tendency to take the theories contained in Die Alternative more seriously occurred in late 1977 and the start of 1978. An article by Heinz Brandt illustrates the attempts of some to overcome the 'Cold War' attitude and consider instead the wider significance of the work. The early reaction to Bahro's work, he argues, was ensnared in the ideological battle between the two Germanies, with the respective forces attacking each other to justify their own order:

"... Der dämonisierte Feind wird jeweils in der entgegengesetzten Himmelsrichtung ausgemacht, um notwendige innere Veränderung, Reformation im eigenen Bereich abzublocken, den Ausweg in menschliche Zukunft zu verrammeln." (12)

Brandt instead goes on to stress the point which many chose to ignore in their original assessments - namely that Bahro's critique of actually existing socialism does not necessarily imply that he views the West with any greater sympathy: "...Bahro (macht:G.S.) beiden Varianten heutiger Gesellschaftsumordnung den Prozeß ..." (13) Brandt draws attention to the importance and relevance which Die Alternative holds for the debate on socialism in general, not just the situation in the GDR. The 'New Left' can also learn from the points which Bahro makes and should follow his example by reexamining its own position:

"Eine solche Generaldebatte wäre nicht nur ein Akt selbstverständlicher Solidarität, humaner Hilfe - sie entspräche auch einem Lebensbedürfnis der europäischen Linke. ... Die Linke hat nichts zu verlieren als ihre geistigen Ketten." (14)

Brandt illustrates well the growing belief in certain parts of the Left that the debate on the issues surrounding Bahro should not be left to those who merely see such affairs as a means of further discrediting the image of the GDR, and that instead the Left itself should initiate a more constructive debate. Without doubt, this new wind which was beginning to blow through the Left was a key factor in the great interest which was shown in West Germany for Bahro's work.

This new atmosphere in parts of the Left is demonstrated by the Venice Conference on 'Power and Opposition in the post-revolutionary societies' in November 1977. This marked a small, but significant step in that, for the first time, prominent figures of the Western Left such as Althusser, Bettelheim and Lombardo-Radice had come together with former Eastern European opposition figures such as Boris Weil and Jiri Pelikan in order to start a dialogue on the various perspectives for the societies of Eastern Europe. In this way, an attempt was made to overcome the divisions separating the Left in East and West Europe. Until the latter half of the 1970s, the West German Left had been, at best, reluctant to criticize events in Eastern Europe, if not in reverence to the Soviet Union's hegemony in the region, then at least to avoid being accused of 'anti-communism'. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 led many, Bahro included, to revise their position, and, as the development of Eurocommunism in the 1970s demonstrated, this often entailed a greater degree of readiness to challenge Soviet claims to hegemony. One expression of this new will was the desire for greater cooperation between the Western Left and former opponents of the regimes in Eastern Europe to discuss formerly taboo areas on the developments in this region. At the Venice Conference the decision was taken to issue an appeal for Bahro's release and condemn his imprisonment,

"... nur weil er eine marxistische Kritik am existierenden politischen- und Klassenverhältnis in der DDR und anderen osteuropäischen Ländern entwickelt hat." (15)

The significance of such a move by the elements of the Left from both blocs in criticizing an act of repression in Eastern Europe cannot be underestimated, since such a response had hitherto been a rare occurrence. Although the Bahro affair itself did not initiate this new approach, it undoubtedly benefited from the increased awareness in the West German Left of the problems and difficulties encountered by their East European counterparts. This interest on the part of those in West Germany was itself due to a period of crisis in the Left and the need to search for new strategies and perspectives.

In seeking to explain the enormous interest shown in Bahro's work, the state of disarray in which the Left found itself is of overriding importance. In no small way, the reaction to the Bahro affair exposed not only the New Left's own search for identity, but revealed tensions within the traditional forces of the Left which were similarly finding it necessary to adapt to new circumstances. Indeed, it should be noted that the debate surrounding Die Alternative was, for the most part, conducted in the organs of the New Left, with both the SPD and the trades union organization, the DGB reluctant to participate in the discussion. By far the best illustration of this state of affairs was the response to the International Congress for and about Rudolf Bahro, which took place in Berlin in November 1978, marking the culmination of the most intensive phase of solidarity.

In terms of sheer numbers alone, the Bahro Congress demonstrated unequivocally the interest of a large section of the Left in the debate surrounding the appearance of Die Alternative. Estimates of those present on the first day range from 1,500 to 3,500(16), which would seem to confirm the committee's own estimation that up to 8,000 participated in the plenary sessions and discussion groups over the three days from 16th to 19th November.(17) Although the aims and results of the Congress were themselves a matter of some dispute, the mere fact that it occurred at all and on such a scale is indicative of the groundswell of interest in Bahro's work.

From the start, it was clear from the very title of the congress, '...for and about Rudolf Bahro' that the Berlin organizing committee intended to pursue a combination of objectives. Not only was the aim to draw attention to Bahro's imprisonment and to demand his release, but the committee also sought to highlight the value of his work for the situation in the West:

"Diese Chance, sozialistische Opposition für die westliche Strategiediskussion fruchtbar zu machen und die 'konkrete Denkbarkeit' von Bahros Alternative zu einem Zeitpunkt, da die meisten westeuropäischen sozialistischen und kommunist-

ischen Parteien ihr Verhältnis zum real existierenden Sozialismus neu zu bestimmen suchen, macht uns - vielleicht erstmals seit 68 wieder - zu unmittelbar Betroffenen." (18)

Just as Bahro sought to investigate the alternatives to the existing form of socialism in Eastern Europe, the Bahro Congress attempted to pick up the theoretical gauntlet which he had thrown down. The interest which Bahro's work attracted stemmed primarily from its value in reviving the discussion on possible strategies for the Left, rather than any significance it might have held as a critique of the GDR. Although the issue of oppression of the socialist opposition in Eastern Europe is one which did receive some attention in the debate, this aspect became entwined with the question of the means and objectives of achieving socialism in West Germany. The International Bahro Congress revealed how some elements of the Left sought to gain a higher profile for their own position, by trying to make the issue of solidarity with the opposition in the Eastern Bloc a benchmark of 'genuine' socialism. Thus, whilst the English language debate concentrated largely on the theoretical importance of Die Alternative for the opposition in Eastern Europe, the debate in West Germany was dominated by the particularist interests of the various groups concerned.

That the West German response to the Bahro affair was judged chiefly in terms of the work's ramifications for the situation of the Left, is evident in the media's appraisal of the Bahro Congress. Die Zeit reports: "(es ging:G.S.) ... weniger um Bahro als um sozialistische Nabelschau, auch um den Versuch, die hoffnungslos zersplitterte Linke wieder zusammenzuführen." (19) The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, indeed, goes further to suggest that the Congress represents an attempt to revive the spirit of unity which emerged in the era of the student and APO (Außerparlamentarische Opposition) movements of the late 1960s:

"Doch reichte die von den meisten Zuhörern geteilte Empörung über den Fall Bahro nicht aus, um die außerparlamentarische

Linke wieder zu einer an die Tage von 1968 erinnernden Einheit zu zwingen, in denen sich ihre einzelnen Strömungen und Sekten aufzulösen begannen." (20)

Clearly the question of establishing a degree of unity in the Left was a consideration uppermost in the minds of the so-called New Left in particular:

"Ein Ziel des Kongresses sollte unserer Meinung nach sein, den Dialog und die Zusammenarbeit der Linken in Ost und West zu verstärken. Darüberhinaus könnte der Kongreß zum Klärungsprozeß innerhalb der westlichen Linken beitragen, um das in der BRD noch herrschende Frontdenken durch eine lebendige und solidarische Debatte praktisch in Frage zu stellen." (21)

Nonetheless, the Bahro Committee's intention to initiate a process of discussion with the longer term objective of greater unity in mind was by no means shared by all elements of the Left. The question of solidarity with Bahro, and the concomitant issues of policy toward actually existing socialism, instead served to expose the limits to any effort towards a larger degree of consensus in the Left. This was nowhere more apparent than in the question of the relationship between the New Left and the SPD.

Taken as a whole, the SPD's reaction to the Bahro affair was rather muted. Certainly, a number of regional branches of the party passed resolutions condemning Bahro's imprisonment (22), but otherwise the response from the party's central office was remarkably limited. At the Congress itself, only one major figure from the party in Bonn, Peter von Oertzen, and Gerhard Schröder, the chairman of the 'JuSos' (Jung Sozialisten), represented the party in an unofficial capacity. That von Oertzen and Schröder were very much the exception rather than the rule is clear from the Hannover Allgemeine's report: "Der Bonner Parteivorstand, dem von Oertzen angehört, hat sich gegenüber dem Kongreß recht kühl verhalten." (23) Testimony of this was demonstrated

by the decision of the SPD chairman, Willy Brandt to address his statement of solidarity to the head of the trades union-owned publishing house, EVA, rather than directly to the Bahro Congress. (24)

Evidently, there were sharp divisions within the SPD on the question of its stance towards the socialist opposition in Eastern Europe, as von Oertzen's attack on his colleagues illustrated: "Die SPD als Ganzes schweigt vornehm und auch die Jungsozialisten beginnen erst jetzt allmählich aufzuwachen." (25) Von Oertzen was by no means alone in his criticism, as his views were echoed by Freimut Duve of the party's Hamburg branch, who spoke out against the policy of 'Leisetreterei' and secret diplomacy which he felt characterized the party's approach to oppression in Eastern Europe. (26)

Rolf Berger, the SPD President of Berlin's Technische Universität, in his opening speech to the Congress, touches upon one of the major issues which divided the party on the Bahro affair. Solidarity with Bahro, he argued, could only go hand in hand with a process of self-criticism within the SPD itself, if its response was to be seen as credible:

"Es geht nicht an, daß im Stile der CDU auch Sozialdemokraten oder Sozialisten pharisäerhaft auf den Fall Bahro weisen und damit von der eigenen Position, etwa zur Treueüberprüfung für Anwärter des öffentlichen Dienstes oder von der eigenen Positionslosigkeit oder Orientierungslosigkeit für die Zukunft der Gesellschaft ablenken." (27)

Berger's speech draws attention to the way in which domestic political considerations exerted a strong influence on the question of solidarity with Bahro. In particular, the SPD's controversial introduction of the 'Berufsverbot', which restricted past or present members of communist organizations from employment in public sector posts, exercised an important influence on the debate. Critics such as Heinz Brandt were quick to point to the parallels between Bahro's

imprisonment, and the 'Berufsverbot' which, he submits, would no doubt have affected Bahro:

"Lebte Bahro in Brüssel, so wäre er - wie Ernest Mandel - ein angesehener Dozent an der Universität und hätte Einreiseverbot in beide deutsche Staaten. Seine Bücher wären drüben verboten und bei uns kaum bekannt. Lebte er bei uns, so hätte er Berufsverbot, dürftige Auflagen, kümmerlichen Unterhalt." (28)

To protest against Bahro's treatment, some felt, the SPD would need to review its 'Berufsverbot' policy if it were not to appear hypocritical. The undeniable importance which the Left attached to this point is revealed in the final resolution passed by the delegates to the Bahro Congress:

"Solidarität mit Rudolf Bahro heißt für uns, Solidarität mit allen politischen Gefangenen und wegen ihrer politischen oder religiösen Überzeugung Verfolgten in den ost-europäischen Ländern. Aber wie die vielen Fälle von Berufsverboten und andere Formen der Einschränkung demokratischer Rechte in der Bundesrepublik und Berlin (West) zeigen, haben Gleichgesinnte Bahros in diesem Lande Schwierigkeiten, ihre Ideen und Vorstellungen über eine alternative gesellschaftliche Entwicklung zu verbreiten und ungehindert zu vertreten." (29)

This attempt by members of the Left to relate the struggle against political repression in Eastern Europe to the campaign attacking the domestic policies of the SPD is one explanation for the party's general reluctance to become too embroiled in the discussion surrounding Bahro's work. Yet this reticence towards Bahro was not just due to fears of criticism of the 'Berufsverbot'. Indeed, this issue formed just part of the background to a much wider split between the forces of the New Left and the SPD. As Ernst Elitz reveals, writing in the SPD journal Vorwärts, the absence of the SPD from the

Congress in Berlin was very much determined by the strained relationship between the so-called New Left and the traditional SPD. On the one hand, Eilitz acknowledges the value of the revived discussion in the Left which the Congress symbolized, commenting on the rarity of seeing such otherwise disparate figures as Mandel and von Oertzen at the same table. (30) Nonetheless, Eilitz does not hesitate to stress the limitations which he sees in the tendency towards greater unity:

"Jede Seite wird klare Abgrenzungen auch künftig für unabdingbar halten, und Koalitionen zwischen Reformsozialisten und Verfechtern der Diktatur des Proletariats werden trotz Bahro nicht zustande kommen. Der Vorzug der gegenwärtigen Debatte ist die Frontabklärung, nicht die Fraternalisierung." (31)

Whilst some autonomous Left-wing groups warned of the danger of the SPD attempting to regain influence in the New Left (32), Eilitz presents the reverse side of the coin, depicting a party which wants to maintain a discreet distance from what it considers to be the unpredictable elements of the Left. Moreover, following the trauma of the so-called 'Deutscher Herbst' which had seen the Federal Republic confronted with an extensive terrorist campaign, the SPD was keen to present itself as a responsible party of government and disassociate itself from the more radical sections of the Left. Peter Brandt underlined this point in his assessment of the Congress:

"Die Sozialdemokratie als Ganzes stand dem Kongreß durchaus distanziert gegenüber: wohl teils wegen der Teilnahme bekannter 'Linksradikaler'..." (33)

Brandt comments further on the fears within the SPD that the Congress could degenerate into a "... Tummelplatz gewerkschaftsfeindlicher 'Chaoten' ..." (34), illustrating again the wide band of considerations which influenced the SPD's response to the Bahro affair. It would, however, be wrong to present a picture of a party solely concerned with its electoral image, since the party's cautious approach can also

be explained by its role as the party in government, and more importantly, as the party which had sought to promote improved relations with the GDR. At the start of the decade, through its 'Ostpolitik', the SPD had tried to provide a basis for normalizing relations between the two Germanies, and clearly the desire to maintain this approach influenced the party's response to political oppression in East Germany. It may not be without some significance that negotiations on a further package of agreements between the Federal Republic and the GDR were close to conclusion in the period leading up to the Congress. (35) Moneta, a former trades union leader, voices his criticism that the SPD is too willing to subordinate the interests of the individual in favour of grander goals:

"Das sind sozialdemokratische und gewerkschaftliche Führer, die für ihr Verhalten die verschiedensten Gründe - meist hinter vorgehaltener Hand - anführen. Da sind solche, die Angst haben, die Entspannungspolitik oder der Osthandel könnten darunter leiden, wenn sie für politisch Verfolgte in den 'real existierenden sozialistischen Staaten' eintreten." (36)

The severity of Brandt's accusation illustrates the strong sentiments which the SPD's stance provoked. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the constraints of being in government and the desire to sustain 'normal' relations with the GDR, of which Heinz Brandt is so critical, did not exclude more subtle means of diplomacy, as Willy Brandt's letter to Kosta indicates:

"Meine Möglichkeiten, auf die Verantwortlichen einzuwirken, wollen Sie bitte nicht überschätzen. Aber ich will Ihren Brief gern erneut zum Anlaß nehmen, ... zu prüfen, wie wir uns für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros verwenden können." (37)

The Bahro affair highlights the dilemma of the SPD's policy of endeavouring to adopt a more discreet approach in its relations with the SED, which, in a highly public case such as this, is interpreted

by some as indifference to the fate of opponents within the Eastern Bloc, and which can lead to a sense of frustration within the party's own ranks - a policy which often draws criticism as evidenced by the debate surrounding the SED-SPD-Streitpapier. (38)

A still wider divergence of opinion between the autonomous forces of the Left and the traditional Left was revealed in the reaction from the trades union quarter to Bahro's work. Writing in a trades union journal, Peter Brandt sums up the response from organized labour:

"Als ähnlich zwiespaltig stellte sich die Haltung der Gewerkschaften dar. Positive Stellungnahmen lagen nur von der DGB-Jugend und den beiden Organisationen der inzwischen wieder vereinigten GEW Berlin vor." (39)

Again, as with the SPD, there were individual exceptions, with figures such as Jakob Moneta, former editor of the metal industry union's journal, and Vitt from the chemical industry, but on the whole the trades unions proved very reluctant to engage in the debate on Bahro's work. Ample demonstration of this was the one line response by Heinz Oskar Vetter, chairman of the DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund), to an initiative from Heinrich Böll and Helmut Gollwitzer calling for the trades unions to display greater solidarity with Bahro, in which Vetter simply acknowledged receipt several months later. (40)

Although clearly attributed to the more conservative forces of the political spectrum by the New Left, and viewed as an ally of the SPD in upholding the existing system, the response of the trades unions is not explained by this alone. As Rabehl observes, the silence of the DGB was not determined by the desire to avoid undermining the SPD's Ostpolitik, but rather by the ideological challenge which Bahro's work presented:

"Die Sozialismuskonzeption Bahros und die Sozialismusauffassungen der westeuropäischen Kommunisten und Linksozialisten steht dem Modell der Mitbestimmung auf der

Grundlage kapitalistischer Verhältnisse und der Dominanz des westdeutschen Kapitals in der EWG und auf dem Weltmarkt entgegen." (41)

The concept of social partnership pursued by the DGB, giving high priority to secure employment and increased incomes, contrasts sharply with Bahro's proposals for a fundamental redivision of labour and restraints on the pursuit of material growth. As the Berlin Bahro Committee comments, the trades unions were found to be wanting in their response to the economic crisis of the late 1970s:

"Die scheinbar neuen und doch so alten Probleme erfordern andere Antworten als Prozentzahlen. Fragen der Arbeitsorganisation, der Arbeitsplatzversicherung (...), der Humanisierung der Arbeitswelt u.a.m. treten in den Vordergrund." (42)

It is precisely such questions on the future shape of labour organization which Bahro tackles in Die Alternative and against these conceptions the DGB leadership felt itself to be on the defensive. Additionally, as Rabehl suggests, the trades unions were most unwilling to accept advice from those considered to be out of touch with the concerns of the working class:

"Eine offene Sozialismuskontroverse muß sich sehr schnell auf diese 'Strategie' der 'Mitbestimmung' und der 'Wirtschaftsdemokratie' beziehen. Dazu ist die Gewerkschaftsspitze zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht bereit. Sie hat auch nicht die Absicht, vor einem Forum der Linksintelligenz und westeuropäischer Sozialisten und Kommunisten ihre Sonderinteressen aufzudecken." (43)

Finally, exploring the possibility of organizing an initiative amongst the union movement, the Berlin Bahro Committee concluded that the chances were slim, chiefly due to the influence held by the DKP and SEW, both loyal to the SED. (44) Rabehl draws a similar conclusion,

but suggests that the fact that Die Alternative appeared in the trades union owned publishing house, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, could indicate that the influence of these parties was on the wane. (45)

As a whole therefore, the response from the traditional forces of the Left in West Germany was characterized by a high degree of reluctance to engage wholeheartedly in the debate on Bahro's ideas. This was conditioned not only by domestic political considerations as in the case of the SPD, but also by the nature of Bahro's critique, which challenged some long-held beliefs of socialism in general, not just the existing order in East Germany. This undoubtedly gives greater credence to Marcuse's thesis that Die Alternative is equally as valid as a critique of industrial society in the West. (46)

Whilst the response from the trades unions and the SPD was disappointing, it was not unexpected. Conversely, there were high hopes placed on a strong show of solidarity from the Eurocommunists. Today it is a matter of dispute whether any such school of thought existed(47), but as correspondence of the Bahro Defence Committee in Berlin reveals, great importance was attached at the time to the tentative signs of greater independence amongst the West European Communist Parties. This is clear from Steinke's appeal to persuade Lombardo-Radice of the Italian Communist Party to become a signatory of the petition demanding Bahro's release:

"Bitte bedenke jedoch, daß die Wirksamkeit unseres Appells erheblich an Gewicht verliert, wenn nicht zumindest einige Genossen der PCI (drei oder vier) ihn mit unterschreiben würden." (48)

Although the petition itself was a particular case, which many objected to because of the nature of its wording(49), the reaction from the Eurocommunist parties as a whole was mixed, indicative itself perhaps of the movement's lack of homogeneity. Steinke, for example, is forthright in his criticism of what he sees as the non-committal approach of the Eurocommunists:

"Die Eurokommunisten wollen weder Fisch noch Fleisch sein... Hier müssen sie sich schon entscheiden, ob sie mit denen zusammengehen wollen, die für ähnliche Positionen wie die eurokommunistischen heute in den Gefängnissen und Lagern der DDR, CSSR, der SU und anderswo sitzen, oder mit denen, die den Eurokommunismus politisch bekämpfen und im eigenen Lande mit Gewalt unterdrücken." (50)

However, Steinke seems to expect too much of the Eurocommunists, judging them purely in terms of whether or not they voice criticism of the regimes in Eastern Europe. This clearly demonstrates a failure to appreciate the developments within the West European Communist Parties. The 1976 Conference of Communist Parties, held in East Berlin, had, for example, underlined that despite all ideological differences, the parties in Western Europe still sought to maintain relations with their counterparts in the East. Whilst Steinke makes the issue of solidarity with Bahro a benchmark against which to measure the integrity of the Eurocommunists, Rabehl is less dismissive of their response, arguing that actions such as the readiness of Bolaffi, the PCI's delegate at the Berlin Congress, to sign the Congress final resolution, offered a clear signal of the party's concern to the respective leaderships in Moscow and East Berlin. (51)

Furthermore, the notable absence of any official Eurocommunist presence at the Berlin Congress (Bolaffi of the PCI being the only official representative of any of the parties) should not detract from their response elsewhere. Santiago Carillo, head of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), for example, attacked Bahro's imprisonment, arguing that it illustrated well the diverging views on socialism held in the parties of Eastern and Western Europe. (52) Equally, there were expressions of solidarity from Althusser and Elleinstein of the French Communist Party (53), although the party as a whole sought to distance itself from the particular debate in Germany, as the Stuttgarter Nachrichten reports: "Überhaupt sind der KPF-Führung 'zu viele Militante' der linken Szene dabei; etwa Rudi Dutschke und Ernest

Mandel." (54) One of the most critical voices from the Eurocommunist spectrum was that of Lombardo-Radice of the PCI:

"Der Fehler unserer Bewegung und auch mein persönlicher Fehler vor 25 Jahren war, daß wir unsere Strategie zum Sozialismus durch Demokratie entwickelten, aber in der selben Zeit über die autoritären Maßnahmen in der Sowjetunion schwiegen. Man muß sagen, was man im Kopf hat. Man muß sagen, daß es ein Skandal ist, daß Robert Havemann Hausarrest hat und daß Rudolf Bahro in Haft ist und daß das ein Schaden für den Sozialismus ist." (55)

The reluctance on the part of the Eurocommunist parties, in contrast to the readiness of their individual members, to speak out against Bahro's fate, demonstrates some of the tensions within the Eurocommunist movement. However, despite the lack of a unified approach on the issue of political repression in Eastern Europe, the assessment by Steinke/Süß/Wolter seems somewhat excessive in its criticism:

"... es waren immerhin dieselben heutigen eurokommunistischen Parteien, die entweder aktiv (wie die spanische) oder mehr unterstützend, wie die anderen, an der Unterdrückung, Verfolgung und gar Ermordung von Kritikern des offiziellen Kommunismus beteiligt waren, die nichts anderes als das gesagt haben, was sie selbst heute in abgeschwächter Form vortragen." (56)

This acerbic attitude is indicative more of an optimistic perception of developments in the West European Communist Parties than a realistic assessment of the motives behind the Eurocommunist movement.

By far the greatest response to Bahro's work was amongst the so-called New Left, the various autonomous and sectarian groupings which had emerged after the disintegration of the student and APO movements at the end of the 1960s. In contrast to the high hopes of achieving change which had characterized the 1960s, the 1970s saw this

initiative evaporate into a series of sectarian disputes, with groups such as the KPD-ML, KPD, KB, GIM and SB all contesting the claim to possess the true strategy for realizing socialism. By the latter half of the 1970s, many had come to recognize the futility of the political isolation in which they found themselves(57), and began to search for new paths. Bischoff describes the changing atmosphere in which the New Left found itself at this time as

"... eine Periode der ideologischen Umhütungen, des Abstreifens alter ideologischer Positionen und der Suche nach neuen Standorten im Spektrum des politischen Kräfteverhältnisses." (58)

This situation saw the autonomous Left searching for new ideas and approaches to overcome its isolation and political ineffectiveness. In such an atmosphere, the New Left proved particularly receptive to the strategies offered by Bahro. Bahro's Die Alternative appeared precisely at a time when the New Left was searching for an alternative to the existing paths to socialism offered by the reformist strategy of the SPD and 'actually existing socialism' in Eastern Europe. Bischoff, although himself critical of the reactionary utopian elements in Bahro's work, underlines this point:

"In dieses Vakuum stößt Rudolf Bahro mit seiner Utopie der einfachen gemütlichen Reproduktion, der Harmonie und der Entfaltung des heute bedrängten Individuums. Er trifft eine Stimmungslage, die durch Unsicherheit und Angst vor der ungewissen Zukunft bestimmt ist, und bietet ein Konzept an, das mit scheinbar einleuchtenden Gedanken die modernen Widersprüche erklären soll, unter Appel an die subjektive Empfindung den einfachen Ausweg, eine »Vision von gefühlsmäßiger Evidenz« aufzeigt." (59)

Bischoff gives the impression that Bahro's work was the chief impulse for these new developments within the Left, Die Alternative, as it were, presenting itself as decisive break with the past and promising

a new way forward. This would seem to credit Bahro's work with undue influence. Instead, as a PROKLA editorial suggests, Bahro's treatment of issues such as the division of labour, the patriarchal nature of society, the need for more 'human' technology and calls for limited growth touched upon areas to which the Left was already turning its attention. These were, the article submits, "... alles Themen, die, wenn auch aus DDR-Sicht geschrieben, im Grunde die neuen sozialen Tendenzen auch in Westeuropa aufgreifen." (60)

Viewed as an East German dissident, Bahro's fate did not differ markedly from previous opposition activists. Moreover, the ideas which Bahro presents in his thesis were, at least individually, by no means original, drawing as he does on a wide number of sources. Above all, therefore, the attention which Bahro received in West Germany, is best explained by the fact that elements of the Left were already predisposed to his theories. By reviving the humanist/utopian elements of the great classical socialist theorists to produce a synthesis of socialist thought, Bahro, unwittingly or not, managed to capture the spirit of the moment within the West German Left, which had found itself in an ideological and strategic cul-de-sac. (So up-to-date with Western ideas was Die Alternative, that some believed the work to be, on first sight, a text distributed by the 'Stasi' [61]). Thus, as Narr maintains, the value of Bahro's work was its ability to crystalize the domestic discussion within the Left, rather than as a means of delivering judgements on the future of the societies in Eastern Europe:

"... sehr wichtig erscheint mir, daß die westdeutsche Linke über die Diskussion des Buches von Bahro zur Diskussion dessen, was Sozialismus meint, selber kommt. Es geht ja nicht darum, daß wir sozusagen, Sozialismus exportieren oder daß wir uns überlegen, wie es in anderen Ländern gut oder besser aussehen könnte, sondern daß wir uns selber überlegen, was denn Sozialismus in diesen spätkapitalistischen Ländern à la Bundesrepublik oder anderwärts bedeuten könnte." (62)

Interpretations differ, of course, on the degree of success which the New Left was able to attain in this matter. Noack, for example, comments favourably on the influence of Bahro's work:

"Was die sogenannte Neue Linke, obschon sie das ja versucht, bisher nicht schaffte, scheint dem in der DDR inhaftierten Systemkritiker 'am realen Sozialismus' nun zu gelingen. Man setzt sich wieder zusammen - 'in seinem Geiste' - und redet. Wohl streitbar, wenngleich nicht aktionsungestüm, aber doch in einer Bandbreite, die überrascht." (63)

Again, this credits Bahro's work with perhaps too much influence. Moreover, it is a matter of dispute whether Bahro's work was able to remove some of the barriers to communication within the Left. The Berlin Bahro Committee's appraisal of the New Left's contribution to the Congress offers an insight into such obstacles:

"Der Bahro-Kongreß war zwar ein Kongreß, der von der radikalen Linken initiiert, vorbereitet und durchgeführt wurde. Insofern war er ein Kongreß der Neuen Linken. Er war aber zugleich auch kein Kongreß der Neuen Linken, weil diese ihn ziemlich links liegen gelassen hat. ... Die Unterstützung war ebenso halbherzig wie die Bekämpfung des Kongresses. Vielleicht war das ganz gut so. Denn die liebevolle Umarmung einiger Gruppen hätte uns die Arbeit sicher mehr erschwert als erleichtert." (64)

The aim of fostering a greater degree of unity, it seems, had definite limitations, as the number of disputes surrounding the Congress illustrated. Thus, under the title, Ein Kongress für und über die Einbindung der Linken durch die Sozialdemokratie, members of the 'Arbeitsgruppe 9' unreservedly attacked what it saw as the committee's weak stance vis à vis the SPD, protesting that it had succumbed to pressure from the EVA publishing house into accepting the participation of Fritz Vilmar. Vilmar, they insisted, was a "bekanntter DKP-Denunziant" and was obviously intent on subverting the

Congress with "reformsozialistische Ideen". (65) Further, they claimed the committee had bowed to the threat of the withdrawal of financial support from EVA publishers and had refrained from directing criticism at the SPD's Berufsverbot policy. (66) Although apparently trivial in themselves, such objections exemplify the sectarian nature of the Left and the fear of sacrificing long-held positions. As Peter Brandt observed, the reaction at times bordered almost on the hysterical:

"(Es handelt sich hier: G.S.) um die Generation von 1968, während viele jüngere antiautoritäre Sozialisten ('Spontis') nach wie vor nicht nur abgrundtiefes Mißtrauen, sondern auch panische Berührungsangst gegenüber Sozialdemokraten und Gewerkschaftsfunktionären verspüren." (67)

It was mainly such attitudes which served to obscure the discussion in West Germany with each grouping seeking to utilize the debate to promote its own particular cause and 'claim' Bahro for themselves. Steinke, of the Berlin Bahro committee, reaches this conclusion himself in his sober appraisal of the course which the process of solidarity has assumed:

"Das Berliner Bahro-Komitee kann sich heute nur auf eine geringe Unterstützung von aktiven Freunden in der BRD stützen. ... Viele wollen uns in unfruchtbare Diskussionen über neue 'strategische Orientierungen' zwingen oder uns für ihre spezielle 'Hauslinie' benutzen. Aus dieser Situation müssen wir schlußfolgern, daß in der BRD-Linken eine offene Diskussion über 'Die Alternative' nicht mehr möglich ist." (68)

Nonetheless, the Berlin Bahro Defence Committee, although a far from homogeneous mix of Trotskyists, Maoists and members of the GIM (Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten) was itself guilty of seeking to pursue its own objectives through the Bahro affair. Despite dismissing accusations of being subject to SPD manipulation, Steinke does concede

that entering a dialogue with the forces from the traditional Left was one of the aims behind the Congress:

"Seine Thesen (Bahro's:G.S.) hielten wir für besonders geeignet, die Eurokommunisten und die Sozialdemokraten in eine Auseinandersetzung über die Verhältnisse im »real existierenden Sozialismus« einzubeziehen, weil er sich an bestimmten Stellen explizit an sie wendet." (69)

Thus, there were unmistakable strategic concerns at stake in the debate surrounding Bahro's theses. This was especially evident in the controversy which developed around the response of the so-called 'Marburg School'.

The Marburg controversy was a prime example of the way in which the development of a theoretical discussion on Bahro's work was hindered by the factional in-fighting of the Left. In this, scoring points against one's political enemies assumed a higher importance than any true debate on the arguments put forward by Bahro. This controversy centred on an article in the journal Das Argument by the Professor of Political Science at Marburg, Wolfgang Abendroth, in which he criticized Bahro's imprisonment, but only on the grounds of the damaging effect this would have on the image of the GDR abroad, arguing that this would undermine the work of those who sympathized with East Germany in the West. (70) Abendroth's article provoked considerable criticism, most notably from the SPD member, Peter von Oertzen, who lambasted Abendroth's position as being "...unvereinbar mit den Grundsätzen der Demokratie und den Zielen des Sozialismus." (71) Reporting on the debacle, the Süddeutsche Zeitung commented:

"So heftig und deutlich ist der Nestor der *Marburger Schule*, die Leitfigur marxistischer Politikwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik noch nie aus dem Lager der Linken kritisiert worden. Peter von Oertzen hat ein Sakrileg begangen." (72)

Although the Bahro Defence Committee distanced itself from the severity of von Oertzen's attack, it is evident that his views did indeed strike a chord with some members of the committee. Indeed, it would be fair to say that by the summer of 1979, the campaign of solidarity had long since ceased to be one in which discussion of Bahro's work and fate took precedence. Instead, it had degenerated into a series of tactical manoeuvres between members of the New Left and the traditionally pro-GDR parties, the DKP and SEW. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Bahro Committee's decision to organize a second Bahro congress on the anniversary of Bahro's sentencing in Marburg itself on 30th June 1979. One observer confirms the low state of affairs at this time:

"... in Marburg wurde die neue Tendenz zur Entsolidarisierung in einem Umfange deutlich, wie es nicht einmal die schlimmsten Pessimisten erwartet hätten." (73)

Certainly, the long period of activity could explain the weariness with the theme of Bahro which the Committee encountered. In other quarters doubts were expressed about involvement in what was viewed as an internal factional dispute between the Bahro Committee and the Marburg School. Thus, the Committee found itself having to refute claims that its sole objective was conceived as an "antikommunistische Hetzkampagne" (74), as well as accusations of pursuing, "innerlinke Abgrenzungsstrategien" (75). In sum, one critic submitted, the Committee's decision to tackle the DKP allowed just one conclusion:

"Solidarität mit Bahro bedeutet nicht nur Eintreten für Freilassung etc., sondern die offene Auseinandersetzung mit politischen Kräften, die Solidarität verweigern." (76)

Steinke was swift to dismiss these suggestions, insisting that despite condemning attitudes such as Abendroth's, the Committee was still interested in opening a dialogue with members of the DKP. (77) Nonetheless, Steinke concedes privately (78) that one aim at this time was indeed to highlight the unequivocal stance which the DKP/SEW had

adopted in favour of the action taken by the authorities against Bahro. Although sensitive to the accusation of pursuing an anti-communist campaign, the position the Bahro Committee adopted against the DKP and its allies can be understood in the context of a desire by elements of the New Left to gain a higher profile for their own position. This involved emphasizing the distinctions which existed vis à vis the traditional long-standing communist forces in the Federal Republic, who had long come to be considered as having adopted an uncritical stance towards oppression in the GDR. In view of the specific difficulties which the SED was encountering in the 1970s, at least one means of distinguishing a new identity from that of the 'traditional communist Left' (and also the SPD) was on the issue of 'real existierender Sozialismus'. As a goal for which to aim, the systems of Eastern Europe had long ceased to hold any attraction and had consequently proved to be an electoral burden to the autonomous groups of the Left. Drawing attention to the discontent with the way in which the Committee sought to misuse the Congress for its own ends, one critic explains the absence of many sections of the Left thus:

"Vielmehr lag es wohl daran, daß einige der Initiatoren Bahro zum Vehikel einer ganz spezifischen Strategie machen wollten, die sich auf den Nenner bringen läßt: Linke Politik ist permanentes Osteuropa-Komitee. Aufnahmeprüfung: Wie hältst du's mit dem Bahro-Kongreß?" (79)

It would be false to suggest that the Bahro affair represented a decisive turning point within the New Left. However, the case well illustrates the tensions and developments in the Left at this stage, in particular some of the issues through which elements of the New Left sought to determine a new identity for themselves. As a whole, the reaction to the appearance of Die Alternative in the Federal Republic was characterized by this tendency to see Bahro's work as a means to an end and a vindication of existing viewpoints. The unprecedented amount of interest and solidarity expressed for Bahro's work cannot solely be attributed to the fate which befell the author, nor to the actual content of his critique of 'actually existing

socialism', but was for the most part due to the prevailing mood within the Left at this time. The appearance of Die Alternative coincided with a period in which the autonomous groups of the Left were undergoing a process of critical self-reflection and also realignment. As part of this process, Bahro's work is grasped as evidence of the strength of socialist theory and its potential for change. As Altvater states, it is not so much the fact that Bahro himself offers any answers, but rather that he poses the questions necessary for the development of future socialist strategies:

"Überhaupt kann man hier anmerken, daß Bahros »Alternative« nicht wegen ihrer Originalität ihre wissenschaftliche und politische Bedeutung erhalten hat, sondern weil in ihr zum Teil vergessene, zum Teil verschüttete, zum Teil erneut wieder aktuell gewordene Fragestellungen sozialistischer Strategie aufgeworfen und sozusagen zu einer gesellschaftlichen Gesamtschau »synthetisiert« wurden. (80)

The fascination with Bahro's work in the West German Left, therefore, stemmed primarily from a renewed concern to reassess fundamental aspects of its strategy. In a relatively short period of time this search for identity became entwined with the development of a new political force in the Federal Republic in the shape of the Greens. Thus, once the particular political constellation changed, which had been originally so conducive to the debate, interest diminished in Bahro's work in respect of its relevance to the situation in the West. It is as a standard critique of the GDR that Die Alternative now gains most recognition, in other words for the role in which it was originally received, and not as a stimulus for a grand revision of socialist principles, which it had become for many in the Left during the late 1970s.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR - PART TWO

1. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987. p.9.
2. "Das trifft den Parteiapparat ins Herz." in: Der Spiegel. No.35 1977. pp.30-32. Reproduced in: Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. pp.76-81. (main text henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation.)
3. Peter Lübke: Der staatlich etablierte Sozialismus. Hoffmann & Campe Verlag, Hamburg 1975.
4. Rudolf Bahro: The Alternative in Eastern Europe. Trans. D. Fernbach. NLB & Verso Editions, London 1978. Fernbach makes heavy weather of what is admittedly a difficult text often resorting to meaningless word for word translations. See for example p.273.; p.276.; p.285.; p.304.
5. Rudolf Bahro: Selbstinterview. in: Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.57.; Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. pp.9-10. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
6. Der Spiegel. No.35 1977. p.30. (Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.76.)
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.* (Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.77.)
9. Rudolf Bahro: Interviewed in » Kennzeichen D« (ZDF, 23.8.77) in: Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.100.
10. Peter Pragal: Mit einem Buch das Visier hochgeklappt. in: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 24.8.77 (Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.101.)
11. *ibid.* (Rudolf Bahro: Eine Dokumentation. p.103)
12. Heinz Brandt: Die Alternative, die aus dem Kerker kam. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. No.40. 18.2.78. (henceforward referred to as Heinz Brandt.)
13. *ibid.*

14. Heinz Brandt: Die Alternative, die aus dem Kerker kam. in the complete version in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros (eds.): Sein Lied geht um die Welt. Eigendruck des Komitees, Berlin 1979. p.12. (main text henceforward referred to as Komitee: Sein Lied.)
15. The Venice Conference: Ein Appel für den in Ostdeutschland gefangenen Rudolph (sic.) Bahro. in: Manifesto. 15.11.77.
16. See: Frankfurter Neue Presse. 18.11.78. and Bremer Nachrichten. 21.11.78. respectively.
17. Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros (eds.): Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro. p.11. (henceforward referred to as Komitee: Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro.)
18. Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros (eds.): Umbruch in Osteuropa - Die sozialistische Alternative. Berlin 1978, p.1. (henceforward referred to as Komitee: Umbruch in Osteuropa.)
19. Joachim Nawrocki: Bahro-Kongreß: Die Linke bleibt in sich zerstritten. in: Die Zeit. No.48 24.11.78. p.8.
20. Günther Maschke: Die radikale Linke entwickelt die Meinungsfreiheit. in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 20.11.78.
21. Komitee: Umbruch in Osteuropa. p.1.
22. Resolutions from a number of local SPD branches protesting at Bahro's imprisonment were lodged with the Bahro Committee in Berlin, including Berlin Wilmersdorf, Bochum, Dusseldorf and Heilbronn. Additionally, Die Falken (Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands) and the Abteilung Jugend des DGB sent resolutions condemning the measures against Bahro.
23. Claus Preller: Nur die Kampfmontor der Linken war einheitlich. in: Hannover Allgemeine. 20.11.78.
24. Noted in Hans-Ulrich Kersten: Konsens wollte nicht aufkommen. in: Bremer Nachrichten. 21.11.78.; For Brandt's letter see: Komitee: Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro. p.1.
25. Peter von Oertzen: Die SPD als ganzes schweigt vornehm. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 5.7.78.
26. Cited in Wolfgang Pliischke: SPD zum Eintreten für Rudolf Bahro aufgerufen. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 13.5.78. p.5.
27. Rolf Berger: Sprachlosigkeit ist keine Antwort. in: Vorwärts.

- No.45 9.11.78. p.11.
28. Heinz Brandt.
 29. Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros: Abschlußresolution. in: Komitee: Sein Lied. p.100.
 30. Ernst Elitz: An Bahro scheiden sich die linken Geister. in: Vorwärts. 30.11.78.
 31. *ibid.*
 32. See below pp.240ff.
 33. Peter Brandt: Der Berliner 'Bahro-Kongreß'. in: Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte. No.4 1979. p.244. (henceforward referred to as Peter Brandt.)
 34. *ibid.*
 35. See Hendrik Bussiek: Praktische Politik im Jahre Fünf. in: Vorwärts. No.46 16.11.78. p.3.
 36. Jakob Moneta: Die über Bahro schweigen. in: Ulf Wolter(ed.): Antworten auf Bahro. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1979. p.14.
 37. Willy Brandt: Correspondence to Tomas Kosta. in: Komitee: Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro. p.1.
 38. See: Guntolf Herzberg: Wann wir streiten seit' an seit'... Bemerkungen zum gemeinsamen Papier von SPD und SED. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.6. 1988. pp.606-612.; Note also the SPD's problems with regard to reform in the GDR. See: Ratlosigkeit in Ost und West. in: Der Spiegel. No.38 1989. pp.14-17.
 39. Peter Brandt. p.244.
 40. Noted in: Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros: Chronik der Solidarität. in: Komitee: Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro. p.10.
 41. Bernd Rabehl: Nachtragendes zum Bahro-Kongreß. in: Langer Marsch. No.39 1978. p.6. (henceforward referred to as Rabehl.)
 42. Rudolf Steinke, Walter Süß and Ulf Wolter: Sein Lied geht um die Welt. in: Kritik. No.19. 1978. p.45. (henceforward referred to as Steinke, Süß and Wolter: Kritik.)
 43. Rabehl. p.6.
 44. Fred Klinger: Konzept einer Bahro-Solidaritätskampagne in den Gewerkschaften. Papers of the Komitee für die Freilassung

- Rudolf Bahros, Berlin.
45. Rabehl. p.6.
 46. Herbert Marcuse: Protosozialismus und Spätkapitalismus. in: Kritik. No.19. 1978. pp.5-27.
 47. See for example: Michael J. Sodaro: Whatever happened to Eurocommunism? in: Problems of Communism. Vol.33. 1984. pp.59-65.; Philip Eliot and Philip Schlesinger: Eurocommunism: Their word or ours? in: David Childs(ed.): The changing face of Western Communism. Croom Helm, London 1980. pp.38ff.
 48. Rudolf Steinke: Correspondence with Lucio Lombardo-Radice 23.3.79. Papers of the Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros, Berlin.
 49. Some 'personalities' within the socialist/emigré scene refused to sign the petition, including Jürgen Fuchs and Erich Fried. The 'Appel' was directed at the 'Staatsrat der DDR' calling for a general amnesty for all political prisoners. It was this appeal for a general amnesty which reportedly provoked Fried to withdraw his signature. in: Correspondence of Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros, Berlin: Rudolf Steinke to Erich Fried. 19.3.79. In a letter to Günther Minnerup, Steinke writes: "Zur Frage des Appells... Die Sache ist in der BRD sehr schlecht gelaufen."
 50. Steinke, Süß and Wolter: Kritik. p.49.
 51. Rabehl. p.5.
 52. Santiago Carillo: Interview in »Kennzeichen D« (ZDF 23.2.1978). Reported in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 24.2.78. Reproduced in: Bahro als Beispiel. Auswahl interessanter Pressestimmen aus der IPS (Internationalen Presseschau, Vienna). Kurt Winterstein, Vienna 1978.
 53. For mention of the response of the PCF see: Hannover Allgemeine. 20.11.78.; Die KPF und der Bahro-Kongreß. in: Arbeiterkampf. 11.12.78.
 54. Renate Marbach: Der Kongreß will keinen Krach. in: Stuttgarter Nachrichten. 18.11.78.
 55. Lucio Lombardo-Radice: Der Fehler unserer Bewegung war, daß wir geschwiegen haben. in: Die Tageszeitung. 11.7.79.

56. Steinke, Süß and Wolter: Kritik. p.48.
57. See for example: Joschka Fischer: Von grüner Kraft und Herrlichkeit. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1984. p.92.; See also below pp.262ff.
58. Joachim Bischoff: Bahro - eine Alternative? in: Beiträge zum wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus. No.1 1978. p.37.
59. *ibid.* p.38.
60. Was heißt Krise des Marxismus? in: Prokla. No.36. 1979. p.4.
61. Rudi Dutschke: Sie sind ein Schurke, Herr V.! in: das da. No.12. 1978. p.20.
62. Wolf-Dieter Narr: Rudolf Bahros Bedeutung für die westliche Linke. (Broadcast on SFB & Radio Bremen 28.7.79) Reproduced in: Komitee: Sein Lied. p.42.
63. Hans-Joachim Noack: Über Rudolf Bahro, Schicksal und Chance. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 20.11.78.
64. Steinke, Süß and Wolter: Kritik. p.51.
65. Members of Arbeitsgruppe 9 in: Radikal. 24.11.78. (henceforward referred to as Arbeitsgruppe 9.; Similar accusations were voiced in: Bahro-Kongreß: Ein Erfolg? in: Spartacus. No.49. 1978. p.10.
66. Arbeitsgruppe 9.
67. Peter Brandt. p.244.
68. Rudolf Steinke: in: Komitee: Sein Lied. p.6.
69. Rudolf Steinke: Stellungnahme zu den Artikeln in Radikal. Photostat copy of papers of the Berlin Bahro Committee.
70. Wolfgang Abendroth: Weder Strategie noch - insgesamt - richtige Analyse, aber eine wichtige Quelle zum Problem des gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsstadiums des realen Sozialismus. in: Das Argument. No.107. 1978. pp.60-66.
71. Peter von Oertzen: cited in: Avanti. No.8/9. 1979. p.12.
72. Peter Diehl-Thiele: Am inhaftierten Rudolf Bahro scheiden sich die Geister. in: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 3.7.79.
73. Wolfgang Röhl: Warum der zweite Bahro-Kongreß ein Debakel wurde. in: Avanti. No.8/9. 1979.
74. Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros: Press release, June 1979.

75. Andreas Wehr: Leserbrief: Unverfrorenheit. in: Die Neue.
5.7.79.
76. *ibid.*
77. Komitee für die Freilassung Rudolf Bahros: Solidarität in
Marburg - Warum? in: Komitee: Freiheit für Rudolf Bahro, p.2.
78. Rudolf Steinke: Interviewed by G.W. Smith. Berlin 22.7.88.
79. Hermann L. Gremliza: Linke Politik mit Bahro? in: Konkret.
No.1. 1979. p.12.
80. Elmar Altvater: Linke Politik mit Bahro? in: Konkret. No.1.
1979. p.10.

CHAPTER FIVE - RUDOLF BAHRO IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

In October 1979, under a general amnesty to mark the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, Rudolf Bahro was finally released after two years in custody to an expectant, but nonetheless critical audience in the West. Whether this move was influenced by the sizeable campaign for his release in the West is debatable. Steinke, a leading member of the Berlin solidarity group, asserts that the Bahro affair had become "ein außenpolitischer Faktor für die DDR" (1) but concedes that his committee's activities were just one factor amongst many determining Bahro's release. It is likely, as Bahro himself records, that the East German authorities were all too willing to pursue the path adopted with previous opponents and allow Bahro to leave shortly after the appearance of Die Alternative in 1977. (2) The decision to leave, Bahro states, was prompted by the desire to allow a more objective appraisal of his critique, free from any association with the negative images created by his imprisonment. (3) Yet, this motive did not meet with approval in all quarters, with the respected opposition figure Robert Havemann proving severely critical. (4) Although generally welcomed by those who had fought for his release, Bahro's arrival in the West caused discomfort in some circles, as a result of his firm refusal to be exploited in the propaganda war against the GDR, and his insistence that his criticism was never conceived as an attack on the GDR *per se*. (5)

Bahro states that the transition from life in the East to the West was much as he anticipated and largely trouble-free. (6) The energy and fervour with which he threw himself into the political debate in his new surroundings would certainly seem to confirm this. Apparently thriving on the publicity which accompanied his release, Bahro embarked on a frenetic series of interviews and lectures, delivering his message to audiences across the Federal Republic with almost missionary zeal. From the start, his career in the West was notable for its capacity to stir controversy in many quarters, with the former GDR dissident proving himself to be equally outspoken on a variety of

issues of contemporary importance in his new environment. In view of the firm commitment to the communist cause which his critique of the East European regimes demonstrated, Bahro's decision to become an active member of the Green movement, and shortly thereafter of the newly formed Green Party, could be regarded as a radical turning point in his career. Yet, closer analysis of the positions Bahro adopts in the West reveals a high degree of continuity with those at the heart of Die Alternative.

Bahro's theories, although rarely representative of more than a minority in the Greens, to say nothing of West German society as a whole, do, nonetheless, shed valuable light on a number of significant developments in the political culture of West Germany in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Yet, despite the fact that a surprisingly large amount of Bahro's speeches and writings from this period has found its way into English(7), there has been, hitherto, little attempt to assess or interpret this work and the context in which it arose. The following, therefore, constitutes the first comprehensive evaluation this period of Bahro's career, concentrating first and foremost on an understanding of the motives which inspired Bahro to become a Green in the widest sense of the word and on the policies which he sought to pursue. In this respect, Bahro's position offers a valuable vantage point, throwing into sharp relief some of the most important debates in the development of the Green Party. In the light of the party's later development, it is useful to determine the extent of support which Bahro's programme received. Fundamental to any such assessment, moreover, is the need to ascertain the extent to which his later resignation from the Green Party was the product of a revision of his own fundamentalist position or, whether, instead, it reflects more far-reaching developments within the party itself. The answers to such questions, furthermore, provide a useful insight into the degree of continuity in Bahro's work following his transition from East to West.

CHAPTER FIVE: PART ONE - ECOLOGICAL
HUMANISM: A NEW DIMENSION OF SOCIALISM?

Bahro's arrival in West Germany coincided with a phase of considerable upheaval and new developments in the Republic's political landscape, most notably in the shape of the realignment of forces to the Left of the SPD. The most obvious result of these changes was the formation in early 1980 of the Green Party, which at the second attempt, in 1983, succeeded in becoming the first new party to be established at federal level since the founding years of the Republic. The emergence of the Green Party was a process in which Bahro played little part, his involvement occurring at a time when the formation of the party already had gained a strong momentum, as has been well documented elsewhere. (8) The significance of Bahro's role in the Greens derives rather from the high profile which he adopted in the subsequent development of the party in its formative years. In the transformation of the Greens from an essentially conservative environmental *movement* to a left-of-centre socialist party, Bahro plays a crucial role in highlighting the need for the radical Left to engage in the ecological debate and abandon its reluctance to participate in the formation of the new party. In the process, it is clear that Bahro adopts a standpoint which is often at odds with a variety of groupings within the new party, suggesting that his ultimate withdrawal was always possible, but never inevitable.

In view of the reputation he acquired as a committed Communist in the East, Bahro's participation in Green politics surprised some, who anticipated that his role in the West would be that of an independent left-wing thinker. His hasty decision to join the Greens drew particular criticism:

"(Bahro:G.S.) hat damit nicht nur demonstrativ seine parteipolitische Unabhängigkeit geopfert, sondern auch mitgeholfen, die Voraussetzungen für die Kooperation parlamentarischer ... Kräfte mit den außerparlamentarischen

Reformbewegungen ... zugunsten einer zweifelhaften Aussicht auf eigenständige parlamentarische Erfolge der Grünen außerhalb der SPD zu verschlechtern." (9)

Such reactions are not only indicative of the surprise at Bahro's decision but express also the sense of betrayal at the way in which the former dissident so openly attacked the Left in his new domicile; the radical Left, especially, had good cause to feel uneasy at Bahro's arrival, as is shown below. Moreover, there were those who, even at the first indications of Bahro's likely involvement in the Greens, were doubtful as to the likelihood of his success in the West. Following one of his first speeches here, one commentator concluded:

"Ein bißchen Herbert Marcuse, vielleicht gar ein Dubcek, auf jeden Fall aber auch Paulus - fragt sich nur, ob sich das durchhalten läßt." (10)

Bahro now confirms such doubts when he concedes that his initial eagerness to become politically involved led him to misjudge the situation that awaited him. Yet, his self-criticism is significantly limited chiefly to matters of organization, since he remains largely committed to the programme which he advocated at this time. Far from representing a radical departure from the views he penned in Die Alternative, it was apparent from the start that the Greens, for Bahro, represented the model of the 'Bund der Kommunisten' which he postulated for the future development of socialist society. (11) Indeed, following his arrival in the West, Bahro was forthright in his defence of the concept of the party as an ideological avant-garde:

"The party that I am counterposing to the masses is not the apparatus, but the party as an ideological process. That remains, and that you can criticize. It is the party in the role that it wanted to play originally..." (12)

This interpretation of the party as an 'educator' and source of moral leadership is one which permeates Bahro's vision of the Green Party in

its early days. With its alternative policies and promise of creating a new society, based on the principles of 'ökologisch - sozial - basis-demokratisch - gewaltfrei' (13), Bahro perceives the birth of the new party as the beginnings of a radical new social breakthrough, along the lines he suggested in Die Alternative.

Certainly, it is doubtful whether the established parties could have offered a suitable refuge for Bahro; Die Alternative bristles with criticism of the SPD, the Trotskyist and Eurocommunist traditions. Yet, whilst the Green Party did embody several of the hopes which Bahro attached to it, it is apparent that, in his eagerness to participate, Bahro essentially misunderstood those processes at work at this time.

The complex nature of the tactical and theoretical questions which arose during the first phase of the formation of the Green Party are well demonstrated by Bahro's stance at this time. This has led one author, at least, to misjudge Bahro's position. On the basis of the broad frame of reference which he employs, ranging from Marx and Luxemburg to Buddha and Christ, Marten concludes that Bahro,

"... mit seinen politisch-grünen Parteiforderungen längst das linke Spektrum verlassen hat, sich zur gesellschaftlichen Mitte hin orientiert..." (14)

Undoubtedly, Bahro's statements do contain an appeal to the centre ground, and even the Right, but Marten overstates things in suggesting that Bahro has sacrificed his commitment to socialism. On the one hand, the broad sweep of Bahro's vision is undeniable. At the Offenbach Conference (3rd and 4th November 1979), a prelude to the formation of the Greens as a party, Bahro insists that the Greens should resist the tendency to become a sect of environmentalists. They should identify themselves as being more than just an 'Ein-Punkt-bewegung' (one issue movement), and instead direct their message at a broad cross-section of society:

"... wir müssen versuchen, all das in einer Bewegung zusammenzuführen, was in die Richtung unseres Zieles strebt, diese Zivilisation und die Weltzivilisation überhaupt zu retten sowie die allgemeine Emanzipation des Menschen - Mann und Frau - voranzubringen." (15)

Offering an early indication of his future advocacy of a 'spiritual' content in politics, Bahro reasons that the Greens would miss a great opportunity to become a broadly based movement if they ignored the potential in combining with committed Christians. Bahro presents the Church to the ecology movement as one of the earliest examples of the type of moral and spiritual renewal which the Greens should emulate:

"Die engagierten Christen nehmen in allen für das Überleben der Menschheit heute entscheidenden Fragen die richtige Haltung, die richtige Position ein. Aber sie haben den moralischen Appel und keine politische Organisation. Die brauchen sie und deshalb brauchen sie uns." (16)

The underlying motive behind Bahro's appeal for the Greens to become a broader church is conditioned by his resolute determination to ensure that the Left does not miss the opportunity presented by the formation of the new party. To clarify this point, the origins of this new political force must be borne in mind. On the one hand, therefore, the accelerated break up of many groups on the far left was significant once the party was virtually established, but the Green Party owes its origins in the first place to the 'Bürgerinitiativen' (citizens' action groups). As a broad generalization, these groups were predominantly conservative in their outlook, a tendency reflected in the formation of the first local ecology parties, such as the Grüne Liste Umweltschutz (GLU) in Lower Saxony and the Grüne Liste Schleswig-Holstein (GLSH). (17)

Bahro's vision of the Greens as a party in which disparate strands of the political spectrum could unite proved illusory almost from the start. Again, this demonstrates his misreading of the new situation

he encountered in the West. In the formation of the new party, Bahro detects the seeds of a change of consciousness in all sections of society. This tends to exaggerate the less idealistic nature of the process which is actually under way. In this respect, Hallensleben provides a more accurate assessment of the situation when she suggests that the formation of the Greens as a party was a reflection less of any ideological breakthrough, but rather of a pragmatic, organizational convergence of various forces. The departure of leading conservatives such as Springmann and Gruhl at the Saarbrücken policy-making conference in March 1980 soon gave confirmation of this:

"Nur zeigte sich zwei Monate später am Saarbrücker Programm der Partei deutlich, daß linke Positionen aufgenommen worden waren, die die grüne Basis nicht nachvollziehen konnte, eventuell aus Zeitmangel nicht einmal diskutiert hatte." (18)

Yet, this relatively quick integration of socialist forces into the Green Party belies the complexity of the debate surrounding the response of the Left to the new party. Here, too, it is clear that Bahro misunderstands the mood of the Left.

There is little doubt that, in his own terms, Bahro feels his strategy adheres to the broad traditions of socialism. This much is clear from his speech at Offenbach, where Bahro is emphatic that, although the new movement must recruit from, and direct its appeal to all reaches of the political spectrum, it will be firmly anchored in the socialist movement:

"Diese Konzentration scheint mir nicht denkbar ohne die verschiedenen Kräfte sozialistischer Tradition in der Mitte eines solchen Blocks." (19)

Nonetheless, Bahro is careful to demarcate his position as that of a 'Kommunist' as distinct from that of a 'Marxist'. (20) Correspondingly, as the content of Die Alternative revealed, this distinction finds its expression in the form of a strict renunciation of dogmatic

socialist theory, a response he feels to be widespread. The ecology debate, therefore, is taken as evidence that a consensus is emerging in the socialist movement to a degree unparalleled since German social democrats were united in producing the Erfurt Programme:

"Wir kommen wieder dort hin, wo die europäischen Sozialisten 1890 waren. ... Ganz schlicht, denn meine Perspektive ist sowieso Wiedervereinigung aller sozialistischen Strömungen." (21)

Bahro omits to investigate the background to this short-lived period of unity in the workers' movement and its essentially defensive nature. Moreover, Bahro himself is uncertain as to how best to restore such unity. In his first interview in the West he concedes that he has entertained the possibility of establishing a separate socialist grouping as a partner to the SPD. (22) In recognition, perhaps, of the strong socialist element which comes to join the Greens, Bahro swiftly alters this view and firmly denounces any efforts directed at the formation of a distinct socialist alternative party:

"Eine linkssozialistische Partei wäre nichts als eine Ergänzung des bestehenden Parteispektrums, stünde auf dem Boden seiner insgesamt veralteten Struktur. Sie würde auf der anderen Seite eine konservative Ökologenpartei zur Folge haben, die gleichfalls viel mehr im bestehenden System steckenbliebe." (23)

Indeed, it is clear that Bahro's attitude to the Left is inextricably linked to the exigencies of developments surrounding the formation of the party. The tenor of Bahro's Offenbach speech, for example, is notable for its emphasis on the need for the socialist movement to become an active participant in the ecology debate. In contrast, at the founding conference of the Green Party in Karlsruhe two months later, a slight shift of emphasis can be detected. Here, Bahro's stance is notable for the stress which he places on the ecology

movement as a unique force in its own right, one which transcends traditional allegiances:

"Es wäre unzutreffend, anzunehmen, hier stünden sich Rot und Grün gegenüber. Da gibt es Rote bzw. Linke, die die Priorität der ökologischen Herausforderung begriffen haben und damit zugleich echte Grüne sind. Und da gibt es Menschen aus allen anderen Linien des politischen Spektrums bis hin nach sehr weit rechts, die ebenfalls die Priorität der ökologischen Herausforderung begriffen haben. Grün ist das Dritte, ist das Bindeglied." (24)

This shift of ground perhaps indicates Bahro's own increased commitment to the new party; indeed, at Karlsruhe he announces his decision to join the Green Party. The changing circumstances surrounding the party's birth were, however, instrumental in causing this change. By the time of the Karlsruhe conference, the conflict between the largely conservative groupings such as the GLU and GLSH, and those elements of the Radical Left such as the KB and KPD for control of the party were coming to a head. Thus, whilst at Offenbach Bahro is keen to ensure a socialist presence within the party, at Karlsruhe he finds it necessary to assuage the fears of those on the right concerning the threat from the Left.

A further, more significant shift in Bahro's position is evident in another debate central to the emergence of the new party. The issue of 'dual membership' caused considerable divisions between those who sought to maintain the party as a grouping open to those of any political colour, and those who insisted membership of the new party necessarily entailed the renunciation of allegiances to other parties. Apparently contradicting his efforts to broaden the outlook of the party, Bahro joins those campaigning against the case for dual membership, directing his attack at the KB, whose dominance in the Hamburg section of the party was giving rise to the suspicion that they were subverting the party for their own ends:

"Die Grünen, darunter auch 'rote Grüne', darunter auch ich - deshalb habe ich Euch in Karlsruhe zur Auflösung Eurer Organisationen geraten - wollen nicht, daß Ihr als 'autonome' Blocks eintretet, als verschworene, extern einer anderen Disziplin verantwortliche Fraktionen." (25)

Bahro goes on to describe the policy of the KB and KPD as "falsch vom sozialistischen Standpunkt" (26) on the grounds of their sectarian approaches, and in a strong invective he concludes that these parties cannot be taken seriously. Such attacks on what should have been the natural constituency for his ideas contributed in no small measure to the isolation which came to characterize Bahro's position in the party in later years, and certainly Capra may be right that such outbursts caused confusion amongst many who saw Bahro as a potential ally. (27) On the other hand, Bahro's position is entirely consistent. It could hardly be expected that the author of Die Alternative would be prepared to exchange one form of dogmatic socialism for another, a point clearly signalled in his first speech at Offenbach:

"Wir erstreben nicht eine verbesserte, von einigen Abstrusitäten gereinigte Variante jenes 'real existierenden Sozialismus'. Das ist ein ganz anderes System, ebensoweit vom wirklichen Sozialismus entfernt wie die westliche Welt." (28)

Moreover, he is keen to dispel the criticism of such groups that he is advocating the exclusion of socialist standpoints from the new party. On the contrary, he believes that their strategies do more to disqualify themselves:

"Wer jetzt von Radikalenerlaß, Gesinnungsschnüffelei, Berufsverbotspraxis bei den Grünen spricht, spielt genau das falsche Spiel. ... Der trainiert die Ökologen anderer politischer Herkunft in Antikommunismus." (29)

Thus, Bahro is at pains to prevent the new party becoming an insignificant, sectarian grouping with little appeal to the electorate as a whole, insisting that it avoid previous errors of the radical Left. Indeed, far from advocating the exclusion of such groups, such statements are perhaps indicative less of the fear that the party will be undermined by radical left-wing parties than of the belief that their presence will tarnish the image of the Greens with the negative connotations associated with the brand of socialism on offer in Eastern Europe. Whether or not Bahro was simply concerned to conceal a communist element within the potentially more successful, and electable, Greens is difficult to assess. What is clear is that through such statements, Bahro alienates himself from a valuable source of support in the new party.

The isolated position which Bahro ultimately comes to hold is reinforced by the significant amount of energy he devotes in this period to issues fundamental to the existence of the radical Left, and on which he frequently opposes traditional standpoints. The success of his strategy, Bahro maintains, is dependent on overcoming the narrow sectarianism into which the Left dissolved following the era of student activism and 'Extra-parliamentary opposition' ('APO') in the late 1960s. The rigid adherence to particular positions and closed order secrecy characteristic of groups such as the KBW, KB and KPD should be forsaken in favour of a climate which fosters greater mutual tolerance and cooperation. Questions of organization, he argues, should give way to the priority of mutual dialogue between the various factions in order to achieve a unity resting not on an organizational, but rather an ideological convergence, best described in terms of "Einheit in der Vielfalt" (30)

The reality, however, appears to contradict Bahro's optimism. In contrast to the potential for ideological unity which Bahro detects, other observers have insisted that the birth of the Greens was the result of the recognition of the electoral opportunities presented by an alliance of these various forces. The decision of groups like the KPD to dissolve and merge with the new party occurred less on the

grounds of any perceived ideological agreements, but was conditioned by a recognition of the weakness of the splintered politics of the radical Left, and the insight that the Greens offered a unique opportunity to scale the otherwise insurmountable 5% hurdle, imposed as a constitutional safeguard against just such a proliferation of small parties. Schmid is adamant that strategic and electoral considerations were influential in determining the decision of some groups to join forces with the Greens:

"Vielleicht entstanden DIE GRÜNEN ja auch deshalb, weil die viel zitierten Neuen sozialen Bewegungen sich bewußt wurden, daß sie aus sich heraus nicht in der Lage sind, die Vielfalt der Interessen zu einem Entwurf zu bündeln. DIE GRÜNEN hätten dann den Auftrag, diese Vielfalt abzuwägen, zu bündeln und sie realpolitisch zu vermitteln." (31)

Fischer, from the Realo wing of the party, and a former 'Sponti' from the Frankfurt scene, confirms this when he draws a direct link between the sense of impotence experienced in the sectarian politics of the Left and the chance of gaining some political influence presented by the foundation of the Greens. (32) The discrepancy between Bahro's idealistic perception of the situation, and the more entrenched and sombre outlook of other actors in this period of realignment, moreover, is well illustrated by the contrasts between Bahro's radical interpretation of socialism in the form of 'ecological humanism' and the orthodoxy of traditional socialist positions.

The first months of Bahro's life in the West were punctuated by a whole series of speeches and statements in which he developed a concept embodied in the term 'ecological humanism'. (33) With its firm insistence on the need to subordinate many traditional features of socialist theory to the requirements of the ecological struggle, and a firm foundation in a utopian interpretation of Marxism with its intention of achieving the all-round emancipation of mankind, the concept of 'ecological humanism' draws strongly on those theories Bahro expounded in the final section of Die Alternative. (34) By the

same token, as was hinted at in the West German reception of his critique of the GDR, these theories were no more assured of a positive response in his new surroundings than they had been in his former homeland. (35)

'Ecological humanism' constitutes Bahro's effort to tailor socialism to the new reality presented by the threat of environmental disaster. In so doing, he constructs an all-embracing concept of socialism, which seeks to retain traditional elements of the socialist struggle but also to combine them with the new politics of ecology, the principles of the peace movement, imbuing the whole, although tentatively at this stage, with a new spiritual perspective. A central aim of 'ecological humanism', therefore, is to subject fundamental aspects of socialist theory to reappraisal. The recurrent theme in all Bahro's speeches of this period is that the Left in general has come too bound to a narrow interpretation of socialism, founded on concepts totally inappropriate to the contemporary situation:

"Der Sozialismus ist heute weit mehr und muß weit mehr sein als eine Arbeiter- und Gewerkschaftsbewegung überkommenen Stils. ... Wir können nicht länger so tun, als hinge von dem Ausgang der inneren Klassenkämpfe um den Reallohn und um die Frage, welche Partei den Staat vornehmlich kontrollieren soll, das allgemeine Schicksal ab." (36)

Fundamental to Bahro's strategy in the West is the belief that the transformation of society cannot be conducted on the basis of the traditional notion of class struggle. The fact that strict adherence to orthodox positions ultimately becomes reactionary is, in Bahro's view, confirmed by the socialist movement's reluctance to abandon theories of the class struggle formulated as a response to the conditions of the last century. Reiterating the controversial argument he expressed in Die Alternative, Bahro challenges Marx's belief that the worldwide overthrow of capitalism can occur on the basis of the interests of one class. (37) In view of the ecology

crisis, equating the interests of the metropolitan working class with those of humanity as a whole has become an untenable position. For Bahro, the Western working class enjoys a privileged lifestyle which it would prove disastrous for the oppressed in the Third World to emulate. His conclusion presents a damning indictment of the socialist movement; the proletariat, far from emancipating itself, has become integrated into the capitalist system:

"Wenn es heute etwas gibt, was tatsächlich den Namen einer Einpunktaktion verdient, so ist das der institutionalisierte und in letzter Instanz ganz und gar dem Gesamtprozess der kapitalistischen Reproduktion untergeordnete Tarifkampf." (38)

The negative reaction to the abandonment of the class struggle which greeted Die Alternative is repeated when he confirms the belief of those such as Marcuse in arguing a similar case in the West. Mandel dismisses the assertion that the workers have become integrated in the capitalist system. Although he concedes that the workers are integrated to the extent that their degree of dependency on the capitalist system inhibits greater revolutionary activity, Mandel asserts that this does not justify Bahro's pessimistic assessment of their capabilities:

"... das wirkliche Problem (ist: G.S.) nicht das, daß die Arbeiter aus ihrer Lebenserfahrung und aus ihren Lebensinteressen kein sozialistisches Bewußtsein haben können oder sich das sozialistische Ziel nicht als etwas permanent Erlebtes aneignen können; das können sie durchaus." (39)

Bahro, on the other hand, is adamant that revision of the concept of class struggle does not constitute a betrayal of the interests of the working class, but merely relativizes the issue instead: "(d)er Kampf um gerechte Verteilung innerhalb der reichen Länder muß nicht etwa aufgegeben, aber er muß neu eingeordnet werden." (40) But, such statements have themselves been dismissed as unspecific and meaning-

less.(41) Whilst the following shows that such criticism does have some justification, the broad scope of Bahro's vision cannot be denied, nor his conviction challenged that conventional struggles must cede precedence to the more pressing ecological crisis.

The material struggle for existence, Bahro controversially concludes, no longer constitutes the chief threat to the workers of the developed nations. The struggle for material well-being has now been superceded by the ecological crisis which poses an existential threat to millions. Bahro thus challenges a central tenet of Marxism, which postulates the downfall of capitalism as a result of its internal contradictions, relocating the dynamic instead to external factors. These factors can generally be subsumed under the broad concepts of the threats presented by the North-South conflict, the rivalry between East and West, and the imbalance that has occurred between man and nature.(42) Bahro reveals a sense of great historical vision in his interpretation of the current crisis as a turning point in the civilization of man. Thus, he sees considerable parallels between the current crisis and the example of the Roman Empire, highlighting the way in which its fall was determined by external contradictions, and significantly, the contributory role played by the Roman oppressed classes:

"Die berühmte Formel 'Brot und Spiele' hatte eine kolonialistische Konsequenz: man mußte das Getreide... die Gladiatoren, die Tiere und was weiß ich alles heranschaffen, um die parasitäre Metropole ruhig zu halten."(43)

In the same way that the Roman Empire came to grief because it was no longer able to sustain continual exploitation of its periphery, capitalism, Bahro submits, faces a similar problem today. However, in his bid to relativize the importance of the class struggle, Bahro arrives at an unnecessary distinction in insisting on the dominance of external over internal contradictions. Mandel, for example, insists that the North-South conflict is merely a natural extension of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system.(44) It is quite

possible to conclude that the interests of the workers are not of an explosive nature, without similarly having to insist that the internal contradictions of capitalism will no longer provide the spark for this. The merit of Bahro's theory, however, survives such objections by its worthy effort to heighten awareness of the immediacy of the ecological threat.

The critique which forms the substance of Bahro's concept of 'ecological humanism' contains two separate, but closely related strands. On the one hand, it consists of an immanent critique of the capitalist system from an ecological standpoint. But, equally, Bahro's theories can be read as an attack on those whose interpretation of Marxism is founded on the belief that human emancipation depends on continued material expansion at the expense of the all-round self-development of the individual. The dual nature of this critique was illustrated in Die Alternative, where the thrust of his criticism was directed at the party's abandonment of the utopian visionary element of Marxism in favour of more pragmatic measures in the form of appeasing the consumerist demands of the population. In the West, Bahro has broadened the scope of this particular argument to formulate a comprehensive critique of the capitalist system as an ecological threat to the planet. Amery's suspicion, quoted above (45), suggesting that Die Alternative was not consciously inspired by motives of ecology alone, is confirmed when Bahro asserts that the fundamental premises of socialist theory would require revision regardless of the current situation:

"Die Gesamtkrise unserer Zivilisation gäbe es auch, wenn die ökologische Krise gar nicht existierte. Der Arbeiterkampf führte bisher nur theoretisch, nie praktisch an die Frage heran, wie der Mensch sich als Mensch in der Produktion reproduzieren kann, und wie er es außerhalb der Produktions-sphäre tun kann." (46)

Although shrinking resources and wide-scale destruction of the fabric of the planet are important elements in Bahro's 'ecological humanism',

the ecological crisis is only important inasmuch as it draws attention to the need for a new understanding of human needs and development.

The underlying premise of Bahro's theory is the implicit acceptance of the idea that the capitalist system has entered its ultimate phase of disintegration, having finally reached the 'limits to growth'. (47) Designating 1974 as the beginning of this phase, which he sees as a consequence of the 1973 oil crisis, Bahro is influenced strongly by notions of the earth as a finite resource - a thesis which is most vigorously argued in works such as the Club of Rome's report (48), and Gruhl's Ein Planet wird geplündert. (49). Sharing the view that human exploitation of the planet's resources will reach catastrophic proportions within a very short space of time, both works were instrumental in awakening a concern for environmental issues in West Germany in the 1970s. Bahro rapidly assimilates the message of such works, but it constitutes a fundamental weakness of his whole approach to the many-faceted problem of ecology that he does this seemingly in a totally uncritical manner. In Logik der Rettung, for example, Bahro blithely asserts that it is no longer necessary to justify the prognosis of an impending environmental catastrophe in view of the mass of indicators pointing in this direction. (50) On the basis of current evidence, it is indeed difficult to contradict this assumption. The conclusions which Bahro draws from this, on the other hand, are open to question.

On the one hand, Bahro fails to consider the counter-arguments to the notion of the limits of growth. The conclusions of the Club of Rome report, for example, have been criticized for extrapolating trends from only a selective sample of material and for taking little account of any future developments. (51) In an exchange with Bahro, Massarat has argued, for example, that the problem is less one of the dangers presented by natural barriers to growth, since there are still many potential factors which have not yet been fully explored. (52) Instead, the question needs to be posed differently:

"Stößt das ökonomische Wachstum, in dem bisherigen Tempo fortgesetzt, an die physischen Schranken der Naturressourcen oder sind es bestimmte gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse, die die Knappheit der Naturressourcen als die Ursache eines vom Club of Rome vorausgesagten Zusammenbruchs erscheinen lassen?" (53)

Moreover, the 'limits to growth' argument would seem to rest on a Malthusian conception of population control. Thus, as Massarat warns, there is an implicit danger in accepting the claims of such bourgeois theorists, since they contain a tendency to stimulate precisely that atmosphere of fear and panic which would give credence to those who advocate imperialist measures or military intervention to secure limited resources. (54) Bahro acknowledges the dangers in fostering a 'fortress' mentality (55), but he refutes the idea that the planet constitutes an infinite resource. (56) Instead, he is adamant that there can be no option other than a complete halt to industrial expansion. This attitude stands in stark contrast to those engaged in the wider debate on the prospects for the future, where a broader range of possible alternatives have been outlined by authors such as Huber and Robertson. Thus, Robertson does not exclude the possibility that things will continue as normal, 'business as usual', nor indeed that a total catastrophe will occur. (57) Huber, in addition, has attached considerable importance to the possibility of further 'super-industrial' breakthrough, or progress on the basis of selective growth. (58) These scenarios have neither merited Bahro's attention, nor indeed are they acknowledged as possible alternatives.

At this stage, Bahro's position is significant for its assertion that the underlying cause of the environmental crisis rests with the expansionist dynamic inherent in the capitalist mode of production. He thus insists on a sharp differentiation between industry as such, and its capitalist form, a distinction which he later discards. (59) In his first speeches in the West, Bahro is obviously keen to resist criticism that this stance essentially repeats earlier 'romantic' critiques of industrial progress. He maintains that industry itself

does not pose a danger to mankind, as evidenced by the existence of industry in both ancient Greek and Chinese civilizations. (60) Rather, it is only in the past two hundred years that industrial development has come to represent a threat to the future of the planet, and this is directly linked to one factor:

"Die europäische Entwicklung der letzten 200 Jahre ist die Entwicklung der Industrie auf kapitalistischer Grundlage. Das ist ein Zusammenhang, den niemand, der sich mit dem Problem der 'grünen Bewegung' befaßt, übersehen kann." (61)

Yet, it is clear even here, that Bahro applies the concept of capitalist industry in a broad sense. Thus, his assertion is notable for the way in which it encompasses industrial systems regardless of their particular mode of production:

"Alles, was sich, ausgehend von der englischen industriellen Revolution bis heute, an Industrie über den Planeten verbreitet hat, ist ... kapitalistische Industrie. Denn die wissenschaftlichen und technischen Prinzipien sind auch dort, wo heute nichtkapitalistische Verhältnisse herrschen, von Europa, Nordamerika, Japan übernommen worden." (62)

This repeats the accusation made in Die Alternative that the systems of Eastern Europe have failed to abolish fundamental features of the capitalist system such as the division of labour and commodity production. Equally, he demonstrates a remarkable degree of consistency with this earlier work by his reluctance to state openly that any element of convergence exists between the two social and economic formations. The industrial dynamic may be common to both, but, for Bahro, this does not imply any identity between the systems.

Central to Bahro's reinterpretation of traditional socialist strategy, therefore, is the resolute call to discard the dogmatic adherence to the belief that emancipation can only be achieved on the basis of material affluence. Under the slogan "Von der Emanzipation

in der Ökonomie zur Emanzipation von der Ökonomie" (63) Bahro repeats the appeal at the heart of Die Alternative for a new concept of progress, which forsakes the drive for unchecked material growth in favour of one which fosters the individual's own personal development. Alienation is seen as a direct consequence of the over-emphasis on material wealth and Bahro is adamant that an adequate standard of living has long since been achieved; what exists now is a perverted system of needs which can never be fully satisfied:

"Das kompensatorische Haben-, Verbrauchen-, Konsumierenwollen und -müssen erzwingt seinerseits die Fortsetzung der kapitalistischen Erzeugungsschlacht, bei der wir auch noch in 100 Jahren 'zu arm' für den Sozialismus sein werden." (64)

Bahro resists the reduction of Marxism to a theory which conceives of the struggle for freedom purely in terms of development of the productive forces. Rather, the Marxism to which he does subscribe is that of the utopian vision of the younger Marx. Emancipation demands a multi-faceted strategy, directed at abolishing all forms of oppression rather than just that which finds expression in the economic sphere:

"Aus allem, was ich ... gesehen habe, geht hervor, sie (die Grünen: G.S) wollen die allgemeine Emanzipation des Menschen - Mann und Frau -; sie wollen alle Verhältnisse umwerfen, unter denen der Mensch ein erniedrigtes und beleidigtes Wesen ist. Das war aber der kategorische Imperativ des jungen Marx." (65)

Displaying the independence of thought characteristic of his critique of actually existing socialism, Bahro accepts the broader intention of Marxist theory, arguing that Marx's communist utopia had much in common with the goals of a society resting on simple reproduction and mutual solidarity. (66) Yet, Bahro's perspective is not limited to that of Marx, since he unashamedly reinforces his message with reference to utopian socialists of the early eighteenth and nineteenth century. (67)

These explicit references to utopian socialism have provided sufficient grounds for some on the Left to portray Bahro as a naive latter-day romantic. Such views were particularly evident at the First Socialist Conference, organised on Bahro's initiative and intended as a first tentative step towards finding common ground amongst the various factions of the Left. The responses to Bahro's position were indicative of the difficulty of such an undertaking. Thus, one participant accuses the Greens in general of delivering a critique composed in abstract and non-class specific terms, reminiscent of "...einer Art ökologisch eingefärbter bürgerlicher Erklärung der Menschenrechte..."(68). Equally, Bahro's insistence that attention must shift from the emphasis on just one aspect of the mode of production to its whole structure, entailing the radical alteration of the actual mechanisms of industry itself, not just a transfer of ownership, is sternly rebuked for overlooking the true cause of the environmental problem:

"Es sind eben nicht bestimmte Maschinen, Technologien oder Arbeitsweisen, die aus sich selbst heraus plötzlich zu Destruktivkräften werden, sondern erst ihre Einbettung in kapitalistische Produktionsverhältnisse schaffen diese Art der 'Fortschritte' und verwandeln sie in unberechenbare 'Rückschritte' für die arbeitende Bevölkerung."(69)

Such criticism itself disregards Bahro's efforts to distil certain elements from Marxism rather than abandon wholesale the Marxist tradition. Nonetheless, where criticism is justified is with regard to Bahro's tendency to formulate his own critique in indiscriminate terms. The weakness of this approach is identified by Joseph Beuys, who, whilst approving of Bahro's efforts to move away from worshipping unrelenting economic growth, questions his outright rejection of materialism:

"Denn der Materialismus entspricht einem ganz bestimmten Kraftsektor für die Bewältigung von Zukunft; dieser Kraftsektor ist nur dann schädlich, wenn er alle anderen Sektoren

überwuchert und diktiert. In dem Augenblick aber wo er erkannt ist als eine Methodik mit der man nur etwas ganz Bestimmtes bearbeiten kann, ist er ja nicht nur schädlich, sondern ein sehr fruchtbares Instrument für das menschliche Erkennen, Handeln und Wirtschaften." (70)

Undoubtedly, Bahro is guilty of failing to differentiate such interests and motivations, a failing which is also manifest in his discussion of the new revolutionary subject which he places at the forefront of the transformation process.

As in Die Alternative, the strategy behind 'ecological humanism' is based on a commitment to a social-revolutionary mass movement which gains its inspiration from the Gramscian concept of hegemony. For Gramsci, the idea of hegemony denoted a state of affairs in which the revolutionary class attained power not merely on the basis of conquering the machinery of state, but by attaining ideological hegemony, thereby,

"... bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a 'universal' plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups." (71)

Bahro obviously had this in mind with the research which he proposed to undertake at the University of Bremen investigating the validity of the theory of the 'historic compromise', understood as "...eine ideologische Massenmobilisierung für Reformen revolutionären Inhalts, für Reformen großen, systemüberwindenden Stils..." (72) This confidence in the prospects for achieving a lasting mass conversion of consciousness, however, appears somewhat incongruous with Bahro's own judgement on the urgency of the ecological crisis. Thus, for Bahro, the threat of global environmental disaster gives new meaning and urgency to the adage 'Sozialismus oder Barbarei', and accordingly, his

response to this crisis is one conceived in equally black and white terms:

"Die Geschichte bietet bisher nur zwei Modelle an, Widersprüche solcher Tiefe zu lösen: irgendetwas in der Art von Platons Wächterstaat, heute eine superbürokratische Diktatur oder eine sozialrevolutionäre Massenbewegung mit der Hoffnung auf irgendeine Art von Zielankunft." (73)

Bahro's position, here, is notable for its rejection of the authoritarian solutions advocated by Harich and Gruhl. (74) Both authors arrive at similar views from differing ideological starting points on the need for predominantly bureaucratic regimes to impose strict rationing to counter the explosion of needs. Bahro's rejection of such strategies offers a good illustration of his own optimistic outlook:

"Wenn Herbert Gruhl in puncto 'autoritärer Lösung' schwankt, dann aus dem auch von ihm ausgedrückten Zweifel, ob ein freiwilliger Konsens erreichbar sei." (75)

Bahro's attitude to the issue of a totalitarian response to the ecology crisis is apparently at odds with the strict insistence on the single-party solution which he advocated for the systems of Eastern Europe. Challenged on this question shortly after his arrival in West Germany, Bahro denies that his strategy can only succeed through recourse to authoritarian measures:

"Wenn man eine demokratisch-pluralistische Gesellschaft hat, dann wird es doch wohl so sein, daß dort auch majorisiert werden kann und muß. ... Wir müssen die Monopole unterwerfen. Ein Konsensus ist darüber pluralistisch möglich." (76)

This belief in the potential for a new national consensus as the basis for transformation, however, would appear to rest on a totally

unfounded optimism in the possibility of overcoming sharp political differences in the Federal Republic. Certainly, this optimism was not shared by all delegates at the Socialist Conference, where the merger of radical left groups with the ecology movement was still a hotly disputed issue. In his appeals for the new political party to become an open forum where all progressive forces from across the political spectrum should converge, Bahro, some feel, repeats the errors of past attempts to achieve an ideological consensus:

"Wie wenig ein gemeinsames 'Anti' darüber aussagt, was und *wohin* man will, verdeutlicht nicht nur die *Anti-Schah-Bewegung* in Persien, sondern auch die schlichte Tatsache, daß Bahro seine Aussagen über den Sozialismus als die all-gemeine Emanzipation inhaltlich völlig unbestimmt läßt." (77)

Again, Bahro underestimates the fears of those on the Left, who feel too little attention has been given to the danger of a reactionary right-wing response to the ecology crisis:

"So sehr es zu begrüßen ist, daß Bahro in Karlsruhe dem Anspruch nach sozialistischen Positionen vertreten und dadurch die Diskussionsbereitschaft fortschrittlicher 'Grüner' gefördert hat, so wenig kann seine *systematische Verharmlosung der konservativen, antisozialistischen Kadergruppen* bei den Grünen akzeptiert werden." (78)

Bahro's urgency to head off in new directions simply proves too hasty and ill-conceived for many in the Left, who see long-held positions being abandoned wholesale on the strength of a minimal analysis of the complex struggles and ideologies in the socialist movement of the Federal Republic:

"Im Grunde setzt Bahro den Konsens über das Elend der Arbeiterbewegung und die Krise des Marxismus voraus." (79)

Essentially, Bahro's strategy is that which he formulated in Die Alternative, applied uncritically to the new political environment which he encountered in the West. It is clear that the underlying concept in this work, namely that of an avant-garde acting on the behalf of society as a whole and directing the process of change, remains an integral feature of Bahro's design in the West. Although Bahro counters criticism voiced at the First Socialist Conference (Kassel 1980) that his aim in calling this conference was inspired by the desire to enforce a new unity on the Left in precisely the form suggested by the concept of the 'Bund' in Die Alternative, he stoutly defends the general intention behind the League of Communists:

"Was ist daran so leninistisch? Es ist als Negation des bürokratischen Parteityps angelegt, den wir nicht nur aus der Geschichte der russischen Revolution kennen. Nur eines ist nicht negiert: Die Idee von Avantgarde in ihrer allgemeinsten Bedeutung. ... Das wirkliche Problem liegt im zielgerechten Verhalten und in der Organisation unserer Arbeit für eine allgemeine Veränderung des Bewußtseins. (80)

The single party, Bahro reiterates, still offers the most suitable solution for Eastern Europe (81), but although he discounts this possibility for Western pluralist society, such statements reveal a manifest reluctance to abandon faith in the idea of a directed and controlled process of change. Such suspicions are reinforced by the strategy Bahro advocates, a central feature of which is the assertion that any effort to avert the ecological catastrophe can only succeed if it is borne by a majority of forces within society, rather than the sectional interests of particular class groups.

"Die erforderliche Mehrheit für grundlegende Veränderungen kann nur aus einer politischen Massenbewegung ... hervorgehen." (82)

This bears a strong similarity to his assertion in Die Alternative that Western-style political parties are incapable of formulating

policy in the long-term interests of society as a whole, an accusation which conceals a profound dislike for the democratic system as it exists in West Germany. (83)

Bahro himself now concedes that his outlook was largely determined by his experiences and perceptions whilst in the GDR. (84) This is particularly evident in his harsh assessment of the established political parties, especially with respect to the SPD, where Bahro's views appear deeply entrenched in the history of rivalry between reformist socialists and Marxists. Bahro's stance is signalled from the start by his efforts to convince the ecologist/alternative movement that the future lay in becoming a party distinct from existing ones, their current position having been notable for its weakness in this area:

"Für die Maus gibt es kein größeres Tier als die Katze. Daran erinnert mich ein wenig die Art und Weise, in der die alternativen Kräfte hier zum Beispiel auf die etablierten Parteien reagieren..." (85)

However, Bahro's broader understanding of the political climate in the Federal Republic reveals a distinct tendency to sweeping, indiscriminate judgements, and this has strongly influenced the nature of the alternative strategy postulated by him at this time. This is reflected in his conviction that neither of the conventional parties offer policies which contain any prospect of averting the impending environmental catastrophe since, in the final analysis, they scarcely differ from one another in their approach:

"Was könnte ... davon abhängen, welche der beiden prinzipiell unbefriedigenden etablierten Hauptparteien die Regierung führt? (86)

For Bahro, the existing political establishment constitutes a monolithic ruling bloc. "Der Block an der Macht" (87) to which he refers, is instructive for revealing the East German's rather

schematic view of the politics of his new homeland. He perceives a simple dichotomy of forces, comprising, on the one hand, 'der reformatorische Block' (88), matched by the countervailing forces opposed to any fundamental change, the so-called 'Beharrungskräfte'. (89) Bahro asserts that the stance of the SPD is wholly characteristic of this latter group, since it advocates reforms conceived within the framework of the existing order and thereby helps to perpetuate that same order. Bahro's work in the West, it must be stated, has been notable for its unceasing and often vitriolic campaign against the SPD. (90) Although this in itself has proved controversial, it is the underlying character of Bahro's critique that some have found difficult to accept. In blithely equating the SPD with the CDU/CSU, Mandel argues, Bahro reveals a totally false appreciation of the situation:

"Der 'Block an der Macht' ist nämlich keineswegs so träge, konservativ und bewegungslos, wie ihn Bahro beschreibt." (91)

Mandel strongly objects to the suggestion implicit in Bahro's interpretation which negates the differences between the two leading parties. Although not exclusively linked to the political situation, this dispute needs to be understood in the light of the elections which were forthcoming in 1980. Thus, the nomination of Franz Josef Strauss, long a bogeyman of the Left, as the Chancellor candidate for the right-of-centre CDU/CSU parties, saw opinion sharply divided in the Left as to how best to obstruct his potential victory. At the Socialist Conference, Bahro implores the Left not to allow the fear of a Strauss victory dictate its attitude:

"Bloß Abwehr von Strauß, gar Angstpsychose, ist keine Politik. Wenn wir uns darauf beschränken, Strauß verhindern zu wollen, bewegen wir uns *innerhalb* des Kalküls, das der herrschende Block an der Macht anstellt." (92)

Bahro advocates the adoption of a strongly offensive line, based on the assumption that Strauss "... es nicht sehr viel anders machen (würde, G.S) als die jetzige Regierung." (93) The Greens and the

radical Left must resist any alliance, formal or otherwise, based purely on the 'anti-Strauss' factor, as this would endorse the status quo, presided over by the SPD which has, in Bahro's view, become totally expended as a progressive-reformist force:

"Warum richten wir denn unseren Blick immer wieder auf den Apparatcharakter der SPD, wie das Kaninchen den Blick auf die Schlange. Natürlich wird die SPD als Partei und als Institution so, wie sie jetzt verfasst ist, nicht über den Kapitalismus hinausführen. ... Der Apparat ist, soziologisch gesehen, ein konservatives Element." (94)

Once again, it can be seen that Bahro's evaluation of the West German political scene is influenced by his experience of the GDR when he asserts that the SPD has become fossilized, institutionalized and unable to mobilize mass support, in the same fashion as the SED. For Mandel, this demonstrates a false assessment of the situation in overlooking the achievements gained under the SPD for the workers' movement. By arguing that little depends on the victory of either the major parties, Mandel insists, Bahro totally underestimates the reactionary potential behind a Strauss victory. (95)

Bahro's arrival in the West is remarkable for the considerable confidence which the former GDR dissident displays in becoming a committed actor on the West German political stage. This contrasts with previous 'Grenzgänger' who have experienced the transition from 'German Democratic Republic' to 'Federal Republic of Germany'. Biermann, for example, notes that any new arrival from the East has,

"... von der westlichen Gesellschaft so was wie ein Satellitenphoto im Kopf - und man sieht so ungefähr die groben Wolkenbilder - Strauß und die SPD -, aber um hier in der Gesellschaft wirklich produktiv zu werden, muß man sie, glaube ich, genauer kennen." (96)

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE - PART ONE

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3. *ibid.* p.97.
4. Robert Havemann: Morgen: Die Industriegesellschaft am Scheideweg. Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, Frankfurt am Main 1982. p.221.
5. Rudolf Bahro: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. p.7. & p.22. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Elemente.)
6. Rudolf Bahro: Elemente. p.8.
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15. Rudolf Bahro: Elemente. p.59.
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18. Anna Hallensleben: Wie alles anfing. in: Thomas Kluge(ed.): Grüne Politik. Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, Frankfurt am Main 1984. p.156. (Main text henceforward referred to as Kluge: Grüne Politik.)
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22. Rudolf Bahro: Elemente. p.26.
23. *ibid.* p.12.
24. *ibid.* p.65.
25. Rudolf Bahro: Wenn ihr die Chance verpaßt, wird das Euer politischer Tods sein. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 29.1.80. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Wenn ihr die Chance)
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29. Rudolf Bahro: Wenn ihr die Chance.
30. Rudolf Bahro: Die Linke unter der Fahne des ökologischen Humanismus sammeln. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 9.4.80. p.15.
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33. Rudolf Bahro: Die Linke unter der Fahne des ökologischen Humanismus sammeln. in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 8.4.80. p.10. and 9.4.80. pp.14-15. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Linke unter der Fahne.) Bahro borrows the term from the right of centre Wolf Dieter Hasenclever. See Wolf Dieter Hasenclever: Ökologischer Humanismus. in: Hans-Werner Lüdke and Olaf Dinné (eds.): Die Grünen. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart-Degerloch 1980. pp.42-52.
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62. *ibid.*
63. *ibid.* p.99.
64. *ibid.* p.95.
65. *ibid.* p.53.
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67. *ibid.* p.54. For a discussion of Bahro's relationship to the traditions of utopian socialism see Chapter Five Part Four.

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83. See below p.395.
84. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. pp.9-10.; p.47.
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CHAPTER FIVE: PART TWO -
THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE GERMAN QUESTION

The history of post-war Germany is one which has been dominated by one factor above all others. The division of Germany enacted by the victorious Allied powers in the immediate post-war era, was at one and the same time a product of the rivalry between the superpowers, and, in the subsequent years especially, a determinant of the relations between them, and has been the fundamental factor shaping the development of Germany since 1945. Throughout the existence of the two German Republics, the 'German question', namely the issue of German reunification, has been disputed to various degrees and is one which, following the revolutionary events of 1989 in the GDR has re-emerged to claim centre stage in European, as well as German, politics. It is all the more noticeable therefore that any discussion of this issue is manifestly absent from Bahro's major critique Die Alternative. (1) In contrast, Bahro has proved much less reluctant to clarify his views on this matter since coming to the West, and has indeed been a most outspoken figure on the whole question of peace and disarmament in Europe. (2) His unique brand of criticism was again noteworthy for its capacity to stir opposition from all sides of the political spectrum. In particular, his expressions of contempt for West Germany's ties to the Western Alliance and statements exhorting the West Germans to abandon their nuclear defence policy, combined with a blatant tendency to belittle the Soviet threat gave rise to the belief in some quarters that Bahro simply advocated appeasement as a solution to the arms race. In the face of accusations that Bahro, and the peace movement in general, have ignored the potential dangers of a resurgence of nationalism as a result of the neutralist stance which they advocate for Germany, it is all the more important to ascertain the precise nature of Bahro's views on peace and to gauge the extent to which he articulates the fears of a broader section of society.

The question of peace and disarmament is inextricably linked to Bahro's overall understanding of the ecological debate. In this fact

alone, the radical and innovative nature of his outlook is demonstrated. The staunch commitment to combining the objectives of the peace movement with those of the ecology movement which is characteristic of Bahro's stance was far from being generally shared by the respective members of these groupings in the founding phase of the Green Party. Hülsberg drastically oversimplifies the issue in his assessment that "(t)he movement for survival (the peace movement) grew quite naturally out of the movement for life (the ecology movement)." (3) This might ultimately have been the case, but Hülsberg overlooks the uncertainties and anxieties which marked the process of union between the two movements, which, from the perspective of those involved, was never regarded as inevitable. Bahro himself notes that "(1)» Herbst 1979 fand ich hier »nur« die Ökologiebewegung, noch nicht die Ökologie- und Friedensbewegung vor." (4) That this was so, is confirmed by other members of the Green Party, with Leinen pointing to the 1979 October peace demonstration in Bonn which almost foundered on disagreements over the question of extending its compass to include a condemnation of nuclear weapons in addition to nuclear energy. (5)

At a broader level, the fears surrounding the merger of the peace movement with the Green movement need to be understood as part of the wider debate mentioned above concerning the relationship of elements of the Left to the new environmental movement. Far from being a natural development, the fusion of the interests of the peace movement with the programme of the environmentalists was characterized by mutual suspicions, with both sides anxious about their possible loss of identity and any corresponding weakening of their respective movements. Kelly attests to this fact:

"Fürchtete die Ökobewegung - nicht zuletzt die teils bürgerlich-wertkonservative Basis - durch die Aufnahme solcher Themen in die linke Ecke gedrängt zu werden, so war manchen linken Antimilitaristen die Absage der Umweltschützer an innergesellschaftliche und zwischenstaatliche Befriedigungsträume durch allseits wachsenden Wohlstand suspekt." (6)

Once more, the diverse origins of the Green Party must be borne in mind. In its formative years, the ecology movement was by no means regarded as being to the left of the political spectrum, although the Green party's voters have since placed it firmly to the left. (7) Instead, the movement had its roots in the largely conservative 'Bürgerinitiative', which were primarily concerned with local issues and regarded larger questions such as defence policy, traditionally the domain of the Left, as beyond the realm of aspects which their activities could influence. It is against this background that Bahro's constant stress on the need for cooperation between the two movements needs to be seen.

For Bahro, the direct connection linking the peace movement with the cause of ecology is abundantly clear. Such is the magnitude of the dual threat to the planet posed by the destruction of the environment and the arms race that the effort to tackle them must, in Bahro's view, take precedence over all other issues:

"Die Einsicht, daß der Drang zur Auslöschung, zur Selbstausrottung der Menschheit in die Grundlagen unserer industriellen Zivilisation eingelagert ist und alle Strukturen ihrer Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Technik, ihres politischen Apparates, ihrer Soziologie und Psychologie durchdringt, ist jetzt so unmittelbar wichtig, daß die sozialistische Perspektive an die zweite Stelle tritt und auf jeden Fall neu bestimmt werden muß." (8)

Indeed, Bahro feels the motives underlying both the peace and ecology movements are identical, with the question of the future survival of the species forming their common core. There is, therefore, no doubt in his mind that a pacifist approach must become one of the cornerstones of Green politics:

"...ein radikaler Pazifismus (ist: G.S.) heute wirklich der erste Prüfstein, wer wir sind. Ohne vollständigen Ausstieg

aus dem Wettrüsten ist sowieso kein Stop der ökologischen Zerstörung denkbar." (9)

Bahro believes the ecological crisis has superceded those concepts such as the class struggle upon which the socialist movement traditionally has based its strategy. As a constituent part of this theory, Bahro identifies the gulf between East and West as one of the overriding contradictions affecting the future of human civilization, and as such, it far outweighs the conventional concerns of the socialist movement:

"Die ungeheuren Gegensätze auf der Nord-Süd - und auf der Ost-West Achse, die unauflöslich miteinander verflochten sind, greifen über." (10)

Statements such as this, delivered at the Congress of Greens at Offenbach in November 1979, provide strong evidence of Bahro's firm intention to forge closer links between the environmentalists and the peace movement. Whilst it would be impossible to ascertain the impact made by one individual on the final convergence of the two movements, it is clear that Bahro undoubtedly was at the forefront of opinion in appealing for the unity of these groups. Although he was criticized for failing to reflect on his new surroundings in the West (11), this does reveal an appreciation on Bahro's part of the Green movement's need to overcome its relatively isolated position and combine with other new social movements if it were to become an effective force in society. Certainly, those such as Bahro play a significant part in highlighting the essential similarities between the two movements. Leinen observes that the element of 'Überlebensbewegung' inspiring the peace activists was already firmly embedded in the principles of the 'Bürgerinitiativen'. (12) All that was required was an awareness of this fact. However, the ultimate emergence of what is today known as the 'Ökopax-Bewegung' (13) is due less to the political climate created by figures like Bahro than to the events of this period. Above all, it was the impact of the NATO decision taken in December 1979 to deploy medium range nuclear weapons such as Pershing II and Cruise in

the Federal Republic - the so-called 'Nato-Doppelbeschluss' - which unleashed the fears of many Germans and provoked country-wide demonstrations. The final link between the two movements was forged at the 'Kirchentag' meeting of the Evangelical Church in 1981, the year in which the SPD government finally ratified the NATO decision. Bahro cites this occasion as confirming his hopes for a broadly based Green movement. (14)

As with other aspects of the Green debate, Bahro's views on the peace movement are radical in nature. For Bahro, peace is understood as integral to the process of constructing a new social order, and implies more than a juridical state of non-warfare between nations:

"Das (Frieden: G.S) ist der ideale Zustand, in dem die Menschen nicht Gewalt gegeneinander anwenden - auch nicht versteckt und indirekt - und in dem sich jeder so entwickeln kann, wie es zu seiner Zeit durchschnittlich möglich ist. Da sind also Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit mitgemeint. Da ist auch zwischenmenschliches Gleichgewicht mitgemeint." (15)

Peace, he argues, is an absolute imperative in the formation of a new civilization and must be understood in the broadest possible sense. In so doing, Bahro sets a clear distance between himself and the conventional understanding of the politics of defence and disarmament, and implores the peace movement to follow suit. Indeed, Bahro's approach does not spare the peace movement from criticism.

Bahro's dissatisfaction with the peace movement centres on its failure to comprehend how the disarmament campaign forms but one factor in the whole complex of issues threatening to destroy modern civilization. The peace movement, he submits, still thinks within the logic of the given system, directing its energies to essentially reformist activities instead of formulating more radical demands:

"... wir bemühen uns bloß punktuell, den Zuwachs aufzuhalten, den Auslauf zu beschränken: Wir demonstrieren gegen

ein bestimmtes Waffensystem, wir verhindern hier ein Atomkraftwerk, dort eine Flugzeugpiste. Meistens behindern wir bloß. Wir senken ein wenig das Tempo auf der Autobahn. Wir müssen aber anhalten." (16)

The hopes Bahro places in a 'historic compromise' entailing a broad consensus of forces opposed to the present system also determine his attitude towards the peace movement. The future only offers some hope of salvation if the movement succeeds in broadening its basis of support by extending its appeal to wider sections of the population:

"Dies ist nur möglich, wenn wir einen politisch-moralischen Standort beziehen, der mit den existentiellen Interessen der Bevölkerung identisch ist und unverkennbar jenseits der westlichen und östlichen Machtinteressen liegt, also weder philosowjetisch noch antiamerikanisch (...) ist." (17)

The path Bahro recommends to the peace movement is to follow the example of the initiative launched by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for Nuclear Disarmament, of which he himself was the German representative. The 1981 Russell Peace Initiative, Bahro feels, marks a positive development in the disarmament debate, contrasting with the 'Anti-Rhetorik' which he urges the peace movement to abandon. (18) Bahro's commitment to the Initiative stems from his belief that it achieves a breakthrough in the debate by challenging those preconceptions which underpin the existing peace process in Europe. As his starting point, Bahro renounces 'Sicherheitspolitik' as 'Selbstmordpolitik' (19) and insists that "Sicherheit suchen und Frieden suchen ist nicht dasselbe." (20)

Behind this peace strategy rests a strong indictment of those policies pursued by successive West German governments (both SPD and CDU/CSU) under the banner of detente. Whilst acknowledging the benefits it has brought in the sense of reducing Cold War tensions, Bahro ultimately lacks faith in the ability of the detente process to

produce a lasting peace and, in fact, feels it has had a damaging effect on public consciousness:

"It was generally repressed that detente was in no way committed to final disarmament and that it continued the old policy of guaranteeing security through armament." (21)

Detente rests on a fundamental error, according to Bahro, since it serves to endorse the status quo based on the division of Europe, and, thus, provides justification for both camps to continue the arms race. In this respect the Russell Initiative is to be welcomed since it

"... reveals the *fundamental inadequacy of any policy of detente that limits itself to establishing a settlement between the blocs*. It understands the bloc confrontation to be a *system that transcends both sides, and whose proper dynamic cannot be explained with reference to the interests of one or another rival*. The confrontation as such gives birth to the escalation of rearmament." (22)

In this, Bahro firmly subscribes to Thompson's thesis which detects an exterminist dynamic behind the arms race. (23) Although he radically broadens the concept of 'exterminism' (24), Bahro accepts the thrust of Thompson's argument in conceiving the superpowers in terms of monolithic war machines, where military bureaucracies have gained the upper hand in dictating policy to such an extent that the arms race has become an end in itself. Bahro's own outlook is determined, to a large degree, by the understanding of the October Revolution which he expounded in Die Alternative. (25) Modern superpower rivalry is directly linked to the failure to construct socialism following the 1917 Revolution with the result that, despite differing foundations, two systems have emerged with essentially the same dynamic:

"Wir haben wie vor 1917 *eine Welt, sei sie auch noch so verändert, und zwar eine allerorten »unerlöste«*. Der Ost-West-Gegensatz existiert, aber er existiert als hoffnungs-

loser. ... Denn es ist nicht nur zu wahrscheinlich, daß seine Energie zusätzlich in diesen »Systemwettbewerb« eingeht, der letztlich keiner geworden ist, sondern zu einer Konkurrenz zweier absolut komplementärer Kriegsmaschinen entartet ist." (26)

In maintaining that "(e)s gibt nicht wirklich zwei Systeme" (27) it could be argued that Bahro confirms those critics who felt his analysis in Die Alternative all too readily accepted the bourgeois thesis of a convergence of the two industrial systems. (28) The assertion, too, that both superpowers share responsibility for the threat posed by the arms race is similarly a bitter pill for those on the Left to swallow, convincing some that Bahro has taken on board Western prejudices and been too uncritical in examining the motives behind the arms build-up of the respective superpowers. Such criticisms, however, reflect little understanding of the essence of Bahro's position. The 1983 impromptu demonstration held by members of the Greens including Petra Kelly, Gert Bastian and Lukas Beckmann against the wishes of the East German authorities in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz and the discussion which it provoked well illustrate the particular stance adopted by Bahro.

The Alexanderplatz demonstration signalled, by its effort to take the message of disarmament to the opposing camp, those qualities of independence and autonomy that Bahro believes are evidence of the new identity which the peace movement should ensure it retains. His position, here, is again notable for the way in which it demonstrates a firm reluctance to countenance any form of compromise for the sake of unity in the ranks of the young Green Party. Bahro draws a sharp distinction between his position and the line adopted by the so-called 'Ecosocialist' strand within the Party, centred largely on the GAL (Grüne Alternative Liste), the Hamburg section of the Party. In a sharp rebuttal of criticisms voiced by Rainer Trampert, Jürgen Reents and Thomas Ebermann that the Alexanderplatz event exemplified the 'Verwässerung friedenspolitischer Aussagen' and 'Zugeständnisse an die Sozialdemokratie' (29), Bahro claims such views represent 'ein Desaster

Eurer politischer Kultur'. (30) In their one-sided assessment of the situation they merely testify to the extent to which allegiances to the old superpower structure act as obstacles to the chances of attaining real peace in Europe:

"Indem die »einäugige« Antwort das bipolare Schema umgekehrt akzeptiert, kann sie sich als ein letzter Sieg gerade der herrschenden Logik erweisen." (31)

Bahro is insistent that the effort to prevent a nuclear war cannot be successful if it is focussed on a campaign directed at just one of the superpowers. He once more gives notice of his unwillingness to be bound to any particular school of thought and, thus, dismisses criticism that the arms race demands a thorough examination of those factors inspiring each side to reach for arms. The situation is such that it is no longer possible to justify the strategy of either camp since the arms race has now acquired its own dynamic. Consequently, the task is not to accuse either of the superpowers, but to tackle the more profound reasons which have contributed to this rivalry:

"(Wir wollen eine Außenpolitik: G.S.), die sich weder gegen die Amerikaner noch gegen die Russen, nicht einmal gegen den US-amerikanischen und gegen den sowjetischen Machtkomplex (...) richtet, sondern gegen den Mechanismus ihrer globalen Konkurrenz. Wir wollen zunächst nichts weiter, als uns diesem Mechanismus und seinen Folgen entziehen." (32)

Given this explicit commitment to a strategy which is directed at both superpowers and the need to overcome their respective blocs, how have some critics felt justified in finding Bahro guilty of promoting policies essentially consistent with Soviet foreign policy of this period?(33) Although such critics have themselves chosen to ignore the true thrust of his arguments, this misconception is largely of Bahro's own making.

An undeniably strong anti-American undercurrent pervades Bahro's assessment of the need for a new peace strategy. One of the basic premises of this rests, for example, on the notion that West Germany's ties to the Western Alliance are responsible for the threat it faces from the Soviet Union. The SPD decision to ratify NATO deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in March 1981 simply increased rather than lessened the risks of nuclear war:

"Die Sowjets üben in der DDR genau deshalb Vorne- und Vorwärtsverteidigung, weil wir hier von der US-Army und ihrer Hilfstruppe Bundeswehr beschützt werden." (34)

In many respects, this attitude echoes the official line behind the policies of the Eastern European regimes of the day, and Bahro gives a strong indication that his outlook is still very much determined by his experience of life in the East when he recalls that his upbringing convinced him that there was nothing to be feared from the Soviet Union, which was, after all, the force which liberated Eastern Germany from fascism. (35) This is manifestly evident in his judgement of the Soviet presence in the GDR as historically justified (36), whilst he is exceedingly critical of the Western allies, laying the blame for the division of Germany squarely at their door with his argument that "... die Grenze zwischen den Bündnissen (ist: G.S.)... ein Vorgang, bei dem der Westen die Initiative hatte." (37) Such an assessment well illustrates the degree to which Bahro is tied to the orthodoxy of which he is so critical in Die Alternative. Whilst the Western allies' decision to introduce a separate currency for their zones did play an important part in the establishment of two separate German states, this act merely served to confirm the existing divisions which were the product of a complex set of factors in the start of the Cold War era. (38)

In contrast to his overtly critical stance towards the United States, Bahro displays a high degree of trust in the goodwill of the Soviet leadership of the late 1970s and early 1980s. In an era marked by the imposition of martial law in Poland and the invasion of

Afghanistan by Soviet forces, Bahro shows great faith in the good intentions of the Soviet Union:

"Ganz Westeuropa, und unser Land zuerst, muß aufhören, eine der Basen zu sein, von denen aus die Amerikaner ihre globale Machtprobe mit den Sowjets austragen. Wenn das erreicht ist..., wird sich mit einiger Verspätung auch Osteuropa aus der sowjetischen Umklammerung lösen." (39)

Bahro does in fact criticize the suppression of 'Solidarnosc' in Poland(40) and condemns the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as "ein Verbrechen gegen Entspannung und Abrüstung"(41), exceeding even the outrage of the 1968 invasion of Prague. Yet, from these events he draws conclusions diametrically opposed to those of the NATO strategists. Far from indicating an upsurge of aggressive intent on the part of the Soviet Union, Bahro concludes somewhat prophetically that the events which unfolded in Poland during the early 1980s signalled that country's *de facto* withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and marked the beginnings of the end of Soviet hegemony in this region: "Der eine Militärblock ist durch die Lage in Osteuropa unumkehrbar geschwächt." (42)

For those who earnestly believed in a Soviet threat in the pre-Gorbachev era with its perceptible reduction of East-West tensions, proposals, such as those suggested by Bahro, favouring unilateral disarmament seemed to be founded on an excessive degree of political naivety and to entail a high element of risk. However, this fact alone does not explain the vehemence with which some authors responded to Bahro's pronouncements. It is less Bahro's avowed optimism that 'die Russen kommen nicht'(43) which prompted such reactions, but rather the conclusions which he draws from this and how they affect the existing order in Central Europe.

By far the most controversial aspect of Bahro's analysis in this respect relates to his controversial revival of the idea of a new

'Rapallo' as the best solution to serve the interests of a non-aligned Europe, free from the tutelage of both power blocs:

"Ein neues Rapallo würde Westeuropa von Nordamerika lösen..., und Osteuropa vielleicht von der Sowjet-Union. Westeuropa allein wäre ökonomisch und kulturell stärker als jeder der beiden Supermächte. Es dürfte durchaus eine 'gaullistische' Komponente haben, aber jedenfalls Gaullismus ohne Force de frappe." (44)

This statement alone reveals some of the shaky foundations upon which Bahro's design is based. The reference to Gaullism, for example, is confusing. Whether it constituted a definite concept in foreign policy with concrete goals or simply amounted to a series of diplomatic posturing intended essentially for domestic consumption is a debatable point. (45) Moreover, although some similarity exists between Bahro's insistence on a Europe free from the influence of both blocs and France's withdrawal from NATO under de Gaulle, Bahro overlooks the fact that France still retained its ties to the broader 'Atlantic Alliance' in this period. It is equally clear that Bahro fails to realize that a 'Rapallo' today would occur under quite changed circumstances to those of 1922. The Federal Republic, for example, is comparatively much stronger today than the Weimar Republic of 1922. Thus, whilst the Treaty of Rapallo was essentially a means to greater military and political strength for the Weimar state, such an initiative in the contemporary situation, as Feher and Heller note, would produce a totally different outcome:

"Whatever the West German illusions concerning a 're-unification in federal-republican terms' might be, it can only happen in the Finnish way: making German sovereignty *formally dependent* on Soviet approval, at least, for the time being as far as external affairs are concerned." (46)

The effect which any realignment in Europe would necessarily have for the future of Germany lies at the heart of the adverse response which

Bahro's statements have met. Just as 'Gaullism' essentially amounted to a French attempt to gain hegemony in Europe, Bahro's call for a new Rapallo, albeit within the framework of an all-European rather than German settlement, nonetheless raises the nightmarish spectre of a revival of German hegemony in Europe.

The whole question of German reunification evokes a plethora of emotions and resentments and involves the consideration of a complex range of factors. However, even the most elementary of these receive scant attention in Bahro's writings. Thus, Bahro attributes great importance to initiatives like those of the peace and ecology movements in both Germanies as a means to overcoming the division of Germany:

"Eine innerdeutsche Dynamik kann geradezu der Hebel sein, um den Konsens in beiden deutschen Staaten so zu ändern, daß die Feindbilder zusammenbrechen und Abrüstung möglich wird." (47)

His conviction that any change in Europe depends to a large degree on the efforts of the German people is evident when he states further that "(u)nsere Erfolg könnte helfen, die Mauer kleinzukriegen, die in unserem gespaltenen Land Europa teilt." (48) Certainly the events of the 'November Revolution' in the GDR in 1989 would seem to have confirmed Bahro in his predictions with pressure from below having breached the wall dividing the two German states. (49) Yet, it would be false to believe that 'people power' alone has wrought such enormous changes in the political landscape of Central Europe. Rather, the events of 1989 need to be examined in the wider framework of developments within the Soviet Union, particularly in the context of its increasing willingness to tolerate political changes in Eastern Europe. As Stürmer concludes in an earlier discussion of Germany's role in the international arena, "(i)t would be a fatal illusion to believe that *Deutschlandpolitik* could, at any time, be simply a matter for the two German states." (50) Bahro's statements indicate the extent to which, all too often, he ignores this fact. It is all too

plain that Bahro underestimates the complexities of international politics and views events from a pronounced Germano-centric outlook. (51) As the debate surrounding possible German reunification has highlighted, it is the fear in some circles (mainly outside Germany) of Germany 'going it alone' which causes most concern. (52) This, combined with what some have detected as a strong nationalist undercurrent in Bahro's outlook, has attracted the severest criticism of this aspect of his work.

A good illustration that Bahro's advocacy of a block, - and nuclear-free Europe contains the seeds of a potential revival of German nationalism is evident in the speech he delivered at the historically emotive site of the 1832 Hambach Fest. The so-called 'Vormärz' era after the Wars of Liberation encapsulated the wish of the German people to attain their own national identity and to command their own destiny. Bahro sees a strong affinity between these desires and the objectives of the contemporary peace movement:

"... heute gibt es in diesen beiden deutschen Staaten eine Bewegung - Friedensbewegung, welche aber mehr und mehr alle Bedingungen mit meint, die dazugehören -, die ist jener vormärzlichen Volksbewegung ähnlicher als jede andere fortschrittliche, demokratische und revolutionäre Kraft in diesem Land seither. So gibt uns dieser Gedenktag Anlaß, unbefangener als sonst über das lange verdrängte Thema Deutschland nachzudenken..." (53)

Although unwilling to call openly for the reunification of Germany, unlike earlier dissidents in the GDR (54), it is plain that Bahro gives little support to the existing state of affairs. At his most critical, therefore, he openly questions the legitimacy of both German states: "Die beiden deutschen Republiken von heute sind nicht aus der Volkssouveränität hervorgegangen." (55) It is precisely this readiness fundamentally to reassess the post-war order, especially as it relates to Germany, expressed in appeals for a West German withdrawal from

NATO(56) and a German 'Alleingang' in foreign policy(57), which has caused controversy.

For Bahro, any fears raised by the prospect of a revision of the post-War settlement are unfounded. In his most explicit statement on the German question, he reveals the sweeping nature of his vision, at the centre of which lies a call for the restoration of full German sovereignty in the form of a German confederation. Consistent with his belief in a nation of self-sufficient communes(58), Bahro returns to an idealized historical model, in envisaging a fully decentralized network of associated 'regions':

"... (Wir denken: G.S.) an ein 'Deutschland der Regionen', in dem die Gemeinden Vorrang haben gegenüber dem Kreis... Das Ganze denken wir uns als eine sanfte, gewaltfreie, grüne Republik ohne bewaffnete Kräfte nach außen und innen. Die Souveränität soll nicht beim Bund, sondern - wie in der Zeit vor 1871 - bei den Ländern (bzw. den Bezirken) liegen, die sich freiwillig föderieren." (59)

In proposing the reunification of Germany along such lines, Bahro attempts to overcome the fear of a large, united Germany by suggesting a continued power-sharing between Bonn and East Berlin. Yet, Bahro is firm in resisting any closer political union between the two Germanies and, in the 1990 'reunification debate', he voiced criticism of Hans Modrow's concept of a 'Vertragsgemeinschaft'. (60) Any association between the two German states on the basis of the given order in the respective systems would mean, he argues, "... daß unsere Gesellschaft (die DDR:G.S.) Gebiet um Gebiet ihre Souveränität aus der Hand gibt." (61) For Bahro, the relationship between the two Germanies is of secondary importance compared to the priority of restoring greater autonomy to the regional and local level.

Although it is not clear whether Bahro fully appreciates the considerable barriers to development and communication which such a scheme would entail, his judgement is far from being misplaced; one of

the demands of delegates at the extraordinary party congress of the SED in December 1989 was for the return of power to the Länder. (62) In the West, too, the acceptance of Bahro's draft programme as a discussion document in the run-up to the 1983 election campaign would indicate that he is far from alone in his yearning for the 'Heimat', in the sense of a provincial and rural idyllic existence, based on a romanticized vision of the past. However, this idealized understanding of the past, takes on worrying proportions. In an effort to convince that German unilateralism does not signal the emergence of a new nationalism, Bahro reveals a highly suspect interpretation of German history, that seems to exonerate past deeds:

"Le danger ne vient pas de courants nationalistes mais de puissances extérieures à l'Allemagne. Il n'est plus provoqué, comme en 1870, 1914, 1932 ou 1939, par le désir de revanche contre ceux qui avaient maltraité les Allemands." (63)

Naturally, fears of a revival of German nationalism have not been assuaged by such statements. In a controversial article the West German essayist, Wolfgang Pohrt has attacked the dangers inherent in the stance adopted by the peace movement, accusing the Left of stimulating nationalist fervour with its attacks on the Allies and appeals for a greater awareness of national identity. (64) But it is from outside Germany that some of the strongest criticism of the unilateralist position and the idea of a German-Soviet rapprochement has come. Bahro's call for a new Rapallo emerged in the heated exchange into which he entered with the French theorist André Gorz. The substance of Gorz's original article consisted of a harsh attack on the weak posture adopted by the West German peace movement in the face of the Soviet threat. Through their willingness to compromise, Gorz asserts, the peace movement illustrates the German want of a true democratic tradition:

"Wieder ziehen sie (die Deutschen: G.S.) das Leben der Freiheit vor. Das taten sie in gewisser Weise schon 1933.

Der Nationalsozialismus war doch auch eine Verherrlichung des Lebens, der vitalen Werte, die das Deutschtum damals verkörperte. Damals wie heute, wenn auch auf verschiedener Weise, fehlte die Idee der Freiheit bei der Wertung des Lebens." (65)

Gorz's sentiments are echoed by Meuschel who accuses Bahro of a somewhat naive appreciation of the situation which ignores enormous Soviet investment in the arms race and is based purely on the conjecture that an equally strong force of opposition could win power in the Soviet Union. (66)

In his response to Gorz's essay, itself notable for its nationalist overtones(67), Bahro insists that an improved relationship with the Soviet Union should not be dismissed as a betrayal of the West. With reference to Gorz's interview(68), Bahro asserts that "Sich stützen und sich arrangieren"(69) are quite different concepts, whereby the latter does not necessarily entail total submission to the Soviet Union. Further, he takes issue with Gorz's claim that "(d)er deutschen Geschichte fehlt der kulturelle Bezug der Freiheit"(70), arguing that Gorz seems to want to impose the French democratic tradition on Germany, when this has already been seen to fail:

"Gerade der Anpassungszwang an das fortgeschrittene französische nationale Modell hat in dem verquastesten Bismarck-Reich seinen Ausdruck gefunden. Wir wollen keinen quasifranzösischen Nationalstaat wiederhaben..."(71)

A further article in which Gorz directly denounces Bahro's stance is instructive if for no other reason than the light it sheds on the deep-rooted fears which Bahro's statements have stirred. (72)

Although scarcely original, Bahro undoubtedly holds controversial views on the question of foreign and peace policy and its consequences for Germany, but the significance of these ideas lies less in the reaction they have caused abroad than in the characteristics which

they reveal about contemporary attitudes in West Germany. Although his views may not be common currency, they do, however, reflect an important section of opinion within West Germany which, even prior to the revolutionary changes in East Germany in late 1989, had begun increasingly to call into question the settlement arising from the Second World War. Whilst the motives behind the peace movement were many and various with many genuinely committed to the cause of peace, Bahro's appeals, however illusory their foundation might be, for the Federal Republic to go it alone and renounce its ties to the Western alliance, articulate an interest which goes far beyond the peace activists' call for a nuclear-free Europe. This is not to deny Bahro's own sincerity in calling for peace, but his strategy touches upon an undercurrent which feels the time has come for a settlement of the German question in a manner which frees Germany from the solution imposed by the allies after the War. In this respect, Feher and Heller's astute observation is worthy of note when they comment,

"...that, in German politics certain aspirations are more clearly formulated by observers and commentators than by *de facto* protagonists. Therefore we accept Bahro's snap rejoinder (Rapallo - Why not?: G.S.) as the explicit formulation of a trend in gestation." (73)

In the light of the 1989 debate which arose over the question of the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons in the face of a seemingly changed Soviet Union, Bahro's calls for a rapprochement with the Soviet Union do indeed appear far from being far-fetched. More significantly, the dramatic changes in the GDR in late 1989 have given greater credence to Bahro's perception that the time has come for a dissolution of the old post-war settlement and the creation of a new order in Central Europe. Moreover, it is not simply in the field of foreign policy where Bahro has broken long-standing taboos. As the discussion below illustrates, in his most recent work, Logik der Rettung, Bahro presents a strong argument calling for a fresh approach to Germany's past.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE - PART TWO

1. Bahro does however make reference to the need for disarmament initiatives from both superpowers. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. pp.392-394. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
2. In December 1989 Bahro returned to the GDR and called openly for the maintenance of the GDR as a distinct separate political unit. See: Rudolf Bahro: Für eine Wirtschaftspolitik, in der Ökologie die Priorität besitzt. in: Neues Deutschland. 19.12.89. p.4. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Neues Deutschland 19.12.89.); Rudolf Bahro: Ökologische Alternative - aber keine Rückkehr zum Hakenflug. in: Neues Deutschland. 23/24.12.89. p.10. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Neues Deutschland 23/24.12.89.)
3. Werner Hülsberg: The German Greens. Verso, London & New York 1988. p.70. (henceforward referred to as Hülsberg.)
4. Rudolf Bahro: Langer Brief an alle Grünen und an alle anderen Ostermarschierer. in: Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn mit Methode. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1982. p.102. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn.)
5. Jo Leinen: Wie sich die Ökologiebewegung zur Friedensbewegung erweiterte. Variante B. in: Petra Kelly & Jo Leinen(eds.): Prinzip Leben. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1982. p.18. (main text henceforward referred to as Prinzip Leben.)
6. Petra Kelly: Wie sich die Ökologiebewegung zur Friedensbewegung erweiterte. Variante A. in: Prinzip Leben. p.6.
7. In 1984, a Spiegel survey showed that the majority of Green voters questioned considered the Party to be to the left of the SPD. in: Der Spiegel. No.45 1984. pp.34ff.
8. Rudolf Bahro: Überlegungen zu einem Neuanatz der Friedensbewegung in Deutschland. in: Befreiung. No.21 1981. p.11. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Neuanatz.)

- Also in English. A new approach for the Peace Movement in: Germany. in New Left Review/E.P. Thompson(eds.): Exterminism and Cold War. Verso and NLB, London 1982. (henceforward referred to as Exterminism and Cold War.) pp.87-116.
9. Rudolf Bahro: Nichtgesprochene Teile aus der Rede in Hamburg. in: Kommune. No.1 1985. p.47. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Kommune. No.1 1985.)
 10. Rudolf Bahro: Was vor der Zukunft zusammengehört. in: Rudolf Bahro: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. p.55. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Elemente.)
 11. Hellmut Gollwitzer: Interviewed by G.W. Smith, Berlin 13.4.88.
 12. Jo Leinen. in: Prinzip Leben. p.15.
 13. See particularly: Ulrich Linse: Ökopax und Anarchie. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1986.
 14. Rudolf Bahro: Die SPD vor der Friedensbewegung. in: Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.54-55.
 15. Rudolf Bahro: Was heißt Frieden? in: Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.91.
 16. Rudolf Bahro: Wer kann die Apokalypse aufhalten? in: Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.28.
 17. Rudolf Bahro: Haben wir noch eine Chance, die neuen Raketen aufzuhalten? in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler am anderen Ufer. Befreiung, Berlin 1984. p.158. (main text henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler.)
 18. Rudolf Bahro: Wir werden nicht weniger, sondern unvergleichlich mehr, wenn wir diese Grenze ziehen! in: Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.84.
 19. Rudolf Bahro: Selbstmord für unsere Sicherheit. in: Bremer Nachrichten. 24.2.81.
 20. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.91.
 21. Rudolf Bahro and Michael Vester: Seven taboos and a perspective. in: Telos. No.51 1982. p.48.
 22. ibid. p.49.
 23. Edward Thompson: Notes on Exterminism, the last stage of civilisation. in: Exterminism and Cold War. pp.1ff.

24. Rudolf Bahro: Neuansatz. See especially: Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung.)
25. See Chapter One above.
26. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.131.
27. Rudolf Bahro: Nur 'Gegen NATO-Waffen Frieden schaffen'? in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.143.
28. See for example Jürgen Harrer: Anmerkungen zu Rudolf Bahro: »Die Alternative«. in: P. Brokmeier and R. Rilling(eds.): Beiträge zur Sozialmusanalyse 1. Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne 1978.
29. Cited in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.152.
30. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.152.
31. *ibid.* p.145.
32. *ibid.* p.147.
33. See especially: Hellmut Nitsche: Antworten an Bahro und Genossen. Verlag SOI-Schweiz Ost-Institut, Bern 1984. and also Heinz Brandt: Der Mythos von der Friedensmacht. in: Manfred Coppik and Petra Kelly(eds.): Wohin denn wir? Oberbaumverlag, Berlin 1982. pp.80-88.
34. Rudolf Bahro: Kommune. No.1 1985. p.47.
35. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.107.
36. *ibid.* p.40.
37. *ibid.* p.69.
38. An immense literature has arisen on the Cold War. See especially: A.W. DePorte: Europe between the Superpowers. Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1979.; C.J. Bartlett: The rise and fall of the Pax Americana. Paul Elek, London 1974.
39. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. pp.47-48.
40. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.79.; See also: Polen und die Friedenspolitik. in: Pflasterstrand. No.125 1982. pp.20-22.; Friedens- statt Entspannungspolitik. in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. pp.117ff.
41. Rudolf Bahro: Elemente. p.32.
42. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.80.

43. *ibid.* p.76.; See also: Rudolf Bahro: The Russians aren't coming. in: Rudolf Bahro et al(eds.): The dynamics of European nuclear disarmament. Spokesman, Nottingham 1981. pp.123ff.
44. Rudolf Bahro: Rapallo - warum eigentlich nicht? in: Der Spiegel. No.6 1982. p.123.; Also reproduced in Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.120. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Spiegel. No.6 1982.)
45. Kolodziej writes of De Gaulle's 'politics of grandeur'. in: Edward A. Kolodziej: French international policy under De Gaulle and Pompidou. Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London 1974.; See also: Alfred Grosser: French foreign policy under De Gaulle. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut 1977. (First edition, Editions Du Seuil, Paris 1965.)
46. Ferenc Feher and Agnes Heller: Eastern Europe under the shadow of a new Rapallo. in: New German Critique. No.37 1986. p.37. (henceforward referred to as Feher and Heller.)
47. Rudolf Bahro: Ein Netz von erheblicher Spannkraft. in: Der Spiegel. No.50 1982. p.67.; Also in Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.134.
48. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.58.
49. See: Thomas Schmid: Ein Staat geht, eine Gesellschaft kommt. in: Kommune. No.10. 1989. pp.60-63.
50. Michael Stürmer: Deutschlandpolitik, Ostpolitik and the Western Alliance. in: K. Dyson(ed.): European detente. Frances Pinter, London 1986.
51. See: Rudolf Bahro: Vas da alles auf uns zukommt. Vol.1. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. pp.50ff.; See also Bahro's debate with Johann Galtung: Rudolf Bahro and Johann Galtung: "Wir übertreiben vielleicht unsere eigene Bedeutung als Kausalfaktor". in: Kommune. No.3 1984. pp.22-30.
52. On this topic see: Gert-Joachim Glaeßner: Don't trust the Germans? in: Deutschland Archiv. No.9 1989. pp.1027-1034. See also: Against the national interest. in: The Independent. 15.2.90. p.28.; Thatcher stresses German perils. in: The Independent. 19.2.90. p.1.

53. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.68.
54. See for example: Wolfgang Harich: Die politische Plattform Harichs und seiner Freunde. in: SBZ Archiv. Vol.8. 1957. pp.72-75.; Havemann states "...jeder weiß, daß Deutschland nicht an der Grenze zwischen den beiden deutschen Staaten endet." Robert Havemann: Berliner Schriften. Verlag Europäische Ideen, Berlin 1977. p.109. Notably, Bahro declines to be a signatory to the letter sent by Havemann to Brezhnev in 1981, rejecting his insistence on the solution of the division of Germany as a precondition to any peace settlement. Bahro respects Havemann's motives, but dismisses his political analysis. in: Michel Tibon-Cornillot: Entretien avec Rudolf Bahro. in: Temps Modernes. Vol.38 1982. pp.1598-1599. (henceforward referred to as Tibon-Cornillot: Temps Modernes.)
55. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.68.
56. ibid. p.81.
57. ibid. p.58.
58. Rudolf Bahro: Grüne Grundpositionen. in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.22.; See also: Rudolf Bahro: Kommune Wagen! in: Rudolf Bahro. Pfeiler. pp.200ff.
59. Rudolf Bahro: Dies mal DIE GRÜNEN - warum? Ein Wahlaufruf. in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.42.
60. Rudolf Bahro: Neues Deutschland 19.12.89.; See: Für ein friedliches, geregeltes Miteinander von DDR und BRD. in: Neues Deutschland. 21.11.89. p.1.; Das Notwendige und Machbare vereinbaren. in: Neues Deutschland. 16/17.12.89. p.1.
61. Rudolf Bahro: Neues Deutschland 19.12.89.
62. Klaus Frühauf: Marxistische Intentionen laut verkünden. in: Neues Deutschland. 19.12.89. pp.5-6.
63. Rudolf Bahro in: Tibon-Cornillot: Temps Modernes. p.1608.
64. Wolfgang Pohrt: Endstation. Rotbuch Verlag, Berlin 1982.
65. André Gorz: "Respekt für ein solches Verhalten?" in: Der Spiegel. No.4 1982. p.38. (henceforward referred to as Gorz: Spiegel.)
66. Sigrid Neuschel: Le néo-nationalisme allemand et les

- pacifistes. in: Esprit. No.7 1983. pp.99-114.
67. Claus Leggewie: Interview with André Gorz. Friedensbewegung - keine europäische Solidarität? in: Claude Bourdet and Alfred Mechttersheimer (eds.): Europäisierung Europas. Europäische Perspektiven, Berlin 1984.
68. Gorz: Spiegel. p.40.
69. Rudolf Bahro: Wahnsinn. p.63.
70. Gorz: Spiegel. p.35.
71. Rudolf Bahro: Spiegel. No.6 1982. pp.122-123. Bahro repeats his preference for the collectivist traditions of the Russian revolution over those 'individualistic' traditions of the French Revolution in an interview with G.W. Smith. Berlin 20.5.88.
72. André Gorz: Was ist schon Freiheit? in: Die Tageszeitung. 1.3.82. Reproduced in Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. pp.121.ff.
73. Feher and Heller. p.7.

CHAPTER FIVE: PART THREE - BAHRO AND THE GREENS -
AN EXAMPLE OF FUNDAMENTAL OPPOSITION

"(Die Grünen sind:G.S.) trotz aller mentalen Unterschiede prinzipiell genauso gut imperialistisch wie jede andere etablierte Partei." (1) Following his resignation from the party, it is with this damning verdict that Bahro has now come to dismiss the Green Party of which he was a founder member. His departure from the party in 1985 after such a relatively short period of time appeared to confirm the suggestion made by some critics that Bahro was always destined to failure. Thomanek, for one, had few doubts from the beginning about Bahro's potential for success in the West, concluding in 1980 that as "... a party political figure Bahro seems to have failed both in the East and West." (2) With assertions by some (3) that the Greens have become increasingly more conventional and distanced from their original aims and objectives it is of considerable value to examine precisely why such a prominent figure as Bahro felt it necessary to leave the party. Certainly, as the final chapter will show, Bahro has consistently held to many of the principles which he first advocated on joining the Greens suggesting that his brand of Green politics fitted uneasily within the party from the start. In retrospect, Bahro himself is uncertain whether he should have perhaps fought harder to defend his vision of ecological politics in the Green Party, but in the end concludes that this would scarcely have affected the ultimate development of the party. (4) Yet, to interpret Bahro's departure from the party as the inevitable consequence of his radical and extreme views would be to underestimate the extent of support in the party for the general tenor of his critique and overlook the way in which the party itself developed in its initial years. An assessment of the debates which raged in the party in its early years provides a useful gauge by which to measure the support for the radical views which he vigorously promoted.

In his statement of resignation from the Greens, Bahro appositely summed up his dissatisfaction with the party: "Hier (at Hagen, site of

the party's 1985 conference:G.S.) soll eine Partei gerettet werden, egal welche, egal wofür." (5) Instead of initiating the dismantling of the industrial 'Megamachine', the Green Party, he averred, had become a tool through which the new social, protest movements would be reintegrated into the existing institutional structure: "Anstatt Bewußtsein zu verbreiten, schütten sie sie auf der ganzen Linie wieder zu.(sic)" (6) The great sense of personal defeat caused by the decision to leave is evident in the exasperated tone of his statement: "Ihr geht den Weg einer normalen Partei. Das ist nicht mehr mein Projekt." (7) This sense of a personal mission to ensure that the party became a genuine and radical alternative to the existing system is apparent throughout his short-lived career with the Greens, and served to ensure that Bahro was frequently at the centre of controversy in the party's founding years.

The debate surrounding the development of the party's economic policy not only provides a good illustration of the uncompromising nature of Bahro's 'fundamentalism', but also reveals the true extent of the deep divisions which have plagued the Greens during its early years. This economic policy debate assumed great significance against the background of the unexpected change of government in 1982 from an SPD/FDP to a Conservative-Liberal Coalition and the ensuing national election in the Spring of 1983. This would mark the Greens' second attempt to enter the Bundestag, the party having failed to clear the important five per cent hurdle in the Federal Elections of 1980 shortly after its formation. (8) As Dräger/Hülsberg observe (9), the Greens now found themselves confronted with the task of clarifying their own policy positions on a number of issues, whereas the intervening period had chiefly been dominated by internal party disputes. In addition to the challenge of presenting themselves as an alternative political force to the West German electorate in the new elections, the party also had to address the issue of its potential relationship with the existing parties, and, indeed the very question of its participation in the existing parliamentary system. On all these matters, Bahro held forthright and outspoken views which rarely coincided with those of the majority of the party.

At the Party's special conference in November 1982 at Hagen, with the presentation of a draft economic programme, the Greens attempted to formulate their first major policy document since the Saarbrücken conference, which had laid forth the fundamental aspects of Green politics. In view of the heterogeneous nature of the groupings which had combined to form the party, it is of little surprise that establishing a degree of consensus in such an important field as that of economics proved to be laden with difficulties. In the debate which emerged, widely varying opinions were revealed with the stance adopted by Bahro acknowledged as one of the poles within the debate. The issues at stake, it became obvious, did not relate to differences of detail on economic policy, but rather involved the whole question of the young party's identity. Thus, the economic debate highlighted the divide between those who sought to preserve a strong traditional socialist content in the party's policies and those who stressed the priority of ecological issues. As a radical exponent of the latter cause, Bahro was to find even at this early stage that his views were not those of the majority. Nonetheless, it would be false to dismiss Bahro completely, since his views were shared by a number in the party, who, like Bahro, albeit in less extreme terms, feared that the party was erring from its original objectives.

The most comprehensive account of Bahro's position can be found in his criticism of the draft economic programme drawn up by a working party of the Greens for presentation at the party's Hagen conference in 1982. In typical fashion, Bahro wastes little time in examining the details of the proposals and, instead, totally dismisses the document, finding nothing in its content to satisfy his fundamentalist outlook. His chief objection to the Hagen paper is its failure to reflect the distinct identity of the Greens: "In dem Entwurf ist die politische Identität der Grünen von grundauf preisgegeben bzw. überhaupt nicht angezielt."⁽¹⁰⁾ The working group's paper, he argues, completely fails to take into account the severity of the ecological crisis, basing its proposals on the premises of the existing system, and appearing more concerned with the exigencies of electoral manoeuvring rather than developing alternative policies to combat the

problems of environmental disaster. As the most obvious example of this, Bahro attacks the programme's treatment of the question of unemployment, denouncing specifically the way this problem has been accorded priority over ecological concerns:

"Der Opportunismus und die Kurzsichtigkeit beginnen damit, daß die ökologische Partei ihr Wirtschaftsprogramm nicht der Abwendung der ökologischen Krise, sondern der Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit als wichtiger Zielfunktion unterordnet." (11)

Nonetheless, despite his own eagerness to convince that he has such ecological interests at heart, the majority of Bahro's criticism is itself preoccupied with strategic political considerations. The substance of Bahro's critique consists more of a polemic against the SPD and DGB than a discussion of economic policy from an ecological standpoint. The point of more immediate concern to Bahro is not the absence of proposals to solve the ecological crisis, but the fact that the Greens appear unwilling to distance themselves from the policies of the traditional Left-wing. For Bahro, the Greens are still bound to the aims of the SPD and its social-reformist strategy:

"Angesichts der Wirtschaftskrise mit Massenarbeitslosigkeit und der Verdrängung der SPD in die Opposition zeigt sich, wie wenig die Grünen in ihrer Gesamtheit von sozialdemokratischem (reformistischem) Politikverständnis und von alt-linken Identifikationen und Zielvorstellungen emanzipiert sind. Die Bundes-Wirtschafts-AG hat einen Entwurf vorgelegt, der ein einziger Beweis für diese Abhängigkeit ist." (12)

A point frequently made by his critics is that Bahro's stubborn resistance to any form of alliance with the forces of the traditional Left appears to be entrenched in the spirit of Weimar, where the forces of the Left were irrevocably split, with communists rejecting the path of accommodation pursued by the SPD. (13)

From the start Bahro proved to be an ardent critic of the party's tendency to view itself merely as a radical junior partner of the SPD. In contrast, he perceived the Greens as the seed core of a mass movement above and beyond the framework of the existing political parties, which, like the reformed communist party he envisaged in Die Alternative (14), would represent the interests of the whole of society, not just a section of it. This explains the untiring resistance of Bahro's attack on the party's self-image as a potential partner of the SPD, against which he called for a movement which would attract people from across the whole political spectrum:

"Auf lange Sicht wird es ganz entscheidend sein, den Zusage für seine (Strauß:G.S.) Politik zu halbieren bzw. die CDU/CSU innerlich an der ökologischen Krise und dem Abschreckungsdilemma zu dividieren. Diesbezüglich ist nichts schädlicher als der ewige hündische SPD-Bezug. Entgegen dem strukturkonservativen Slogan, es führe kein Weg an SPD und DGB vorbei, müssen wir genau diesen Weg suchen ..." (15)

Undoubtedly, the vision of Green politics promoted by Bahro was simply too radical and unrealistic for many; in the party's quest for its own identity in the early years, Bahro's position illustrates the wide polarization of opinions on this fundamental question. Most significantly, Bahro exposes the divisions within the party over its relationship with the forces of the traditional Left, particularly with the trades unions.

As evidence of the policy group's conventional approach to the ecological crisis, Bahro attacks the working group's outline of economic objectives which, he claims, endorse the continued pursuit of economic growth, criticizing it solely on the grounds of its inability to sustain sufficient levels of employment. Equally, he considers the proposals calling for the reduction of the working week as indicative of the wish to perpetuate the work ethic, regardless of the cost to the individual:

"Alles was ... über das Thema Arbeitszeitverkürzung gesagt wird, ist völlig 'gewerkschaftsorientiert'. Der Tenor ist: Lohnarbeit für alle, Wiederangliederung aller Arbeitskräfte in den 'formellen Sektor' als Ziel." (16)

Bahro attacks the logic which determines that the existing concept of industrial labour is the only means of sustaining adequate living standards, and totally rejects any efforts directed at modification of the existing industrial order. He sums up the attitude which he feels lies behind the working group's proposals: "Wir wollen also weitermachen, wie bisher, wir wollen's nur nicht übertreiben." (17) Holding true to his sceptical view of the revolutionary potential of the industrial proletariat, he insists the short-term economic interests of a privileged, metropolitan class can not be accorded priority over ecological imperatives. To do so would have irredemable consequences for those on the periphery of the capitalist industrial system. The Hagen paper, he submits, totally underestimates the extent to which measures taken to reduce unemployment in the Western industrial nations are achieved at the expense of those in the Third World:

"Wer hier ohne weiteres Nachdenken 'Arbeitsbeschaffung' betreibt, und handele es sich selbst um Umweltschutz, und dabei das weitere Mitspielen in der Konkurrenz auf dem Weltmarkt nicht in Frage stellt, handelt in der Konsequenz kolonialistisch." (18)

Bahro offers a direct warning to the Greens that a consistent and genuine ecological approach to economics will demand correspondingly harsh measures, hitting the working masses hardest of all. His speech at the Hagen conference in November 1982 emphasizes that job creation on the scale called for by the trades unions cannot be reconciled with the true aims of Green politics:

"Wenn uns die Interessenten des investiven Durchbruchs vorhalten, daß Umweltschutz Arbeitsplätze koste, so antworten die Grünen nicht sofort mit dem beflissenen

Nachweis . . . , daß ihre Politik im Gegenteil Arbeitsplätze schaffen würde, sondern mit der eindeutigen Erklärung, daß sie die heraufziehende ökologische Totalkatastrophe auch um den Preis von Arbeitsplatzverlusten bekämpfen wollen." (19)

This explicit refusal to make concessions to the short-term interests of the trades unions highlights the sensitive nature of the Green's relationship with the worker's movement. The Sindelfingen Programme, upon which the party was to fight the 1983 Federal elections and of which the Hagen discussion document was a forerunner, essentially represented the party's attempt to combine an ecological perspective with a programme which took into account pressing social issues such as unemployment. A firm objective of this approach was to convince the trades unions they had nothing to fear from the participation of the Greens in any new government. Were an SPD/Green coalition government to be returned at the March elections, the Greens would need to demonstrate that the industrial system would not be immediately dismantled and that the interests of the workers would be safeguarded. Hence the importance attached to the question of unemployment in the Hagen Paper. Bahro's attitude, however, appeared completely at odds with this, and, as some critics observed, indeed, seemed directed at undermining any move towards cooperation. (20)

It is evident from the final content of the Sindelfingen Programme, Sinnvoll arbeiten - Solidarisch leben (21) that Bahro's views on the nature of the party's relationship to the trades unions and the SPD were not, however, those of an eccentric individual, isolated from the main stream of the party, since the document contains significant concessions to those who shared such views. Generally regarded as an uneasy compromise (22), it is clear that the Sindelfingen Programme had taken note of Bahro's criticisms. On the one hand, for example, the concerns of the ecosocialists were in strong evidence in the preamble:

"Die Erwerbslosigkeit als aufgezwungene Lebenssituation, bei gleichzeitigem Einschränken der Sozialleistungen, ist für die Grünen nicht hinzunehmen." (23)

This clearly holds to the form of the original Hagen discussion document. A few lines later, however, the unmistakable influence of Bahro's critique is obvious, despite the glaring contradiction to such demands for greater welfare:

"Wir Grünen betonen, daß es in der Bundesrepublik und den anderen Industrienationen nicht zu wenig industrielle Produktion gibt, sondern zuviel ..." (24)

Equally, the decision taken at Sindelfingen to distribute Bahro's election pamphlet, Diesmal: DIE GRÜNEN - Warum? (25) to all local party committees is indicative that a strong section within the party agreed, in principle if not in detail, with his calls for increasing emphasis on the ecological content of the party's programme. The unresolved conflict in the party is obvious too, with Bahro's views on unemployment strictly at odds with the Sindelfingen programme: "... die Forderung nach Arbeitsplätzen um jeden Preis ist auch nicht unsere Sache." (26) The programme crudely exposes some of the shortcomings of the attempt to unify the disparate elements within the party, leaving unresolved the problem of how to reconcile the goal of maintaining high levels of employment with that of disinvestment in the industrial system. Schmierer points to the dilemma in which the young party found itself:

"Eine Bewegung der formell und reell lohnabhängigen Bevölkerung zu sein und gleichzeitig die industrialistische Entwicklungstendenz bekämpfen zu wollen, die der Kapitalismus als seine eigene Grundlage ständig weiter ausbaut, modernisiert und revolutioniert, ist das programmatische, strategische und weltanschauliche Problem der neuen sozialen Bewegungen und der Grünen" (27)

From such comments, it is clear that the discussion evoked by Bahro's criticism of the Hagen paper embraced more than the issue of the party's economic programme, and instead concerned the whole problem of the Greens' search for identity in its early years. At stake was

whether the party would remain in the mould of traditional socialist politics, representing the interests of the working class, or if instead it would become a radical alternative to the existing parties.

An example of these divisions is demonstrated in the criticism of the Bahro approach by Rainer Trampert, a former member of the so-called K-Gruppen in Hamburg, who, like Bahro, became a member of the Greens' executive committee following the Hagen Conference. Trampert exemplifies the so-called ecosocialist grouping in the party which, as his critique of Bahro reveals, accords greater importance to solving current social issues such as unemployment rather than developing ecological utopias, believing such visions as Bahro's to be not only idealistic but dangerous:

"Die heutigen Lebenswünsche der Menschen werden kategorisch der eigenen Idee untergeordnet und Menschen werden so zum Material dieser Idee. Solche Vorstellungen gehen von der historisch widerlegten und inhumanen Sicht aus, daß das große Elend Voraussetzung für eine neue emanzipatorische Gesellschaft sei und transportieren ein scheinbar überwundenes Politikverständnis in die Grünen hinein." (28)

It is not just the danger of the visionary element, where the goal becomes everything regardless of the cost to the individual, which Trampert finds unacceptable, but he also fears the likely electoral consequences of Bahro's programme:

"Wenn eine alternative Wirtschaftspolitik sich total abkoppelt von den Lebensinteressen der Menschen, mit denen gemeinsam die Kraft für Veränderungen entwickelt werden muß, würde nicht nur die gesellschaftliche Spaltung manifestiert sein, die Sozialdemokratie wäre dadurch auch hoffähiger denn je und die Grünen zu einer Sekte degradiert." (29)

Trampert rightly questions how Bahro could possibly hope to succeed when he appears so intent on highlighting social differences which

hinder rather than foster reconciliation. Moreover, the grand nature of Bahro's design and its distance from the reality of everyday life has little hope of winning mass support, Trampert argues. This point is reinforced by the author of an article in the journal of the Kommunistischer Bund, Arbeiterkampf, who insists that Bahro's attitude can only serve to perpetuate the links which tie the trades unions and workers' movement to the SPD:

"Bahros Thesen beinhalten eine Frontstellung gegen die Arbeiterklasse und gegen autonome gewerkschaftliche Ansätze. Sie laufen hinaus auf Verewigung der Trennung zwischen Grünen und Arbeiterklasse, somit auch auf Verewigung der Hegemonie der Sozialdemokratie über die Arbeiterklasse." (30)

Indeed, the Arbeiterkampf article goes as far as to suggest that Bahro's theories would result in a decisive sharpening of tensions between these social groups:

"Bahro's Thesen laufen hinaus auf einen erbitterten Verteilungskampf zwischen der Arbeiterklasse und den 'Aussteigern' um vorhandene Finanzmittel, Zukunftsinvestitionen, letztlich auch um Arbeitsplätze." (31)

Such responses have been provoked above all by the call for the abolition of the industrial system which Bahro posits against the predominant social concerns of the Hagen paper. To a large degree such reactions were not unexpected. One of the chief measures he advocates, for example, is the end of the notion of capitalist wage labour, or 'Lohnsklaverei' (32), echoing his demand in Die Alternative for the abolition of the division of labour. As the reception of Bahro's GDR critique in West Germany revealed, many in the traditional Left were reluctant to countenance debate of such issues. (33) By far the most controversial element of Bahro's thesis in this respect is his assertion that large scale unemployment could actually act as a useful lever in bringing about a new phase of civilization:

"Mit 5 Millionen Arbeitslosen ist zumindest theoretisch auch ein Druck möglich, der die bisherigen Summen für Unterstützung, für Subventionen und für Investitionen in eine todbringende Zukunft in die Hände der Betroffenen umlenkt, damit sie sich eine neue, weltmarktunabhängige Lebenspraxis aufbauen können." (34)

Bahro seems to envisage state support for the development of new projects as alternatives to the existing system, but critics have overlooked this intention behind this and have instead seen a potentially more sinister outcome. In Arbeiterkampf, one author argues that such a prospect can only result in dictatorship, since it would be impossible to persuade the working masses that this vision of the future would not bring about a reduction in living standards:

"Bahros Thesen sind nicht mehrheitsfähig, denn man wird die Arbeiterklasse nicht für eine Politik begeistern können, die zu materieller Not führt. ... Wenn man gestützt auf Minderheiten Politik gegen Mehrheiten durchsetzen will, geht das nur mit Gewalt und Diktatur." (35)

Equally, Rieckmann warns that Bahro's contentious views on the potential behind worsening unemployment overlook the dangers which this could lead to in the form of right-wing polarization. (36) As mentioned below (37), Bahro himself confronts this problem in Logik der Rettung where he sets himself against the idea of a forceful revolution but fails to convince that this would not entail some degree of coercion.

The debates surrounding the economic programme and the Greens' relationship to the established political parties reflected a more deep-rooted struggle as to the character which the party should assume. The diverse origins of the party located in the new social movements and 'Bürgerinitiative' of the 1970s and the decay of various sectarian Left-wing groupings decisively influenced the divisions which emerged over the future role of the party. Caught between the

opportunities afforded by its electoral success and the desire to remain 'basisdemokratisch', one of its founding principles, the party has often had to tread a difficult path, as Falkenberg indicates:

"Zwischen Selbstverliebtheit und Opportunismus, zwischen Nabelschau und Fremdbestimmung, zwischen fundamentalbasisdemokratischer Selbstzerfleischung und dem staatsfixierten Run auf Ministersessel muß die Partei eine Balance wahren, ohne zerissen zu werden." (38)

The question of whether the party should exploit its parliamentary position to realize practical reform measures or if instead it should adhere to a stance of fundamental opposition is one which, as Fischer recognizes, revives in new form the Left's age-old disagreements as to how to achieve change:

"Reform oder Revolution wird bei den Grünen als Reform oder Ausstieg diskutiert, fundamental statt revolutionär verwandt, Sozialismus oder Barbarei wurde durch Ökologie oder Apokalypse ersetzt..." (39)

All too often, however, the simple paradigm 'Fundis' versus 'Realos' has been invoked to describe these diverging views, but as an examination of Bahro's shows, this conceals the sharp differences between the various strands of 'fundamentalist' politics within the party.

Many of Bahro's difficulties as a member of the Greens derive from the original aims which inspired him to join the party originally. Bahro discloses that he regarded the party as a vehicle for realizing the theories he had developed in East Germany:

"Ursprünglich hatte ich meine frühere Vision von einem ökologisch reformierten Bund der Kommunisten aus der DDR- »Alternative« in revidierter Form auf die Grünen übertragen." (40)

Reviewing his time spent with the Greens, Bahro now concludes that the experience was valid for one reason alone insofar as it convinced him of the shortcomings of any process of transformation involving party politics. (41) With hindsight it is of course easy to dismiss Bahro's hopes of transferring the concept of the 'Bund der Kommunisten' as hopelessly naive. On the other hand, it is possible to see how the party's diverse origins, drawing its membership from both sides of the political spectrum, could convince Bahro that the Greens signalled the formation of a new radical party which transcended the traditional party boundaries.

The type of party which Bahro sought to foster as a member of the Greens certainly corresponds closely to his concept of the 'Bund der Kommunisten'. In particular, his repeated emphasis on the Greens' commitment to grass roots democracy reflects his belief that the 'Bund' should assume a non-hierarchical form. In enumerating the principles which should govern the party's relationship to the grass roots, Bahro's experience of the GDR is quite apparent in the desire to ensure the party does not become a self-governing closed order:

"Unser Abgeordneten werden einen Großteil ihrer Diäten abführen, um alternative Projekte und Basisinitiativen zu unterstützen./ Sie dürfen keine weitere Mandate in anderen Parlamenten innehaben und keine zusätzlichen Funktionen in der Partei ausüben./ Grundlage ihrer Arbeit ist eine vollständige und verständliche Information, die den Entscheidungsverlauf unserer Politik für die Öffentlichkeit durchsichtig und kontrollierbar macht." (42)

At the same time, however, he confirms the claims of those who accused him of simply reworking the idea of the communist party in Die Alternative without any regard to the dangers of authoritarianism. Thus, he dismisses the function of parliament as a mere tribune, with the party assuming the role of a propagandist vanguard:

"Den Grünen im Bundestag ist als Hauptfunktion zugefallen, Multiplikator und Verstärker für das alternative Bewußtsein draußen zu sein.../ Wie die Grüne Partei insgesamt, versteht auch ihre Gruppe im Bundestag als Hilfsinstrument der Bewegung. Für uns wie für unsere Abgeordnete darf Politik niemals primär das sein, was im Bonner Parlament passiert." (43)

The Green Party's origins in the new social movements convinces Bahro that it is possible to invert the established relationship between party and people so that the party once more becomes the tool of the movement. For Bahro the party constitutes little more than a flagship for the broader reformation movement which he feels has begun:

"Innenpolitisch ist unser wichtigstes Interesse auf lange Sicht nicht die Heranziehung einer Stammwählerschaft, sondern der Ausbau eines möglichst autonomen Netzes von alternativen Arbeits- und Lebenszusammenhängen... Im Parlament können wir einiges beitragen, um den politischen und sozialen Raum dafür freizuhalten." (44)

Bahro was by no means alone in emphasizing the need for the Greens to nurture closer ties to the party's grass roots. Commenting on the 1978 electoral programme of the Alternative Liste für Umweltschutz und Demokratie (AL), one member, for example, writes that the party understood its task "... als verlängerter Arm der außerparlamentarischen Basisbewegung im Parlament aufzutreten." (45) Jutta Ditfurth, too, stresses that Green politics should entail a "... lebendige Dialektik zwischen außerparlamentarischer und parlamentarischer Arbeit" (46), and even Joschka Fischer, a prominent figure of the party's 'Realo' wing, warns that electoral alliances cannot be allowed to damage the party's ties with the social movements from which it arose. (47) Yet, most were unwilling to subscribe to the idea of the party purely as a 'publicity vehicle' for the broader ecological movement, keen to exploit to various degrees the opportunity offered by parliamentary representation. (48) Fischer reveals the degree to which

Bahro misread the mood of many Greens in dismissing the value of parliamentary reforms:

"Allein Rudi Bahro bleibt ... konsequent. Er sieht in der Partei lediglich ein hervorragendes Mittel zum Ideologietransport, vor allem durch die Parlamentsfraktionen..." (49)

Fischer, himself, attaches little value to this interpretation of the party's role: "Mit Ideologietransport allein lässt sich keine parlamentarische Partei am Leben erhalten, geschweige denn unsere Programmatik realisieren." (50)

The widely diverging opinions on the party's parliamentary role were thrown into sharp relief by the different approaches adopted by the local Green parties in Hamburg and Hesse, where they both represented potential junior partners in local government with the SPD. The internal disputes on the purpose and direction of the party were manifest in the bitter and ill-tempered rivalry between the course of 'Tolerierung' pursued in Hamburg and the coalition entered into by the Greens in Hesse. (51) That Bahro should be dismissive of the Red-Green alliance in Hesse is of little surprise in view of his denunciation of the SPD as "die erste alte Formation, die kaputt geht." (52) His refusal to offer even tacit support for the form of 'pure opposition' employed by the Hamburg Greens, however, shows the uncompromising nature of Bahro's resistance to any concessions to the existing order. Bahro draws no distinction between actual coalition and the Hamburg policy of non-cooperative toleration of an SPD regional government:

"Es ist dieser (Tolerierungs-:G.S.)Kurs, der uns grundsätzlich in SPD-Abhängigkeit hält. Dahinter steht die Ideologie der 'Mehrheit gegen Rechts'." (53)

Bahro holds true to his original understanding of the party, vainly trying to resist its rapid transition to a party of the Left by

insisting that it remain above and beyond established political allegiances.

Against the development of the party as a radical corrective to the SPD, Bahro counterposes his vision of the Greens as a party attractive to all sections of the political spectrum. At the 1983 Hannover Conference of the Greens, therefore, Bahro proposed a 'Konservative Öffnung' (54) challenging the party to recognize the essentially conservative character of the electorate. Bahro drew support for this argument from the outcome of the 1983 Federal elections which had marked the return of a Conservative-Liberal (CDU-CSU-FDP) coalition to government office. Such a result, he concluded, exposed the futility of a strategy of alliances being promoted by various sections within the party. The influence of the party, he warned, would be so much more limited if the Greens conceived of themselves simply as a more radical, junior party to the Left of the SPD:

"Jedoch werden wir wohl kaum in jene grüne Republik gelangen, die uns vorschwebt, wenn es uns nicht gelingt, ins Revier der bayrischen CSU einzudringen. Ein grünes Profil links von der SPD mag in Hamburg immerhin für ein komfortables Ghetto gut sein, in Bayern wäre es völlig aussichtslos." (55)

Adamant that little separates the two leading parties in the Federal Republic, Bahro argues vigorously that survival depends on the ability of the Greens to win over directly support from the conservative block without the SPD as an intermediary. The author of a major essay on socialism appeared himself to have drifted from the Left to become an advocate of the right-wing. His image of the Greens at the head of a mass movement heralding a new phase in the history of mankind, it is obvious, seriously conflicted with the goals and objectives of the mainstream of the party and offended the sensitivities of those who had joined the party from the Left. Unsurprisingly, his undifferentiated criticism of the leading parties proved unpalatable to members of the SPD. (56)

Any attempt to evaluate the degree of support which Bahro's ideas attracted within the party must necessarily be tentative and read with some caution. One author has estimated that by the time of his resignation from the party, Bahro was able to attract support from little more than five per cent of its members.(57) Capra's observation that Bahro "has purposely not organized any cadre around himself..."(58) would seem to confirm such estimates. Yet, despite the many critical voices, support for Bahro's standpoint, albeit in limited form, did exist. As mentioned above, the final economic programme, Sinnvoll arbeiten - Solidarisch leben(59) contained concessions to Bahro's position, and similarly the former dissident's election to the party's executive committee following the Hagen Conference testifies to Bahro's standing within the party. Whereas many found Bahro's approach too dogmatic, others point to the elements which make his work attractive. For example, Wiesenthal of the North Rhine-Westphalia branch of the party, although strongly against Bahro's concept as a whole, draws attention to one positive aspect of it, namely that in contrast to other elements of the party, Bahro offers a clear vision of what he seeks and makes no bones about the sacrifices it would entail:

"Es (Bahro's programme:G.S.) ist heute schon präzise genug ausgearbeitet, um jedem deutlich zu machen, welche persönlichen Kosten (sprich: Verzichtleistungen) ein radikaler Strich unter die Übel der Industriegesellschaft bedingt."(60)

As demonstrated below(61), it is debatable whether Bahro's programme is 'worked out precisely' but the definite nature of his proposals and the formulation of specific goals clearly served to fill a theoretical vacuum within the party's founding years. Ebermann, too, judges Bahro's role as a visionary to be one of the chief reasons for the support he enjoyed:

"Die andere Sache, die Bahro attraktiv macht, liegt fast noch mehr im Nebel: Die Linke in der BRD hat keinen Visionär zu bieten. Und Rudolf Bahro ist einer!" (62)

Even though many aspects of his theories remain obscure, Ebermann argues, it is precisely the somewhat intangible nature of Bahro's work which proves so attractive to many in the party:

"... eben dieser Reiz des Unverständlichen führt einen Teil der Grünen zu Beifallsbekundungen. Das ist wohl ein Reflex darauf, wie schnöde unser Alltag ist: die Arbeit eines grünen Kreisverbandes, der Büchertische organisiert, eines Parlamentariers im kleinstädtischen Parlament, die dabei an die wirkliche Starrheit der Verhältnisse stößt." (63)

In essence, the appeal which Bahro's ideas held for many stemmed from their ability to keep alive the enthusiasm and ideals of the ecology movement which had prompted many to join the movement. Bahro gives voice to the fears harboured by some that, once established as a political party, the movement had become too institutionalized and conventional. (64) Weighed down by the mundane affairs of parliamentary politics at both local and national level, it is understandable that Bahro's ideas upholding the vision of a 'new tomorrow' had a certain appeal.

What is equally clear, however, is that most Greens, even in the 'fundamentalist' camp were unwilling to subscribe fully to the extremes of Bahro's radical and apocalyptic interpretation of the ecology crisis. His proposal for a network of communes as the basis for the society of the future is just one example. Although reluctant to agree wholeheartedly with this design, Kretschmann of the Baden-Württemberg Greens, and a member of the so-called ecolibertarian wing of the party (65), is typical of those who agree with what they perceive as the intention behind his theory:

"Das mit diesen kommunitären Einheiten von 3.000 Seelen halte ich natürlich auch für eine überspitzte Formulierung. Aber wenn dahinter das Ziel steckt ..., die Gesellschaft in vielen Sektoren weitgehend zu dezentralisieren ..., dann geht das nur über einen gewissen Abbau des Industriesystems. Insofern nehme ich ihn (Bahro:G.S.) ernst." (66)

Equally, it was ecolibertarians such as Thomas Schmid who greeted with approval Bahro's call at the 1983 Hannover conference for the regrouping of forces outside of the traditional Left-Right paradigm. (67) Despite the potential for support from this section, Bahro's rather dogmatic version of fundamentalism once again precluded any effective cooperation with the ecolibertarians.

It is the totality of Bahro's critique, allowing no concession whatsoever to the existing state of affairs which those such as Kretschmann and Schmid find unacceptable. It is precisely this point which forms the core of Wolf's argument:

"Richtig ist allein, daß wir alle lernen müssen, radikal und realitätstüchtig zu werden. ... Das erfordert eine andere Analyse: die sich darauf einläßt, gemeinsam Ursachen und Zusammenhänge zu untersuchen, Initiativen zu entwerfen und Fehler zu kritisieren, statt einfach zu glauben schon im ganz Anderen zu sein - und alle die woanders stehen, zum bösen Feind erklärt." (68)

Bahro's tendency to produce global, unsupported statements is clearly one which led many to view his ideology as too dogmatic. Trampert, for example, echoes Wolf's criticism in his insistence that the Greens should avoid blanket condemnations of opposing opinions within the party and show more tolerance of views different to one's own. (69) Undoubtedly one factor which gave rise to this negative impression of Bahro was his forthright declaration that, due to its content, the authors of the Hagen discussion paper could not conceivably claim to be Green. For some, this seemed too reminiscent of the sectarian

attitudes which had proven so divisive in the Left during the 1970s, with one grouping disavowing the claims of another, and little dialogue between any of the factions. Rieckmann denounces Bahro on these grounds:

"... a. Bahro besitzt das *Definitionsrecht* auf das, was GRÜNE in ihrer Gesamtheit heißt. b. Wer definiert, der grenzt ein bzw. aus. ... Rudolf rutscht somit aalglat in die Wogen der Sektiererei der 70er Jahre zurück." (70)

As well as exacerbating the divisions between the workers' movement and the Greens, Rieckmann clearly feels that Bahro is intent on worsening the tensions within the various strands of the party itself.

The viability, or rather the lack of it, of Bahro's dogmatic brand of Green politics was exposed at the Greens 1984 Hamburg conference. The chief topic of debate which dominated the conference was the continuing inner-party strife on the question of electoral alliances. In a remarkable move, the ecosocialists Ebermann and Trampert, from the Hamburg Greens, joined with Bahro in presenting a resolution to the conference challenging pressure from those calling for a united front against the right:

"Es besteht ... die Gefahr, daß DIE GRÜNEN mit einer Politik nach dem Motto »gemeinsam gegen rechts« die geringfügigen Angebote der SPD ... hochjubeln und so zur Pflege eines in 16 Jahren Regierungszeit arg lädierten Images beitragen. Die hessischen Bündnisvereinbarungen haben bewiesen, daß wir die SPD nicht ändern, sondern sie sich unserer Stimmen für ihrer Politik bedient." (71)

Although both Bahro and the ecosocialists shared a profound dislike of any potential alliance with the SPD (72), there was practically little else to bind the respective visions of Bahro and Trampert. Unity in their perception of the SPD as totally identified with the existing system could not hide the enormous gulf between Bahro's radical vision

of an exodus from industrial society and the strong socialist content of the Hamburg Greens. From the outset, the Bahro/Trampert motion appears to have been an unprincipled alliance on both sides. Correspondingly, it collapsed as quickly as it had arisen:

"Der Prophet desavouierte den Taktiker und der Taktiker desavouierte den Propheten. Sie sind vereint marschiert und vereint geschlagen worden." (73)

Thus, Trampert rushed to dissociate himself from the controversial and extremist tenor of Bahro's Hamburg speech whilst Bahro himself later attacked the ecosocialists as not going far enough. (74)

The unlikely alliance between Bahro and Trampert aroused scepticism and scorn in many circles. Schmid, for example, decried Trampert's approach as reinforcing the strict divisions between the 'Realos' and Fundis with the alliance seeming to exclude any middle option between reform or revolution. (75) By the same token, Sarkar denounced 'Realos' such as Norbert Kostede and Jo Müller for their tacit acceptance of Bahro's theories, thereby seeking to parade Bahro to the rest of the party as the logical conclusion of the fundamentalist approach. (76) Already, Bahro had been at the centre of such controversy. Paradoxically, Ebermann of the Hamburg Greens had attacked the tactics of the Bremen party, of which Bahro was a member in the early 1980s, for their stance in supporting Bahro's stand on the Hagen economic paper. Ebermann casts doubt on the nature of this support, claiming that there were significant differences between Bahro's vision and the actual policy of the Bremen Greens. For example, the party's stipulation of the introduction of a 35-hour working week and increased social measures contrasted sharply with Bahro's fundamental resistance to the system as a whole:

"Der ganze (schlecht-)utopische Gehalt, den das bei Bahro hat, -daß die etwas großartig anderes machen wollten - ist damit vollkommen liquidiert." (77)

By the same token, Ebermann argues that Müller, a leading figure in the Bremen party, distorted and manipulated the position which Bahro adopted on the question of the party's relationship with the SPD. Bahro's assertion that the party was too subservient to the SPD is thus made meaningless, Ebermann insists:

"... Politische Macher instrumentalisieren Bahro, das war meine These. Jo Müller kommt zum Ende seines Papiers mit der Feststellung, 'nur weil ich davon ausgehe, daß bei uns Bremer Grünen kein "hündischer SPD-Bezug" zu fürchten ist, finde ich eine Koalition in Bremen erwägenswert.'" (78)

Whilst Bahro sought to advocate a policy of complete non-cooperation with the SPD, Ebermann accuses Müller of manipulating the idea to call for the exact opposite, namely an alliance with the SPD, on the grounds that the danger of being 'swallowed up' by the larger party would diminish once the Greens asserted their own identity. Equally, Ebermann reproaches figures such as Joschka Fischer and Winfried Kretschmann for their attitude to Bahro, insisting that they simply agreed with his views as means of covering their 'Realpolitik' with a veneer of fundamentalism. In a conversation with Kretschmann, Ebermann voices his strong views:

"Und das ist auch meine feste Überzeugung, daß Du meinst, für so eine harte und abgefuckte Realpolitik braucht die Partei auch einen Philosophen, der zwar spinnt und dessen Ziele Du nicht teilst, dessen Überlegungen Du für schlechte Utopien hältst, aber wenn schon die ganze Partei in reformistischer Handwerkelei aufgeht und ertrinkt, dann braucht man zweimal im Jahr was für's Gemüt." (79)

In contrast, it is evident that although many sought to use Bahro for their own political ends, Bahro himself was not averse to employing similar tactics. His avowed intention at the Hamburg conference, he declared, was to bring the differences within the party

to a head once and for all, and in a powerful and vitriolic speech he sought to expose the true nature of the 'Realos' strategy:

"(Realpolitik bedeutet:G.S.)... daß wir hingehen, dem Drachen den Panzer etwas zu erleichtern, ihm die Zähne zu putzen, den schlechten Atem zu desodorieren und die Exkremente zu sortieren... Loyal tolerieren werden wir (die Fundamentalisten:G.S.) Euren (die Realos:G.S.) Abmarsch in die Institutionen nicht." (80)

The principal focus of his attack, therefore, was aimed at highlighting the degree to which the Greens reflected the interests of the educated, metropolitan city-dwellers, a point which Bahro now concedes he initially underestimated. (81) To the extent that Bahro sought to force the internal party differences between 'Fundis' and 'Realos' to a decisive split "bis wir die Schlimmsten (die Realos:G.S.) los sind" (82) he resoundingly failed with most members refusing to rise to the bait. Nevertheless, he undoubtedly succeeded in highlighting the party's reformist nature when his conclusions were confirmed by Klingelschmitt in his hostile 'Anti-Bahro'. The "konterrevolutionäre Metropolenintelligenz" (83) whom Bahro despises so much, Klingelschmitt asserts, are precisely the foundation of the party's constituency:

"Diese Massen wollen weder das System stürzen, noch den Holzflug über die Scholle ziehen. Diese Massen ... wollen nur ihr Grillgut in Ruhe - ohne Fluglärmverzehren..., daß die Wälder nicht sterben und der Abgaskatalysator endlich eingeführt wird." (84)

By the same measure, Bahro can be said to have failed and succeeded in his efforts to make his own radical ideas the touchstone of future fundamentalist Green politics. Thus, his Hamburg speech was not only directed at accentuating the Realo-Fundi split, but also sought to underline the basic similarities between the fundamentalism of the ecosocialists and the strategy of the 'Realos':

"... das ist ja die ungeheure Sache, daß eine Politik, die die Großchemie usw. wegräumt, den Job als Zugang zum Lebensunterhalt mit wegräumt. Da stockt's in Hamburg ... und deshalb werden sie entweder über kurz oder lang doch auch in die Realpolitik abmarschieren oder - über ihren Schatten springen. Hier liegt der Engpaß des Fundamentalismus." (85)

Bahro's provocation was effective in displaying the basically reformist nature of the party as a whole. But, he ultimately failed to convince the more pragmatic fundamentalists of his own rather dogmatic vision which offered the stark option of either an irrevocable break from the existing system or total complicity with it.

The all-encompassing nature of Bahro's critique casts severe doubt on his own hopes of a mass exodus from industrial society. Although he interprets the rise of the Greens as the first phase in a mass change of consciousness, his attacks on all wings of the party seriously contradict any suggestion that a new mass movement across all class barriers is emerging. With even the most progressive forces in society dismissed by Bahro as pragmatists and reformists it remains unclear where the forces for such a broad social alliance exist. Bahro's rather bland assertion "... wir werden versuchen, die Kontakte zu den autonomen Kräften wieder aufzunehmen und zu denen, die sich enttäuscht schon aus den Grünen zurückgezogen haben" (86) fails to convince that there is a large untapped potential ready to follow Bahro's banner.

Bahro's final provocation at the Hamburg conference reinforced the former dissident's new found status of heretic, this time within the Green Party. Instead of forcing a decisive split in the party in favour of a dogmatic programme of resistance to the domination of the existing system, the severity of Bahro's attack merely provoked a unified front against his radical visions. His provocations against both the Fundamentalists and 'Realos' formed but part of his larger assault on the party concept as a whole. Showing little deference to

the sensitivities of the party, Bahro concluded his speech with a most controversial verdict about the development of the Greens:

"Formell, strukturell gesehen, stehen sich nämlich Bewegung, Staat und Gesellschaft heute ganz ähnlich gegenüber wie in der Republik von Weimar, und die Grünen steigen formell nach einem ganz ähnlichem Muster auf wie die Naziartei." (87)

Bahro's views are totally consistent with his earlier perception of the party as one subordinated to the movement which it represents. However his warnings about the danger of the party being coopted into the existing institutional structure are expressed in such terms as to alienate the party's membership. Moreover, in asserting that the party was in danger of disenfranchising the movement behind it, he takes for granted the notion of the party as a product of the new social movements, a point strongly disputed by Huber. (88) Members of the party were united in their condemnation of what they saw as Bahro's provocative slur. Otto Schily, for one, refused to be drawn by Bahro's efforts, but others were less recalcitrant. Antje Vollmer, for example, denounced Bahro's speech as epitomizing a 'Geist der Intoleranz' reminiscent less of a spiritual reformation and more of the Inquisition. (89) Christa Nickels' complaint that Bahro had simply offered ammunition to those seeking to denounce 'Systemopposition' was supported by Heinz Suhr, the party's press spokesman, as applying to the party's image in general. (90)

Nevertheless, although Bahro was confirmed in his supposition that such a speech amounted to his own "politischer Selbstmord" (91), he could at least take comfort from the fact that his general point was proven, as one commentator observed:

"... Die Versammlung verweigerte die inhaltliche Diskussion, wiewohl Bahro völlig recht hatte mit der Behauptung, daß jede parlamentarische Bewegung in Deutschland sich mit den Erfahrungen der Nazi-Bewegung beschäftigen muß." (92)

The party's efforts to confront this issue were, indeed, limited. Müller did seek to emphasize the Greens' commitment to the principles 'basisdemokratisch' and 'gewaltfrei' to distinguish it from the NSDAP, and similarly August Haußleiter dismissed Bahro's analysis as "Geschichtsklitterung" (93) arguing that the Greens were far from constituting a revisionist, belligerent force in the mould of the 'Nazi' Party. However, Bahro's conclusion that "(d)as Eisen war zu heiß" (94) for the party to confront this issue certainly seems well-founded.

Bahro's resignation from the party occurred ostensibly over the issue of vivisection. (95) His political fate, however, was firmly sealed by his outspoken views uttered at the Hamburg conference. Bahro may have succeeded in momentarily highlighting the reformist character of the Greens; its supporters however had already acknowledged this point. (96) Had Bahro therefore been misguided in originally joining the Greens? On reflection, it is apparent that Bahro's radical vision was not shared by the majority of Greens. Yet, it is equally true that the principles to which the party, and Bahro, originally committed themselves were, at best, highly idealistic and difficult to realize in practice. To simply dismiss the existing system *carte blanche* as incapable of reform would not suffice, as Heinz Suhr comments in his critique of Bahro's speech:

"... die Umsetzbarkeit unserer Alternativen muß in einem permanentem und umfassenden Prozeß nachgewiesen werden. Daß die Welt schlimm ist und »sich alle Gefahren zugespitzt« haben, das haben drei Viertel der Bevölkerung mittlerweile kapiert. Unsere konstruktive Radikalität kann aber solange nicht überzeugen, solange es uns nicht gelingt andere Realitäten zu schaffen..." (97)

As the following section shows, Bahro's perceived failure to present a viable offer to the Greens' 'reformist' measures has led some critics to dismiss his critique as an example of neo-romanticism.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE - PART THREE

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CHAPTER FIVE: PART FOUR -
BAHRO - 'NEW AGE' PROPHET OR NEO-ROMANTIC?

As one of the most prominent figures fighting the 'fundamentalist' corner within the Green Party, Bahro attained a reputation for his outspoken criticism of the tendency within the party to allow its vision to be clouded by the restraints and limitations imposed by the need to work within the framework of the existing system. Yet, Bahro's reputation rests on more than his attacks on the party's allegedly servile relationship towards the SPD. Rather, this represents but one aspect of his overall philosophy. Thus, against the reformist measures which he feels the Greens have come to promote, Bahro posits the grandiose vision of a counter-culture, based on an uncompromising repudiation of the values and forms of contemporary society. The controversial nature of this design can be deduced from the response of one of Bahro's colleagues from the 'Realo' wing of the party, Joschka Fischer, who demarcates his own brand of Green politics against Bahro's apocalyptic visions:

"Verspricht er da nicht einen ökologischen Honigmond im Übermorgen, von dem jeder an der Hand der konkreten geschichtlichen Erfahrung wissen muß, daß er in einem Meer von Blut versinken wird." (1)

By any standards, this indeed constitutes a harsh appraisal of Bahro's strategy, and certainly, there are features of his design which merit such criticism. On the other hand, Kallscheuer is too indiscriminate in seizing Bahro as an example of exaggerated 'Fortschrittsangst' (2), although Bahro's views do indeed contain a strong sense of an impending apocalypse. However, the 'Ausstieg aus dem Industriesystem' (3) which Bahro exhorts people to undertake cannot easily be dismissed as the dream of an isolated and slightly cranky individual, although the press is fond of this image. (4) Nor does this represent a significant turning point in Bahro's work. Moreover, the commitment to a new form of living free of the burdens and ailments of modern industrial

civilization, which forms the core of Bahro's 'alternative' for the West, and which he has sought to translate into practice with experimental forms of living, firstly in Worms(5), and most recently in Niederstadtfeld(6), is symptomatic of a broader trend within society, although perhaps not so accentuated as Bahro's vision. Indeed, it is clear that his outlook is deeply rooted in a long tradition of German romantic yearning for an alternative lifestyle, and shows remarkable parallels with the 'Lebensreformbewegung' at the start of the twentieth century.

In their useful analysis of utopias through the ages, Goodwin and Taylor highlight the many difficulties in establishing a suitable methodology for evaluating utopias. (7) They argue it is possible to distinguish two basic motives which have inspired authors and scholars to develop alternative utopian visions of society. On the one hand, such utopias have been conceived as a means of highlighting the failings of a particular society at a specific stage of its development. Such was the case with utopian socialists such as Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon whose varying strategies evolved as a response to the advent of the industrial age. On the other hand, the force of particular circumstances has taken second place as an influential factor in the genesis of some utopian ideals. More's Utopia and Plato's The Republic, for example, can be construed as broader expressions of the 'discontent of the human condition.' (8) Already, the weakness of such approaches is apparent in their tendency to stress one aspect at the expense of the other.

Bahro's particular outline for the future well illustrates the difficulty in evaluating such visions. The strategy he advocates assumes its relevance as a thorough critique of contemporary society. In emphasizing transformation on an individual basis, located in structures (theoretically at least) outwith the existing framework of society, Bahro's cry "Kommune wagen!" (9) must be understood as a decided rejection of the two major competing industrial systems. Socialism, as practised in Eastern Europe, is no longer regarded as offering any suitable answers, as Die Alternative showed with its

ardent call for a new visionary socialism. The concept which inspired many at the end of the 'Sixties, namely the belief in changing the system from within by means of a 'langer Marsch' through the institutions has proved itself to be futile, and needs to be substituted by a more comprehensive, far-reaching restructuring of society, Bahro argues, with the individual himself at the centre of this process. His own experience convinces Bahro that the system as it stands is incapable of reform and that the individual bears great responsibility in perpetuating this system:

"Nicht nur in unserer täglichen Arbeit, sondern auch mit vielem, was wir politisch tun, reproduzieren wir oder bestätigen zumindest indirekt den tödlichen Zusammenhang unserer Zivilisation." (10)

Just as the visions of Fourier and Owen signalled a reaction to the birth of large scale industrialism, Bahro's appeal for spiritual communities can be read as reponse to the perceived demise of the industrial age. The rousing call for people to establish experimental forms of living is indelibly linked to the individual's sense of helplessness and alienation in the face of anonymous bureaucracies and highly automated industries. Bahro's critique corresponds to Habermas' observation on the qualitative change in the nature of social conflicts: "... the new conflicts are not sparked by *problems of distribution* but concern the *grammar of forms of life*." (11)

The essence of this new dimension to social conflict is echoed in the grand design which Bahro outlines as the next phase of development. For the seed core of this new civilization he places his hopes in the early utopian socialist concept of the commune, as championed in varying forms by the likes of Owen, Fourier and, indeed, Marx. This support for the commune as the most appropriate form of social organization departs little from the ideal of a federation of communes which formed a crucial part of Bahro's indictment of state socialism in Eastern Europe. (12) In Die Alternative, he sought to show how domination assumed many more forms than economic

exploitation, a view which his experience of life in the West has reinforced. Any strategy for change must be directed not simply at alterations in the mode of production but should have as its objective a profound restructuring of lifestyle and human needs:

"Die eigentliche Alternative, die die Kommune dem industriellen Goliath entgegensetzt, ist nicht wirtschaftlicher, sondern kultureller Natur." (13)

The early idealism of his socialist upbringing thus plays an influential role in this feature of his work, yet it is also apparent that this is also determined by his critique of contemporary Western society. As a small, decentralized, self-sufficient, harmonious unit of social organization, the commune is conceived in idealistic terms as the very antithesis of modern urban living. Indeed, the commune is presented, in many respects as a panacea for the ills of modern society:

"(Wir erkennen, G.S.) in einer ökonomisch nicht mehr expansiven, relativ autonomen Grundeinheit des sozialen Lebens (Self-Reliance) die einzige Chance, langfristig die Wurzeln des Ost-West-Konflikts und vor allem des Gegensatzes zur Dritten Welt auszuroden." (14)

Even if one accepts that the intention is not to offer a blueprint for the future, but rather an outline of the principles involved, it is hard to accept the essence of Bahro's argument.

One of the weakest aspects of Bahro's theory concerns its ramifications for the Third World. In emphasizing the autarkic nature of such communes, Bahro is convinced that the greatest contribution to be made by the West to resolving the enormous gulf between North and South is for the developed countries to abandon the lifestyle which enforces terrible poverty in the underdeveloped world:

"Cum grano salis könnte man sagen, und zwar mit dem Akzent viel mehr auf dem kulturellen als auf dem ökonomisch-technologischen Aspekt . . . , der Weg der Versöhnung mit der Dritten Welt bestünde darin, daß wir selber Dritte Welt werden." (15)

Although undoubtedly correct as to the pressure which exists in the Third World to emulate the standards of living attainable in the West, Bahro's assertion that reversing the tide of affluence here would assist the Third World seems a highly suspect assumption and one which, potentially at least, could in fact exacerbate the situation still further in the underdeveloped nations. Again Mandel has been in the vanguard of critics of this aspect of Bahro's thesis, denouncing the Zero growth option posited by Bahro as a means to easing the pressure on the Third World:

"Nullwachstum bedeutet nicht besseres Wachstum, ein unverteilt, qualitativ gestiegenes Wachstum, sondern Nullwachstum bedeutet konkret im marxistischen Sinne eine nicht mehr steigende Arbeitsproduktivität. Und eine nicht mehr steigende Arbeitsproduktivität ist ein menschenvernichtender Vorschlag heute." (16)

So great are the levels of poverty in respect of elementary needs in the Third World, submits Mandel, that development of the productive forces - in a planned and rational manner - cannot be forsaken, without incurring huge loss of life in the world's underdeveloped regions. Equally, Galtung, whose ideas have strongly influenced Bahro's understanding of the characteristics of European civilization(17), has cast doubts on the equation of cause and effect in the relationship between First and Third World. Galtung suggests that it is false to believe any radical change of lifestyle in the West could effect any change in Third World countries:

"Eine Politik, in einem sogenannten Entwicklungsland mit Befriedigung von Fundamentalbedürfnissen und Autonomie zu

beginnen, muß aus diesem Volk und Land entspringen. Und unsere Aufgabe ist es, nicht im Weg zu stehen. Aber es kann nicht hier anfangen." (18)

Referring to the examples of Iran and Nicaragua, Galtung stresses that any move to disengage themselves from the First World hinges on the initiative stemming from within such countries. Indeed, he sees greater problems arising for the First World in any process of restructuring and urges the developed nations to become less dependent on the Third World. (19) In his assessment, Frankel accuses Bahro of promoting a model which would condemn Third World nations to intolerable levels of poverty. Bahro, he argues, simplifies matters in viewing the North-South relationship as one dominated by the exploitative nature of capitalism, thereby ignoring the pressures generated domestically in such countries to modernize. (20) Paradoxically, Bahro's current position signals a major revision of his thesis in Die Alternative where he argued the case for developing countries to undergo a similar process of accelerated industrialization in a non-capitalist manner as experienced in Russia. Bahro is still adamant that there was little alternative to the path adopted in Russia at that particular time, but now rejects this as a universal model for development and has come to favour those opposed to forced industrialization:

"Als ich die 'Alternative' schrieb, war mir noch nicht klar, daß die Positionen, die nicht nur ein theoretisches und ideologisches ... Gegenbild zu dem sowjetischen Modell aufscheinen ließen, viel eher in Kronstadt zu suchen sind als bei dem Sieger über Kronstadt und viel mehr bei dem sogenannten Rechten Bucharin, der den Bauern einen Spielraum für autonome Entwicklung lassen wollte, als bei den sogenannten linken Industrialisierern." (21)

In the sense that he shares the objective of an egalitarian and just society, Bahro considers himself to be socialist, but this clearly

entails a radical revision of one of the fundamental features of traditional socialist theory:

"Wir müssen lernen, der Sozialismus kann nicht die Verlängerung *dieses* Industriesystems, er muß der Bruch mit ihm sein. *Dieses* Industriesystem schafft nicht die Grundlagen dafür, sondern entfernt uns immer weiter von seiner Möglichkeit." (22)

In many respects, Bahro has abandoned the traditional understanding of socialism. His stress on the voluntarist nature of the means to overcome the capitalist/industrial order, founded on an anthropological explanation of the origins of this crisis are fully incompatible with the traditional tenets of socialist theory. One critic sums up the essence of Bahro's position:

"Mit dem Projekt der Aufklärung, einer materialistischen Gesellschaftstheorie und einer sozialstrukturell ansetzenden politischen Praxis, also den klassischen Positionen einer jeden linken Politik, hat all dies nicht mehr zu tun." (23)

Although Die Alternative gave rise to heated debate as to whether it adhered to traditional concepts of socialism, it is clear in his most recent writings that Bahro has sought to develop and expand upon those elements in his earlier work which stressed the need for a less dogmatic interpretation of socialist theory, and has now arrived at a position which most would discount as socialist.

The chief motive inspiring the establishment of a society of communes, it must be stressed, is not to establish any new mode of production, but rather a new culture with new values and needs. The importance of economic efficiency and material advance is wholeheartedly subordinated to the spiritual and intellectual development of the individual in society:

"Die Kommune ist die soziale Grundform für eine neue häus-
hälterische Lebensweise (...). Ihr Zweck ist nicht die
Produktion von Existenzmitteln - sei sie nun agrarisch oder
industrieller Art, finde sie auf dem Land oder in der Stadt
Platz -, sondern die Reproduktion der kommunitären
Gemeinschaft." (24)

Alluding to the work of Illich(25), Bahro insists that emphasis on
simple, self-reliant production at a communal level is feasible and
does not amount to 'Maschinenstürmerei'. Technological advances need
not be discarded wholesale, but rather man should no longer define
himself purely in terms of technical achievements. Certainly, Bahro
articulates a broadly felt attitude in some sections of the community
when he attacks the alienation inherent in a culture where individual
personality has become defined more and more in terms of material
acquisitiveness. But once more there is an irritating want of any
evidence that Bahro has considered the issues in their entirety. The
impatience to transfer such ideas into reality leaves Bahro little
time to assess the long-term implications:

"Es geht ja nur um das Prinzip erstmal: Die einfache
Reproduktion zu installieren und zu prüfen, was von einer
solchen Gesellschaft aus an zentralen Strukturen nötig
ist." (26)

Bahro insists that the basic infrastructure of society need not be
abolished, but simply that it should not be accorded high priority.
He envisages, for example, substantial reductions in the realm of
transport, proposing in one interview the ideal solution to be a
situation where the individual would undertake just two foreign
journies, as in the age of Goethe. (27) Although such ideas are easily
open to ridicule, it is clear that in a world of diminishing resources
the importance and necessity of international travel and global
tourism will need to be reassessed. Bahro rightly focusses attention
on the choices which will have to be made.

In principle Bahro's intention of subordinating the economic sphere is admirable, but important issues arising from this remain unanswered. In a national context, the objective of an essentially self-sufficient economy appears somewhat idealistic. The consequences of decoupling a major economy such as the Federal Republic's from the world market are given scant attention. Indeed, Bahro makes no secret of the fact that his strategy is dependent on the continued existence of the industrial welfare state to finance the gradual transition towards a society of self-reliant communes:

"Wenigstens auf kurze Sicht würde eine rigorose Durchsetzung ökologischer Prioritäten die bundesdeutsche Produktion verteuern... Wir stehen vor der Frage, ob wir bereit sind, in demjenigen Land Westeuropas, das ökonomisch die größten Reserven hat, dieses Risiko bewußt einzugehen." (28)

Bahro's attitude reveals the strongly Eurocentric nature of his design by implying that this utopia will only be attainable initially in the affluent West. Moreover, the concept of a nation of at least several hundred self-sufficient communes dovetails uneasily with the objective of an economy supposedly at harmony with nature. Bahro's figures reckoning that a nation of communes comprising approximately 3,000 individuals is perfectly feasible in a country Germany's size, have been subject to rigorous scrutiny elsewhere. (29) Bahro may be justified in side-stepping a debate on statistics (30), but he cannot avoid the underlying criticism of such a scheme. As Schmierer notes, agriculture on such a small, intensive scale is highly extractive. (31)

Bahro's views echo those of Sahlins who has argued the case for a more favourable appraisal of primitive, Stone-Age economies. In his examination of primitive, hunter economies, Sahlins argues in favour of a non-material and non-technical concept of affluence and progress and must lead to the conclusion that "Poverty is a social status." (32) Sahlins strives to demonstrate that subsistence economies need not instantly be equated with economic hardship. Crucial to this argument are favourable factors such as the simplicity of technology permitting

ease of production; the easy accessibility of natural resources; and the periodic movement of the hunter gatherer which acted against accumulation of possessions. In advocating such an economy for the future, Bahro chooses to ignore that such factors would no longer in many cases. Further, he leaves unanswered the question of how far his programme of self sufficiency is compatible with a greater degree of leisure. A society so actively engaged in efforts to secure a minimum level of existence would seem to undermine such grand aims as overcoming the division of labour, abolishing the patriarchal nature of society and allowing the individual greater time for personal self-development. As one critic has observed, whilst Bahro views the commune as the environment in which the new model human can be created, the stringent asceticism pervading his outline would seem to presuppose the existence of such selfless individuals. (33)

Taken together, the weaknesses of Bahro's outline of a communal society seriously undermine its good intentions. Bartsch's criticism in this respect is useful and has been acknowledged by Bahro. (34) Bartsch accepts the general tenor of the approach advocated by Bahro, but points to the dangers of exclusivity contained within it:

"Wenn man jedoch von der Kommune als sozialer Grundform einer Neuen Gesellschaft spricht, so entsteht die Gefahr, andere Formen der Gemeinschaftsbasis auszuschließen oder zumindest als nebensächlich zu erachten." (35)

The commune solves the tension between individualism and collectivism in favour of the latter, usually to the detriment of the individual. In 'kommunitäre Gemeinschaften', this dilemma is resolved by equal emphasis on both the collective and individual. Certainly, Bahro is too keen to advocate the commune as the sole solution. His underlying aim is directed at overcoming the alienation and isolation prevalent in the anonymous urban culture of the industrialized societies.

Here, a nostalgic yearning for an idealized understanding of the past is quite evident in Bahro's proposals. His real goal appears to

be the reestablishment of a greater sense of community rather than communes per se. Against the 'neurotisierende Kleinfamilie' (36) Bahro juxtaposes the restoration of a culture which fosters greater solidarity and communication between individuals: "In letzter Instanz geht es wahrscheinlich um ... das Wiederfinden einer Stammeskultur." (37) Bahro points, for example, to the wide contrast between the high number of inter-personal contacts ('Bezugspersonen') involved in the socialization of the individual in rural communities of the past and the relative isolation of the individual in this process today. No doubt, Bahro's own rural upbringing has played a part here, and to some degree his longing for a return to a perceived idyllic rural existence must be derived from his own sense of 'Heimatlosigkeit' after the dislocation and upheaval of his family after the war. (38)

Taken as a whole, the call for small, decentralized, ascetic, self-sufficient communes juxtaposed against the anonymous, bureaucratic forms of affluent society strongly recalls the critique which formed the focus of those alternative movements at the start of the century. In their discussion of Bahro's critique of the Green Party's 1982 Hagen Programme, Dräger and Hülsberg refer to this analogy:

"(Mit seinen, G.S.) Theorien hatte Bahro ein komplettes, programmatisches und strategisches Konzept für die Grüne Partei vorgelegt, das mit Hilfe eines ökologistischen Begründungszusammenhangs an der Ideenwelt frühsozialistischer und anarchistischer Produktionskommune- und Genossenschaftsbewegungen anknüpfte und auch ihre Strategieansätze (...) übernahm." (39)

There is certainly some evidence to support this argument, but this assertion does little to highlight these similarities or clarify the distinctions between Bahro and anarcho-socialist forerunners such as Landauer and Robien.

The extent to which contemporary alternative movements in West Germany (including the emergence of the Green Party) are analogous to

earlier, turn-of-the-century movements has stirred some debate amongst various observers. The Brand/Büsser/Rucht study, for example, draws attention to the similarities with the efforts of early socialist, Bohemian and Romantic counter-cultural strands, but assert that their present-day counterparts are the outcome of a particular crisis of modernity. (40) Conti, on the other hand, although he does not claim any firm degree of continuity between past and present movements, argues for today's alternative groupings to be understood as evidence of a permanent tendency towards opposition within society irrespective of the prevailing conditions:

"Alternatives Denken, Empfinden und Experimentieren findet sich aber bereits seit Jahrzehnten. Offenbar wird es nicht durch die jeweils aktuellen Problemlagen hervorgebracht, sondern bildet einen - teils mehr, teils weniger sichtbaren - dauerhaften Bestandteil der Gesellschaft." (41)

Critical voices have also sought to draw parallels between the radical anti-industrialism espoused by some Greens, notably Bahro, and the anti-modernism, anti-liberalism of reactionary conservatism, as exemplified in national-socialism. (42) Linse has justifiably refuted such accusations, insisting that the Greens and the alternative movement owe their origins to more recent phenomena such as the Student Movement of the 1960s and 'Bürgerinitiative' of the 'Seventies, which, moreover, sharply differ in their objectives and approach from the early twentieth century movements. (43) Nonetheless, whilst this may apply to the party as a whole, there are distinct elements in Bahro's ideas which recall these earlier efforts.

In his excellent study Fortschrittsfeinde?, Siefertle points to two distinct, but, in some respects, complementary strands which have formed the core of the response to the rise of industrialism. (44) On the one hand, he notes the existence of the 'Gesellschaftskritik', in which the Left concentrated on the potential for greater equality presented by industrialization, whereas the conservative 'Zivilisationskritik' placed the accent on the loss of traditional values:

"Für die konservativen Zivilisationskritiker war das von vornherein klar: die Emanzipation der Massen, die industrielle Massenproduktion ... all das würde zur allgemeinen Nivillierung, zum Aufstand der Massen, zur Allgegenwart der Vielzuvielen, zu Überfullung und damit zur Verrohung, zur Verschandelung von Stadt und Land führen." (45)

It was such motives which formed the basis for the emergence of the so-called 'Lebensreformbewegung', which in variegated form sought to maintain traditional lifestyles with the accent heavily on the need to preserve the autonomy of the individual. Pepper has indicated the apparent paradox that this critique has now been taken on board by the eco-socialists. (46) This is true to a limited extent; as previous sections have shown, the socialist groupings have firmly resisted the wholesale abandonment of their socialist heritage. However, this point is valid with reference to those in the party who, like Bahro, have accorded priority to changes in lifestyle to counter the ecological crisis. Just as Bahro's project in Niederstadtfeld reflects a total dismissal of the capitalist-industrialist system, settlements such as those at Ascona (near Lake Maggiore), and the 'Neue Gemeinschaft' in Schlachtensee, Berlin, were the response of some to the delayed, but rapid industrialization of Wilhelminian Germany. (47)

A number of features, especially with respect to motives and the form in which they were realized, reveal the close correspondence between these early settlements and Bahro's present-day efforts. Above all, it is the intention to combine practical forms of living with the search for a new political praxis which most directly reveals the parallel between Bahro and his start-of-the-century predecessors. Thus, a feature of considerable merit in Bahro's career in the West since leaving the Green Party has been his willingness to undertake the transition from advancing theoretical postulates to realizing such ideas in practice. At the risk of losing the prestige won as a foremost socialist thinker from the publication of Die Alternative, Bahro has actively sought to pursue a lifestyle which some might

consider utopian or even eccentric. In 1985 Bahro attempted to establish a project in Worms, one which has since been superceded by his involvement in a new communal effort at Niederstadtfeld in the Eifel region. Designated as "eine Art andere Universität" (48), the project's main objective is conceived as the renewal of "... die überlieferte Idee der Einheit von Forschung, Lehre und Lebenspraxis..." (49) In this outline for Niederstadtfeld, the commune is presented as the centre of cultural and spiritual regeneration:

"Wir wollen beitragen zu einer spirituellen Neubegründung der Großen Politik und uns dabei von dem Streben leiten lassen, Eros und Logos, Natur und Geist, weibliches und männliches Wesen wiederzuversöhnen. Wir wollen helfen, die konkreten Fragestellungen und Folgerungen für eine ökologische Rettungspolitik zuzuspitzen. ... Die lebentragende Erde als ganze braucht alle unsere Tiefenkräfte unter der Führung all unserer Vernunft." (50)

The concept for Niederstadtfeld, in its emphasis on the need to reintegrate man into nature and reunite him with his natural energies by means of transcendence, encapsulates the essence of Bahro's eco-spiritualist philosophy. (51) The ideals which Bahro formulates here, moreover, strongly echo those of communities such as the Hart brothers' 'Neue Gemeinschaft', as Conti observes:

"«Freie, sich selbstbestimmende, selbsturteilsfähige Individuen» würden in einer Gemeinschaft des Glücks, der Schönheit, der Kunst miteinander umgehen. Geistige und landwirtschaftliche Arbeiten sollten sich harmonisch verbinden." (52)

Recurring themes amongst such communes were the desire for greater 'Gemeinschaft', often in the form of a search for alternatives to the traditional, small family unit; the encouragement of personal self-development; adoption of new methods of working; and an overriding

desire to return to nature. Furthermore, Conti notes an element of transcendence was common to many of these 'Landkommunen':

"Es scheint als habe jede Landsiedlung eine besondere Form des Gottesreiches herbeiführen wollen und sich selbst als dessen erste Keimzelle gesehen." (53)

As a whole the 'Lebensreform' and 'Jugendbewegung' of the early twentieth century, with their emphasis on the creation of 'Gemeinschaft' juxtaposed to the anonymity and misery of contemporary 'Gesellschaft' correspond closely to Bahro's present goals. Yet, such a rigorous distinction between the natural, organic association of individuals in 'community' and the abstract, almost contractual agreement to come together in 'society' concealed, even at the start of the century, a rather naive, idealistic perception of the past. Glæßner observes that the positing of 'Gemeinschaft' as the antithesis of 'Gesellschaft' rests on the illusory belief that both concepts were mutually exclusive, an error he attributes to the influence of Tönnies. (54) Recourse to cooperative and communal experiments, Glæßner adds, often occurs in the face of economic and social crisis as the expression of a yearning for a simplistic, but idealized, and usually non-existent, past way of life.

The weaknesses of this approach are all well documented. (55) Most such communes or movements in pre-war Germany, and shortly thereafter, were generally short-lived. Thus, the commune as an alternative has proved generally unsuccessful a means to achieving the transformation of society on a grand scale. To a large extent, alternative, communal lifestyles have failed to be perceived as viable options, both politically and socially, by the population in general, a fact widely ignored by each new generation of radical thinkers who follow this path. The experiences of the early anarcho-socialists such as Gustav Landauer and Paul Robien present a salutary lesson in this respect.

In asserting the existence of a strong degree of affinity between Bahro's philosophy and turn-of-the-century anarchists a number of

qualifications must be borne in mind. On the one hand, the want of any definitive statement of 'anarchism' necessarily invites caution. Cantzen has offered a broad definition when he suggests " Man kommt dem Anarchismus am nächsten, wenn man ihn als ein Ideenkonglomerat versteht, dem das Ideal der Herrschaftslosigkeit eine gemeinsame Basis gibt." (56) On these grounds alone, as the following chapter demonstrates, Bahro is no anarchist. A still more striking difference of perspective emerges on the question of man's abilities. The anarchist tradition, Cantzen submits, rests on the rejection of what Marcuse characterized as the 'one-dimensional man':

"Im Anschluß an die Tradition der Aufklärung schreiben Anarchisten dem Menschen eine Erkenntnismöglichkeit, d.h. eine Freiheit zur Erkenntnis zu, verstanden als menschliches Vermögen, 'sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen.'" (57)

In the transition period at least, Bahro does not share such optimism in the individual's ability to achieve change by his or her own effort, instead holding solidly to his belief in a controlled process of change by a Leninist avant-garde. (58) Given such differences, remarkable parallels do exist between the respective positions held by earlier anarchist/socialists and Bahro.

In one of the few works tracing the positive utopian elements in Die Alternative, Florence and William Boos have detected a close correspondence between Bahro's critique of socialism and the utopian communism of William Morris. (59) To the extent that both Morris and Bahro emphasize the need for communal ownership, the abolition of extremes in the division of labour and creative autonomy in the sphere of work there are indeed strong similarities between them. The two not only share a firm belief in the harmonization of personal freedom with the collective but also their faith in the individual's natural impulse to form such communities. Bahro's stress on the acquisition of creative abilities rather than material accumulation also figures strongly in Morris' work. However, whereas Morris chose not to ally

himself with the individualism of the nineteenth-century anarchists, there are remarkable similarities between Bahro's position and the anarchist tradition prevalent in Germany at the start of the century.

The most striking parallels exist between Bahro and the early anarcho-socialists, Gustav Landauer and Paul Robien. Landauer has been described as one of the first exponents of 'Öko-Anarchismus' (60) and was the author of Aufruf zum Sozialismus (61) in which he advocated the foundation of 'socialist-settlements'. As with Bahro, Landauer's priority was the concrete and immediate realization of 'Gemeinschaft', since he believed ardently that socialism could be realized immediately if there were sufficient numbers of committed people. Here, too, Scherer notes, the precise economic and political form was of secondary importance:

"Sozialismus war für Landauer zunächst 'Geist-Revolution', die als Akt individuellen Willens zu allen Zeiten der Geschichte möglich sei und erst in zweiter Linie eine ökonomisch-soziale Neuorganisation." (62)

Landauer firmly renounced not only Marxist postulates on the maturity of the productive forces as a necessary precondition for revolution, but was generally dismissive of any such economic analysis, proclaiming instead the virtue of direct action. It is this call for immediate withdrawal from the existing system which Bahro himself finds admirable in Landauer's work:

"Wie Gustav Landauer schon am Anfang des Jahrhunderts gesagt hatte, aus dem Kapitalismus austreten heißt aus der Fabrik austreten." (63)

In addition, Landauer was one of the few at this time whose programme urged the need to accord a higher priority to ecological considerations in economic matters. This concern was echoed in the work of Landauer's contemporary and colleague, Paul Robien whom Linse has termed "der erste radikale deutsche »Grüne«" in his thorough account

of Robien's hitherto neglected career. (64) Robien's chief contribution to the Green movement was his attempt to reconcile the critique which formed the core of the largely conservative 'Naturschutzbewegung' with the interests of the workers' movement. Robien himself was well aware of this deficit:

"»Meines Wissens ist in der gesamten sozialistischen Literatur auch noch niemals ernstlich der Raubbau des Kapitals an den Naturschätzen erörtert worden.«" (65)

In a similar manner to Bahro, Robien saw it as his task to overcome the disunity of the socialist movement whilst simultaneously striving to transform its outlook from one based on anti-capitalism to one incorporating the values of anti-industrialism. This parallels closely Bahro's own 'Socialist Conferences' where he pursued similar objectives. (66) However, Bahro's position needs to be distinguished from the anti-semitic tendencies in Robien's writings. For his part, Robien was most dismissive of the appeal for greater spirituality, demanded by 'Inflationsheilige' (67) such as Gustav Gräser, which has since come to form a central part of Bahro's approach.

The affinity which Bahro shares with figures such as Landauer and Robien, moreover, already shows signs of extending beyond the purely theoretical level to the question of the practical success which such theories have enjoyed. The First World War, for example, convinced Landauer of the futile nature of a mass exodus from an industrial to a communal society and he came instead to devote his attentions to the establishment of the 'Räterepublik' in Munich following the War. By the same token, Robien's efforts to introduce elements of an ecological critique to the socialist movement fell upon deaf ears, leaving Robien a politically isolated figure by the late 'Twenties. In light of the criticism which Bahro encountered from some sections of the Left following his conversion to the politics of ecology, the attacks on Robien by his socialist colleagues are instructive:

"»Wir glauben nicht, daß es ein 'verhängnisvoller Irrtum' sei, die Erde als einen Kampfplatz des Menschen zu betrachten, und das 'Greifen nach den Sternen' ist uns nicht ein im naturrebellischen Strafgesetzbuch verpöntes Verbrechen, sondern vielmehr der höchste Triumph menschlichen Fortschrittes«". (68)

Just as Bahro's excessive criticism of the industrial system has provoked stern resistance in the 'Eighties, Robien's efforts were similarly denounced for being detrimental to the interests of the workers. In this sense, Bahro has resumed the struggle against the particularist interests of the workers whose existence is bound to that of the industrial system of which he is so sharply critical.

The vision of a society composed of ascetic spiritual communities appears at best to bear a strongly utopian character, at worst to be the product of a somewhat eccentric mind. The extent to which such ideas can be regarded as significant contributions to political debate is a question to which Goodwin and Taylor have given serious consideration. They summarize the views of many in arguing that

"... there is an orthodox view of communitarian experimentation ... which states that communitarianism is not worthy of serious study, that it has clearly 'failed' to achieve significant practical results, and that those people involved... are really eccentric 'outsiders' who have turned their backs on the more usual, and more effective, channels of political activity..." (69)

Against this position, Goodwin and Taylor argue vigorously for an appreciation of the communitaire idea as a valuable contribution to political thought. Whilst any such judgement depends on what are largely subjective criteria of success (quality of life, benefits accrued to members, etc.), what is clear is that Bahro stands in a long tradition of utopian thought in Europe and America. In West Germany especially, Bahro's move towards supporting the communitaire

idea reflects a not insignificant minority within society. Whether such moves represent a positive political initiative or instead simply amount to the withdrawal of the individual into their own private refuge is hotly debated. Glätzer, for one, is uncertain of the efficacy of such efforts, and questions,

"... ob in diesen Gruppen nicht auch eine spezifische Form von falschem Bewußtsein entsteht, nämlich, daß Gesellschaftsveränderung als zu sehr vom subjektiv guten Willen von Menschen abhängig gemacht wird..." (70)

This is certainly the view of orthodox socialists; Steigerwald, for example, strongly denounces the voluntarism inherent in such strategies (71) whilst Dozekal accuses Bahro of substituting thorough analysis with idealistic visions amounting to "... (die: G.S.) fromme Gleichung, eine andere *moralische Stellung* zu den kapitalistischen Gegensätzen wäre gleichbedeutend mit deren Beseitigung..." (72) Kraushaar, too, is sceptical but stresses that such initiatives need not always suffer the fate of obscurity and political irrelevance:

"Zwar kann sie (the alternative movement:G.S.) zunächst einmal das Auseinanderbrechen der im politischen Kampf entstandenen Strukturen verhindern und bis zu einem gewissen Grad Spielräume zur Erprobung alternativer Lebensformen ermöglichen; diese müssen jedoch im revolutionären, gesellschaftsumwälzenden Sinne wirkungslos bleiben, so lange sie ihre eigene soziale Wirklichkeit nicht in ein bestimmtes Verhältnis zum gesellschaftlichen Kontext und dessen Widersprüche setzen." (73)

Kraushaar stresses that any such efforts must maintain some contact with society as a whole if they are not to founder. Leineweber and Schibel, on the other hand, appeal for such alternative lifestyles to be accepted at face value as determined and concrete efforts to overcome the existing system:

"... es geht um soziale Experimente, die zeigen sollen ..., daß man auch im derzeitigen Kapitalismus ... 'anders' leben kann, als es gesellschaftlich vorgeschrieben ist." (74)

This view is reinforced by the prominent Marxist utopian, Bloch who acknowledges the deficiencies of utopian strategies as a whole. In particular he refers to the lack of appeal which utopian thought has found amongst the workers' movement due to its failure to analyse the objective tendencies within society. On the other hand, Bloch warns of the dangers of being bound to a determinist view of history and in this respect he finds praise for the underlying spirit behind such schemes:

"Dennoch haben diese Träumer einen Rang, den ihnen niemand nehmen kann. Unzweifelhaft ist allein schon ihr Wille zum *Verändern*, sie sind trotz des abstrakten Gesichts niemals nur betrachtend." (75)

Such a desire to achieve practical change is definitely present in Bahro's work. His commitment to change and concern for the future of humanity are undeniable and essential features of his work. By seeking to apply his theory in practice Bahro remains true to the spirit which forced him to speak out against the authorities in East Germany. There, his chief message was to call upon the loyalty of those in the party and its apparatus to challenge the direction of development being pursued by the party, a position which he eloquently symbolized. In the West, too, this strong sense of personal commitment has dominated Bahro's activities.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE - PART FOUR

1. Joschka Fischer: Von grüner Kraft und Herrlichkeit. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1984. p.130.; For a damning verdict of the messianic overtones in Bahro's work see: Klaus-Peter Klingelschmitt: Im eiskalten Wasser der Beresina ertränkt. Ein Anti-Bahro. in: Die Tageszeitung. 22.12.84. p.7.; also Klingelschmitt's further attack in: *ibid.* 15.1.85.; Note Bahro's responses in: *ibid.* 9.1.85. & 28.1.85.; See correspondence in: Die Tageszeitung. 21.12.84., 3.1.85., 4.1.85., 7.1.85., 9.1.85., 8.2.85.
2. Otto Kallscheuer: Fortschrittsangst. in: Kursbuch. No.74. pp.159-179.
3. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler am anderen Ufer. Befreiung, Berlin 1984. p.13. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler.)
4. See for example: Klaus Pokatzky: Platon aus Worms. in: Die Zeit-Magazin. 3.5.85.; Gerhard Spörl: Ein Prophet ohne Jünger. in: Die Zeit. 14.12.84. p.5.
5. For more favourable treatments of Bahro's efforts in this field see: Reinhard Mohr: Bahro in Baden Baden. in: Die Tageszeitung. 3.4.85.; Klaus Wolschner: Ein Wormser Rettungsweg. in: Die Tageszeitung. 6.11.86. pp.11-12.; The intention behind Worms, Bahro states was "... , daß ich dort Nonkonformisten aller Art, die es ernst meinen mit einem konstruktiven, positiven Gegenzug zu der Selbstmordlogik unserer Zivilisation, einen Konzentrationspunkt schaffen will." Rudolf Bahro: Correspondence to Wormser Zeitung, 13.12.84. Photostat copy.
6. Rudolf Bahro: Was wir in Niederstadtfeld weiter wollen. in: Lernwerkstatt Rundbrief (Niederstadtfeld) No.11 1987. pp.48-49. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Niederstadtfeld.)
7. Barbara Goodwin and Keith Taylor: The Politics of Utopia. Hutchinson, London 1982. (henceforward referred to as Goodwin & Taylor.)
8. *ibid.* p.38.
9. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.200.

10. *ibid.* p.200.
11. Jürgen Habermas: New social movements. in: Telos. No.49 1981. p.33.
12. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main and Cologne 1977. p. 520ff. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
13. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.203.
14. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. pp.201-202.
15. *ibid.* p.202.
16. Ernest Mandel. in: Rudolf Bahro: Was da alles auf uns zukommt. Vol.1. Olle & Wolter, West Berlin 1980. p.55.
17. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. pp.192ff.
18. Johann Galtung. in: Rudolf Bahro and Johann Galtung: "Wir übertreiben vielleicht unsere eigene Bedeutung als Kausalfaktor". in: Kommune. No.3 1984. p.26.
19. *ibid.*
20. Boris Frankel: The post-industrial utopians. Polity Press, Cambridge with Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1987. p.140. Frankel offers an excellent analysis of the differences between Gorz, Galtung and Bahro.; Bahro's failure to understand the modernization needs of Third World countries is also criticized in: Matthias Tomczak: Besuch in China, Bahro im Gepäck. in: Kommune. No.9 1983. pp.60-63.
21. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.179.; Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.148.
22. *ibid.* p.181.
23. Micha Brumlik: Rudolf Bahro. Vom sozialen Protest zum spirituellen Voluntarismus. in: links. No.166/167. 1984. p.16.
24. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.202.
25. Ivan Illich: Tools for conviviality. Calder & Bayors, London 1973.
26. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.222.
27. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.222!
28. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. pp.23-24.
29. Vatter.

30. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.234ff.
31. Joscha Schmierer. in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.224.
32. Marshall Sahlins: Stone Age economics. Tavistock Publications, London 1972. p.37.
33. "Tatsächlich wird für die Bewältigung des Ausstiegschritts, der eine Art 'Lossagung von Interessen' darstellt, schon jener 'neue' Mensch nötig, den eigentlich nur die kommunitäre Sozialisation hervorbringen kann." - Helmut Wiesenenthal: Grün-Rational. in: G. Falkenberg and H. Kersting (eds.): Eingriffe im Diesseits. Beiträge zu einer radikalen grünen Realpolitik. Konkret Verlag, Essen 1985. p.9.
34. Rudolf Bahro: Wozu Kommune? in: Kommune. No.9 1984. pp.43-45.
35. Günter Bartsch: Kommune oder kommunitäre Gesellschaft. in: Kommune. No.9 1984. p.42.
36. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.202.
37. Rudolf Bahro: Interviewed by G.W. Smith, 20.5.88. Berlin.
38. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.3ff.; In a severe critique Heymann writes: "Bahros ... Haß auf urbane Kulturen ist nicht der Haß des Bauern gegen den Zinsherrn... Es ist ganz im Gegenteil der Haß des Heimatlosen auf seine eigene Entwurzelung." Thomas Heymann: Klöster und Kommunen. in: Pflasterstrand. 20.8.85.
39. Klaus Dräger and Werner Hülsberg: Aus für Grün? ISP-Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1986. p.153.
40. Karl-Werner Brand, Detlef Büsser, Dieter Rucht: Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft. Revised edition, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt am Main and New York 1986.
41. Christoph Conti: Abschied von Bürgertum. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1984. p.9. (henceforward referred to as Conti.)
42. See for example: Arno Klönne: Zur Erinnerung an eine 'deutsche Bewegung'. in: Nicht links, nicht rechts? VSA-Verlag, Hamburg 1983. pp.7-16.; Wolfgang Pohrt: Endstation. Rotbuch Verlag, West Berlin 1982.
43. Ulrich Linse: Ökopax und Anarchie. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1986. pp.157-158. (henceforward referred to

- as Linse. Ökopax.)
44. Rolf Peter Sieferle: Fortschrittsfeinde? Verlag C.H. Beck, Munich 1984. (henceforward referred to as Sieferle.)
 45. *ibid.* p.166.
 46. David Pepper: The roots of modern environmentalism. Croom Helm, Beckenham Kent 1984. p.187.
 47. For more on these projects see: Gert-Joachim Glaeßner and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer: Auszug aus der Gesellschaft. Verlag Europäische Perspektiven, West Berlin 1986. (henceforward referred to as Glaeßner & Scherer.); also Conti. pp.78ff.
 48. Rudolf Bahro: Niederstadtfeld. p.48.
 49. *ibid.*
 50. *ibid.* p.49.
 51. 'Ökospiritualität' is defined by Bahro as being "... offen für das Wesentliche in der Botschaft aller Kulturen wie für das Besondere unserer eigenen (Meditationen, Übungen, bioenergetische Praktiken vielfältiger Art). in: *ibid.* p.49.
 52. Conti. p.26.
 53. *ibid.* p.115.
 54. Gert-Joachim Glaeßner. in: Glaeßner & Scherer. p.9.
Glaeßner is referring to Ferdinand Tönnies: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Berlin 7th edition 1926. (1887) Reprinted Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1988.
 55. See: Harald Glätzer: Landkommunen in der BRD Flucht oder konkrete Utopie? AJZ Druck und Verlag, Bielefeld 1978. (henceforward referred to as Glätzer.); Goodwin & Taylor.
 56. Rudolf Cantzen: Freiheit unter saurem Regen. Edition Ahrens im Verlag Clemens Zerling, Berlin 1984. p.11.
 57. *ibid.* p.19.; Herbert Marcuse: Der eindimensionale Mensch. Luchterhand, Neuwied & Berlin 9th edition 1977 (The one-dimensional man. Beacon Press, Boston Mass. 1964)
 58. See below pp.391ff.
 59. Florence Boos and William Boos: The utopian communism of William Morris. in: History of Political Thought. Vol.7. No.3 1986. pp.489-510.
 60. Linse: Ökopax. p.72.

61. Gustav Landauer: Aufruf zum Sozialismus. Reprinted Verlag Büchse der Pandora, Wetzlar 1978 (original Berlin 1911) cited in: Linse: Okopax. p.74.; For more on Landauer see also: Ulrich Linse: Gustav Landauer und die Revolutionszeit 1918-1919. Karin Kramer Verlag, Berlin 1974.
62. Klaus-Jürgen Scherer. in: Glaesner & Scherer. p.98.
63. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.487.
64. Linse: Okopax. p.95.
65. Paul Robien: Vom Raubbau, vom Naturschutz und vom Proletariat. in: Der freie Arbeiter. No.29 1924. pp.2.ff. cited in: Linse: Okopax. p.101.
66. On the Socialist Conferences see: Rudolf Bahro: Etwas anderer Vorschlag für die zweite Sozialistische Konferenz. in: Kritik. No.27 1981. pp.26-39.; see also: Materialien zur 1. Sozialistischen Konferenz. Konferenzvorbereitungsgruppe, Berlin 1980.
67. Ulrich Linse: Barfüßige Propheten Siedler Verlag, Berlin 1983.
68. Linse: Okopax. p.116. Linse cites: Der freie Arbeiter No.48 1925 p.1.
69. Goodwin & Taylor. p.183.
70. Glätzer. p.47.
71. Robert Steigerwald: Marxismus-Kritik heute. Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt am Main 1986. p.171. & p.215.; for a GDR view see: Stefan Bollinger and Bernhard Maleck: Denken zwischen Utopie und Realität. Dietz Verlag, Berlin (East) 1987.
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CHAPTER SIX - "LOGIK DER RETTUNG"

Rudolf Bahro's resignation from the Greens in 1985 signalled an end to his short, but turbulent involvement in active politics in West Germany, giving occasion for some critics jubilantly to write off this controversial and unconventional thinker. Bahro's refusal to accept uncritically the realities of his new surroundings irritated many in the Federal Republic, causing commentators variously to dismiss him as a failure, a crank, or to ignore him completely. (1) Yet, Bahro is unmoved by such criticism and with the publication of Logik der Rettung (2) ((henceforward referred to as Logik) he has sought to dispel any notion that he is ready to withdraw quietly from public debate. Logik, in many respects, marks the culmination of Bahro's transition from East to West, presenting a definitive statement of the fundamentalist vision of the politics of ecology which he has done much to publicize since coming to the West. Although this work recapitulates much of what has become characteristic of Bahro's speeches and articles in his first decade in the West, it merits attention all the same as evidence of the central importance which the spiritual dimension has come to assume in his theory.

The publication of this work a decade after Die Alternative hit the headlines presents a suitable opportunity to compare and contrast the features of his work which have remained constant or been the subject of revision. Despite their radical and controversial nature, it is evident that the solutions urged in Logik are firmly rooted in the convictions and perceptions which gave rise to his devastating analysis of socialism in the GDR. As a result, it can be said that the energetic disavowal of orthodox socialism in favour of an anthropological perspective which characterizes this work does not signal any radical departure from the spirit which inspired Die Alternative. Indeed, by a remarkable twist of fate following the 1989 November revolution Bahro sought to apply these ideas in the GDR. (3) The unbending commitment to discover an all-embracing purpose and unity for the species mankind which pervades Logik is an extension of

those ideals which played a crucial role in Bahro's formative years during the bright period of socialist construction in the GDR.

Central to Bahro's outline of a strategy capable of averting impending ecological disaster is the concept of exterminism, by which he understands a nexus of inter-related factors which have produced a 'Logik der Selbstausrottung'. (4) 'Exterminism' is a term borrowed from E. P. Thompson, who conceived it as a means of exposing the mutually destructive tendencies driving the military elites of the superpowers towards greater excesses in the arms race. (5) Bahro has taken on this concept and expanded it to produce a conceptual framework in which he examines the forces behind Western industrial civilization which have brought the human species to the verge of extinction. As such he challenges Thompson's circumscribed usage:

"Schon auf den ersten Blick setzt das Wettrüsten das Industriesystem voraus. Der Exterminismus ist in dessen Grundfesten und innersten Antrieben verwurzelt. Er erscheint nicht nur in den Atomwaffen und Atomkraftwerken, sondern er ist die Quintessenz des gesamten Werkzeugsystems, das auf den Menschen und die Erde gerichtet ist." (6)

Although Bahro is keen to convince that he merely develops Thompson's idea to its logical conclusion, there are in fact wide discrepancies between the two interpretations. Thompson, on the one hand, offers an explanation of the Cold War based on an analysis of the superpowers' ruling elites and decidedly rejects any anthropological explanation of this crisis. Further, he insists that he does not postulate the existence of an 'exterminist mode of production', rather that exterminism is analogous to imperialism or militarism in that it is common to societies regardless of their mode of production. (7) For Bahro, on the other hand, the arms race is but one symptom of the crisis; exterminism instead comes to denote a mode of existence whose chief characteristic is the impulse to mass destruction. From an analysis of the arms race, Bahro derives an all-embracing critique of the course of Western civilization. The ecological crisis is therefore

presented as an inevitable consequence of human development, in terms more deterministic than Marx's own analysis.

The concept of exterminism well illustrates the degree to which Bahro has renounced any former allegiance to the strict doctrines of Marxist theory, for, underpinning his theory lies an open disavowal of historical materialism. Strongly influenced by his reading of authors such as Mumford(8), Bahro negates the dogmatic socialist emphasis on objective laws of history and theories of class struggle and, instead, declares history to be a psycho-dynamic process:

"Die Logik der Selbstausrottung ist ein Gebrechen der menschlichen Seele. Unsere selbstmörderischen Mittel, unsere technischen und sozialen Strukturen sind ja nicht erster Natur. Beton ist nicht in dem Sinne »materiell« wie Fels es ist. Es ist alles *Kultur*, von uns geschaffene zweite Natur, woran wir scheitern." (9)

The fundamental premise of exterminism is the assertion that the ecology crisis is not linked to a specific mode of production but stems rather from a deep-seated distortion in man's own psychological make-up:

"... wir müssen in erster Linie nicht diese Umstände, sondern uns als die Wurzel sehen, wir könnten auch sagen, als den entscheidenden Durchgangspunkt all unserer Teufelskreise." (10)

Critics have submitted consequently that Bahro has forfeited any claim to offer a socialist analysis of the situation, resorting instead to an idealistic method of interpretation. (11) Such comments contrast sharply with those who greeted Die Alternative as a great accomplishment in socialist theory. (12) But it would be wrong to conclude from this that Logik marks a complete reversal of Bahro's former position, since the tendency to adopt an idealist approach was already well pronounced in his earlier work. The importance of

consciousness as a means to social transformation was, for example, evident in ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen where Bahro remarks that new social visions have often been accompanied by greater stress on religious belief. (13) Moreover, Bahro's dismissal, in Logik, of Marx's maxim that social being determines consciousness (14), was clearly foreshadowed in Die Alternative: "Immer schon kam im Marxismus auch vor, daß das Sein das Bewußtsein bestimmen kann, das Sein neuzubestimmen." (15) It was the assumption that human emancipation could be attained purely in material terms which Bahro believes has brought mankind to the verge of self-extinction. In a fundamental critique, he now unhesitatingly challenges the Marxian definition of human existence in material terms as

"... die Wahrheit unseres Untergangs. ... Es lehrt uns, Ja zu sagen zu jener Dialektik von Produktivkräften und Produktionsverhältnissen, die uns die Freiheit materiell begründen sollte, statt dessen aber die Megamaschine gebracht hat." (16)

This argument, too, has its roots in Bahro's earlier revisionist work. In Die Alternative he openly questioned the underlying belief that a process of transformation could occur by means of changing social relations within the given framework of the industrial order, a tendency present in the work of even the most radical of socialists such as Gramsci. (17) By his own admission, Bahro now concedes that his own strategy of 'Kulturrevolution' was itself not free of the strictures of the dominant order and, as the discussion below shows, the path to the salvation of mankind which he now advocates is one which envisages the necessary process of transformation as occurring outwith the framework of the existing system conceived as a leap forward into a new evolutionary phase. (18)

If Die Alternative constituted an attack on the orthodoxy of Marxism-Leninism as practised by the SED, Logik shows how far Bahro has progressed from this. Whereas his earlier works testified to his conviction that Marxist theory must be broadened in scope and freed

from the shackles of a dogmatic, materialist interpretation, Bahro now totally discounts Marxism as valid tool of historical analysis. This development was foreshadowed in his earlier critique where Bahro's disdain for the concept of the class struggle was apparent, presaging his insistence as a member of the Greens that Marx's stress on the internal contradictions of capitalist society vastly underestimated the true obstacles to human emancipation. (19) Conflicts such as the North-South divide and the confrontation between East and West have brought into sharp focus the inadequacies of a theory of revolution which merely results in a redistribution of power on the basis of the given order. (20) Yet, to accuse Bahro of totally abandoning the teachings of his socialist upbringing would be to offer a simplistic account of what is a more complex analysis.

Exterminism attempts to define the specific combination of factors in Western culture which have led the human species into a cul-de-sac of evolution. Foremost amongst these is the industrial order or the 'Megamachine' as Bahro describes it, acknowledging his weighty debt to Mumford. (21) Whereas the focus of Bahro's criticism of industrialism in Die Alternative was directed at the SED's excessive promotion of quantitative material growth, in the West the benefits of the industrial age as a whole are dismissed out of hand:

"Mit der Verbreitung der Industriegesellschaft hat die Zahl der Verdammten und Verelendeten unglaublich zugenommen. Es hat nie in der ganzen Geschichte so viele Opfer von Hunger, Krankheit, vorzeitigem Tod gegeben wie heute." (22)

Thompson, for one, has taken issue with this tendency to attribute the whole range of contemporary crises to industrialism, pointing out that Bahro ignores the internal pressure to modernize in the underdeveloped world in his rush to blame the exploitative nature of Western society. (23) Bahro objects to criticisms of his position as being 'anti-progress' (24), arguing that he is not simply anti-technology for its own sake. His attention is directed rather at industrialism as a

complex social order which subsumes individuals as reified objects in the production process:

"Seit dem Altertum gab es in Asien und Europa, jedenfalls Südeuropa, »Industrie«. Aber es gab kein Industriesystem, keine vom Industrialismus bestimmte Gesellschaft." (25)

Ultimately such distinctions prove superfluous to his argument. Having stressed that his critique of the industrial system will neither entail the sacrifice of the microchip nor medical advances such as the heart-lung machine(26), Bahro undermines his own case by insisting that society will not be able to choose a Noah's Ark of beneficial technologies for the journey to a new civilization:

"Das beliebte Sortieren an den Errungenschaften der Zivilisation - die Guten ins Töpfchen, die Schlechten ins Kröpfchen - führt ... nicht weit. Innerhalb ein und derselben Kultur gehören die guten und die bösen Dinge viel mehr zusammen, als wir zur Kenntnis nehmen möchten." (27)

On these grounds alone Bahro's theoretical design is unsatisfactory, but it founders on a more important point. Industrialism is explicitly defined as a separate component of the exterminist order in sharp distinction to its capitalist form. Yet, it is not the technologies of industrialism which are to blame, he argues, but rather the system, unceasingly referred to as the Megamachine. Any reference to the nature of the forces which drive this machine is omitted however. In terms reminiscent of Marcuse's One Dimensional Man(28), the Megamachine is instead portrayed as a repressive, all-dominating force, but in a manner which fails to identify it as other than an abstract phenomenon to which we are all addicted. Bahro's own doubts about attacking the outward forms of industrialism surely require him to define more precisely those forces and interests which control the Megamachine.

Bahro's reference to capitalism as a further component of exterminism reveals the extent to which he is ready to acknowledge those aspects of the Marxist tradition that are still valid in explaining the roots of the current crisis. Here, too, Bahro shuns a dogmatic interpretation of Marx; he accepts the essence of the Marxist critique of capital accumulation, but feels this overlooks the deeper mechanisms at work:

"Kapitalismus ist nicht zuerst eine bestimmte Gesellschaftsordnung, sondern ein Machtprinzip, daß die verschiedensten Gesellschaftsordnungen mehr oder weniger beherrscht, seit Geld aufkam." (29)

Capitalism, he argues, does not simply assume the form of acquisition of surplus labour but creates a society in which pursuit of profit and expansion have become enshrined for their own sakes. The problem demands a solution which must go much further than the establishment of a more equitable system within capitalism:

"... ich gehe davon aus, daß Geld nicht zu den Dingen gehört, die völlig abgeschafft werden könnten oder sollten. Aber wenn wir es bewältigen wollen, dürfen wir uns nicht mit ihm als einem Symbol der Freiheit identifizieren..." (30)

This argument draws strongly on the theory of compensatory needs which Bahro developed in his analysis of the GDR. (31) Subalternity, according to Die Alternative, stemmed from the individual's exclusion from the cultural and political synthesis. (32) Now, Bahro appears to interpret subalternity as an innate feature of man's psyche. As a direct consequence, individual freedom and status are now determined in relation to money, which is seen as a means of overcoming this sense of insecurity. Bahro sums up: "Das Geld (...) ist ein präventativer Charakterpanzer zweiter Ordnung." (33) Any solution must, in Bahro's view, contradict a central thesis underpinning Marxist theory:

"Es handelt sich nicht darum, das Geld anders anzueignen und zu verteilen, sondern es überhaupt als Macht- und Steuerungszentrum des historischen Prozesses zu eliminieren." (34)

This well demonstrates the nature of Bahro's relationship to traditional socialist theory. He generally accepts the substance of Marxist analysis, but subjects it to renewed scrutiny under the pressure of the new constellation of factors confronting mankind, to arrive ultimately at a new appreciation of its worth:

"There are many particular elements in Marx that I still find useful, but the structure itself I have abandoned. For me Marxism is a quarry. ... (That: G.S.) is productive use of material. There are also structural elements that I use, even if I now refer to the formation as exterminism." (35)

Indeed, Bahro concedes that in some respects it was easier to reconcile new elements with Marxism in the East since Marxism was "the intellectual universe to which everything else relates." (36) By contrast, to claim to be Marxist in the West requires rigid adherence to a specific set of principles. For this reason, Bahro feels forced to discount his position in the West as Marxist, even though it shares much in common with those beliefs he held in the GDR that he did not perceive as ardently heretical. (37)

The essence of Bahro's critique of Marxism is directed at its failure to consider more than just the surface phenomena of human culture. In the tradition of Fromm, Richter and Duhm, he finds the absence from Marx's deliberations of an account of the importance of human nature to be its greatest shortcoming. (38) With his concept of exterminism, Bahro seeks to make good this deficit by adopting a multidimensional perspective combining elements of Marxist analysis with an outline critique of human nature. Industrialism and capitalism form but one element of the 'Logik der Selbstausrottung'. True to his assertion in Die Alternative that emancipation is dependent on more than just the abolition of private property (39), he concludes

that capitalism is not the sole source of alienation, but that it reinforces a strong egocentric element inscribed in man's nature:

"... das unwiderstehliche Ich der Weißen ist uns hier und jetzt in die Hand gegeben, jedem seines. Wir sind bei diesem Thema dichter an der Macht, die uns tötet, als bei der Kapitaldynamik, beim Industriesystem und bei der Umweltkatastrophe." (40)

Bahro borrows Galtung's concept of 'cosmology' (41) to discover why the exterminist impulse should be at its strongest in European man. The traits inherent in the character of 'homo occidentalis' (42), he submits, indicate a strong predisposition towards the exploitative and expansionist nature of capitalism. Yet, although he claims to examine the cultural background to the self-assertive nature of European culture, his survey is remarkably Germano-centric. In rather dubious terms, he claims a virtually unbroken tradition of German cosmology which, despite the various assimilations over the centuries, has retained much of the spirit of the 'Wanderer-Wotan'. (43) Despite this determination to ascribe the roots of exterminism to the highly individualistic ethos of the Germanic tribes, which invited the member "sein eigener Herr werden zu wollen" (44), Bahro's argument remains most unconvincing. Aside from generalized references to the belligerent nature of the Germanic tribes, Bahro offers little else than his own prejudices to support his claim that "(d)as westliche Ich ... hat einen fundamentaleren Stellenwert in der Logik der Selbstausrottung als das kapitalistische Werkzeug." (45) This omits any reference to earlier civilizations which proved equally destructive of the environment and overlooks his own mention of the destruction of the ecology of Easter Island by its earliest inhabitants. (46) A remarkable omission, moreover, is the want of any discussion of the contribution made by Christianity in fostering the aggressive and expansionist nature of man, a point which features prominently in the works of authors such as Amery and Garaudy. (47)

In view of his assessment of the aggressive nature of European man, Bahro's reference to patriarchy as a further constituent of exterminism could almost be taken for granted. However, Bahro does not restrict himself to a conventional critique of the patriarchal nature of contemporary civilization but, instead, attacks the women's movement: "Nach meiner Meinung kann das Patriarchat vom besonderen Frauenstandpunkt allein nicht zu Ende kritisiert werden..." (48) Already in Die Alternative Bahro sought to expose the limitations of a strategy of emancipation for women in purely juridical and political terms. (49) In the West, he accuses the women's movement of setting its sights too low. To aim for equality within the existing system or even the substitution of male dominance by a matriarchal order serves to perpetuate the system and overlooks the historical roots of patriarchal civilization. The dominant role of man, Bahro argues, only occurred through the complicity of woman:

"»Die Gute« und »der Böse« hängen nicht nur in dem nachträglichen Opfer-Täter-Zirkel zusammen, sondern die Frau muß von vornherein auch »Komplizin« des erst entstehenden Patriarchats gewesen sein, d.h. die Rollen müssen sich *korrelativ*, sozusagen ko-evolutionär dahin bewegt haben." (50)

Bahro repeats the beliefs of Taoist philosophy in supposing a natural state of balance between the sexes as marking the original essence of human kind. Convinced that this state of original harmony can be recaptured, Bahro insists that redemption of the human race depends on overcoming the polarity between man and woman, allowing the 'Sophia' element in all human character to resurface. Whether such an original state of harmony existed is debatable, but Bahro's conclusion that "(w)eder von der einen noch von der anderen »Hälfte des Himmels« allein können Zerstörung oder Heilung ausgehen" (51) does signal an effort to overcome the one-sided attempts to attribute blame to the male of the species alone. Yet, the failure to identify the complexity of the process of cause and effect in the destruction of this harmony of the sexes remains an unsatisfactory feature of Bahro's argument.

With the 'conditio humana', Bahro arrives at the anthropological root of the crisis of exterminism. Industrialism, capitalism, European tribal aggressiveness and the dominant patriarchal nature of mankind are all externalized projections of a deep-seated psychological distortion in human nature. In a pronounced deterministic vein, Bahro asserts that humankind has taken a detour of evolution, in which man's unique cerebral attributes as a 'Hirntier' have separated him from the rest of the natural world. (52) Subsequently, the species has been imbued with an egocentric view of the world which has seen man put his interests above all others. Contemplating the origins of man's divorce from the natural world, Bahro concludes:

"So weit ich erkennen kann, hängt dies damit zusammen, daß der Mensch von Anfang an seinen Verstand als kompensatorisches *Machtinstrument* nötig gehabt hat. Es waren ja der Verlust an Instinktsicherheit und der Aufstieg der Verstandeskkräfte zwei Seiten eines Prozesses." (53)

Indeed, Bahro detects a dialectical relationship between the impulse to self-destruction and man's struggle for survival: "Unser Streben nach Sicherheit, nach Ausschaltung jeglichen Lebensrisikos bringt uns den Tod." (54) Citing a study by Grof, he goes even further to suggest that social conditioning plays a lesser role in man's alienation than the birth process itself. (55)

Yet, Bahro's reluctance to commit himself fully to such a deterministic perception of human evolution is evident when he asserts "Die Persönlichkeit ist eine Fehlkonstruktion, sie wird zumindest dazu, ist dazu geworden." (56) Since the 'conditio humana' is designated as the ultimate source of man's self-destructive tendencies, this failure to determine whether such characteristics are an innate feature of man's being or acquired through environmental conditioning rates as one of the major weaknesses of his concept of exterminism. Further, if such distortions are inscribed in human nature, Bahro fails to explain why the problem remains one inextricably linked with white, European man.

Having located deep-seated imbalances in man's psychological make-up as the ultimate root of the contemporary crisis of civilization, Bahro designates a mass transformation of human consciousness as the prerequisite for the salvation of the species: "An der individuellen Transformation vorbei gibt es keinen Rettungsweg." (57) Personal self-enlightenment is thus made the prerequisite for the transformation of society in general: "Tiefe Veränderungen in der Gesellschaft setzen eine andere Subjektivität voraus." (58) The need to place the transformation of the individual once more at the centre of the process of social reformation, in Bahro's view, simply proves the fact that religious faith has been instrumental at times of historical upheaval:

"Wenn wir in die Geschichte nachsehen, auf welchen Fundamenten neue Kulturen gegründet ... wurden, werden wir immer darauf stoßen, daß die Menschen in solchen Zeiten auf jene Bewußtseinschichten zurückgegangen sind, die man traditionell als religiös bezeichnet." (59)

The emergence of Christianity after the fall of the Roman Empire and its reemergence under the auspices of the Benedictine monks are Bahro's most frequent examples of this. (60) However sincere Bahro's own beliefs in the need for a religious revival, the shift towards spiritual self-regeneration as the key to change must nevertheless be regarded as an acknowledgement of the failure to bring about reforms on a political level. In this matter, Logik gives the firmest indication of how far Bahro has abandoned any former allegiance to Marxism, positing the need for a 'revolution of the heart' against changes at the level of conventional politics. Yet, even though Bahro's work in the West has become increasingly dominated by reference to biblical and other religious analogies this development was also signposted in his earlier work. (61) Similarly, his critical appraisal of the GDR contained the notion of a 'Reise nach Innen' as an integral feature of the 'Kulturrevolution'. (62)

Nevertheless, a qualitative difference distinguishes the concept of transcendence which inspired Bahro's 'Reise nach Innen' and that which

he now advocates. Whereas in the GDR his understanding of the totality to which all should have access was firmly rooted in the Enlightenment, Bahro now concedes that this perspective was too restrictive:

"Ich hatte damals einen einseitig kognitiven Emanzipationsbegriff. Aneignung der sozialen Totalität auf dem Wege rationalen Wissens und Demokratisierung der Bedingungen dafür - das war die Hauptstrasse. ... Jetzt ist meine Einstellung nicht umgekehrt einseitig Kritik der Rationalität, ihre Verwerfung schlechthin, Abschied von Descartes und die Aufklärung, sondern Überwindung der Abspaltung und Verabsolutierung der Verstandeskkräfte, Relativierung ihrer Spitzenposition im Bewußtseinshaushalt." (63)

The 'Kulturrevolution' outlined in Die Alternative has as its central objective the mass democratization of the means by which cultural acquisition could occur, with the main emphasis on greater access for all to a higher, largely classical education. (64) Such ideas have now been surpassed by a strategy which aims at the transformation of the individual in a spiritual or quasi-religious sense.

What Bahro proposes is nothing less than the need for a further leap in the evolution of mankind. In order to be a true 'Herr der Welt' (65), man must not exploit his privileged position in nature and should instead regard himself as an integrated being. Bahro calls upon man to put aside his own short-term interests in favour of the planet as a whole: "Nicht ich-, sondern weltidentifiziert («gottheit-identifiziert») sein." (66) A process of spiritual cleansing, in Bahro's view, offers the only chance to overcome those anthropocentric and egotistical qualities which he feels dominate man's nature.

The essence of what this reformation entails is clouded in somewhat opaque mystical terms, with an eclectic mix of historical figures paraded as examples. Bahro draws inspiration from such diverse figures as Christ, Buddha, Bernard de Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi and

the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. The German mystics such as Meister Eckhart and Joachim di Fiore, as well as the traditions of German Idealism, as represented by Hölderlin, Schelling and Fichte, have also shaped Bahro's outlook. The feature common to Bahro's 'idols', as Hofmann observes, is their commitment to realizing their utopias without compromise. (67) Looking to such figures, however, Kallscheuer correctly asserts, does not offer a substitute for the absence of a contemporary messiah, necessary for the movement Bahro envisages. (68) Although he refutes such suggestions, some critics have been keen to accuse Bahro of seeking to claim the role of prophet for himself. (69)

Bahro's concept of salvation for mankind rests on a reworking of the age-old belief in a profound sense of union between man and God. However it would be false to suggest that Bahro subscribes to any of the theologies embodied by the figures he mentions. Rather, the attraction of these figures rests less on any particular fervour for the content of their respective philosophies than on the underlying principles to which they adhere. Indeed, Bahro proves to be outspoken in his criticism of the traditions linked with Buddhism and Christianity, and calls for a remodelling of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Bahro's attack is twofold; on the one hand the monotheistic interpretation of God rests on a strong patriarchal tradition, whilst the Judaeo-Christian tradition has in general proved to be the foundation of an expansionist, aggressive culture:

"Die spirituelle Kultur wird nicht an die repressive monotheistitische Gottesvorstellung anknüpfen... An dieser Stelle muß die jüdisch-christliche Tradition gebrochen werden. Glücklicherweise bricht in der tiefsten Schicht des von ihm überlieferten Bildes Christus selber aus ihrer Linie aus." (70)

An important distinction is evident in Bahro's position. Thus, while he is ready to endorse the principles exemplified in the figure of Christ himself, he is sharply critical of the reality which has emerged from his teachings in the form of Christianity. The Christian

faith has proved no exception to previous emancipatory movements in this respect:

"Es stehen alle verschiedenen Religionen vor diesem Problem einer Polarität zwischen Verkirchlichung und Dogmatisierung einerseits und dem religiösen Antrieb, der als etwas anthropologisch Gegebenes in uns ist und dem Kosmos antwortet, aus dem wir evolutionär kommen." (71)

In his rejection of the hierarchical, institutionalized form which religions come to adopt, Bahro's stance recalls his damning appraisal of 'actually existing socialism', a central aspect of which charged the ruling party with the failure to translate theory into practice, with the result that the original impulse of the socialist ideal has degenerated to a ritualised dogma. Moreover, the parallel does not stop here, since the breadth of Bahro's perspective is indeed audacious. Whereas he concluded in the East that a spiritual regeneration of the original communist ideal was essential for the survival of the party, in the West he advocates nothing less than spiritual renewal on a grand scale:

"Hier geht es mehr um die Remobilisierung der Christus-tradition. Dies meine ich in einem allgemeinen Sinne und nicht in der Wiederherstellung irgendwelcher Glaubenslehren oder Dogmen. Es geht darum, wieder an den biologischen Kern heranzukommen." (72)

The appeal for a spiritual impulse in the political sphere rests on Bahro's conviction of the need to reestablish new sets of values and norms in a civilisation which has largely come to abandon existing securities. On the one hand this constitutes a lament for an age in which long-held beliefs have been swiftly eroded, but his work also conveys an overwhelming sense of optimism in the great opportunities for change presented by the current crisis. The occasion needs to be seized as a chance to start afresh; at the forefront of this stands an urgent appeal for the all-round development of man and all his

capacities as a means to realising his full integration into nature. The situation, Bahro submits, far exceeds the need to overcome the dichotomy of Descartes but is one which lies instead at the heart of man's evolution.

The strategy underpinning Bahro's optimistic faith in the future of humankind is that man must allow his actions to be guided by his heart rather than by his intellect alone. Bahro outlines the stages by which man has become separated from his elementary forces to arrive at an alternative understanding of alienation: "Nicht die Entfremdung von den Sachen, die wir machen ist die Crux, sondern die Entfremdung von unserem natürlichen Potential..." (73) In so doing, he presupposes the existence of a natural state of consciousness and believes that a process of spiritual cleansing will allow man to retrace his steps to these natural origins: "... die Logik der Rettung (weist:G.S) den Weg der Wiederannäherung an den Logos als das natürliche (göttliche) Bewußtsein, das mit dem menschlichen Bios gegeben ist." (74) Recognition of the disproportionate importance attributed to reason and rational behaviour and abandoning long-standing prejudices about man's other psychic and physical capacities are, in Bahro's view, essential preconditions in the process of overcoming man's separation from nature. He is at pains to stress, however, that this does not necessarily entail a crude anti-Enlightenment position:

"Diese Option ist *nicht* antirational, die Ratio soll nicht verworfen, sondern es soll ihre Abspaltung von der Natur, einschließlich unserer eigenen überwunden werden, damit der Verstand auch funktionell wieder wird, was er genetisch ist: ein Teil der Natur, ihr allerdings besonders avanciertes Organ." (75)

Drawing on the work of Wilhelm Reich, Bahro asserts that the individual must divest himself of the defence mechanisms imposed and acquired in the formative years of life to allow the natural, biological core, or 'lebenspositiv' to resurface. (76) Bahro also underlines the need to overcome the essential dichotomy of human

nature which Richter has referred to as 'der Gotteskomplex'. (77) By this Bahro refers to the fundamental polarity between man's narcissistic desire for all-conquering knowledge as epitomized by Descartes and his state of complete surrender in the face of an all-powerful deity. The need to resolve this tension between man's complete impotence and striving for total omnipotence forms an essential principle of survival for Bahro:

"Dieses Ich des Cartesius, der unser aller kopfgebürtiges und kopfstehendes »Cogito ergo sum« gesprochen hat, wonach wir nur aus der Selbstgewissheit unseres *Denkens* unseres Seins versichert sind - dieses Ich, um das herum wir mehr oder weniger unsere gesamte Existenz aufgebaut haben, müssen wir willentlich loslassen wenn wir leben und leben lassen wollen." (78)

Bahro cites his own experience in writing Die Alternative as an example of this Nietzschean lust for power and self validation characteristic of man. (79) The challenge of the future, he suggests, is to invert the Nietzschean principle of 'Wille zur Macht' to create the conditions allowing all to participate in the exercise of social power. (80)

Once freed of all inhibitions and imposed reactions man, Bahro believes, is capable of attaining a new unity between nature and himself. In this, Bahro's concept of ecospiritualism recalls the work of authors such as Bateson and Capra (81) in advocating an holistic approach to understanding the universe, assuming the existence of an underlying principle of unity which binds man irrevocably with nature and the cosmos. Equally, Bahro's insistence that man must reacquire a sensibility for the full range of his emotional capacities rather than rely exclusively on reason alone strongly recalls the principles behind Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophic teachings which posited the need to awaken those previously undiscovered or neglected forces of man's innermost being against the over-valuation of intellect as the guiding force of human activity. (82)

Despite the numerous analogies and confusing references the essence of *Logik*, it transpires, can be summed in Mumford's call for a "*Politik der Liebe*". (83) The stringent asceticism typical of Bahro's work plays a crucial role in this design:

"Vom Herzen aus hätten wir dann unsere Welt neu einzurichten, nicht so bedürftig, nicht so arrogant, nicht so eifersüchtig, nicht so gierig, nicht so neugierig. ... Das dürfte der Schlüssel zu der anstehenden Reintegration des gesellschaftlichen Bewußtseins sein." (84)

The concept of emancipation which Bahro offers in the West, therefore, essentially recalls the ethos of individual abstinence in favour of the collective good which exercised a significant influence on Bahro during his formative years in the GDR:

"Die allgemeine Emanzipation des Menschen wird nur dann zur Beendigung von Herrschaft führen, wenn sie auch eine allgemeine Emanzipation von der Selbstsucht, vom Habenmüssen wird." (85)

Indeed, it transpires that the concept of ecospiritualism is strongly bound to the idealism of Bahro's socialist upbringing, since it revives the age-old dream of the elevation of man to be the master of his own destiny. This ideal was present, Bahro submits, in Thomas Müntzer's desire to improve the conditions of the German peasantry so that the individual could attain direct control of his own destiny:

"»Gott in uns hat nie den Kirchen, hat immer den Mystikern und Ketzern gehört, einem Thomas Müntzer zum Beispiel, der die Bauern vor allem deshalb befreien wollte, weil sie durch ihre unterdrückte Lage daran gehindert waren, unmittelbar mit Gott zu kommunizieren..." (86)

Moreover, Bahro still subscribes to the essence of Marx's view of man as the ensemble of human relations, stressing, despite his

appreciation of many aspects of the teachings of Eastern philosophy, that such teachings founder on the highly individualistic nature which they foster. (87) The attainment of sanctity for the individual is precisely not what Bahro seeks:

"Der eigentliche Gegenstand der neu aufkommenden Spiritualität ... ist nicht die persönliche Heiligkeit, sondern der persönliche Beitrag zur Herstellung einer guten, einer wieder heiligen Gesellschaftsordnung..." (88)

Here, Bahro's outline of an alternative mode of civilisation, based upon a process of spiritual redemption involving charismatic leaders, once more revives those fears associated with his earlier work. Such fears, perhaps, prompted the adverse reaction to Bahro's statement proclaiming the Bhagwan community to be "der wichtigste Platz auf der Welt" (89), following his four week stay at the community's base in Oregon in 1983. This comment, which Bahro has since qualified (90), led one critic to observe that this marked the demise of Bahro's career (91) and has ensured that his name has become indelibly linked with the controversial spiritual guru, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. (92) In view of the reaction to his visit, Bahro has sought to define more precisely those features of the Bhagwan movement which he favours.

First and foremost, Bahro's appreciation of the Bhagwan's efforts stems from the guru's success in actively translating his vision of redemption into reality:

"(Ich habe niemanden gesehen:G.S.) ... der seinen Beitrag zur Transformation, zur Rettung der Welt, wie er ihn eben versteht, ernsthafter betreibt, als ich dort von Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh erlebt habe." (93)

However, it is the question of the exclusive authority demanded of his followers by the Indian guru, which has stirred fears that a process of transformation based on spiritual renewal contains the seeds of authoritarianism. Challenged as to whether the willingness of the

Sannyassins (the Bhagwan's followers) to subject themselves completely to the Bhagwan's spiritual leadership created a dangerous degree of dependency between teacher and disciple, Bahro concedes that that some loss of individuality was inevitable but he argues for a sharp distinction to be drawn:

"Es besteht einfach ein tiefgehender Unterschied, ob Du Dich einem Führer unterwirfst, oder ob Petrus, Andreas oder Johannes dem Christus nachfolgen. Sich jemand anzuvertrauen, der Lehrer ist, würde ich nicht unter dem autoritären Führerschema abbuchen." (94)

What is called for, Bahro stresses, is "freiwillige Hingabe" as opposed to complete "surrender" (95). Bahro thus seeks to overcome the dangers of totalitarianism by an emphasis on voluntarism. The ethos of Bahro's education in the GDR convinces him that collectivism, portrayed as the antithesis of Western individualism, need not infringe the freedom of the individual. Bahro cites the success of the experiments of the Soviet pedagogue, Anton Makarenko as evidence that individualism can be reconciled with the needs of the collective: "Kollektivismus und Menschenwürde fielen in *diesem* sowjetischem Experiment nicht auseinander." (96) Bahro's strategy cannot be faulted simply on the grounds that it rests on a collectivist solution. However, although he seeks to convince that this particular revolution will assume a peaceful course, in Logik he still leaves the door open to the use of an unspecified degree of force.

Although a decade separates the appearance of Logik and Die Alternative, Bahro's outline of a strategy of salvation for mankind reveals the extent to which both works are primarily concerned with the same theme and raise similar problems. With Logik, Bahro sets himself the ambitious target of discovering an institutional structure most suited to averting the destruction of the planet. In Die Alternative essentially the same question was posed: "Wie ist die »Versammlung« der ganzen Gesellschaft, aller Individuen über ihrem Reproduktionsprozeß möglich?" (97) With experience of both social

orders in East and West Germany, Bahro feels neither comes close to resolving this fundamental question of democracy. Instead, he silences those critics who saw in Die Alternative an approval of Western capitalism and reaffirms his belief that an alternative 'Third Way' is the most feasible and desirable response to the failure of both the major industrial and political systems.

In his own mind, however, Bahro appears unclear which institutional form this will assume. As Alt justifiably protests, despite the length of Logik, Bahro seems reluctant to state specifically precisely what he envisages. (98) The concept which he outlines is variously referred to as an "ökologischer Kulturrat" (99), a "House of the Lord" (100), "Gemeinschaft der Heiligen" (101) and "die Unsichtbare Kirche" (102) and involves the institution of "... eine Art wirklich übergreifender Präsidentschaft" (103) or a "Fürst der ökologischen Wende". (104) Few of these terms are defined adequately, although the strong implication from his discussion is that his 'alternative' has altered little from that which he advocated in East Germany.

Bahro vigorously denies that the strategy he advocates amounts to an appeal for the dominance of the Communist Party in Germany, but his statements on this matter give the decided impression that he still remains committed to many of the positions he held in the GDR. (105) Above all, he remains an adherent of the concept of the party as the leading force in society. Despite all his criticisms in Die Alternative, Bahro repeatedly stressed his commitment to the articulation of society's interests under the auspices of one body: "... die Partei (muß sich: G.S.) statt als Überstaatsapparat als der *kollektive Intellektuelle* organisieren, der die Reflexion der ganzen Gesellschaft ... vermittelt." (106) Not the idea of the party, but rather its corrupted form was the target of his attack. In the form of 'Der Bund der Kommunisten' the party would exist as a non-hierarchical, horizontal structure, intended by Bahro to be "... eine revolutionäre Gemeinschaft mit offener Peripherie, die die Gesellschaft zu sich einläßt." (107) This ideal remains unaltered in his proposed institutional structure for the West:

"Ich nenne sie eine Unsichtbare Kirche, die allen offensteht, der alle angehören mit den für die neue Welt freien Anteilen ihres Bewußtseins. Sie existiert als horizontales, multilaterales Netz. Sie verbietet sich jede direkte oder indirekte Konstituierung als kommandierende soziale oder politische Macht." (108)

The reestablishment of the Communist Party as the true reflection of the interests of the whole of society formed the chief demand at the centre of Bahro's 'Kulturrevolution' and it is this restoration of the authority of the party together with greater internal democracy for which he finds most praise in the Soviet restructuring process.

Bahro's enthusiasm for the revolution in the Soviet Union is overwhelming. He swiftly revises his initial impression of Gorbachev as a 'Modernisierer' at the head of a technocratic regeneration (109) to one of almost mystical reverence in the new Soviet leader as the model of "der Fürst der ökologischen Wende". (110) Gorbachev's nomination as First Secretary of the CPSU is described less in terms of the expediency of a crumbling economic and military power, and more in the nature of the second coming of Christ:

"In Tibet haben die Mönche immer nach dem nächsten Dalai Lama ausgeschaut und haben das besondere Kind dann irgendwo gefunden, weil sie ganz hochentwickelte Antennen dafür hatten, wo so ein Kind geboren wird. ... Ich leugne, daß es da (in der SU:G.S) eine Menge genau so dafür geeigneter Menschen gab, und nun wäre es zufällig dieser geworden. Die Partei hatte Antennen für diesen einen, der durch seine Anlage und durch mancherlei Umständen vorbestimmt war." (111)

Bahro adheres rigidly to the position he held in the GDR viewing the forced industrialization of the Soviet Union as an inevitable historical task (112) and considers that the ascent of Gorbachev is somehow an inevitable outcome of this process:

"Er (Gorbachev:G.S.) will die Russische Revolution rechtefertigen, indem er die Larve des Industrialisierungsdespotismus von ihr absprengt. Er will aus der schwerfälligen gepanzerten Raupe den Schmetterling befreien..."(113)

Although he holds Gorbachev to be the true heir to the legacy of Lenin in attempting to recapture the original spirit of the October Revolution(114), Bahro adds little new to his argument in Die Alternative that economic imperatives demanded a Stalinist style leadership by way of explaining why the struggle for emancipation had to assume the form it did in the Soviet Union. Any suggestion that alternative paths of development may have produced a 'Gorbachev' without such terror is still rigidly excluded.

Above all else, Bahro's appreciation of the reform process initiated in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev provides the strongest measure of the degree to which his 'West-Alternative' reiterates much of his strategy of a 'Kulturrevolution'. The advent of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' in the Soviet Union are taken by Bahro to be a vindication of the programme he outlined in Die Alternative, proof, in fact, that his strategy was far from utopian.(115) 'Transparenz'(116) or 'Glasnost', Bahro is convinced, is not simply a question of greater civil freedoms but represents an attempt to remodel the party in a manner akin to that of his proposed 'Bund der Kommunisten'.(117) Bahro has few reservations about such a party:

"Mit der Kommunistischen Partei über dem Staat und über allen gesellschaftlichen Sonderinteressen könnte sich in der Leninschen Praxis eine politische Struktur angekündigt haben, die im Prinzip aus der Welt der streitenden Sonderinteressen und der souveränen Staaten hinausführt."(118)

Freed from the strictures imposed by the bureaucratic apparatus, Bahro believes the Communist Party represents "... tendenziell das Organ des vernünftigen Egoismus der Menschheit..."(119) in the sense

that it is capable of articulating the long-term interests of society unmediated by sectional interest groups. Bahro stresses his support for the principle of the Leninist concept of the party but he carefully distances himself from the reality which occurred, arguing that Lenin must bear some responsibility for the terror which resulted. (120) He remains unswerving in his conviction, however, that the chief blame lies with the parties of Eastern Europe who failed to build upon the foundations laid by Lenin. (121) Bahro subscribes to a Luxemburgist critique of the rigid Leninist interpretation of the party as a conspiratorial elite. Rejecting the idea of the party as a closed order, he submits

"... daß die Bewegung für einen friedlichen Übergang noch eine andere von innen arbeitende Struktur als die politische Partei braucht; die Partei gerade nicht als Avantgarde." (122)

Nonetheless, Bahro strictly adheres to the idea of the party as a form of ideological avantgarde leading by example through considered leadership. He decidedly renounces any such spontaneity in the sphere of political activity, hammering home the message that the point of continuity between Gorbachev and Lenin is their commitment to the need for 'Bewußtheit'. (123) Bahro recognizes the apparent contradiction between this denunciation of spontaneity and his calls for individuals to allow themselves to be guided by their innermost feelings:

"Mit seiner Kritik an der Spontaneität hat Lenin gewiß nicht hauptsächlich ... die Impulsivität verwerfen wollen. Vielmehr zielte sie gegen das Moment der sozialen Trägheitskräfte, gegen das gewohnheitsmäßige Weiterstricken am Status quo selbst noch in der Bewegung, die die neue Epoche heraufbringt." (124)

This distinction fails to overcome the obvious contradictions between his fostering of greater individuality and continued insistence on the idea of an avantgarde leadership. Indeed, Bahro is most unwilling to

trust the masses, ever-insistent that the process of reformation will be, in the first instance, the task of an organized minority:

"Für den Anfang kommt es nur auf eines an: Daß sich Initiator(inn)en finden, die ihren persönlichen Entschluß fassen, mit der Vorbereitung ihrer selbst und eines Projekts beginnen und einen Kreis von Mitstrebenden um sich sammeln. (125)

Bahro passes over the whole question of democratic controls and, in his rush to praise the Soviet reforms without assessing the impact they have had at a grass roots level, he ignores his own advice in Die Alternative that "Reformen von oben allein können da nichts ändern." (126)

The absence of any discussion of democratic safeguards was a point heavily criticized in the reception of Bahro's major critique of the GDR. (127) This aspect of Die Alternative prompted Arato to condemn Bahro's work as 'neo-Leninist' (128), and after a limited acquaintance with Bahro's Green politics, Arato has found little grounds to alter his opinion, concluding that Bahro's work has "... taken on alarming authoritarian implications." (129) To a large degree such fears are justified with Bahro referring to the advantages of "ein verhaßtes Müssen" over difficult decision making (130) and discounting any possibility that democratic measures can protect the environment. (131) Moreover, he writes approvingly of one author's assertion that any successful process of transformation requires a dictatorial leadership (132) and does not himself shirk from calling for some element of coercion:

"Im günstigsten Falle bedeutet »Rettungsregierung« (...) soviel »dosierte Revolution von oben«, wie wir aus wohl-erwogenem Interesse akzeptieren müssen." (133)

How then does Bahro distinguish his strategy from the authoritarian solutions proposed by Gruhl and Harich, the principles of which he

repeatedly holds up to vilification? Concepts of 'rationing dictatorships' are dismissed as inadequate answers to the disaster awaiting mankind since they work from the premises of the existing system: "... kommen wir nicht über einen Öko-Bismarck hinaus, bleibt es nur eine weitere Strukturanpassung *innerhalb* des exterministischen europäischen Projekts..." (134) Eco-dictatorship meets only the minimal requirements of survival, whereas Bahro seeks to exploit the failure of the existing system to establish a completely new basis for human existence. In recognizing the need for some degree of force, Bahro is convinced that the creation of a benevolent despotism, or "heilsame Tyrannis" (135) with nothing but honest intentions is feasible, seen in his call for "... eine Weltregierung *ohne* anderes Machtkalkül als das der notwendigen Selbstbegrenzung unserer Gattungspraxis auf einem endlichen Planeten." (136) Again, he calls Gorbachev as witness: "Er (Gorbachev:G.S.) benutzt die ererbte Tyrannis, während er sie abbaut..." (137) Yet, little other than Bahro's own intuition and faith in the goodness of man would appear to be the basis for the belief in such altruism, and, by his own admission, the possibility of totalitarianism cannot be excluded as the outcome of just such an appeal to man's inner being. (138)

As is evident, the almost pathological aversion to any form of party pluralism which formed one of the leading principles of Bahro's alternative strategy in East Germany forms a notable point of continuity in his work. In the West, he continues to place his faith in the need for an institutional organization of society secure above any form of particularist interests, bemoaning the want of an "Instanz für die allgemeinen Interessen" (139) in Western forms of democracy. Further, there are echoes of Harich's work in Bahro's suggestion that the freedom of a political authority above any economic interests will prove to be a necessary feature of any 'Rettungsregierung'. (140) Reckoning on the success of the Soviet reforms, Bahro claims the regimes of Eastern Europe will be better placed to counter the ecology crisis:

"Ohne *Unterordnung* der Wirtschaft, die hier verdammt viel schwerer fällt als dort (Soviet Union:G.S.), wird der Westen den Vergleich nicht bestehen..." (141)

In this respect, *Logik* reveals the extent to which Bahro's perceptions of the West remain deeply embedded in the anti-Western ideology of the SED. In contrast to Havemann who called for the development of the accomplishments of 'bourgeois' civilization, Bahro scarcely has a good word for anything he has encountered in the West. (142) He excludes any possibility that the Western democratic systems can successfully combat the anticipated cultural collapse (143) and mockingly compares the inability of the Federal Republic's government in the face of ecological disaster to Weimar's failure to conquer its economic crises. (144) Parliamentary democracy is frequently denounced as the creature of competing sectional interests (145) and lacks any virtue in Bahro's eyes:

"Im Vergleich zur Herrschaft des Marktautomatismus und zur Abzählidemokratie ist eine archaische Theokratie ein hochkulturelles Ereignis." (146)

Bahro is no less severe in attributing responsibility for this "oberflächliche, individualisierte, demokratische westliche Welt" (147), blaming West Germany's "alliierte Demokratie" on the "amerikanisch verbürgte Restauration". (148) Indeed, a pronounced anti-Americanism pervades this work. (149) Nor are these attacks simply evidence of Bahro's polemical style, since they form an integral part of his assault on the existing ruling consensus in the Federal Republic. He acknowledges Rohmoser's conclusion that his fundamental opposition aims for the complete overthrow of the existing social and political order in West Germany with just one qualification:

"Ich verwerfe eine *Unordnung*, die den Fortgang der ökologischen Katastrophe verbürgt und konstitutiv ungeeignet ist, den Totalschaden von der Gesellschaft abzuwenden." (150)

By far the most controversial aspect of Logik is precisely this challenge to the ruling consensus in the Federal Republic. Intuition rather than scientific analysis convinces Bahro that the post-war order imposed by the allies from without has outstayed its welcome amongst the German people and is ready for revision. (151) Most importantly, Bahro feels the time has come to lay the ghost of Germany's fascist past.

In Logik, Bahro picks up the debate about fascism which he began at the Green Party's conference at Hamburg in 1984. (152) His argument has progressed from one exposing the dangers of the separation of the party from its popular base (as occurred with the NSDAP) to one which seeks to banish the taboo surrounding the idea of a popular mass movement inspired by a visionary, spiritual goal. This emerges as the clear message from Bahro's appraisal of The origins of totalitarianism (153) in which he denounces Arendt's cold-war mentality for simply equating mass movements with totalitarianism. By portraying the masses as "apathisch und dumm", Bahro suggests that Arendt fails to distinguish the various positive elements which inspire such movements. (154) In no uncertain terms, therefore, Bahro seeks to reinvoke the spirit behind the Nazi movement.

The answer to the ecological crisis, it transpires, revives the potent combination of spirituality and politics which proved so fatal in the past, with Bahro endorsing the concept of charismatic leadership as the ultimate solution. Throughout, however, Bahro's argument in this respect is either based on half-truths, ill-considered or self-contradictory. The basis for his argument is the belief

"... daß die Nazibewegung u.a. auch bereits eine erste Lesung der Ökologiebewegung war, ein von allzuviel Ressentiment und Aggression überlagerter fundamentalistischer Aufruhr gegen Wissenschaft-Technik-Kapital..." (155)

This interpretation of the Nazi movement as the precursor, however flawed, of the modern day ecology movement is too simplistic to be taken seriously. In equating the two movements Bahro overlooks the masses of differing motives and aspirations behind them. Chiefly, he chooses to ignore the extent to which National Socialism actually cultivated those very features of modernism Bahro loathes so much, namely capital, science and technology. The electoral success of the 'Nazi' Party was a reflection of the desire of the middle classes to regain their status lost in the Weimar years, rather than any evidence of a widescale attempt to escape from the Megamachine. Yet, Bahro is unperturbed by such arguments and is convinced that the original good intentions of the movement were somehow corrupted by the party. In support of this conclusion, Bahro resorts to the worst extremes of apologetic treatments of the Third Reich:

"Die psychologische Abwehr, die sich gegen Führung und ganz besonders gegen persönliche Führung erhebt, kann sich bei uns auf die negative Erfahrung der NS-Zeit stützen, muß dabei allerdings voraussetzen, daß der Psychopath an der Spitze eines großen Volkes mehr über sich verrät als über dieses Volk." (156)

Bahro needs to exculpate 'das Volk' and exonerate the motives which led to the creation of the Third Reich so that he can once again call upon the masses.

By the same strange logic which causes Bahro to view the Stalinist era as an inescapable prerequisite for the further development of socialism under Gorbachev(157), he regards the EcoPax movement as the natural successor to the spirit which engendered National Socialism. Green and Brown, he argues, are merely opposite sides of the same coin:

"Es kann aus derselben Energie, die damals auf die Katastrophe hin disponiert war, sogar aus der Neigung zum *Furor teutonicus*, wenn sie bewußt gehalten und dadurch kontroll-

iert wird, heute etwas Besseres werden. Kein Gedanke verwerflicher als der an ein neues anderes 1933?! Gerade der aber kann uns retten." (158)

Fears that such a movement may once again end in disaster are brushed aside by Bahro, with reassuring claims that new concentration camps will not be the outcome. (159) Bahro is confident that this time things will be different: "... jedenfalls hat die Millenniumsbewegung diesmal einen Charakter wie nie zuvor in Deutschland." (160) Above all, Logik marks a concerted effort on Bahro's part to remove the taboo associated with the concept of a mass movement linked to charismatic leadership. The Germans, he contends, have retained a capacity for this form of charismatic politics:

"Trotz aller schlechten Erfahrungen sind die Deutschen ansprechbarer als andere Völker für charismatische Führung geblieben. Sie werden wieder lernen, daß Charisma zunächst eine Kraft jenseits von Gut und Böse ist..." (161)

Nothing can dissuade Bahro that the ecological and cultural crisis can be averted by means other than recourse to visionary politics inspiring a mass conversion of consciousness. A process of spiritual renaissance at both the individual and institutional level offers the only hope for the future of humanity. Bahro assesses the reforms instituted in the Soviet Union in this light, judging Gorbachev's success not in terms of his capacity to address conventional social and economic problems but as a leader offering a vision - "Die Spitze sendet Licht aus." (162) Gorbachev has restored the Communist Party's role as the 'geistige Instanz' at the head of society, and the situation in the West, Bahro insists, demands a similar candidate.

It would be easy to dismiss Bahro's views on these issues as irresponsible against the background of previous German experience of charismatic politics. This would miss the point however. As Alt suggests, Bahro definitely knows how to provoke controversy and his views on this subject are no exception. (163) Bahro's appeal for

charismatic or spiritual politics confronts a sacred taboo which has gone largely unchallenged in post-War German society. It is not without purpose that Bahro stresses "(die:G.S.) Idee einer Rettungsregierung" (164) since his chief priority is to champion the concept of visionary politics. Against the 'Politikasterie' (165) of conventional, mundane politics Bahro's objective is to instill the notion of a grander purpose, a unifying goal which will inspire all regardless of class differences. Yet, the degree to which Bahro remains bound to the orthodoxy of his communist upbringing is evident in the way in which he resurrects the old arguments of revolution or reform that have beset the Left since the last century to highlight the necessity of restoring a visionary element to politics:

"Wo die Bewegung, wie in dem berühmten Bernsteinschen Satze, alles ist, das Ziel aber nichts - da gibt es am Ende halt keine Bewegung, höchstens noch ziellose Veränderung wer weiß wohin." (166)

Bahro has come to the West with his faith in the possibility of creating a new dawn for humanity unbroken despite his own experience of disillusion with the attempt to construct socialism in the GDR. His optimism about the chances for yet another new start is, however, not fully shared by those with experience of previous efforts in this direction. Amongst the critical voices, Amery has interpreted Bahro's thesis as a renewed call for a Nietzschean 'superman' (167), whilst Robert Jungk (himself a prisoner in the Third Reich) has been quite forceful in his criticism. In a review entitled 'Sein Kampf', he attacks Bahro's appeal for spiritual politics as exemplifying "... der alte eingebildete - und sehr deutsche - Hochmut, man könne das Gefährliche 'im Griff behalten'" (168) Similar fears are expressed by Buddrus in his assessment:

"Gerade weil ein selbstbewußter Umgang mit dem mythischen Bewußtsein erst nach einer persönlichen Transformation möglich ist, halte ich das bloße Ansprechen und Freisetzen

dieser Bewußtseinsstruktur bei der Mehrheit oder bei einer Minderheit der Bevölkerung für gefährlich." (169)

On the Left, too, Bahro senses a mood of resignation and willingness to accept the status quo. (170) But as the initial response to Bahro's outline of the concept of ecological humanism demonstrated, this mood reflected a recognition in many parts of the Left that the politics of utopia brought few practical rewards. (171)

Despite expressing doubts as to the nature of Bahro's proposed 'Rettungsregierung', many critics have accepted the underlying tenor of his criticism of Western, and particularly West German, society. For all his objections, Bahro's former Green Party colleague Winfried Kretschmann agrees that Logik focusses attention on the right problem. (172) Alt acknowledges Bahro as precisely the sort of "Querdenker" which the current situation demands (173), and similarly Sens views this work as an example of the "Gedanken eines Erleuchteten". (174) Yet, all have their reservations about Bahro's approach. Sens balances his praise that "(d)as Beste an dem Buch ist sein Thema: es geht ums Ganze" with a severe attack on how Bahro treats this issue (175), and in a similar vein Alt tempers his approval of the general thrust of Logik with criticism of the author's stubborn resistance to any concept of reform: "Wir brauchen realistische Propheten, aber warum nicht im heutigen System?" (176) Many authors take exception to Bahro's breathless style which makes no concessions to detailed or well-founded argument, but it is evident that Bahro does successfully raise issues of contemporary concern.

The assertion that the Germans are still receptive to charismatic leadership may appear somewhat provocative, but is by no means exaggerated. Writing in 1987, Bahro imagines a visit by the new Soviet leader to West Germany:

"Ich stelle mir vor, wenn Der (Gorbachev:G.S.) uns besuchen käme, und es würden ihn nicht nur die Friedensbewegung, die Ökobewegung, die alte Linke usw. hier empfangen, gar irgend-

wie gesondert, sondern das ganze Volk, und es würde das Empfinden um sich greifen, hier ist *ein Mensch* gekommen! Dann würde der letzte politisch relevante Rest dieser Zwangsvorstellung 'die Russen kommen' ausfallen. Dann würde die Idee militärischer Verteidigung zusammenfallen, die Idee der NATO." (177)

This scenario is one which was confirmed with the visit of Gorbachev to West Germany in June 1989. (178) The image of the 'Soviet bear' is one which 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' have made increasingly difficult to sustain amongst a West German audience that is prepared more and more to call into question the foundations of the post-War order. *Logik* is undoubtedly a document of Zeitgeist in the sense that Bahro forthrightly challenges the existing consensus which has dominated Germany since the last war:

"Für die ökologische Wende brauchen wir *mehr und intensiveren* Konsens, als je einer für diese oder jene »Volkspartei« zustande kommen wird, und dafür eben einen anderen Mechanismus, ihn herbeizuführen, als den demagogischen Interessenstreit zwischen den Parteien auf dem unvertäuten Kahn." (179)

Bahro articulates, albeit in an exaggerated and provocative form, the sense that the existing order lacks permanency and that the time has come for change. Some critics are already pointing to the emergence of extreme right wing parties such as the 'Republikaner' as evidence of, amongst other things, a similar sense of dissatisfaction with the CDU/CSU government as that which occurred during the SPD's last period of office and which contributed to the birth of the Green Party. (180) Although many of Bahro's critics question his provocative use of historical analogy, most agree that he at least poses the right questions for a society which will have to make important decisions in the future.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER SIX

1. See for example: Klaus Pokatzky: Platon aus Worms. in: Die Zeit - Magazin. 3.5.85. pp.67-69.; Thomas Heymann: Klöster und Kommunen. in: Pflasterstrand. 20.8.85. (henceforward referred to as Heymann); Hupert Seipel: 'Bahro - Mit B wie Beethoven.' in: Der Spiegel. No.46 1983. pp.64-66.
2. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. Edition Weitbrecht in K. Thienemanns Verlag, Stuttgart & Vienna 1987. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung.)
3. Rudolf Bahro: Für eine Wirtschaftspolitik, in der Ökologie die Priorität besitzt. in: Neues Deutschland. 19.12.89. p.4.; Ökologische Alternative - aber keine Rückkehr zum Hakenflug. in: Neues Deutschland. 23/24.12.89. p.10.; Zurück und tiefer gehen. in: Kommune. No.2 1990. pp.44-46.; The first reaction to Bahro's ideas in the GDR has been less than positive. On the response to his speech to the SED's Emergency Congress see: Carl Christian-Kaiser: Mit Arbeit die Angst betäuben. in: Die Zeit. No.52 1989. p.4.; Karl Wilhelm Fricke: Symptome eines Verfalls. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.1 1990. pp.7-9.
4. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.101.
5. Edward P. Thompson: Notes on Exterminism, the last stage of civilisation. in: New Left Review/E.P. Thompson(eds.): Exterminism and Cold War. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1982. pp.1-33. (henceforward referred to as Thompson.)
6. Rudolf Bahro: Überlegungen zu einem Neuansatz der Friedensbewegung in Deutschland. in: Befreiung. No.21 1981. pp.10. (In English: A new approach for the peace movement in Germany. in: New Left Review(eds.): Exterminism and Cold War. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1982.)
7. Thompson. p.20.
8. Lewis Mumford: The Myth of the Machine. Secker & Warburg, London 1967. (henceforward referred to as Mumford.)
9. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.103.
10. *ibid.* p.20.

11. See especially: Egbert Dozekal: Von der Rekonstruktion der Marxschen Theorie zur 'Krise des Marxismus'. Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne 1985. pp.230ff.; Micha Brumlik: Rudolf Bahro: Vom sozialen Protest zum spiritualistischen Voluntarismus. in: links. No.166/167. Jan./Feb 1984. pp.14-16.
12. See especially: Herbert Marcuse: Protosozialismus und Spätkapitalismus. in: Kritik. No.19 1978. pp.5-27.; Helmut Gollwitzer: «Die menschliche Herausforderung, der Bahro sich gestellt hat». in: Hannes Schwenger (ed): Solidarität mit Rudolf Bahro. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1978. pp.31-38.; Günter Bartsch: Mehr als Alternative - Ein Durchbruch und Neubeginn. in: Deutschland Archiv. No.12 1978. pp.472-476.
13. Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht mit den Wölfen heulen. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1979. p.82. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht.)
14. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.103.
15. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative - Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne & Frankfurt am Main 1977. p.303. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative.)
16. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.103.
17. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.309.
18. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Verso Editions and NLB, London 1984. p.217. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green.)
19. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.215ff.
20. Rudolf Bahro: Was vor der Zukunft zusammengehört. in: Rudolf Bahro: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. pp.53-60.
21. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.118. Bahro equates Mumford's achievement for the ecology movement with that which Marx held for the workers' movement. *ibid.* p.505.
22. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.27.
23. Thompson. p.344.
24. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.213.

25. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.118.
26. *ibid.* p.46.
27. *ibid.* p.126.
28. Herbert Marcuse: Der eindimensionale Mensch. Luchterhand, Neuwied & Berlin 9th edition 1977. (One dimensional man. Beacon Press, Boston Mass. 1964.)
29. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.135.
30. *ibid.* p.140.
31. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.477ff.
32. *ibid.* p.322.
33. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.146.
34. *ibid.* pp.135-136.
35. Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. p.219.
36. *ibid.* p.218.
37. *ibid.* p.219.
38. Erich Fromm: Haben oder Sein. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich 1979.; Dieter Duhm: Der Mensch ist anders. Verlag Kübler, KG, Lampertheim 2nd edition 1976. (1975.); Horst Eberhard Richter: Der Gotteskomplex. Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1979. (henceforward referred to as Richter.)
39. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.24.
40. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.157.
41. Bahro refers to various unpublished papers by Galtung.
42. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.149.
43. *ibid.* p.152.
44. *ibid.* p.155.
45. *ibid.* pp.155-156.
46. *ibid.* p.33.
47. Carl Amery: Natur als Politik. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1978.; Roger Garaudy: Die Alternative. Verlag Fritz Molden, Vienna, Munich & Zurich 1973. (orig. published as L'Alternative. 1972.)
48. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.166.
49. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.533.
50. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.165.
51. *ibid.*

52. *ibid.* p.176ff.
53. Rudolf Bahro: Spirituelle Gemeinschaften als soziale Intervention. in: Rudolf Bahro et al: Radikalität im Heiligenschein. Herzsschlag, Berlin 1984. p.74. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Radikalität.) This paper was delivered to the Green Party working group on communes at Burg Stettenfels bei Heilbronn, 21st-24th June 1984.; See also Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.181.
54. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.181.
55. *ibid.* p.182ff. Bahro cites the study by Stanislav Grof: Geburt, Tod und Transzendenz. Kösel Verlag, Munich 1985
56. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.271.
57. *ibid.* pp.217-218.
58. Rudolf Bahro: Weltlosigkeit ist keine Lösung. in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler am anderen Ufer. Befreiung, Berlin 1984. p.215. (Main text henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler.)
59. Rudolf Bahro: Kommune wagen! in: Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.203.
60. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.204. & p.237.; Rudolf Bahro: Elemente einer neuen Politik. Olle & Wolter, Berlin 1980. p.71.; Again Bahro learns from Mumford who saw the Benedictines as an "etherealized and moralized megamachine." Mumford. p.264.; See also the critique of Bahro's Benedictine analogy in: Heymann.
61. For a useful article on Bahro's use of language in his earlier critique see: Peter Christian Ludz: The aesthetic dimension of the 'New Revisionism': Rudolf Bahro. in: Social Research. No.1 Vol.47. 1980 pp.188-189.; On the prophetic overtones in these earlier works see: Henryk Skrzypczak: Rudolf Bahro oder die Wiedergeburt des Marxismus aus dem Geiste der Religion. Allgemeinverständliche Einführung in Leben und Werk eines neuen Messias. in: Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. 1980 pp.125-191.
62. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.315.
63. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.185.
64. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.339ff.
65. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.280.
66. *ibid.* p.281.

67. Gunter Hofmann: Ein Held unserer Zeit? in: Die Zeit. No.45 1980. p.32.; Note Bahro's appraisal of Beethoven in: Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. See above pp.31ff.
68. Otto Kallscheuer: Fortschrittsangst. in: Kursbuch. No.74. p.174.
69. Bahro rejected the 'prophet' label in an interview with G.W. Smith, 20.5.88. Berlin. But note: "Halb bewußt, halb unbewußt möchte der Autor so eines Buches (Die Alternative:G.S.) natürlich gerne selbst der Reformator sein, aber so illusionär bin ich nicht im Ernst gewesen." Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. Photostat of unpublished manuscript assessing the first Gorbachev years. February 1987. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe.); See footnote 1 above for those who have seen Bahro in terms of a self-proclaimed prophet. See also: Klaus-Peter Klingelschmitt: Im eiskalten Wasser der Beresina ertränkt. Ein Anti-Bahro. in: Die Tageszeitung. 22.12.84. p.7.; Antje Vollmer: Nachdenken über die Funktion der Sozialdemokraten. in: Grüner Basis Dienst. No.1 1985. p.61.
70. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.204.
71. Rudolf Bahro: Radikalität. p.74.
72. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.217.
73. *ibid.* p.275.
74. *ibid.* p.204.
75. Rudolf Bahro: Radikalität. p.76.
76. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.216.
77. Richter.
78. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.159.
79. *ibid.* p.298.
80. *ibid.* p.495. Bahro is referring to Friedrich Nietzsche: The will to power. Trans. W. Kaufmann & R.J. Hollingdale. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1968.
81. Gregory Bateson: Steps to an ecology of mind. J. Aronson, London 1987.; Fritjof Capra: The turning point. Fontana, London 1983.; See also: Rüdiger Lutz: Bewußtseins(R)evolution. Beltz Verlag, Weinheim & Basel 1983.

82. Bahro cites: Rudolf Steiner: Über die Dreigliederung des sozialen Organismus. Rudolf Steiner Verlag, Dornach 1961. Significantly, Henrich, who mentions his indebtedness to Bahro's Die Alternative (See above p.214 footnote 3.), also refers to the influence of Steiner. Rolf Henrich: Der vormund-schaftliche Staat. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, Reinbek/Hamburg 1989.
83. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.247. Bahro is referring to Lewis Mumford: The transformations of man. Secker & Warburg, London 1956.
84. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.260. On Bahro's asceticism See above p.159.
85. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.470.
86. Rudolf Bahro: Radikalität. p.73.
87. ibid. p.206.
88. ibid. p.207.
89. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.206.
90. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.456.
91. Hubert Seipel: Bahro - mit B wie Beethoven. in: Der Spiegel. No.46 1983. p.64.
92. On the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh see: The Independent. 22.1.90. p.12.
93. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.215.
94. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.217.
95. ibid. p.212.
96. Rudolf Bahro: Radikalität. p.66. Bahro is referring to A. S. Makarenko: The road to life. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow Undated.
97. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.329. Cited from: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.523.
98. Franz Alt: Bahros Logik der Rettung. in: Die Zeit. No.4 1988. p.18. (henceforward referred to as Alt.)
99. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.326.
100. ibid. p.331.
101. ibid. p.327
102. ibid. p.327. Bahro also refers to the 'Unsichtbare Kirche'

- in a poem entitled An Denselben, written in 1972. in: Rudolf Bahro: ... die nicht. pp.126-127.
103. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.344.
104. *ibid.* p.325.
105. *ibid.* p.326.
106. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. pp.430-431.
107. *ibid.* p.448.
108. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.314.
109. Rudolf Bahro: Keine Routine. Verweigert Moskau die Rüstungskomplizenschaft. in: Die Tageszeitung. 1.3.86. pp.22-23.
110. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.325.
111. Rudolf Bahro: "Auf einmal kommt von oben Licht..." in: Connection. (Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur, Spiritualität und Selbsterfahrung.) No.10/11 1987. p.13. (henceforward referred to as Rudolf Bahro: Connection.)
112. See above pp.82ff.
113. Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. p.4.; This image also appears in: Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.331. and in: Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.25.
114. Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. p.4.
115. *ibid.* p.2.
116. Bahro's use of 'Transparenz' for 'Glasnost' differs notably from the more common German interpretation 'Offenheit', employed especially by Christoph Hein in his attack on the SED at the Tenth GDR Writers' Congress. Christoph Hein: Die Zensur ist überlebt, nutzlos, paradox, menschen- und volksfeindlich, ungesetzlich und strafbar. in: Die Zeit. No.50 1987. pp.57-59.
117. Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. pp.6-7.
118. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.327.
119. *ibid.* p.328.
120. Rudolf Bahro: Connection. p.13. "Sie (the present-day successors to Lenin:G.S.) werden ihn (Lenin:G.S.) zu Ende erlösen, insofern er auch daran mitgewirkt hat, den Terror zu installieren."
121. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.446.
122. *ibid.* p.390.

123. *ibid.* p.450.
124. *ibid.*
125. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.204.; Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.439.
126. Rudolf Bahro: Die Alternative. p.266.
127. See above pp.167ff.
128. Andrew Arato: Review of Ulf Wolter's 'Rudolf Bahro: Critical responses'. in: Telos. No.48 1981. pp.153-168.; Andrew Arato and Mihaly Vajda: The limits of Leninist opposition. in: New German Critique. No.19 1980. pp.167-175.
129. Andrew Arato and Jean L. Cohen: The German Green Party. in: Dissent. No.31 1984. p.328.
130. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.349.
131. *ibid.* p.31.
132. *ibid.* p.447.
133. *ibid.* p.480.
134. *ibid.* p.86.
135. *ibid.* p.472.
136. *ibid.* p.208.
137. Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. p.1.
138. "Ob es terror geben wird oder nicht, entscheidet sich nicht am Despoten in spe und auch nicht an unserer Warnung davor, sondern an der Stärke oder Schwäche der alternativen Bewußtseinsstruktur..." *ibid.* p.351.
139. *ibid.* p.330.
140. Wolfgang Harich: Kommunismus ohne Wachstum? Rowohlt, Reinbek/Hamburg 1975.
141. Rudolf Bahro: Il Principe. p.3.
142. Robert Havemann: Ein Deutscher Kommunist. Rowohlt, Reinbek/Hamburg 2nd Edition 1978.
143. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.380.
144. *ibid.* p.344.
145. See for example: *ibid.* p.344.; p.356.; p.359.
146. *ibid.* p.242.
147. *ibid.* p.446.
148. *ibid.* p.397.

149. See for example: *ibid.* p.352.; p.396.; p.458.
150. *ibid.* p.481.
151. Bahro appears to mean the people of both German states referring constantly to the rather ill-defined concept of 'das Volk'. This is also the implication from his statement: "Mit der begonnenen großen Reformation der Russischen Revolution hat auch die Wiedervereinigung Europas, somit die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands begonnen. *ibid.* p.325.
152. See above pp.334ff.
153. Hannah Arendt: The origins of totalitarianism. George Allen & Unwin, London 3rd edition 1967. (1951)
154. Rudolf Bahro: Pfeiler. p.227-230.
155. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.340.
156. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.353.
157. "In Rußland zeigt sich jetzt, daß der Stalinismus das Larvenstadium eines neuen großen Anfangs war." *ibid.* p.346.
158. *ibid.*
159. *ibid.* p.401.
160. *ibid.* p.396.
161. *ibid.* p.345.
162. *ibid.* p.332.
163. Alt.
164. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.430.
165. *ibid.* p.210.; p315.; p.360.
166. *ibid.* p.431.
167. Carl Amery: Jenseits von Bautzen. in: Natur. No.5 1988. pp.70-71.
168. Robert Jungk: Sein Kampf. in: Die Tageszeitung. 29.10.87. p.11.
169. Volker Buddrus: Logik oder Mythos der Rettung. in: Kommune. No.4 1988. p.52.
170. Bahro dismisses the Left in general as an obstacle to further change. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.402.; he rejects the trades unions: *ibid.* p.408.; disowns the ecosocialists and Greens: *ibid.* p.411.; writes off the SPD: *ibid.* p.420.; and sees no potential for change in the New Left: *ibid.* p.424.

- p.424.
171. See above pp.277ff.
 172. Winfried Kretschmann: Gescheiterter Versuch. in: Kommune.
No.12 1987. pp.69-73.
 173. Alt.
 174. Eberhard Sens: Gedanken eines Erleuchteten. in: Zeit in Bild
p.4., Frankfurter Rundschau. 5.3.1988.
 175. *ibid.*
 176. Alt.
 177. Rudolf Bahro: Connection. p.17.
 178. See for example: Lothar Probst: Gorbimanie und deutsche Frage.
in: Kommune. No.8 1989. pp.47-49.; CDU/CSU-Wähler: Gorbatschow
besser als Kohl. in: Der Spiegel. No.23 1989. pp.160ff.; Der
Kremlchef muß am Rhein regieren. in: Der Spiegel. No.24 1989.
pp.18-20.
 179. Rudolf Bahro: Logik der Rettung. p.482.
 180. See: Udo Knapp and Winfried Kretschmann: Die Republikaner
rechts liegen lassen. in: Kommune. No.8 1989. pp.43-45.

CONCLUSION

In a review marking the first publication of Die Alternative in the GDR well over a decade after its initial appearance in West Germany, one author has commended Bahro's trenchant critique of 'actually existing socialism' as "... der Prolog, das Urbuch des Aufbruchs im Herbst." (1) On the other hand, the critic notes that hopes for the rejuvenation of the communist system along the lines which Bahro outlined in his critique have been dashed in no uncertain terms by the headlong rush for German unification following the collapse of the Honecker regime. The desire on the part of large numbers of East Germans to achieve an instant improvement in living standards has, even perhaps in a more extreme form than he anticipated, confirmed Bahro's own sceptical view of the potential of the proletariat. This wide gulf between the more immediate interests of the population at large and the concerns of the SED's theoretical opponents is evident from the appraisal of Bahro's suggested programme of reform and its reception discussed above. By contrast, Bahro's hopes for the emergence of a new, reinvigorated party from within the existing Communist Party were far from misplaced, as the formation of the PDS (Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus) has shown. The relatively good showing of the refurbished SED in the 1990 March election has vindicated to a certain extent Bahro's claim that the lower ranks of the SED were filled with members sharing his hopes for an alternative path to socialism. (2) Notably, the leadership of the PDS was assumed by Bahro's one-time defence lawyer, Gregor Gysi. (3)

Whether or not it is possible to argue the case for some connection between Bahro's dissident activities and the events in the GDR during the autumn of 1989 is a difficult question. Nonetheless, there have been indications of Die Alternative's continuing influence as a document of opposition in the GDR. (4) Indeed, as was shown above, the initial reception of Bahro's work was undertaken on the basis of the direct challenge which it represented to the authority of the ruling party in the GDR. Bahro has repeatedly stated, moreover, that Die

Alternative represented an attack on the party as a response to the crushing of the Prague Spring. How then has Bahro's work retained its importance twenty years after the event which inspired it? The Hungarian Ivan Szeleenyi, for example, has concluded that his own critical analysis (which coincided with Bahro's work), would have been more pertinent had it appeared as a more immediate response to the events of 1968. (5) Yet, it would be wrong similarly to dismiss Die Alternative as a belated examination of 'real existierenden Sozialismus' with little relevance to the contemporary situation. Rather, in the light of the collapse of the socialist systems of Eastern Europe with few viable theoretical or practical alternatives to replace them, Bahro's design, far from being obsolete, holds enduring value as one of the few major works from Eastern Europe which has sought to respond to this crisis of Marxism.

As the reception of Die Alternative beyond the GDR, especially in West Germany demonstrated, the significance of Bahro's major theoretical analysis derives not solely from its value as an example of discontent with the regime in the GDR, but rather from its efforts to confront the major problems which have combined to undermine the significance of Marxist theory as a valid tool of social analysis. Irrespective of the solutions which Bahro offers, his thorough appraisal of 'actually existing socialism' deserves its reputation as one of the landmarks of East European critical theory, although for different reasons than those which provoked such responses originally. Thus, whereas praise such as that from Mandel seemed motivated by the desire to claim Die Alternative as proof of the continuing vitality of one's own brand of socialism in Eastern Europe (6), Bahro's critique demands far wider recognition as a work of much broader scope.

For, Bahro's decided aim in challenging some of the major suppositions of Marxist theory is not chiefly to overthrow the party (although this is a necessary consequence) but to subject Marxism to a radical overhaul. Major changes in social structure, limitations on growth as a result of diminishing resources, bureaucratic power structures and, indeed, threats to the very survival of mankind

through atomic war have, in Bahro's view, all highlighted the inadequacies of Marxism as a model for contemporary emancipation. Indeed, the pursuit of individual emancipation based on the development of the productive forces, he asserts, has actually blocked the path to social progress.

In both East and West, Bahro has sought to make good what he sees as this fundamental deficit in socialist thinking. In an interview given shortly before his return to the GDR Bahro denies that there is any inconsistency between the strategy of spiritual reawakening which he preaches in Logik der Rettung and the renewal of communism which he proposed in Die Alternative. (7) On the contrary, he argues for Logik to be understood as evidence of a return to the ideals of communism which inspired his major critique, dismissing his involvement in practical politics in the Federal Republic as a diversion from this. This thesis confirms Bahro's assessment in many respects. Certainly it has been shown that his efforts to become actively involved in West German politics were misconceived; equally, a strong element of continuity between the strategies which Bahro has advocated in East and West emerges from this study. Above all an unbending commitment to the realization of a utopia which permits the fullest possible development of all individuals permeates Bahro's writings. By the same token, he wholeheartedly rejects the idea that a process of emancipation can be constructed on the interests of one class alone and is intransigent in stating the case for a guided process of change headed by an elite.

To argue the case for a strong degree of continuity is not to deny that there are important differences between the early and the later works. Significantly, as Bahro himself mentions, he has found it much harder in the West to reconcile his views of the need for a spiritual dimension within ecological politics with Marxism than he did in the East. (8) This shift from a thorough critique of Marxism in the GDR to an outright disavowal of Marxism largely constitutes a natural progression of Bahro's journey away from the rigid dogmatism of orthodox Marxism which began in the GDR. The commitment shown in his

guarantee against the emergence of authoritarian or nationalist models as the likely form of any such 'Rettungsregierung' that might occur. Rather, such fears, far from being soothed, are exacerbated by Bahro's persistent, but largely unconvincing, espousal of the need for a Leninist style avant-garde to initiate any process of change. Moreover, not only does Bahro's design raise important doubts about exactly what he feels to be worthy of conserving, but his critique of existing society calls into question his own strategy. Thus, Bahro not only holds to his sceptical view of the proletariat which he held in the GDR, but in the West he has also come to dismiss large sections of the new social movements and the middle classes as integrated elements of the 'Megamachine'. Thus, Bahro is most unconvincing in proclaiming the existence of a mass potential for reform. Certainly, the divisions which have marked the early development of the Greens have exposed the weakness of his judgement of the party as a model of an historic compromise.

Bahro's despairing assessment of the present squares uneasily with his optimistic vision of the future. Yet, in this latter respect he avoids falling foul of his own earlier criticism in which he attacked Kunert for his abstract visions of despair. (9) On the grounds of his indiscriminate repudiation of contemporary society, Bahro's work can be criticized for its own abstract nature. Similarly, his proposals for decentralized, autarkic, spiritual communities evoke warm images of an idyllic, but nonetheless idealistic view of the past. Yet, this work is no less worthy simply because of its author's utopian outlook. Indeed, albeit in exaggerated form, Bahro's work serves as a valid document of the Zeitgeist of an era in which the environmental crisis has raised an awareness of the dilemmas facing mankind in the future. The affirmation of a harmonious, communal society of the future composed of fully-rounded individuals is a direct response to the absence of such values in contemporary society. Experimental forms of living, such as that practised by Bahro in Niederstadtfeld, may not offer the whole answer but they represent an implicit critique of the society which has spawned them. Where Bahro errs, however, is in his insistence on the exclusivity of the spiritual commune as the only

alternative to the repressive and ecologically-damaging industrial orders of both East and West.

Bahro's work is emphatically utopian. Throughout his writings the desire to achieve the universal elevation of the individual to the highest level of human development has been to the fore. At first this took the form of an attack on Marxist theory for its stress on the materialist sphere at the expense of an understanding of man's metaphysical needs with the intention being to redress this imbalance. Now Bahro's declaration that the task is to discover 'die eine Wahrheit' (10) confirms that he has replaced the strict orthodoxy of his Marxist upbringing with his own ideology which is as dogmatic and deterministic as that which he so vigorously repudiates. Historical materialism thus gives way to an unfettered idealism. What distinguishes Bahro's work and where it falls down is the belief that this search for a higher unity between man and his universe can be realized in practice. In West Germany Bahro's radical utopia was judged to be inappropriate by even the most receptive audience; the chiliastic call for a new millenia was firmly discounted in favour of reform within the system. Judging by the first responses in the GDR, Bahro's calls for a new 'Volksreformation' (11) promising the realization of utopia by means of a popular mass movement will prove equally ill-timed. (12)

FOOTNOTES: CONCLUSION

1. Steffen Schmidt: Ein Philosoph, der zwischen allen Stühlen sitzt. in: Neues Deutschland. 24/25.3.90. p.14.
2. In the elections of March 1990 the PDS attained 16.32% of the vote, securing the party 66 seats in the Volkskammer. For the results in full see: Das Parlament. No.14. 1990. p.6.
3. See Rudolf Bahro: From Red to Green. Verso Editions & NLB, London 1984. p.73.
4. See above p.201. footnote 3.
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9. See above p.20.
10. Bahro: Zurück. p.46.
11. *ibid.*
12. See above p.402. footnote 3.

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APPENDIX I - BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Rudolf Bahro was born in Bad Flinsberg, Isergebirge, Silesia in 1935. His father was of Protestant, Prussian farming stock, a member of the Nazi Party since 1942 with a minor function in agriculture. Displaced at the end of the War, Bahro was evacuated to Austria with an aunt, having become separated from his mother, brother and sister whom he never saw again. After various moves Bahro finally returned to his family home in Treppeln in 1946 where he was shortly reunited with his father, who remarried in 1950. Bahro attended school in Eisenhüttenstadt and became a member of the FDJ in 1950, the year in which his father joined the Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands. In 1952 Bahro applied for membership of the SED and became a full member two years later when he began studies in philosophy at the Humboldt University. In 1959 Bahro was sent to Seelow, north of Frankfurt an der Oder to edit a local newspaper during the period of rural collectivization. At this time Bahro married and moved to Greifswald where he edited the Party newspaper at the University. In 1962 he was sent to Berlin to work for the 'Gewerkschaft Wissenschaft'.

In 1965 Bahro joined Forum as a deputy editor but left in 1967 following the 'Lyrikdebatte'. From here Bahro progressed to work in the area of industrial rationalization chiefly in the rubber and plastics industry. From 1972 to 1975 he worked on his doctoral thesis at the Technische Hochschule Leuna-Merseburg investigating the position of graduates in industry. At the same time he had already started Die Alternative as a reaction to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Pressure from these activities led to Bahro's divorce from his wife Gundula in 1973. She nonetheless joined Bahro, along with their two children, and Bahro's new partner in leaving the GDR in 1979. Bahro's expulsion followed two years' imprisonment as a result of his publication of Die Alternative in West Germany in 1977. In the West Bahro settled initially in Bremen, moving to Worms in 1985 where he sought to establish a commune together with Christine Schröter. Two years later he moved again to a new commune in Niederstadtfeld. In late 1989 Bahro returned to the GDR.

ERRATA

- p.111. For 'CSSR' read ĀSSR
- p.88. For 'socialsim' read socialism
- p.93. Footnote 43. Insert) following pp.350ff.
- p.133. For 'savalged' read salvaged
- p.139. For 'regardingthe' read regarding the
- p.150. For 'throughthe' read through the
- p.155. For 'ökonomie' read Ōkonomie
- p.162. For 'CSSR' read ĀSSR
- p.166. For 'suprising' read 'surprising'
- p.352. For '... such factors would no longer in many cases.' read ... such factors would no longer exist in many cases.

