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Soviet Union

KOMMUNIST

No 5, MARCH 1987

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SOVIET UNION

KOMMUNIST

No 5, March 1987

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : KOMMUNIST, No 5
March 1987

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

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Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : March 1987

Signed to press : 11 March 1987

Copies : 1,098,000

COPYRIGHT : Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda".
"Kommunist", 1987.

EDITORIAL -- TO LEARN DEMOCRACY AND ASSERT LAW AND ORDER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 3-14

[Text] That is how the party formulates this question today. The 7 decades of our revolutionary history, rich in tremendous and unquestionable accomplishments in all areas of life--economic, political, social and spiritual--do not mean that socialist democracy has been preserved in a final and frozen aspect, set once and for all. It must be continuously developed and perfected. It must be enriched with the people's experience and involve ever more extensively and profoundly the popular masses in the management of society, as they are the main creators of history. Socialism means tireless quest and readiness to accept anything that is new and progressive. It means constant advance.

Ignoring or underestimating the fundamental and essential features of socialism leads to major political errors and to a growth of negative phenomena and stagnation. The nature, reasons and consequences of the negative phenomena which appeared in the country's management in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s were analyzed profoundly, comprehensively and with extreme openness at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The main conclusion, again and again reemphasized by the party's Central Committee, is that restructuring is an objective necessity and that there is no alternative to it. Restructuring means decisively eliminating stagnation processes and the hindrance mechanism, and creating a reliable and efficient machinery for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society. "The roots of this hindrance," M.S. Gorbachev noted in his report to the plenum, "lie in the major shortcomings in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy, the obsolete political and theoretical concepts which sometimes are inconsistent with reality, and a conservative management mechanism." For that reason restructuring means relying on the live creativity of the masses. It means the all-round development of democracy, socialist self-government, strengthening discipline and order and increasing openness, criticism and self-criticism; it means respect for the values and dignity of the individual.

True democracy, however, does not exist outside and above the law. When we say that we must learn how to live under the conditions of expanding democracy, we do not simply mean a question of becoming "accustomed" to

openness, to the election of production managers, to nationwide discussion of laws or changes in the electoral system. We are referring to changes in the mentality, in the thinking of everyone, from worker to minister, from rank-and-file party member to party leader, and the ability to use the democratic institutions. It is a question of a more respectful, attentive but also exigent and principle-minded attitude toward people. In explaining this side of the problem, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the organic combination of democracy with discipline, independence with responsibility, and rights and obligations of officials and all citizens are all organic features of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy has nothing in common with total permissiveness, irresponsibility or anarchy. It is needed in order for law and order to strengthen in society and for justice to triumph, and for the assertion of the type of moral atmosphere in which a person can live freely and work fruitfully.

The ability to live and work under conditions of freedom and democracy greatly depends on the overall standards of the people, relations among them and between them and society at large, the state and its laws. More specifically, it depends on their political and legal standards, which include political and legal knowledge, traditions, concepts, ways and means of political management and legislating, ways and means of activity of executive authorities and guarantees and procedures protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens.

"...Learn to struggle for legality in a civilized manner," and "cultural standards and legality, inseparably related to them" are combinations of concepts quite frequently encountered in V.I. Lenin. He kept pointing out that it is impossible to establish order, discipline and organization and to ensure the firm observance of the laws and the efficient work of Soviet institutions, or to protect and defend the rights of the working people without raising the cultural standards of the masses and developing in the people high political and moral standards. Conversely, the attitude of the people toward the government, the political system as a whole, and the laws and legal authorities greatly depends on firm law and order, on the actual standard of democracy. In speaking of the dialectical unity between democracy and discipline, V.I. Lenin pointed out that "we must...precisely single out two categories of democratic functions: on the one hand, discussions and meetings; on the other, setting strictest possible responsibility for executive functions and unquestionable labor, disciplined and voluntary observance of stipulations and orders so that the economic mechanism can function truly like clockwork" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 156).

Our party program is imbued with the idea of the inseparable tie between democracy, discipline and legality, on the one hand, and standards, on the other. Strengthening the legal foundations of governmental and social life is closely related to the need "persistently to educate every Soviet person in a spirit of clear understanding of the unity of his rights, freedoms and obligations." The party ascribes great importance to "developing the high civic-mindedness of the individual, respect for Soviet laws and regulations of socialist community life and intolerance of any violations of socialist legality."

Socialist democracy is developing in all areas of our life--political, economic, spiritual and social. Democracy, however, requires a firm legal foundation. It is not enough to proclaim and even to use one democratic institution or another. It must be legislatively consolidated and guaranteed with the adoption of corresponding legal standards. The nature of these standards, the manner in which they are applied and the accuracy with which officials and citizens observe the stipulations of the law or, in other words, the legal standards maintained in Soviet society largely depend on the success of democratization and, consequently, the success of restructuring. Today the need critically to reinterpret some aspects of governmental and legal life and to make them consistent with the contemporary tasks of development of socialist democracy and people's self-government is being realized ever more urgently.

The strategy of acceleration calls for a dynamic legal regulation of social relations with the help of scientific legal standards consistent with the objective requirements governing the all-round progress of socialism. We are well-familiar with the large number of laws which have accumulated in our legislation, which hinder this progress in various areas of life, of morally obsolete yet official valid standards, which must be deleted or amended. The dynamic nature of legislation, while maintaining the stability of its basic principles and institutions and the clarity and specific nature of laws and the absence of "generalities" in the laws or declarations and appeals without foundation, are important indicators, if one may say so, of the democratic standards of society and a major protection from voluntarism and arbitrariness.

However, our present laws suffers precisely from many such shortcomings. Thus, for example, we find frequently in the laws governing economic construction general appeals and wishes either unsupported or poorly supported by a legal mechanism. In some cases, rights and obligations are not accompanied by a definition of responsibilities. The reason for the insufficient effectiveness of the Law on Labor Collectives, as well as of some other laws of great political importance, rests largely on the absence of clear and specific instructions relative to the competence of a collective and its authorities. In frequent cases detailed commentaries are needed in order properly to understand and interpret some articles of the law. Yet said laws were passed especially for the purpose of providing a legal backing to the process of democratization and development of self-government!

Regardless of the area of life which it affects, a law cannot be the result of a hasty decision. It must be the outcome of a profound study of life and social processes under socialism, despite their great disparity and, sometimes, contradictoriness. It must be profoundly considered and, if necessary, based on experimentation. It must be extensively and comprehensively discussed. Only in such a case could a law "work."

Faults in departmental and local rules, which frequently conflict with the law and fetter the enterprise in the exercise of rights granted by law or governmental decree, remain a major obstacle in strengthening legality. The elimination of this phenomenon is by no means a technical matter. It is inadmissible for a decision passed on the state level to be reworked and

distorted on the departmental or local level. Stupid prohibitions and restrictions hinder socially useful initiatives. They can only encourage bureaucratism and irresponsibility, on the one hand, and corruption, on the other. The CPSU program openly stipulates the need decisively to eliminate departmentalism and parochialism in making laws. In particular, we must enhance the responsibility of the local soviets for their decisions, establish strict and efficient control over the work of their executive and other authorities, significantly democratize the process for the formulation and adoption of government resolutions and ensure a radical restructuring of the activities of the governmental apparatus.

The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum ascribes great importance to strengthening democratic principles in the activities of the soviets and their executive authorities. This was the purpose, in particular, of a number of recent party and government decisions directing the soviets not only to enhance their work in areas under their jurisdiction but also to increase the responsibility of the deputies and ensure the real and daily supervision of their executive apparatus, to eliminate unnecessary meetings and paper shuffling in their activities, to assert openness and to strengthen ties with the people. The January Central Committee Plenum took a further important step in this direction by indicating in its decree the need to eliminate from the practice of nominating and discussing candidates for soviet deputies elements of formalism, to offer the voter the possibility of expressing his attitude toward a greater number of candidacies and efficiently to participate in the electoral process in all of its stages. It is noteworthy that the new electoral practice, which is the result of the live creativity of the masses, is already being asserted in a number of party and Komsomol organizations.

The assertion of the new democratic traditions and moral and legal standards, not to mention their actual implementation is not a smooth process; here as well a sharp struggle between the new and the old breaks out. However, the process of renovation and democratization of all aspects of our social life will continue firmly. It is a safe assumption that in time the new standards and values of the socialist way of life, the more efficient ways and means of socialist self-governing by the people and the collective solution of all problems, including elections and implementation of initiatives, will become most widespread and, subsequently, assume a legal form.

The all-round democratization of our life and the strengthening of its legal foundations are inconceivable without the development of the social sciences, legal knowledge in particular, with all of its component disciplines, and without the profound study and theoretical analysis of the practice of governmental and legal life in Soviet society. In recent years in this area, as in the social sciences as a whole, a trend toward scholastic theorizing and various types of prophecies and abstract views developed, which could not fail adversely to affect the solution of practical problems. Further improvements are needed above all in the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialist democracy, law and order and the rights and freedoms of the individual.

Juridical science must provide a key to the solution of topical political-legal problems related to perfecting socialist democracy, streamlining new phenomena in economic practice, stimulating the legal and socially active

behavior of people and eliminating delinquencies. The party's documents emphasize the importance and urgency of the scientific analysis of the objective contradictions in socialist society and the formulation of substantiated recommendations for their solution and the formulation of reliable social forecasts. The urgent need for such recommendations and forecasts is acutely felt also in the area of the development of the Soviet political system, self-government and the law.

But how can we achieve today an optimal correlation between managerial professionalism and social self-government? How to "reconcile" the need to strengthen planning discipline with the expanded autonomy of enterprises and the development of direct relations between them? What to do for steps aimed, for example, at blocking unearned income or drunkenness to be efficient and attain their objective rather than trigger new problems and negative manifestations? The social scientists--economists, jurists, philosophers and psychologists--are called upon to answer these and other questions raised by reality. Openness, nationwide discussion of planned steps, and efficient legalizing of guarantees for the rights of the individual and the political and legal activeness of the citizens assume particular importance in solving such problems.

To live and work under conditions of true democracy and to develop it comprehensively and find new forms of its manifestation is impossible without knowledge of the law which expresses the will of the nation and which determines the limits of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, of socially permissible or impermissible behavior and of democratic guarantees and procedures. This is understandable. Even the most daring scientific and technical solutions, social steps and initiatives will fail to yield proper results unless implemented by people who are politically mature, professionally trained, cultured and knowledgeable and respectful of Soviet laws. Today legal knowledge is as needed to a manager as a specialist as knowledge in the natural and social sciences. It is equally needed by managers and ordinary workers in order to make substantiated decisions, to meet professional and general civic obligations and to protect one's rights. The political and legal training of broad population strata is one of the prerequisites for the conscious and competent participation of the masses in the political process.

Some opportunities for increasing our knowledge of the state, democracy and law may be found in legal propaganda, education and training, opportunities which were made available in our country from the very onset of the Soviet system. As we know, V.I. Lenin paid tremendous attention to such work. Legal propaganda became widespread in our country. The foundations of the knowledge of the law are studied by millions of secondary school and PTU students, university students and students in technical schools and in the system for upgrading the skills of leading workers and specialists in the national economy. Nevertheless, knowledge and understanding of the content, social role and purpose of the laws and respect for them are by no means ideal. Sociological studies have indicated that most people are dissatisfied with the amount of legal information they receive; three-quarters of respondents learn of existing laws only occasionally.

Sometimes legal information is simply inaccessible: publications dealing with standards and referential legal literature are extremely few; in frequent cases complete republic codes dealing with many areas of the law, commentaries and references are unavailable even to legal councils of enterprises and organizations. This situation will continue to worsen, for in the course of the development of self-governing and the creation of labor collectives' councils and the election of managers, more legal problems will arise.

The small legal knowledge shown by economic managers, officials and other workers in the state apparatus (the overwhelming majority of managers of industrial and trade enterprises, who must solve legal problems, one way or another, on a daily basis, have no legal training) directly reflects on their practical work. Suffice it to point out that the courts rule in favor of more than one-half of citizens' complaints on violations of labor laws. Yet these are questions of violations of a basic human right, the right to work! Every year the prosecutor's office submits to the courts tens of thousands of protests and presentations concerning illegal acts by state and public organizations and establishments. According to the USSR Prosecutor's Office, in 1985 prosecutors identified 130 legal acts promulgated by union and republic departments in violation of the law; 44 decisions made by oblast and kray executive committees and 483 administrative acts passed on the oblast (kray) level turned out to be legally faulty.

Matters are no better in the case of soviet authorities, which are the most important link in the socialist self-government of the people and the main subjects of local legislation. Today the apparatus of the country's executive committees are short of 165,000 jurists. Meanwhile, graduates of law schools avoid taking low-paid jobs with executive committees. The hope that the apparatus personnel themselves would acquire legal training by correspondence is proving to be quite illusory because of the current procedure which hinders the enrollment of students by correspondence. Hence annoying faults in hasty and, sometimes, mutually exclusive legal decisions, which abound in each city or rayon.

It is obvious that the current methods used in providing legal training are insufficiently effective, and therefore must be improved. We also need an essentially different approach to assessing the legal training of a specialist and a manager. A suggestion was formulated in the press on introducing a kind of test to determine the necessary "minimum" level of legal knowledge of a manager, which seems quite pertinent. In certifying a manager and adding his name to the promotion reserve list, we should take into consideration the extent of the maturity of the legal decisions he makes. In the case of production managers and senior state personnel (government authorities of the USSR and union republics, or executive committees of soviets of people's deputies) it would be expedient to set up a special center for cadre legal training and retraining.

Naturally, political and legal knowledge does not in itself mean the ability to live under conditions of democracy. In this case a great deal depends on the attitude toward the social interest, as expressed through laws, and on the general cultural standard. "...In addition to the law," V.I. Lenin said, "there is also the cultural standard which obeys no law" (op cit., vol 38, p

170). The majority of Soviet people observe Soviet laws and democratic regulations and standards of socialist community life on the basis of moral decency and responsibility, i.e., qualities instilled in them since childhood. Nevertheless, some individuals, even those who are quite familiar with the laws, quite frequently violate and circumvent them, considering them annoying obstacles on the way to the implementation of their private or misinterpreted social interests. In his January Central Committee Plenum report, M.S. Gorbachev noted that cases of a scornful attitude toward laws have a detrimental effect on the moral atmosphere of society.

Yes, law and "expediency" by no means always coincide, something we should bear in mind. They do not coincide whenever the law is either bad or obsolete or else has been misinterpreted by economic or social interests. In the former case the law should be replaced. However, this is the prerogative of the competent state authority and circumventing a law under the pretext of "expediency" is inadmissible. If an economic or social interest is misinterpreted, this becomes a question of education and cadre policy, and must be solved on a case-to-case basis. "To draw up a prescription or general rule...which would suit all cases," V.I. Lenin wrote, "is stupid. One must have a sound head on one's shoulders to be able to deal with each specific case" (op cit., vol 41, p 52). The ability to cope on the basis and within the limits of a law rather than despite it is one of the indicators of the political and legal standards of a manager. Without them, he simply has no right to hold his position.

A short step separates contempt for the law which expresses the will of the people from contempt for their lives, rights and interests. Ignorance of the law is not simply a negative social phenomenon but also something inadmissible in a democratic society. It would be no exaggeration to consider it a socially dangerous phenomenon, particularly in the case of a manager or official whose work involves dozens and hundreds of citizens who may also look up to him. Those who scorn the law essentially hinder restructuring.

The danger of violating the law under the pretext of "innovation" or "struggle against old standards" or even hiding behind demagogic considerations of democracy is entirely real in the course of the renovation of our entire life which is taking place. The increased rights of labor collectives and public authorities, for example, does not mean any belittling of the role of laws or centralized management. At some enterprises, however, statutes and regulations are passed conflicting with current labor legislation and violating trade union rights. Sometimes labor collectives make illegal decisions concerning the dismissal or transfer of a worker. Obviously, this is possible only where improvements in self-government are ignored and where no political and legal training of the people has taken place. Under the conditions of restructuring and intensification of socialist democracy, strict observance of the laws assumes increasing importance.

In this connection, the publication of the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) is exceptionally timely. Here the new forms of socialist democracy in production are set on a firm legal base. Their final draft will be indicated by the results of the nationwide discussion. It is already clear, however, that the rights of the councils of labor collectives

and their relations with administrations and trade union organizations must be clearly regulated.

The Soviet trade unions play an important role in the development of socialist democracy. The 18th Trade Union Congress noted that, above all, it is necessary to increase their role as a school in which every member of the labor collective can learn economic management and develop managerial skills. This could be helped by passing a law on the rights of USSR trade unions, something which was suggested in the course of the accountability and election campaign and the discussion of the draft trade union statutes.

The prestige of the democratic institutions and the state and law is high when the most important principles governing their functioning and their decisions, democratically adopted, are strictly observed. In such cases the actions of state authorities meet with broad public support. Under such circumstances the political and legal knowledge of the people naturally increase; their faith in the socialist ideals and values strengthens and their social activeness raises. Conversely, illegality, abuse of official position, red tape and bureaucratism inevitably irk and insult the people, creating discontent and even social passiveness. In his speech to party, soviet and economic aktivs in the LaSSR, M.S. Gorbachev justifiably pointed out that a disrespectful attitude toward the opinion of the people and failure to implement critical remarks and decisions are a profanation and mockery of democracy. Democracy and knowledge in the work of state authorities and public organizations and political knowledge of the population are interrelated phenomena. One could deliver hundreds of good lectures promoting democracy and explaining the need to respect and observe Soviet laws; the result of such appeals would be minimal if such decisions remain on paper only, if the efficient activities of officials, of those who apply the law, are not backed and if the militia, the prosecutor's office, the courts and other legal institutions do not function impeccably.

It is through their activities that democracy and the law assume their tangible shape. The level of the general standards, competence, honesty and loyalty of the personnel of the state apparatus determines not only the proper implementation of legal regulations but also public opinion, the sociopolitical climate in labor collectives and, finally, the reputation of the law and of the state which ensures its observance. The policy of the party and the state, the level of democracy and the socialist way of life as a whole are judged to a great extent by the way a legal council, judge, enterprise director, chief of personnel department, chairman of executive committee or prosecutor behave toward the people and their work. Our cadres, the January Central Committee Plenum decree notes, must be a model of ideological firmness, strict observance of party and state discipline, loyalty to their word, honesty, decency, incorruptibility, modesty and intolerance of any violations of the standards of socialist morality.

A socially and politically active behavior is largely related to the knowledge and understanding of the law, democratic institutions and procedures and their social purpose and objectives. Political and legal ignorance and, as its consequence, legal nihilism and contempt for principles and traditions frequently (as any lack of standards) assume a militant antisocial nature and

are manifested in the strangest of forms. Suffice it to glance at some letters addressed to party and soviet authorities and newspapers and journals. They frequently include claims such as "our laws are totally inadequate," "there is no justice here," "why does a criminal need a lawyer," etc. Occasionally, the struggle for democracy and against bureaucratism is waged under the banner of a struggle against workers in the state apparatus in general, against the "nomenclature;" at the same time, the development of democracy at work is sometimes viewed as a threat to one-man command and discipline.

Unfortunately, in frequent cases this applies to criticism of the activities of law enforcement authorities, whose role substantially increases under the conditions of democratization. As a rule, the Soviet people justifiably have claims concerning the work of the state apparatus, including law enforcement. Constructive criticism has always been and remains an important factor in improving their work. However, this is not helped in the least by a blanket rejection of anything accomplished or taking place in promoting progress in our society, developing democracy and safeguarding the interests of the individual by Soviet courts, the prosecutor's office and the militia, although their work still includes a number of errors and cases of incompetence and red tape.

The inability and, sometimes, even unwillingness to make a more profound study of affairs is a major obstacle in enhancing the civic and political activeness of the masses and increasing their real participation in governmental affairs, something to which the party pays particular attention today. In eliminating legal nihilism in the public mind, it is important to remember that the attitude of the population toward the law and the personnel in the justice system is naturally developed under the influence of the activities of law enforcement authorities, legal services, etc. Such activities, in turn, greatly depend on the status of jurists in society, the extent to which their rights and obligations are precisely balanced, the extent of their rights in defending the law and, at the same time, the degree to which openness and control of their activities are ensured. These are all complex problems.

The legal nihilism of the first years of the revolution was a natural consequence of the "hatred and mistrust shown by the masses toward anything governmental," the elimination of which was precisely the duty of socialism, which radically changed the role and place of the state and law in social life and which meant a historically higher type of democracy. Marx, Engels, Lenin and their predecessors--utopian socialists and revolutionary democrats--considered the new society one of true democracy and greatest possible morality and culture, ruled by justice, equality and the law. The inviolable nature of these principles--which are the opposites of lack of standards and arbitrariness--has been justifiably considered a guarantee of the help of the social organism. The most important task of the October Revolution was the assertion of such principles and ideals in daily life. They were embodied in the initial decrees of the Soviet system and in the political and legal practices of the first proletarian state in the world.

Unfortunately, the grossest violations of socialist legality, which occurred in relation to the cult of personality, and the violation of many democratic

procedures lowered the authority of law-enforcement bodies and the social reputation of their representatives. Legal nihilism intensified; disbelief in the reality of basic democratic principles, such as the inviolability of the individual, equality in the eyes of the law, just legal procedures, and so on, became widespread. In the course of several decades, to a certain extent jurists, whether practical workers or scientists, lost some of their authority and the respect of the people. In their time, the concept of the state and the law as being "temporary" phenomena, which was the consequence of a superficial concept of the ways and means of transition toward full communism, also played a negative role.

The steps taken by the party and the state to surmount the consequences of the cult of personality had a positive influence on strengthening law and order and developing legal science. However, stagnation phenomena, which were particularly acute in the past 20 years, could not fail to affect the political and legal aspects of social life. Democratic institutions began to "wheel-spin," and there was no openness. Sometime in the mid-1960s the crime rate began to raise; the efficiency of the struggle against it, particularly against major thefts, bribery and other abuses of official position, declined. The extraction of unearned income, and parasitism became widespread; areas the criticism of which was forbidden (and which, therefore, remained outside the laws) expanded. Either on their own or under pressure "from above" or "from the side," the local law enforcement authorities ignored many violations.

Red tape, bureaucratism and bribery became increasingly apparent in the work of legal institutions which, to a certain extent, had lost their independence from local and departmental influences, an independence which is so greatly necessary in order to enforce the law properly. Frequently the crime rate and the activeness of law enforcement authorities were rated on the basis of their "gross output." In frequent cases, laws and individual rights were grossly violated in the course of investigations and preliminary legal hearings, for the sake of meeting "indicators." Ostentatious measures and numerous and sterile consultations and endless paper shuffling led to the disappearance of real work, corrupted cadres and created fertile grounds for figure padding and other official abuses. Things went so far that senior personnel of the USSR MVD and the law enforcement authorities in a number of republics were charged with corruption and malicious abuse of their office.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, the party program and the materials of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the need decisively to enhance the role of prosecutor's office supervision, to improve the work of courts and the bar and of legal services in the national economy, to upgrade the responsibility of the personnel of law enforcement authorities and strictly to observe socialist laws and the democratic principles of justice and equality of citizens in the eyes of the law. The CPSU Central Committee called for an end to prejudice and tendentious approaches, violations of the law in investigations and preliminary hearings and trials, red tape, callousness and indifference toward the fate of people. Such programmatic stipulations must be implemented in the very near future so that the level of legality and legal standards in the activities of state authorities become fully consistent with the main trend in restructuring: all-round democratization of all aspects of social life.

The highest legal and political (as well as general!) standards of the people in charge of protecting the law are found, in particular, in the way they fearlessly join in the struggle for the triumph of justice and truth, obeying the voice of their conscience and feeling of duty. However, we must be concerned also with strengthening the guarantees for efficient work by law enforcement authorities. One's guarantee is independence in all matters of professional activities from local party and soviet authorities, for it is precisely they that in the past and, here and there, to this day, have tried to pressure a prosecutor, judge or investigator. The USSR Constitution clearly stipulates that the courts (Article 155) and the prosecutor's office (Article 168) are independent and that the CPSU operates within the framework of the USSR Constitution (Article 6). We believe that this calls for taking additional steps to strengthen the independence of people's judges from any outside influence and to enhance the status of legal council in the national economy, who must no longer be directly subordinated to heads of enterprises and establishments.

However, this problem has another aspect which cannot be ignored. We must always remember the special, the exceptionally responsible role which party organizations play in ensuring the observance of the laws and the training and upbringing of cadres without, however, interfering in any investigation or judicial consideration of specific cases, as well as the danger of losing party control over agencies of the law. The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee decree emphasizes the need seriously to improve work with law enforcement authorities and to teach them the skill to act under conditions of expanded democracy and openness, bearing in mind that those who serve law and order must themselves be impeccably pure in the eyes of the law, the party and the people.

Departmentalism and parochialism, manifested in the consideration of various cases, and the imperfect system of appealing illegal actions committed by officials affect most adversely the rights and freedoms of the citizens and the creation and strengthening of an atmosphere of socialist democracy. "...Local influence," V.I. Lenin wrote, "is one of the greatest, if not the greatest enemy of legality and high standards" (op cit., vol 45, p 199). However, for the time being there is no reliable legal defense against parochialism and departmentalism. The realm of action of lawyers, particularly in a criminal trial, remains unjustifiably curtailed. The law on the procedure for legal appeals against actions of officials, who have violated the rights of citizens, and the need for which directly stems from Article 58 of the USSR Constitution, is still not being enforced, although it was passed nearly 10 years ago. Under these circumstances, citizens are forced to petition for help party authorities and newspapers and, more frequently, to beat the path to those same institutions whose officials could have solved the problem to begin with. The draft law on the procedure of court appeals of illegal actions committed by officials has been drafted and will soon be submitted for discussion.

However, we must not ignore the fact that a number of citizens avoid to defend their rights through the courts or to rely on the power of the law. Appealing to the law is frequently condemned by others as virtual demagogy and the person who, in defending his honor and personal dignity from undeserved

insults, turns to the courts is frequently considered a trouble-maker. This situation is absolutely intolerable. Under the conditions of strengthening democracy it is an annoying legacy of the past which must be eliminated as soon as possible. Knowledge and understanding by the citizens of their rights and obligations and the ability to use such rights not only for the sake of their own but also the public's interests, confidence in the court and its decisions, and the existence of a broad juridical procedure covering all cases in life are permanent attributes of a democratic society and of a state truly governed by law.

We have the instruments for their comprehensive assertion: the broadest possible openness in the work, nation-wide discussions of draft laws, referendums on a national or republic scale and, possibly, also on the scale of an oblast or city; strict responsibility of officials who violate the law or pass hasty and illegal resolutions; radical improvements in the work of the courts, the prosecutor's office, the state arbitration authority and the people's control system and full use by such legal authorities of the rights granted to them by the law.

Today the role and significance of the institutions of direct democracy, in which the live creativity of the people and their collective opinion and will find their most direct and adequate expression, increases immeasurably. A general meeting of the labor collective or a rural rally, a nation-wide discussion of a draft law or a meeting at a place of residence are the links in the mechanism of direct democracy which enable the working people themselves to formulate vital problems, find solutions and implement them. The reserves of direct democracy are truly inexhaustible. What is important, however, is to provide firm legal guarantees for such democracy: on the one hand, in order to protect it from the fatal influence of the power of inertia and the old way of thinking of some managers and, on the other, in order for the political creativity of the masses to become truly democratic and not violate anyone's interest. Unquestionably, this will be helped by the Law on the Referendum, which is currently being drafted and the need for which comes straight from Article 5 of the USSR Constitution.

The confidence of the Soviet people in the future and their willingness and ability to support democratic initiatives and to implement them greatly depend on the firm implementation of the principles of socialist justice and the defense of the rights of citizens and their life, honor and dignity. The party has declared merciless war on thieves and bribers, bureaucrats and whitewashers, drunks and violators of labor discipline, on anyone who grossly violates Soviet laws and the standards of our life. The steps taken by the party and Soviet state against all bearers of antisocialist morality have met with nation-wide approval and support. These steps are already yielding results. A significant number of major cases of theft were exposed, the number of delinquencies committed on the basis of drunkenness has diminished, public order is being strengthened and crime prevention is intensifying. However, the struggle against delinquency is an exceptionally difficult matter which requires a long time and tremendous changes in the economy, culture, work and way of life, changes in the mentality and awareness of the people and improvements in the legislation. Efforts in this area must not be weakened even for a minute.

The political and legal standards of Soviet society imbue everything progressive found in universal experience, juridical thoughts and practices--the ideals of democracy, legality, justice, duty, equality, humanism and safeguarding the rights and freedoms, honor and dignity of the individual. In socialist society these concepts have acquired a new meaning and revealed their wealth in their entire magnitude. In preserving and multiplying the progressive moral and legal values of the past and creating new values, socialism is increasingly able, based on the live creativity of the masses, to intensify and perfect socialist democracy, which is a democracy of a higher historical order, consistent with the immediate and long-range tasks of society. The democratic and legal institutions must increasingly contribute to the active involvement of all social classes and strata and all generations of Soviet people and representatives of all nations and nationalities in the USSR in social creativity. Today the broadest possible opportunities are being provided to this effect. However, the ability to live under the conditions of democracy cannot be developed through appeals. It must be persistently promoted with all possible means and, at the same time, the necessary conditions must be created for the comprehensive assertion of democratic standards, political morality and knowledge of the law. In addressing the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the intensification of democracy is a difficult matter. However, we have a mature society and a strong party. The socialist system relies on the strongest possible foundations of popular support. The more democracy there is in our country the faster we shall advance in restructuring and socialist renovation, the more order and discipline will prevail in our socialist society.

Democracy and legality, and legal standards and discipline are closely interrelated. High standards are the foundations of life under the conditions of a broad democracy. The ability to learn and accept the new is a mandatory feature of culture. The ability to implement new developments will be assessed through practical results: restructuring will put everything in its proper place.

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CSO: 1802/11

FULLER USE OF THE POTENTIAL OF THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 15-29

[Article by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] This "task of tasks" of the party's contemporary agrarian policy, which was formulated at the 23 January 1987 CPSU Central Committee conference, is an organic part of the course of sharp acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress and fully concretized at the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum.

A number of major steps aimed at strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture and related sectors were taken after the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Essentially new management agencies of the agroindustrial complex were created. The economic management mechanism is being improved, thus making closer integration between agricultural production and processing and taking the goods to the consumer possible. It is thus that favorable conditions have developed in the agroindustrial complex for substantially upgrading labor productivity and the stable growth of output.

However, the necessary stability has still not been attained in the development of the agroindustrial complex and by no means are society's needs for food satisfied fully. We have still not learned how to make efficient use of the huge funds allocated by the state to all units within the APK and to solve arising problems in the shortest possible time. A number of cases of low productivity of farmland and livestock farms, unproductive work by food and other enterprises and great losses of produce on its way to the consumer remain. Last year, as in the past, many oblasts, krays and republics made poor use of existing potential. Production costs have been high and the quality of output has been frequently inconsistent with consumer demand. Although they have worked under the new management structure and have had a better economic management mechanism over the past year, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes failed to ensure a noticeable reduction in costs per unit of output and apply to the fullest extent existing favorable conditions for substantially increasing the growth of labor productivity. In short, we have, on the one hand, all the necessary prerequisites and, on the other, the most urgent need, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the January conference, of "making fuller use of the APK potential and achieving good returns."

The positive changes which were noted in APK development between 1983 and 1986 include, first of all, the elimination of stagnation in agriculture and ensuring a noticeable increase in output. This applies to a more than 10 percent increase in gross agricultural output (compared with the preceding 4 years) and the increased output of grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk and eggs.

Growth rates of output in all areas of the agroindustrial complex increased in 1986. Compared with 1985 gross farm output increased by 10.6 billion rubles, totaling 219.2 billion. Grain crop yields averaged 18 quintals per hectare and the gross grain harvest was 210.1 million tons. The plan for the procurement of strong, high quality and hard wheats was overfulfilled.

Animal husbandry in the public farms outstripped planned figures. Let us emphasize, in this connection, that the main factors for the stable increase in the production of animal husbandry goods in the past 4 years was the strengthened feed base, improvements in selection and breeding work and the labor organization at livestock farms and, on this basis, improving cattle and poultry productivity. During the period under consideration the production of coarse and fresh fodder increased by 18 percent for the country at large; the amount of protein in the fodder increased by 19 percent. This enabled us to increase milk production per cow by 400 kg and the average weight of cattle sold to the state by 36 kg; egg production increased by 16 units per laying hen. Compared with 1982, by 1986 state cattle and poultry purchases (in live weight) increased by 25 percent; milk by 24 percent, eggs by 16 percent and wool by 6 percent.

The results of the first 4 years of work for the implementation of the Food Program enabled us to increase meat per capita consumption by 4.8 kg and reach the 62.5 kg level; consumption of milk and dairy products increased by 32 kg (332) and eggs by 16 (265). Naturally, for the time being these figures are far below those to which we aspire. Growth rates, particularly for meat and milk, must be doubled. What is unquestionable, however, is that increasingly animal husbandry is following the path of intensification and output in this sector in improving steadily.

Economic indicators of activity of the agroindustrial complex as a whole have improved. Compared with 1985, in 1986 labor productivity in agriculture increased by 6.9 percent, and in the food sectors of the industry by 5 percent. Respectively, wages increased by 3.6 and 3.2 percent. Material costs per 100 rubles of produced goods dropped by 2.8 percent. Agricultural production profitability averaged 19 percent and profits exceeded 23 billion rubles. For the time being, however, the level and dynamics of labor productivity in the APK remain a most serious problem. The annual growth rates of labor productivity averaged 5.4 percent in the 8th, 4 percent in the 9th and 2.6 in the 10th, and no more than 1.5 percent in the 11th 5-year period. Despite a certain increase noted last year, the absolute level of labor productivity in agriculture remains low and inconsistent with the increased material and technical production facilities, available power equipment and the new conditions created in the countryside.

The slowing down of the growth rates of labor productivity in agriculture is a very alarming fact confirming the existence of major shortcomings in the work of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other enterprises. The task is to halt this inadmissible trend and to ensure a radical increase in public labor productivity in the agroindustrial complex. The ways of solving this problem have been defined: all-round intensification of agroindustrial production, based on faster scientific and technical progress, wide use of intensive technologies, and perfecting the management, planning and entire mechanism of the APK.

Let us particularly emphasize that not a single one of these trends can be pursued other than through the interested, responsible and creative activities of the people. "...Man was, is and will remain the main booster of progress and its core," the CPSU Central Committee report to the 27th Party Congress stipulated. "More than ever before today agriculture needs people who are actively interested in the work, people with high professional skill and a feeling for innovation. Constant concern for the working and living conditions of the working people in the countryside is the best guarantee for all of our successes. This is the focal point of our plans and it is important to ensure their strict implementation."

The stipulation relative to the decisive role of the human factor, of the live creativity of the masses, is an inseparable structural concept of acceleration. It reflects the objective trends of the contemporary development of society and the need for a sharp improvement in the pace and quality of the country's economic progress. A number of examples can be borrowed from recent practical experience in the agrarian sector, showing that the creative activeness of the individual, organically combined with all other advantages of the socialist economic management system, ensures a fast and significant increase in labor productivity and profitability.

Today production frontrankers, who skillfully combine collective contracting, and cost accounting and master intensive technologies, average an output of 80,000, 100,000 or 130,000 rubles per person, whereas the national average is 7,000 rubles. Whereas the national average is roughly 10 tons of grain per producer, it is between 250 and 300 tons in many of the best farms. The respective figures for milk are 250-300 and 1,000-1,200 tons. Such gaps in current productivity indicators clearly prove the potential related to the enhancement of the human factor.

Today working people in any kolkhoz or sovkhos, employed in public production use equipment, buildings and installations and handle productive cattle sometimes worth tens or hundreds of thousands of rubles. By working skillfully and with total dedication they can efficiently apply not only their own skills but also the work invested by machine builders, workers in chemical plants, petroleum and energy workers and many others. At the same time, in of a modern highly socialized production system the "cost" of poor work, slackness and disorganization increases as well. Those who neglect equipment, waste fuel and fail to achieve high increases in milk and crop production waste huge amounts of people's labor. This makes the quality of labor, high-level professionalism, competence and extensive knowledge, convictions and a truly proprietary attitude toward national property particularly important

The most important aspect of the steady growth of output and upgrading labor productivity is radically improving the management, planning and entire economic mechanism in the agroindustrial complex. In this area a major step forward should be the systematic implementation of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Further Improving the Management of the Agroindustrial Complex" and "On Further Improving the Economic Management Mechanism in the Country's Agroindustrial Complex." These decrees creatively embody, under contemporary conditions, Lenin's ideas of cost accounting and material incentive, cooperation and tax-in-kind, and maximal development of local initiative in food production and organization of trade. The decrees promote real and efficient integration between agriculture and related sectors, subordinating them to the common final objective of ensuring reliable supplies to the country of a variety of foods and high-quality raw materials. The essence of these steps is to provide extensive scope for economic management methods, substantially to increase the autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to enhance their material incentive and responsibility.

As we know, planning is the main link, the core of management. Naturally, the new economic mechanism concentrates on perfecting planning work. A conversion to standardized planning is taking place on all APK management levels. This means, above all, that the plans for selling commodities to the state are being issued to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the basis of standards which take into consideration the economic rating of the land and the availability of fixed production capital and labor and material resources in the farms.

The standard-resource method contributes to the elimination of the principle of planning "on the basis of the achieved level," which hindered the development of output, created elements of dependency and frequently put properly working enterprises in disadvantageous circumstances. Today the farms must have plans of equal intensity, which would mobilize the labor collectives in making energetic use of their internal production reserves and increasing their gross harvests.

It is important to emphasize that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are being issued firm 5-year production purchasing plans. At the same time, they are given the opportunity to use as they wish any output obtained above the plan (and up to 30 percent of the planned output for potatoes, vegetables and fruits). Superior authorities have been strictly forbidden to dictate to the farms any specific structure of areas in crops, sizes of cattle and poultry herds or number of organizational-economic steps to be taken.

Particular attention should be paid to the question of planning the agroindustrial complex as an entity. On the basis of proposals submitted by union republics, ministries and departments, the USSR Gosagroprom drafts annual and 5-year plans for the development of agriculture and related sectors, which it submits to the USSR Gosplan. The uniform plan for the development of the APK is not in the least the sum of sectorial plans (as was the case in the past) but a more tightly centralized interconnection among basic indicators on all levels, which ensure better balancing and

proportionality and is targeted at end results. A general and profound clarification of this fact is the most important prerequisite for the practical solution of the problem formulated at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: to enhance the authority of the state plan, which is being undermined by subjectivistic approaches, imbalance and instability, the aspiration to manage absolutely everything and the prevalence of decisions of a sectorial and regional nature.

The formulation of the 1987 APK plan indicated that many crucial problems remain in this area. In determining volumes of purchases of livestock products, many autonomous republics, krays and oblasts did not plan procurements of the necessary raw materials for the development of the meat and dairy industry. They even frequently forget that subsidies of meat and dairy prices purchased above the plan for supplies to the oblast populations will be paid out of local budgets. This example proves that some economic managers have still not learned to think as economists and are slow in mastering the new work methods and style. We must radically end the practice of sectorial planning without necessary overall coordinating by individual APK. The comprehensive plan for the development of agriculture and related sectors must be based on a single methodological foundation.

The realistic nature of the plans and their implementation considerably depend on the efficient organization of material and technical supplies to farms. The new APK managements are doing some work in this area. Regulations and standards have been drafted on the distribution among farms of capital investments, chemical fertilizers, metal and construction and other materials.

Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that many shortcomings and bottlenecks remain in supplying kolkhozes and sovkhoses with technical facilities. The production of some resources remains insufficient. The reliability and quality of many types of machinery remain low. Deliveries of such machinery are incomplete and frequently delayed. Particularly intolerable are cases in which for long periods of time kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not informed of the facilities they have been allocated and receive notices on planned material procurements after great delays. There have been cases of transfers by superior authorities which reserve for their own use substantial amounts of goods in very short supply. All of this disorganizes the production process, lowers the role of plans and, in the final account, develops elements of the "obstruction mechanism" which hinders the pace of production growth.

The elimination of such elements and conversion to a stressed yet realistic and balanced plans are absolutely necessary prerequisites for radically improving the activities of the farms and a firm guarantee for the stable and dynamic growth of output.

Converting all kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other APK enterprises to total cost accounting is one of the main factors in upgrading the efficiency of agroindustrial production. Its development is a complex and gradual comprehensive project. The solution of the basic problem--ensuring self-support--will prepare the transition of all primary APK units to self-financing, i.e., to achieving expanded reproduction and material incentive of labor collectives primarily with enterprise funds and accumulations. In

accordance with the party's stipulations and the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) total cost accounting also presumes the comprehensive utilization of all cost accounting principles, the extensive autonomy and responsibility of labor collectives for end results, strictest possible control over the development of the production process, and developing a truly proprietary attitude toward national property. The implementation of all of these principles should reliably block feelings of dependency on the part of managers who, relying on the help of the state, show little concern for the maximal harnessing of internal reserves and for upgrading production efficiency.

The question of taking urgent steps to improve labor productivity in agriculture by using efficient forms of labor organization and cost accounting was considered by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in December 1986. The essence of the decree which was passed was to ensure radical improvements in organizational and political work for the extensive use of true cost accounting and collective contracting, combined with the use of intensive technology. It was particularly emphasized that the mastery of progressive work methods is a mandatory and necessary feature to be adopted by all kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the country. The CPSU Central Committee discussed at its January meeting the specific tasks of party organizations and soviet and economic authorities, related to the implementation of the decree.

Together with the party members in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other enterprises and organizations in the APK, it was suggested to the party committees critically to consider the situation related to the use of economic management methods in each labor collective and to formulate efficient steps for a conversion to cost accounting and collective contracting. The attention was drawn to the inadmissibility of adopting a formalistic approach, stereotype and a campaign spirit. The need for a systematic implementation of a line of expanding the economic autonomy of labor collectives and upgrading their role and responsibility for the implementation of planned assignments and obligations was confirmed.

A great deal of work remains to be done to convert all farms to self-financing. The main thing is to ensure production profitability of no less than 35-40 percent. However, many collectives are not ready for this as yet. Thus, in 1985 8,700 kolkhozes and sovkhoses worked at a loss; 23 percent of the farms showed a profitability of no more than 10 percent; 30 percent showed a profitability of 10-25 percent, and 19 percent of kolkhozes, 25-40 percent. The 40 percent level of profitability was exceeded only by 10 percent of all farms. The situation improved somewhat in 1986. The number of losing farms dropped to 6,400. Today approximately 20 percent of all kolkhozes and sovkhoses realistically could and should convert to self-financing. The others must begin, above all, by significantly improving the utilization of the land, productive capital and labor resources.

Particular attention should be paid to eliminating losses in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Some of them are chronically lagging and have become accustomed to working at a loss. In such farms the level of management is so low that neither higher prices nor markups can cover production costs. In some areas the number of losing farms has even increased. In the Kazakh SSR, for

example, the number of losing kolkhozes and sovkhoses increased by 10 percent between 1983 and 1986 and accounted for more than one-third of all farms in the republic. Within the same period the share of losing farms increased from 27 to 41 percent in Kalinin Oblast, from 12 to 39 percent Kirov Oblast, from 21 to 28 percent in Krasnoyarsk Kray and from 14 to 32 percent in the Kalmyk ASSR. Many of these collectives are either experiencing acute shortages of working capital or have lost such capital entirely and are forced to resort to Gosbank loans.

Naturally, we must take into consideration the conditions under which such farms work. As a rule, they are located in remote areas and have no reliable roads. In frequent cases they have little productive capital and shortage of housing and cultural amenities and cadres. Such problems, however, can and must be solved locally. It is no accident that in farms where material and financial aid and state loans are used mainly for the development of output and the solution of social problems instead of being "eaten up," within a short time the labor collectives are able to catch up.

Party committees, agroindustrial authorities and, above all, the farms themselves must make a close study of the reasons for losses or low profitability. A critical evaluation must be made of the extent to which state aid is justified, where it goes and the use of such funds. No dependence should exist in such cases. Under the present economic circumstances, virtually all kolkhozes and sovkhoses can increase their profitability by reducing expenditures and ensuring the sensible utilization of resources. All that are needed are will, persistence and daily hard work.

Total cost accounting becomes significantly more efficient under the conditions of collective contracting and intrafarm accountability. These conditions have a long history in the agrarian sector. However, their mass popularization was undertaken only after the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 1983 Belgorod All-Union Conference, at which the advantages and great opportunities of such management methods were scientifically brought to light. Slightly over 1 million people worked on the basis of collective contracts in 1982; their number increased to 4.4 million by 1984, 7 million by 1985 and more than 11 million by 1986. They accounted for 75 percent of all arable land and more than 60 percent of the productive cattle.

A number of new forms of collective contracting have appeared in recent years. This applies above all to related contracting, according to which the wages not only of the immediate producers but also of specialists, managers and the entire collective are made directly dependent on end results. This encourages the managers themselves actively to apply a new work style and increases their interest and responsibility for high joint results. Today this system is followed by more than 30 million people in the USSR Gosagroprom system.

Contracting becomes more efficient also when the wages of all members of the collective are made strictly dependent on gross income. The advantage in this case is that the amount of the wage is based not only on the volume of output but also on reducing material production costs. The antioutlay nature of this wage system is obvious.

A number of examples could be cited in all republics, krays and oblasts in which contract cost accounting collectives have achieved significant increases in crop growing and livestock productivity and have drastically reduced production outlays and improved quality within a short time.

However, we must be aware of all real contradictions and difficulties caused by both objective and subjective reasons. Let us consider, for example, the grave problem of increasing the overall results of the application of the collective contracting method. In the kolkhozes and sovkhoses this method is used by 52 percent of all working people yet there is virtually no decrease in labor outlays per unit of output and, with every passing year, the gap between best achievements and average indicators widens. For more than 10 years labor outlays per quintal of grain has averaged 1.3 man/hours, compared to 0.2-0.25 in the best farms; the respective figures have been 2.9 and 0.4-0.5 for potatoes and 8.0-9.5 and 1-1.2 for milk.

What is the reason for the overall low efficiency of collective contracting and intra-cost accounting? It is essentially formalism, the insufficiently skilled and simplistic approach used in setting up collectives, the fact that farm managers have not mastered all the fine points of the work and their inability personally to guide the conversion to collective contracting and cost accounting.

Other obstacles include errors in planning, the lack of efficiently organized accounting and of checkbook and other forms of efficient control over expenditures of materials and money, without which cost accounting becomes totally meaningless. Regulations governing wages based on gross income from various crops and types of output are not always properly substantiated. The independence of contracting collectives is being violated and frequent efforts are made to control them, bypassing the self-governing authorities.

The timely and full implementation of contractual obligations concluded between administrations and contracting collectives is a decisive factor in increasing the efficiency of collective contracting and cost accounting. On the one hand, it is a question of material and technical supplies to contracting subdivisions: anything that is planned should be procured on time, for without guaranteed deliveries there can be no contracting. On the other, all that mechanizers and animal husbandrymen have earned must be paid to the last kopek. Violations of principles make the people lose faith in the high efficiency of collective labor and its just reward.

It is precisely for such reasons that during the high work season a significant share of links and brigades break up. The reorganization of the people is an exceptionally difficult and sometimes impossible project. Today each oblast and most rayons have sufficient practical experience in the successful application of progressive labor organization methods. Patient work with the people is required and a systematic effort must be made for each field, crop rotation, and brigade sector to have a long-term real, concerned and interested owner. In terms of the country's agriculture, this is the high road to progress. It is precisely here that the concepts of "restructuring" and "acceleration" assume a profound content; the interest of the worker becomes the cornerstone and the human factor is drastically enhanced. All of

this contributes to a significant increase in labor productivity, lowering of production costs and high returns on investments.

The mass conversion to contracting and cost accounting requires major changes in the farm management structure. It is inadmissible to have 30 or 40 specialists in a kolkhoz or sovkhos working as consultants and controllers. Long practical experience in the best farms in various zones and parts of the country has proved that the "farm-shop-cost accounting subdivision" is the most efficient organizational production and management structure.

Family and individual contracting remains a substantial possibility in increasing the production of vegetables, eggs, industrial crops, and animal husbandry in most areas. It was legitimized as a variety of collective contracting. In 1986 1.3 million rural families worked on the basis of contracts with kolkhozes and sovkhos, growing vegetables, cotton, sunflower, tobacco and other industrial crops and production of animal husbandry goods. We must most strongly encourage the development of the vast opportunities of family contracting and develop it through a variety of methods.

Many managers must change their mentality and abandon obsolete prejudices. It is becoming increasingly obvious today that a great deal of additional output can be procured by using each piece of land, neglected plots and land in livestock farms, involving most people in such work. The mass information media, the press in particular, are called upon to increase an understanding of this problem. We must energetically develop a public view that family and individual contracting is a means of active participation by the rural working people in the implementation of the Food Program and improving the material well-being of families. In short, the organization of family and individual contracting is the most important sector of party work.

The importance of influencing the production process through loans and financing drastically increases with the application of the new economic mechanism in the APK. This past year some results were already achieved in this area. The credit policy of the USSR Gosbank is being increasingly targeted on economic incentive of the production process and strengthening cost accounting principles. New regulations were applied which, as planned, have led to stricter rules governing the use of state loans, on the one hand, and have substantially simplified financing and planned crediting and eliminating bureaucratic restrictions in this matter, on the other.

Last year, for the first time after a long hiatus, a faster growth of gross output compared with credit investments was attained. This initial success can be substantially consolidated only with the fastest possible conversion of kolkhozes and sovkhos to self-support and self-financing. Unfortunately, however, for the time being we lack a jointly developed set of steps (centrally and locally) which would efficiently help to improve the organization of financing and strengthening payment discipline. The personnel of planning and financial agencies rarely visit the local areas and insufficiently work with the economic and bookkeeping services of farms and the RAPO. We must promptly eliminate such shortcomings, significantly upgrade the efficiency of financial-crediting tools and point them toward strengthening the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhos.

The new economic mechanism and economic management methods are reliable and efficient levers for planned control of the production process and a radical increase in labor productivity. However, the "activating" of this mechanism and making it come alive can be accomplished only by people, by cadres who are able creatively to apply economic methods in practical work. Familiarity with all fine points and features of legal management methods and their active utilization in daily work and rejection of bureaucratic administration and arbitrary decisions, and displaying practicality and initiative are the criteria which life demands today of every specialist and manager.

3

The use of intensive technologies is of great importance in accelerating the growth of output of agricultural commodities and improving quality indicators. They have become widespread in fields and livestock farms and, combined with collective contracting and intrafarm cost accounting, are beginning to yield tangible returns.

Intensive technology is very efficient in grain growing, which is of great importance to us. An additional 16 million tons of grain were harvested in 1985 as a result of its application. Approximately 2 rubles of additional output were obtained per ruble of expenditures related to intensified grain growing.

Last year grain crops cultivated on the basis of intensive technologies covered more than 30 million hectares. This is one-quarter of the overall area in grain. According to the specialists, intensive technologies ensured an increase of 24 million tons in the gross grain harvest. Compared with standard technology, increased yields averaged 12 quintals per hectare for winter wheat and 6 quintals for spring wheat. The quality of the grain improved and procurements of strong, hard and valuable wheat increased.

Use of intensive crop growing methods in Krasnodar Kray led to an average of 45.5 quintals per hectare in winter wheat, i.e., 9.8 quintals more than with the use of standard technology; 1.2 million tons of grain of strong high-grade wheat were harvested additionally. In Stavropol Kray the amount of winter wheat harvested, based on the application of new technology, was increased by 850,000 tons. The addition averaged 9.6 quintals of grain per hectare, with an average of 32.2 quintals. Many similar examples from other oblasts could be cited.

In order to achieve a major change in grain production, intensive methods must be applied much more daringly and energetically than in the past. Taking into consideration available experience, kolkhozes and sovkhoses have formulated steps to expand the growth of grain crops based on intensive technology during the 12th 5-year period. These steps were approved by the CPSU Central Committee and the government. In 1987 grain grown on the basis of such technologies will cover an area of nearly 36 million hectares. The expected increase in the grain harvest will be in the order of 30 million tons. By 1990 intensive technology will be applied on a minimum of 50 million hectares.

We should bear in mind, however, that intensive technology requires not only the concentration of resources but also the observance of the strictest possible discipline and all fine points of the technological process and a consideration of the characteristics of each field and biological features of the crops and the use of efficient steps in the struggle against pests, diseases and weeds. Naturally, this also requires the high professional skill of the people. It is only the efficient implementation of the entire set of steps that guarantees proper returns.

Unfortunately, this is frequently not practiced. By no means have all of our cadres properly mastered the essence of the new technologies. There have been cases of neglect or obvious violations of technological discipline. All of this lowers the effect and sometimes even leads to a waste in production outlays. Thus, in some farms along the Volga, in Western Siberia and Kazakhstan, the additional yields of spring wheat based on intensive technology averaged no more than 1 or 1.5 quintals per hectare. This situation must no longer be tolerated.

Converting public livestock breeding to intensive development and use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in livestock farms are urgent tasks. Their implementation have specific features which must be taken into consideration. It is not the size per se but the quality of the herd and the creation of a reliable fodder base, improved productivity and obtaining maximal economic results per head are what should determine the nature and content of intensification in this sector.

Use should be made of the experience of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the Baltic Republics in the development of the dairy animal husbandry. Here selection and breeding are being steadily improved and the genetic potential of the animals is being improved. Steps have been taken to strengthen the fodder base, which allows the complete nutrition of the cattle on a year-round basis. They include concern for upgrading the skill of cadres and efficiently using economic levers and moral incentives in animal husbandry.

For the past 4 years the size of the dairy herds in this area has remained stable. However, the steps which were taken led to increasing the productivity of cows within that period by an average 675 kg or 23 percent. In 1986 milk production per cow exceeded 4,000 kg in Estonia, 3,568 in Lithuania and 3,464 kg in Latvia.

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Leningrad, Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Kuybyshev and Tomsk Oblasts, Krasnodar Kray and the Karelian and Tatar autonomous republics have substantially improved their work in increasing dairy productivity. With the help of intensive factors, milk production in many farms has approached the 3,000 kg mark or substantially exceeded it.

However, for the time being the positive experience gained in this sector is being disseminated poorly. In a number of areas the intensification of dairy animal husbandry is viewed in rather simplistic terms. It frequently amounts to reducing the number of cows to match the existing feed base while little is being done to develop feed production and to upgrade the productivity of livestock farms. As a result, although the herds have declined yields have

remained low and overall milk production has even dropped. This has been characteristic of some oblasts in the central area of the Russian Federation.

The process of intensification of meat production is slow and lacks proper organization and planning. In a number of republics, krays and oblasts a significant percentage of the cattle are slaughtered without being fattened first, and at low weight. Understandably, as a result of this, the country is deprived of substantial amounts of meat. In 1985 the kolkhozes and sovkhoses delivered to the state more than 16 million head of cattle, only 54 percent of which at a proper weight of 420 kg. The remainder--7.4 million head--averaged 245 kg. If such young cattle were to be delivered weighing 400 kg per head, an additional 1.1 million tons of meat (in live weight) could have been obtained. In the Kazakh, Georgian and Azerbaijan SSR farms cattle raising takes 30 to 40 months and hog fattening, 15 to 16 months.

In short, we have substantial possibilities of increasing animal husbandry output with a use of intensive factors. The work must be organized in such a way that intensive methods become the standard applied in each livestock farm.

Great opportunities for the use of productive capital remain in all parts of the country. Thus, for example, in recent years a powerful economic potential has been developed in the republics of Central Asia. These republics and Kazakhstan account for 45 percent of irrigated land in the country. In the past decade the amount of basic production assets in agriculture has doubled in the Central Asian republics. Availability of farm assets increased by a factor of 2.3 in the Uzbek SSR, 1.9 in the Kirghiz and Tajik SSRs and 1.2 in the Turkmen SSR. The power-labor ratio increased by a factor of approximately 1.5. More capital investments are being channeled into development of the agroindustrial complexes in these republics. Furthermore, as we know, Central Asia has a labor surplus.

It may appear as though all the necessary prerequisites for a steady increase in output exist. However, the developed potential is not used satisfactorily. Agriculture has substantially lowered its growth rates. Inertia and stagnation have appeared in its development. In the past 10 years gross output per 1,000 rubles of productive capital declined by 45 percent in the Uzbek SSR, 34 percent in the Kirghiz SSR, 36 percent in the Tajik SSR and 38 percent in the Turkmen SSR. In all of these republics, with the exception of Uzbekistan, there was virtually no increase in labor productivity although wages increased by a factor of 1.3-1.5.

The main reason for this situation is that the heads of the republics in Central Asia did not promptly assess the developing abnormal trends in agriculture and failed to formulate an efficient plan for their elimination. They did not focus their efforts on increasing returns on investments. The responsibility of cadres for the efficient utilization of major capital investments channeled into the development of the agrarian sector, land reclamation above all, dropped substantially. Professional cadre training and the use of brigade and family contracting were poorly used and a formalistic approach was adopted to the use of the checkbook system of controlling outlays. Currently specific steps are being taken to eliminate the lag in the development of agriculture and to improve its efficiency.

The merger of agriculture and related sectors within the system of the agroindustrial complex, with unified management and the new economic management mechanism are major steps in integrating agricultural production with commodity processing and marketing. The main thing now is to ensure the balanced development and efficient interaction among all units within the APK. The weakest of them today is that of commodity processing and marketing.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, dairy farms, meat combines and other processing enterprises must become equally interested not only in increasing output but also in marketing high-quality goods. Such experience exists in our country. Thus, the Kuban Agroindustrial Combine in Krasnodar Kray, which was created experimentally, has been operating for the past 3 years or so. It is based on the integration of agriculture with the processing industry and production, procurement and marketing on the basis of cost accounting.

The example of the Kuban proves that such production associations are worthwhile and that the organization of such units should be undertaken more energetically. Three such combines were set up in Moscow Oblast in 1986 and the establishment of another 14 agroindustrial combines is nearing completion. They include nine in the RSFSR, four in the UkSSR and one in the BSSR.

The creation of combines is not the only way of agroindustrial integration. The high efficiency of integration is confirmed by the experience acquired in the poultry industry, where production, processing and procurements are handled by the same people. Positive experience in integrating production with procurements and marketing of vegetables has been acquired in Omsk Oblast. Here commodity output is concentrated in an association which manages farms located within the same rayon. This has reduced labor outlays and improved supplies of high-quality vegetables on a year-round basis.

The efficiency of agroindustrial integration increases if it is accompanied by the further development of the public division of labor and intensified specialization of output. This is a natural process and a promising development trend. It is a question of perfecting production management and structure in each kolkhoz and sovkhoz and maximal concentration of forces and resources on the development of priority sectors. More energetic use should be made of the possibilities of intrafarm specialization. As practical experience indicates, combined with cost accounting and collective contracting, it is an efficient means for increasing output.

A great deal of practical experience has been gained in agroindustrial integration. However, all of this is being insufficiently studied. In frequent cases it is merely noted and new economic management methods are being applied with inadmissible slowness. Many managers and specialists lack the type of application and sense of enterprise which are extremely necessary today in order rapidly to apply anything that is progressive and which ensures highly efficient production management. Today we must daringly assume responsibility and, if necessary, experiment and make specific practical decisions rather than sit and wait for prescribed recommendations.

The establishment of practical and mutually profitable relations between kolkhozes and sovkhazes, on the one hand, and the consumer cooperative, on the other, is becoming increasingly important. This organization handles about 80 percent of retail trade in the countryside and its procurement network handles products and raw materials worth 12 billion rubles. Its own enterprises account for food production worth 7 billion rubles. In this connection, we cannot consider proper the closing down of rural consumer societies. Until recently there were more than 15,000 of them; last year only 4,700 remained. This makes peasant life more difficult and hinders the marketing and timely processing of produce. A great deal here depends on the party and soviet authorities. In Omsk, Khmel'nitskiy, Volgograd and Vinnitsa Oblasts and in Tataria, together with the economic managers, they seek solutions to problems. In most areas, however, the situation remains unchanged.

Further major improvements in the activities of rayon agroindustrial associations are necessary. Many of them are doing a great deal of work to ensure the real and efficient integration of agriculture with other APK sectors, directing them toward high end results. The rayon agroindustrial associations pay particular attention to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the application of progressive experience and the mastery of economic management methods. This is characteristic of most RAPO in Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, Brest, Volgograd, Belgorod and Lipetsk Oblasts, Stavropol Kray and the Latvian and Lithuanian Union Republics.

However, the old work style, based on issuing orders and administering, endless reports and meetings and unjustified petty interference in enterprise economic activities, has proved resilient. Key problems in RAPO development are being solved slowly and inconsistently. All of this indicates an effort to adapt the new organizational form to the old paper-bureaucratic management style.

Decisive restructuring is necessary. The most important thing for the rayon agroindustrial associations is to see to it that each kolkhoz and sovkhaz can bring its full potential to light and, based on the efficient aid of his partners in agroindustrial integration, steadily increase output and improve production quality. Democratic principles, economic management methods and a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems must be thoroughly strengthened in RAPO activities. Today the rayon agroindustrial associations must not order or assume the functions of farm management but help the farms with their advice, establish and maintain mutually profitable and equal economic relations among all APK units and ensure the balanced and efficient development of agriculture and its servicing industries.

5

The economic mechanism introduced in the agroindustrial complex needs reliable cadre support. This is a problem of prime importance. It applies to everyone but the main responsibility is that of the party committees, as political management authorities. Implementing a cadre policy consistent with the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum must be the main trend in their activities.

The party raykoms and gorkoms, which are directly related to the primary party organizations and labor collectives and which guide their activities in implementing party and government decisions, play a special part. "Today the raykom," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in the meeting with party, soviet and economic aktivs of the Estonian SSR, "must act as an agency of political management." Naturally, this does not mean that the party committee is no longer responsible for the development of the economy and other areas of social life. However, the party committee must operate using its specific political method and means. It is essentially a question of working with people, of the choice, placement and training of cadres and of making stricter demands concerning the implementation of assignments. The most important task of the party committees is to strengthen organizational and ideological work and to create conditions for the development of the initiative and activities of party organizations and individual party members. In other words, a steady coordination of activities within the entire system of soviet, economic and public authorities and their real participation in acceleration and restructuring must be ensured.

Life itself and the entire course of kolkhoz and sovkhov building indicate that the economy is developing dynamically and efficiently as a rule in farms where managers and specialists have worked for long periods of time. Personnel in charge of cadres are bound to know this. Nonetheless, in a number of areas the structure of managerial personnel remains unstable. In 1985 alone more than 7,000 kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhov directors were replaced. A high percentage of managers holding such positions for less than 2 years may be found in Uzbekistan, Georgia, and Tajikistan, in Novgorod, Saratov and Ulyanovsk Oblasts and the Checheno-Ingush ASSR.

Particularly alarming is the turnover of management cadres in lagging farms. This creates uncertainty and a passive attitude in the labor collectives and lowers the interest of the people in increasing output.

In frequent cases the reason for replacing kolkhoz and sovkhov managers is the lack of necessary principle-mindedness in their selection. In this area subjectivism is still tolerated and the practical and moral qualities of promoted cadres are poorly studied. The prejudice against promoting young and promising workers has not been eliminated. Here and there haste is displayed in concluding that a newly-appointed manager is unable to organize the production process, unwillingness to take into consideration objective difficulties and lack of understanding of the fact that the development of a manager is a complex and relatively lengthy process. The party committees, the Gosagroprom and its local authorities must show an attentive attitude toward kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhov directors. The stability of such cadres must be increased. They must be treated respectfully and given specific help in their difficult and strenuous work.

Making the position of enterprise, shop, section, sector, livestock farm, and link manager and brigade leader and foreman positions is of major importance in the series of steps aimed at improving cadre work in the APK, earmarked at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The practice of the competitive selection and replacement of managers and specialists is expanding.

In the second year of the 5-year period the agroindustrial complex is facing responsible assignments. Positive trends noted in the past year must be strengthened and developed and an essentially new step must be taken in the implementation of the Food Program. Gross agricultural output must be increased by 5.2 billion rubles and total 224.4 billion. The plan calls for the production of 232 million tons of grain.

Intensive crop growing areas will be expanded. High growth rates are planned for increasing the production of cotton, sunflower, potatoes, vegetables and fruits. The fodder base will be strengthened and procurements of coarse and fresh feeds will be increased noticeably. Meat production in slaughtered weight will reach 18 million tons and milk production, 101.5 million. Output in the food sectors will increase substantially.

Nor should we forget what the farms owe to society. Republics, krays and oblasts must compensate to the maximally possible extent last year's underproduction of grain, sugar beets, sunflower and other crops. It is important to emphasize that everything planned for this year must be implemented regardless of weather conditions. That is why we must comprehensively create and steadily maintain efficiency, a high rhythm and high level of organization and discipline in the work of labor collectives. It is precisely on this that the socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, currently taking place in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other APK enterprises and organizations, must be energetically directed.

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ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RESTRUCTURING: L. ABALKIN AND A. ANCHISHKIN
ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM 'KOMMUNIST'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 30-39

[Text] As the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized most strongly, economic restructuring and a radical reform in the economic mechanism are inconceivable without the extensive development of economic theory. Accordingly, and on the basis of the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," which called for increasing ties between the editors and scientific and training institutions and USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, we turned to several Soviet economists with the request of sharing with us their thoughts on the condition and future developments of the science of economics. The range of questions listed below reflects the interest shown by a wide circle of readers and, in the opinion of the editors, pertains to problems considered most important from the view points of theory and practice of economic management.

1. To what extent is the science of economics ready to answer the questions which were so sharply formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress?
2. Which of the areas of development of economic theory formulated at the congress do you consider the least developed and needing the concentrated efforts of economists?
3. Today the question has been raised of a revolutionary restructuring in the system of social relations. What is the essence of revolutionary changes in the system of production relations? In what sense can we say that such changes are not only a radical restructuring of the economic mechanism but also affect the basic structures of our economic life.
4. What role in the implementation of revolutionary changes in the economy must be played by the improved utilization of the various groups of production relations, particularly relations of ownership, the law of planned development, the basic economic law, relations of distribution according to labor, commodity-monetary relations and the law of value, cooperation and individual labor activity?

5. What is the essence of the stipulations on the creative utilization of Lenin's idea of tax-in-kind in the present restructuring? What elements of Lenin's concept of a new economic policy of the 1920s are relevant today?

6. What is the nature of full, rather than partial, socialist cost accounting from the theoretical and political-economic viewpoints? What is the nature of combining the conversion of all economic units to full cost accounting with the principles of centralized planning and management?

7. What is the new content given to the concept of social justice, which is created in the course of the radical restructuring of our entire economic life? What should be the nature of the new theoretical view on principles, such as "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," universality of labor and universal participation of working people in management on all levels? Does this new view set certain limits of economic differentiation among the members of society, social groups and regional and national formations?

On the suggestion of the editors, our authors could, if they so choose, answer all or only a few of these questions. The editors invite the readers to participate in the discussion of the problems and tasks of development of the science of economics. In the course of such discussions we are planning to intensify and expand the set of problems of the debate which is already under way in this journal (starting with No 12 for 1986) on one of the most important topics of economic theory, that of commodity-monetary relations under conditions of developing socialism. Naturally, this topic could be discussed separately as well. The main thing is to formulate new ideas, approaches and suggestions which can efficiently contribute to the practice of restructuring.

L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member.

1. The 27th CPSU Congress laid the beginning of a profound organizational restructuring in our society and in the minds of the people. It expressed what had become objectively mature in life itself and what required thoroughly weighed political solutions and energetic actions.

It is entirely natural that many of the imminent problems could not be ignored by the science of economics. This applies to the ways of converting the national economy to intensive development, the reform of the economic mechanism and the solution of a number of social problems. A certain scientific base had already been laid in this area. Nevertheless, the accusation that the science of economics had become alienated from life and from practical problems is fully substantiated and just. A great deal of scholastic and speculative concepts had accumulated within it; there was a very strong orientation toward slow and partial improvements in areas where qualitative and radical changes were necessary.

Today we are facing the need for an upsurge in the economic sciences, above all in their essence--socialist political economy--which must be raised to a new level. We must clearly realize that science cannot develop exclusively in

the cumulative way, so to say, on the basis of the even increase in knowledge. There can be no development wherever a new phenomenon is depicted merely as a "vivid confirmation" of previously expressed concepts.

The very rich information acquired in the course of building socialism and the profound changes in the economy require a true creative inspiration and a breakthrough. It is precisely to this that the restructuring of the social sciences, including economics, is related, the need for which was indicated at the 27th Party Congress.

While critically assessing the situation in the economic sciences, in socialist political economy above all, we must not, nonetheless, ignore the following essential aspect: efforts to charge them with being entirely responsible for negative phenomena and for imperfections in the economic mechanism. Such concepts, which are widespread among practical workers, are by no means harmless. Furthermore, they are harmful for they lead us away from the study of the profound reasons for negative phenomena and nurture theoretical nihilism.

2. It is difficult to rate scientific problems according to their importance. Today we need intensive progress along the entire front, in all areas defined at the 27th Party Congress. Success in one sector or another cannot be complete without the overall solution of theoretical problems which have accumulated and without their broad political and economic consideration.

Nonetheless, I would put first among the many problems the study of the complex structure of ownership relations and its interests and variety of forms of its economic application. There are two reasons for this: first, the fundamental role of such relations, the fact that the solution of most contemporary problems is based, in the final account, on the development of the socioeconomic mechanism through which public ownership functions.

Second, the weak or, frankly speaking, simply unsatisfactory work done on this problem. Ownership relations are depicted in publications in an extremely primitive fashion, as though one-dimensional. There are no multi-dimensional concepts concerning their structure and primary and secondary (derivative) aspects. Science has not answered the question of why is socialist property frequently separated from its subjects and perceived as "nobody's?" And why is an economy based on the common ownership of means of production turning out, unfortunately quite frequently, to be inefficient, sluggish and resistant to new developments.

Efforts to seek answers to such questions outside economic relations (by referring to weather conditions, the demographic situation, the exhaustion of natural resources, and so on) are theoretically groundless. They merely confirm the weakness of the science.

In order successfully to proceed with socioeconomic acceleration, we must bring to light ownership relations and forms of their implementation in their entire wealth, complexity and contradictoriness. It is on this basis that we must formulate the specific ways which will enable all working people and labor collectives to consider themselves and act as true owners, as part of

ownership and economic management. Only thus can we ensure a higher organization and efficiency of the economy, combining strict rationalism with the humanistic trend in the public production process.

3. Revolutionary reorganizations in socialist production relations are characterized by the depth, scale and radical nature of imminent changes. They affect not individual levels or strata but the entire system of production relations, from external forms to basic structures.

However, this answer nevertheless remains too general, particularly in substantiating programs for practical action. That is why it must be made more specific. Socialist political economy has already proved, a conclusion which was codified in the congress' documents, that perfecting production relations is achieved above all by changing the ways, methods and mechanisms of economic management. It is precisely this that ensures the dynamic consistency between specific forms of production relations and steadily developing production forces. This creates incentives for mastering scientific and technical achievements and conditions for the utilization of all the possibilities and advantages of the socialist economy.

The particular role of improved economic management relations is caused by a number of reasons. Above all it is precisely they (unlike other groups of production relations) that directly influence economic interests and human economic activities and motivate human behavior. People cannot work economically and efficiently if the economic mechanism is based on outlays, and if the organization of cost accounting, prices, and wages encourage them to take the path of purely quantitative growth based on the "level reached."

Changes in the majority of other production relations and in their groups take place, as a rule, not directly but as a result of improvements in the mechanism and methods of socialist economic management. This is the only way leading to a fuller and more efficient utilization of socialist economic laws.

However, this by no means covers the entire revolutionary restructuring of production relations. As was said at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, restructuring affects their "deep layers," such as ownership and forms of its economic application and planning. The specific feature of changes in the deep strata of production relations is that, naturally, we are dealing here not with breaking down but identifying the internal potential of such relations and eliminating existing deformations.

Thus, we must develop self-government in the production area, apply truly full cost accounting, achieve a strict balance between labor and consumption, apply competitiveness and rivalry which are inherent in public ownership, and eliminate monopoly trends related to the absolutizing of departmental and group interests. Another item on the agenda is converting to a qualitatively new type of planned organization of public production, which must become flexible and efficient and based on economic management methods and on efficiently combining large, medium-sized and small economic units.

Production relations must be restructured and improved on a comprehensive basis, as a single integral system. The role and efficiency of the

utilization of any subsystem, in terms of planning, distribution according to labor or commodity-monetary relations, depend on the skillful utilization of other relations. No well-organized planning is possible with an underdeveloped market mechanism, and vice-versa. The familiar general organizational rule applies here: the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link. Therefore, there is no need to argue as to what is more important, what is "essential." We must focus our attention on the lagging sectors. Unfortunately, today it appears as though all links have been weakened and become "morally" obsolete and fallen behind the needs of contemporary production forces. Furthermore, they are poorly interconnected. That is precisely why we speak of radical restructuring and updating of the entire system of socialist production relations.

5. We must not look for ready-made answers to the problems of reality in Lenin's tax-in-kind ideas. Naturally, nor could there be a direct analogy in the area of specific economic management methods. In terms of scale and social nature the modern Soviet economy is qualitatively and essentially different from the economy at the start of the 1920s.

What valuable features do we find in Lenin's theory of the NEP and the tax-in-kind? Above all, a methodology, a method for the study and choice of efficient economic decisions. A close study of the logic of Lenin's thinking indicates that the founder of our party sought the type of forms and methods of economic management which would ensure the solution of strategic problems and provide the broadest possible scope for the development of production forces and strengthen a combination of economic interests.

We can easily see in Lenin's approach the concretized and creative application of basic Marxist concepts. In particular, this applies to the concept that no single economic form disappears before the production forces which it makes possible have developed. No single economic system can appear before the material prerequisites it requires have been made available. Any activity which contradicts this objective link is economically unjustified and means nothing other than subjectivism, such as bureaucratic administration, "communist boastfulness," etc.

Such a strictly scientific approach is the foundation for the steps aimed at the more extensive use of cooperative forms, family contracting and individual labor activity.

Furthermore, the idea of the tax-in-kind is related to the first and very valuable experience in the use of standardized methods for controlling economic relations. The tax-in-kind itself is a type of social standard aimed at securing state interests and combining them with the interest of producers and providing great freedom for economic maneuvering.

Today this idea (and not a mechanical copy of what occurred during the transitional period) can be clearly seen in granting kolkhozes the right to market a certain percentage (as much as 30 percent) of state commodity purchases and the use by local authorities of above-plan animal husbandry goods. However, there is more to it. The entire system of regulatory

distribution of profits between enterprises (associations) and the budget is largely based on the theoretical principles of the tax-in-kind.

Finally, on a broader scale, the tax-in-kind was firmly related to the use of commodity-monetary relations and the market, for it presumed the free purchase and sale of surplus goods, after the tax-in-kind had been paid. A great deal of time has passed since and very rich experience has been acquired which has convincingly proved (practical experience is a stubborn thing) the objective need for commodity output and turnover under socialism, and the new content of corresponding relations.

People may like or dislike facts of economic life and theoretical conclusions based on them. This is a matter of personal taste not directly related to science. One of the main and most difficult questions today is how really and efficiently to master commodity-monetary relations and the mechanism governing the socialist market, and organically to include them in the integral economic management system.

6. The problem of full cost accounting is not new. For more than 20 years it has been discussed in economic publications, although empirical data for such discussions are extremely limited.

As a separate subsystem of socialist production relations, cost accounting is in a continuing state of development. Its characteristic features and internal potential are manifested differently for a number of reasons. That is why we think that views, such as "there either is or is no cost accounting" are quite primitive and do not reflect the real situation.

With total cost accounting its intrinsic features are manifested in their most developed aspect with no limitations whatsoever. Thus, with an undeveloped (incomplete) cost accounting, self-support covers only current economic activities; in the case of full cost accounting it is also extended to the area of expanded reproduction and technical retooling and assumes the form of self-financing. The autonomy of enterprises as socialist commodity producers operate, in the first case, as "current-economic" and, in the second, as a developed form of self-government, which includes the area of strategic decision-making.

Conversion to full cost accounting presumes the coordinated improvement of the entire production relations system, of the overall economic mechanism. It presumes, in particular, a major restructuring in price setting, the financial-credit mechanism, and the development of wholesale trade in means of production. That is why such transition can be achieved only in the course of a radical reform of the economic mechanism.

For that reason, saying that the enterprises in a number of sectors have already converted to "full cost accounting and self-financing," indicates that said concepts are not being applied in the strictly scientific meaning of those terms but only as an indication of changes (albeit serious) made in the existing and largely formal organization of cost accounting.

The question of the "compatibility" between full cost accounting and the principles of centralized planning and management is not entirely correct. It already implies the concept of cost accounting as something external to planned management. In reality, it is an intrinsic link within the planned management system. Without cost accounting or with underdeveloped cost accounting such a system is inevitably subject to deformations, loses its flexibility and allows the prevalence of administrative methods.

Theoretically, V.I. Lenin himself developed such problems. In the familiar letter to G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy, he wrote that the new economic policy (which, as we know, included cost accounting) does not change the unified state economic plan and does not exceed its limits but changes the approach to its implementation (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 54, p 101). This change consists of a conversion to planning with the help, above all, of economic rather than administrative methods.

Cost accounting ensures the combination of the interests of society with those of the labor collective. It creates interest and economic responsibility and thus stimulates the making of most efficient decisions. It is on this basis that competitiveness develops in the economic area which, naturally, presumes the elimination of the monopoly status of individual producers. Without this there can be no orientation of the production process toward the consumer or high-quality output.

Naturally, orientation toward the consumer is achieved not only through cost accounting. It requires an entire system of steps, one of which is an essential change in the content of planning.

7. In briefly discussing this group of problems, I would like to emphasize in particular that the meaning of the restructuring under way is related to a turn of the economy toward social processes. The social consequences of revolutionary changes in the economy appear quite positive. The main thing here is to achieve a qualitatively new standard and way of life, to strengthen its labor foundation and comprehensively to develop a proprietary attitude toward the work.

At the initial stages of acceleration we may expect a substantial intensification in income differentiation (based on actual labor contribution), which precisely explains the opposition of those who have become accustomed to guaranteed benefits with no particular effort.

As long as we are speaking of opposition to restructuring, let me note in conclusion (and going back to what I already said) that this happened at the very first stage in expanding the rights and autonomy of primary economic units. Today frequently those who loudly supported such autonomy, having felt the unquestionable tremendous responsibility this involves, are beginning to "sound the retreat." It turns out that the supporters of preserving obsolete customs, who are quite active at that, included not only the personnel of central economic units but in some cases also managers of enterprises and associations.

A.I. Anchishkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Forecasting Scientific and Technical Progress, academy member:

1. Let us acknowledge most definitely that the science of economics and social sciences as a whole proved to be unprepared to answer questions raised at the 27th Party Congress, the January 1987 Plenum and the entire course of our development. Many basic problems of developing socialism must be solved today empirically, by trial and error, with all the negative consequences related to the theoretical unpreparedness for such decisions. The reasons for this state of affairs are several and it may appear simplistic to reduce everything to the unsatisfactory work of economists.

First, the successful development of the science of economics requires a clearly manifested social and political need for the profound and objective determination of the real laws of economic development and the contradictions within it. There is a need for scientific truth. Has such need always existed and to that extent? A positive answer to this question would be yet another departure from the truth. Today, however, even this admission does not suffice; we must establish what made the science of economics to adapt to circumstances, to descriptiveness and, frequently, to primitive excuses.

The reasons include, above all, the economic management methods themselves which are essentially administrative and, in frequent cases, simply bureaucratic. Under such circumstances, do we need a knowledge and a consideration of objective economic laws? They simply become obstacles to making empirical or simply arbitrary economic decisions. A reaction to positive and, in frequent cases, negative results of such decisions was more decisions and economic improvisations not based on the objective study of their consequences. With such methods of management the science of economics is used only for purposes of creating a certain theoretical "environment," for which there has never been a shortage of candidates.

Today, when a conversion to economic management methods is taking place and a new concept of centralism appears, entirely new circumstances for the development of the science of economics arise. It is one thing to apportion means of production on the basis of a "rationing" system and rigid funding and an entirely different one to develop contractual relations between producers and consumers, wholesale trade in means of production, etc. In the former case a more or less knowledgeable formulation of material balances suffices; in the latter, it is necessary above all to regulate financial and credit relations, prices and the socialist market. Clearly, in such cases the need for "services" provided by the science of economics is entirely different.

It would be interesting in this connection to analyze the interrelationship and interdependence between economic management methods and the science of economics at the different stages in building socialism. Naturally, this requires a special study. However, it would be sufficient to compare economic views which prevailed during the period of "war communism" and the condition of Soviet economic science during the 20s, the NEP. The latter was, most likely, the most fruitful and yielded quite interesting studies and brought to light many personalities. It was a time of creative development of Marxist economic science. If we extend such comparisons further into the 1930s, 1950s

and 1970s, we can easily reach a number of conclusions useful in answering the question of why and under what circumstances does economics develop.

Second, this has always been related to ideological concepts, to the presence of absence of dogmas which have frequently predetermined not only a trend or course of scientific research but also its conclusions and results.

In itself, the fact of the ideological orientation of Marxist as well as bourgeois economic theory is objectively determined, for this science always reflects class interests and, therefore, the ideology of classes and social groups. The problem lies elsewhere: to what extent are the ideological concepts scientifically manifested and to what extent do they correspond to the needs of the specific stage reached in historical development?

Here as well we must admit that Soviet economic science (and economic practice) has been frequently oriented toward ideological concepts which have conflicted with the real problems related to the development of socialist society. Some of these concepts were related to anticipation and were utopian in their nature (exaggeration of the level of maturity reached by social labor, orientation toward equalization in distribution, etc.). Others were the consequence of holding on to principles which develop under specific circumstances (war for instance) but inapplicable in others. A number of concepts which required substantiation rather than a priori acknowledgment, were raised to the level of scientific axioms. Thus, a number of discussions developed within Soviet economics, triggered not by logic and contradictory scientific knowledge but a division between "ours" and "not ours." Suffice it to recall the feverish jousts on the subject of the correlation between production cost and usefulness, the first and second subdivisions in public production, the principles of payment and nonpayment for assets, etc.

Extensive work is needed today to separate that which must be retained as initial principles governing the theory and methodology of Soviet economic science and obsolete, added or simply subjective dogmatic stipulations.

Third, like many other areas in our life, the science of economics turned out to be divided by departmental barriers. In addition to the USSR Academy of Sciences and economic scientific research institutes, there are republic and sectorial academies, central economic departments, sectorial ministries and the VUZ system. A number of barriers were erected hindering the natural exchange of scientific ideas and developments. The overwhelming number of economists, in excess of 100,000 people, became splintered. A number of scientific research institutes turned into "defenders" of departmental economic policy and into appendages of the respective ministries.

Unifying the efforts of the economic scientists regardless of departmental "affiliation," and subordinating their studies to the real social needs is today a task of prime importance, the implementation of which will determine the condition of Soviet economic science.

Fourth, the material-technical and information base of the science of economics has fallen drastically behind. This area is still dominated by the prejudice that all the economist needs is a pen, paper, more ink and some

computing equipment. Actually, contemporary economic research, particularly applied, requires high-level saturation with a variety of computers, data bases, information-retrieval systems, etc. We also know that information, statistics, are the economist's "bread." Without the study of factual data, the development of major statistical arrays and special studies we cannot hope to determine the real laws governing economic development. Applied economic research cannot be developed normally without all of this, and without it the source for basic theoretical summations dries out. So far, in this respect research economists are obviously kept on "short rations." Although the Soviet statistical service is one of the strongest and most advanced in the world, a very small percentage of available information is turning into topics of systematic research; the volume of official publications remains insignificant. This area is still dominated by a large number of obsolete artificial restrictions.

The question of information support of economic science has another, more difficult aspect. Accessibility of information and its use for practical purposes require the creation of information systems based on contemporary storing and processing methods and the possibilities of information technology. Today only the initial steps are being taken in this area. Yet the "information revolution" offers essentially new opportunities not only in economic practice but in the development of the science of economics itself.

Fifth and final, the condition of the science of economics is determined by the level of training of scientific cadres and their connection with higher schools. The curriculums of even the best economic VUZs in the country and the economic departments of leading universities have fallen substantially behind the advanced levels of the Soviet science of economics and the need of the national economy for highly skilled cadres of research economists. Unfortunately, two extremes predominate in the training process: the mastery of scholastic knowledge alienated from life, on the one hand, and a set of specific subjects which strengthen the methodological foundations of knowledge less than burden the students with empirical and sometimes obsolete concepts governing individual economic areas, on the other. The greatest shortcoming in teaching is the alienation of economic theory from the real problems of the socialist economy. Departmental barriers erected between economic scientific research institutes and higher schools and the absence of integration between science and education lower the quality of training even further and, therefore, the opportunity to develop the science itself.

2. These circumstances (as well as many others) predetermine to a decisive extent the largely unsatisfactory condition of Soviet economic science. In addition to them, however, there also exists internal problems in its development and errors as well as accomplishments of individual collectives and scientists. In this connection, I would like to point out a number of topical trends in the development of economic theory and the need to eliminate existing shortcuts or simply "blank spots" in economic research.

First of all, let me point out the need to refine the boundaries of what we know today as the science of economics. For a number of years Soviet scientists have been discussing the question of the system of economic sciences and the place of political economy within it. In our view, we need

the type of delineated borders of the social sciences (including political economy) which would ensure the integral study of the laws governing the development of social production forces. Such refining would help, as is required by the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to take a new view on some theoretical concepts, particularly that of the interaction between production forces and production relations.

The need for developing an economic theory with its own subject--economics understood as a means of production--is determined not only by the need to develop the science itself but also by practical considerations. It is clear, for example, that production forces are primary target in planning and managing the country's economy (if not because of their significance at least because of their scale). The absence of corresponding theory for the development of the latter hinders the intensified planning of scientific and technical progress and finding practical solutions to problems of organizing production forces (understood in the Marxist sense as objectively determined forms of concentration and combination of public labor, its specialization and its division). The scientific understanding of the actual level of production socialization and of objectively determined forms of its organization would enable us to identify the material foundations of the dynamics of socialist ownership and its internal structure and institutional forms.

Many contemporary contradictions in the country's economic structure or, in other words, many elements of the "hindrance mechanism," are related to the administrative-bureaucratic view of said problems and the separation of institutional forms from ownership relations and of ownership relations from the objective organization of the production process. The result is the creation of a number of artificial obstacles on the way to integration processes (vertical and horizontal), on the one hand, and the creation of institutionalized forms which outstrip the real level of production socialization and hinder the preservation and development (wherever efficient) of group (cooperative) and individual types of labor activity, on the other.

The major gap in this area, which exists in both economic science and in the practice of organizing production forces, sets improvements in socialist commodity-monetary relations and the implementation of the principles of total cost accounting and self-support on a vague and largely brittle foundation. The economic mechanism can develop in an entirely different way if this principle is implemented on the basis of the existing organization of the production process within the limits of a sectorial (departmental) management of the economy (in which general-purpose industrial giants coexist with a mass of medium-sized and small enterprises), or if it is based on other means of organizing the production process, which provide a scope for the natural development of the various forms of integration and the creation of powerful associations of different types, which operate under conditions of economic cooperation and competition with each other.

In our view, only with such powerful associations can full cost accounting operate and, therefore, current economic and investment, scientific-research and design-engineering activities and independent export of items on the world markets can take place on a self-supporting basis.

In short, the study of the laws governing production socialization and their consideration and planned utilization must become the firm scientific base for regulating ownership relations, developing commodity-monetary relations and applying full cost accounting.

4. The science of economics must also take a new approach to the study of the interaction between the law of planned development and the laws of value, plan and market. For a number of decades this interaction was considered essentially in its negative aspect, as pitting the plan against the market. As was noted at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, many economists considered commodity-monetary relations as something alien to socialism. Without going into the nature of past discussions and opinion changes of individual scientists, let us now emphasize the need for adopting a new, a constructive approach to such problems, as demanded by the party.

In our country, as in other socialist countries, a new concept is developing on the ways and means of providing centralized economic management. It is conceived not only as direct control of economic sectors in which it is absolutely necessary (defense, new construction, development of the main infrastructure and of the scientific potential, solving a number of social problems, etc.) but also as the formulation and implementation of a state-wide plan for economic methods, based on the systematic control of financial and crediting relations, prices, long-term standards, etc. Commodity-monetary relations, therefore, are not pitted against the state plan but become a means for its existence and a new manifestation of centralism.

Understandably, under conditions in which forms of production organization, ownership relations, finances, credits, prices, and so on, are being regulated on a planned basis, it is not commodity-monetary relations "in general" that take shape and develop but socialist commodity-monetary relations, a socialist market.

Therefore, the correlation between the "plan and the market," centralism and economic democracy must now become its constructive aspect and, to a certain extent, turned "upside-down," and subordinated to the tremendous changes in the country's economic structure as earmarked by the 27th CPSU Congress.

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AT THE FOREFRONT: BREST OBKOM AND RAYKOMS AT THE HEAD OF RESTRUCTURING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 40-50

[Article by Nikolay Grigoryevich Tyurin, deputy editor, KOMMUNIST Party-Building and State and Public Organizations Department]

[Text] Act, act and act again, energetically, daringly, creatively and competently! Such the formulation of the main task of the present at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Today there is no party organization or party committee which has not studied the experience acquired over the past 2 years or looked closer than ever at the practical experience of its close or more distant neighbors. This is understandable, for restructuring is irreversible. It is gathering pace, expanding and deepening, for which reason any tried organizational method or proper approach to a typical problem found anywhere or, in broader terms, anything new and progressive in any area of party work becomes particularly valuable today. Yes, we are only at the beginning of the way. However, in this short yet extremely important segment of time, party detachments, whose committees and aktivs became profoundly aware of the innovative and revolutionary nature of the initiated changes and were able to embody such understanding in comprehensive programs for action and in dozens and hundreds of specific accomplishments in the struggle for restructuring and acceleration, have confidently assumed the leadership. In frequent cases the Belorussian party organization has been listed among those which are achieving tangible results in this difficult and complex ascent toward the country's targets. Our story is about the work currently being done by the party committees in Brest Oblast, justifiably considered by the republic's party members as one of its combat units.

The Main Concerns

The bitter sting of this winter did not bypass the Belorussian Polesye. It came with cold winds and snow storms instead of the customary soft fog. In January the electronic panel on the building of the party's obkom rarely climbed above the -20-degree level; in the eastern parts of the Brest area frosts had a Siberian quality. We know that the hardship of cold and snow in a number of areas interrupted transportation and industry, disrupted the work of the urban economy and cooled the housing premises where people had become

accustomed to consider not cost accounting but on the notorious "off-chance."
How did the situation in Brest Oblast develop?

Unquestionably, the harsh winter added to the difficulties and occasionally discussions at the party obkom buro became quite sharp. However, the main indicators in industry and agriculture were met and the railroad, which is one of the cornerstones of the economy in the oblast, operated without breakdowns or emergency measures. Although some houses could have been warmer, here as well no exceptional measures had to be taken. This, however, presumes and element of randomness. The oblast power workers do not consider this element a simple and reliable method, such as observing all the regulations governing the operation of equipment and planned power system repairs.

"Actually, the principles of conscientious and good quality work were not invented yesterday and not by us," Yefrem Yevseyevich Sokolov said, rising from behind his desk and pacing the length of his office. "Remember sayings about sleighs in summer and carts in winter, and grain which is weighed in the granaries and not at the combine bunker. These popular sayings come from age-old experience. The ability to observe these simple and seemingly comprehensive rules is a different matter. A great deal had been forgotten and frequently learning was hasty. This means that we must catch up. Naturally, there are also new areas dictated by our time, for the concept of "acceleration" will not be found in popular sayings..."

In discussing by phone the interview with Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Brest Obkom, Belorussian Communist Party, I indicated that the topic would be restructuring party work. "Could you be more specific?" Yefrem Yevseyevich asked. "We are interested in the 'technology' of activities of party committees in the oblast and ordinary details." "Well, this is necessary. Come on over, we shall show you our wealth." This was our agreement. I was only after the assignment, when work on the interview was nearing completion that the announcement came on the plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, which was held on 6 February, and at which Ye.Ye. Sokolov was elected its first secretary....

Different steps must be taken if reality makes such major corrections to what a journalist may have written. The material may be put in a deep drawer with the forlorn hope of being revived "at some later time." On this occasion, however, I believe that it would be entirely justified to inform the readers of the results of the meetings and talks with party workers in Brest Oblast, above all because the interview was to deal with collective experience and the practical results of the quests and thoughts of many people. Such is the nature of the work of party committee secretaries.

During those days in January that which prevailed at the oblast's party committees as it did probably everywhere, in the course of daily ordinary concerns, was the fact that news was being expected from Moscow. What was the CPSU Central Committee Plenum about to tell the party members, everyone? How to assess accomplishments and what new guidelines to earmark? In the atmosphere which prevailed, marked by the important event, everyone I met in the Brest area firmly believed that the forthcoming plenum would do precisely that and, naturally, questions were asked: What would be the pivotal

direction to be taken in restructuring, was there a danger of diluting it in verbose statements, what would enhance the work, and what kind of guarantee would be given against the recurrence of the sadly known alternation between "peaks" and "drops" in social activeness? Following are some notes dated 16 and 17 January.

Aleksey Petrovich Sayenko, Brest Obkom secretary, Belorussian Communist Party:

"There is an increase in end economic results and the improved well-being of the people is either consistent with the set pace or is outstripping it, which means restructuring in action. We conceive of it not as a self-seeking slogan but as a working tool in accelerating the development of all aspects of our lives...."

Vladimir Nikolayevich Getmanchuk, first secretary, Ivanovskiy Party Raykom:

"Restructuring is a specific, an essential improvement in the people's lives. This process must follow an ascending line, removing along its way anything that hinders qualitative growth in the economic, scientific or spiritual areas...."

Zoya Vladimirovna Dubinko, party committee secretary at the Zarya Kolkhoz:

"I interpret restructuring as a fulfillment of the hopes of the people for sufficiency at home, order at work, and true respect for the honest working person in all areas affecting his interests...."

What are the present dynamics in the oblast's development? Let us look at statistics. In 1986 the oblast's volume of industrial output increased by 7.7 percent compared with 4.7 percent as planned. Consumer goods worth 86 million rubles were produced over and above the plan. Labor productivity rose by 6.5 percent as compared to 4.1 percent as planned. The oblast's workers in the agroindustrial complex averaged 29.2 quintals of grain, 251 quintals of potatoes and 450 quintals of root crops per hectare. The productivity of the dairy herd increased by 266 kg, averaging 2,857 kg. The plan for the sale of milk, cattle, poultry, eggs, wool, flax, fruits, berries, sugar beets and vegetables was overfulfilled. The quality of agricultural output improved. The construction workers completed the year with good results: plans for contracting work, the growth of labor productivity, and the completion of housing, schools, children's preschool institutions, hospitals, polyclinics, projects in the agroindustrial complex and in industry were overfulfilled. The railroad workers and motor vehicle drivers overfulfilled their freight hauling plan by 4.4 percent. The volume of population consumer services increased by 8.8 percent and trade (excluding alcoholic beverages) by 9.3 percent. Per capita income increased and the average wage of workers and employees was 4 percent higher.

What stands behind these dry figures, for such statistical data are by no means universally convincing? Nor does it suffice to say that the upsurge in oblast agriculture--the efficient agroindustrial complex is believed here to be the foundation of the economic health of this area--was the result of the course which the party obkom charted at the beginning of the 1980s of

simultaneously building animal husbandry complexes of an industrial type and of the accelerated development of amenities in the countryside. Let us, therefore, hear the views of a person directly related to the information we cited on the work of the oblast's agrocomplex.

Vladimir Ivanovich Balyuk, chairman of the 40 Let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz is a native Polesye resident. He personally remembers the endless swamps which stretched here and which have now been converted into well-cared for fields and livestock farms. However, he is not inclined to engage in comparisons between the present and 1939, when Western Belorussia became Soviet, not to mention 1913. V.I. Balyuk prefers tangible arguments.

"The kolkhoz has lived through different periods. True confidence was gained when the brigade contracting order was tried and people became convinced of its effectiveness. Today the kolkhoz has more than 5 million rubles in its account and every year we have an available surplus of roughly 400,000 rubles. In terms of yields and animal husbandry indicators, we are advancing suitably. However, we could learn something from our neighbors as well. Our main foundation is internal cost accounting and our main problem is to use the funds we have earned mainly for housing and cultural construction and equipping our production facilities with the latest tools and technologies. Today the kolkhoz members live better than ever before. However, in this area as well there are problems: we are short of high-quality goods which would enhance the stimulating role of the ruble. In the social area as well some difficulties have developed.... Today the awareness of the people is changing drastically. Soon there will not even be a trace of the old passive attitude and the preference of keeping silent. That is why these are complex times for our party workers and economic managers, similar to the high season...."

We walked and drove, for it is too long a walk, along the beautiful well-built Motol Village. We visited animal husbandry farms, the machine yard, the kolkhoz board, the kolkhoz museum, and the art workshops, where the art of wood cutting is practiced and panels are made for recreation housing and saunas, an increasing number of which are being installed in production subdivisions.... We saw a windmill on a hillock, guerrilla maps, weapons, combat awards presented to fathers and grandfathers, exhibited in the museum; we saw well-heated cow barns and equipment in neat rows (like drying sunflower seeds, V.I. Balyuk remarked), ready for good work for society and for the kolkhoz.

Is this a model farm? No, and again no, my interlocutors objected as firmly as was possible within the bounds of hospitality. The same situation prevails in the majority of Brest farms. They quoted figures: agricultural production profitability in the oblast rose from 10 to 36 percent in the past 5-year period. In the last 4 years all kolkhozes and sovkhoses have worked at a profit, which has enabled them energetically to improve their output and to develop their sociocultural life. The result is that the inertia, which we still frequently interpret in a negative sense, has acquired an entirely different content in the oblast. It means the ability to achieve smooth progress. Unquestionably, this is the main result of the efforts of the oblast party organization. Against a common background possibilities and errors become clearer, for no project can consist exclusively of successes.

Let us take a most important current indicator, such as the shift use of equipment. At a recent party obkom plenum delegates said that in Pinsk, Baranovichi and Brest, where most industrial enterprises are located, as a rule the most productive equipment is used one-and-a-half shifts daily. Why? Essentially because of the sluggishness of those responsible for the organization of multiple-shift work at plants and factories. Therefore, although as a rule there is progress, there also are areas where progress is obstructed.

How to achieve efficiency?

Yes, today new speed is necessary. How do the party committees in the Brest area look at this question? Once again, let us refer to notes dated 20 and 21 January.

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Zalomay, secretary of the Brest Obkom, Belorussian Communist Party:

"The oblast's industry was developed essentially in the past 20 years, for which reason worker and engineer skills are particularly important to us. Last year we failed to fulfill our obligations on the percentage of superior quality goods produced. This is an alarming symptom and our fears were substantially confirmed by the state inspection system which operates at 10 oblast enterprises. How can we counter the damages resulting from a widespread "root system?" We must firmly reject campaign-style work in party activities and the incredibly corrosive and persistent "sectorial" way of thinking. We organize shock 10-day and monthly periods, and we start being concerned with every little bolt and nut, as a result of which we ignore long-term projects and the main problem of cadre selection and placement. Today the most topical problem is to find a talented organizer and educator for each labor collective."

Nikolay Konstantinovich Bokhan, first secretary, Brest City Party Committee:

"I am certain that this 5-year period will radically change the approach to planning the sociocultural development of the various areas. We can no longer have to have everything approved by the center while the local authorities are merely asked to execute resolutions. Today in terms of availability of hospitals, schools, and commercial enterprises Brest has fallen below the republic's average. Obviously, this is the consequence of the fast increase in the size of the urban population. However, by no means has the party gorkom done or is doing everything it should. I believe that we somehow missed the opportunity, when this became clear, honestly to tell the people: Look, we are not keeping up. Everyone must plunge into solving the social problems. The imbalance in the development of the urban economy can be eliminated by making most active use of the possibilities of all city enterprises, labor collectives and individual residents. What is the most essential feature here? It is true that now the local soviets have been given many new powers. We believe, however, that there will still remain shortcuts in the assignment of functions unless we decisively strengthen the apparatus of executive committees quantitatively and qualitatively. In their present state they cannot cope with their assignments."

Aleksey Afanasyevich Vysotskiy, head of the Propaganda Department, Brest Party Obkom:

"For a long time ideological work existed like a kind of 'thing within itself:' it set its own targets and reported their implementation to itself. A great deal of harm was caused by scholasticism, by the gap between words and daily reality.... This can no longer be tolerated. Today we are trying to shift our maximal efforts to the labor collective. It is precisely here, in the basic unit of social life, that some of the already existing experience must be applied and new approaches tried. We have drawn up a list of production indicators for collectives, detrimental from the viewpoint of the moral climate. This is a most important project. We are firmly abandoning quantitative parameters in our plans for educational work. We analyzed initiatives. Until recently, there were as many as 60 initiatives being followed up in the oblast. We realized that many of them were drawn up behind the desks of managers and were totally unrelated to the concept of 'initiative.' In turn, those which were the result of a sincere thrust and creative thinking of the people earned our energetic support."

Therefore, there are problems, difficulties and contradictions. There is also exigency and a self-critical evaluation of accomplishments. In general, we must note that the memorable placidity which is justifiably considered in politics a nutritive ground for stagnation and backwardness is not popular in the party obkom; nor is a devil-may-care negation of everything which was gained "before us and without us." Sober and scrupulous studies and ability to see the accurate direction in development are qualities which do not appear suddenly, on command. For example, several years ago, when the oblast party committee formulated a program for converting animal husbandry to intensive technology based on the building of modern livestock complexes, not many people agreed. There were those who persistently claimed that the concentration of resources on such large projects would undermine the economy of not only of average but also strong farms. Mention was made of the fact that such tasks were beyond the forces of the interkolkhoz construction organization. The possibility of a catastrophe was hinted. These objections only seemed reasonable. They were entirely based on the negative examples of the past and on the habit of promulgating prohibitions instead of deliberately emphasizing daring and knowledgeably assessed initiatives.

The party obkom drew many lessons from this debate. The most important among them were, first of all, that practical experience is more convincing than any appeal or any shouting. Second, the fact that by no means are the people always ready to accept a progressive idea in full, in the totality of its interconnections with reality. A considerable amount of knowledge is needed, both specialized and party-political. Administrative knowledge and standards in the broadest meaning of the term are needed. These old lessons came in very useful now, in the stage of restructuring.

Today the oblast's economy employs more than 150,000 specialists. With every passing year their number is increasing by approximately 6,000. Agriculture alone employs 14,000 specialists with higher and secondary training, or 37 per kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Will the corps of economic managers drop below these indicators?

Vladimir Grigoryevich Panasyuk, head of the obkom's organizational-party work department, showed a report on cadre nomenclature as of 1 December 1986, commenting on the paper crowded with figures:

"As to the agroprom, today virtually all kolkhoz and sovkhos managers and the majority of chief specialists are with higher specialized training. However, the art of managing is virtually not taught at the institutes and this task must be assumed by the party committees...."

What is the nature of the basic components of such training? Direct contact with the environment where the specific individual has worked or will work is a mandatory prerequisite. In assessing the level of responsibility of an economic manager whose name has been entered in the promotion reserve list (and, consequently, for training), this is mandatorily checked against the opinion of the party gorkom or raykom and the assessment of the primary party organization of which the comrade was a member. As V.G. Panasyuk emphasized, frequently plans have been subject to major changes. Furthermore, the most capable and energetic production organizers in the oblast are assigned as a rule, for a certain period of time to do full-time work as members of the party, soviet, trade union or Komsomol apparatus. For example, about one-half of kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors, who were elected or appointed to their positions in recent years, spent several years working as secretaries of primary party organizations or members of the apparatus of party gorkoms and raykoms or executive committees of local soviets. What does this experience teach? Above all, that under contemporary conditions a social style of thinking and a political approach to economic problems are necessary.

Another mandatory aspect, traditional of the Brest area, is the practical nature of the training and the opportunity of correlating acquired knowledge with specific production features. The new managers and specialists mandatorily train at progressive experience courses in the best oblast farms. All types of training of the aktiv are related to real practical work and the training is most frequently conducted directly in labor collectives. According to the party obkom, this helps not only to popularize the best experience but also to perfect training facilities, for any farm which is preparing to host the rayon or oblast aktiv tries to take a close look existing procedure and to make a number of corrections. Naturally, it is not a question of "cosmetic repairs" or the likes. Against the economic management background which has developed in the oblast, any ostentation is clearly identified. As to the "supertask" of training, it is formulated as follows: with the help of specific materials to strengthen the principle according to which anyone who has earned in the oblast the reputation of a frontranker has done so not simply because he worked more. As a rule, this quality is ascribed to those who have rushed ahead, who do not wait for "orders from above," who can look at things more daringly and better and who try to look as far ahead into the future as possible.

It is thus that the level of competence is maintained and increased in several interrelated areas in the basic unit of the agroindustrial complex. The same system is applied in the training of managers of oblast industrial enterprises. Understandably, in turn, the party committees in the oblast must steadily improve their own skills. Today virtually all senior personnel of

the party apparatus are VUZ graduates. Seventy-three percent of gorkom and raykom secretaries have higher party-political training. However, does a diploma mean a "certificate of perfection?" Naturally, the answer is no. Here as well the party obkom sticks to the justified approach of systematically combining theoretical with practical training. For example, today the republic higher party school does not set official restrictions concerning the enrollment of students. This has immediately broadened the opportunity of growing, of including promising people. However, while giving systematic training its due, the oblast does not forget that the best teacher is practical experience. Therefore, efforts are made to give the people the opportunity of testing their knowledge in specific matters, to experience actually, personally, the specific features of working in party bodies on different levels. For example, recently a large group of personnel of the party obkom apparatus were promoted to different positions in raykoms and gorkoms. Seven- and 10-day practical training of young raykom and gorkom instructors with the oblast party committee has become traditional.

"Initially local first secretaries and plant organizers grumbled," A.P. Sayenko, first secretary of the Brest Obkom, Belorussian Communist Party, said. 'Why do we need such trips, we are short of manpower as it is.' They soon realized, however, that in those few days the young people gain a real, a comprehensive idea of the activities of the obkom and its departments and secretariat. This means that the interpretation of the problems facing the oblast is enhanced and the people learn modern approaches to their solution."

The reorganization gathers strength more rapidly where party raykoms and gorkoms operate more energetically and in a new style. We believe that the profound accuracy of this conclusion formulated at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum is confirmed by the practical experience which has been gained in Brest Oblast. Here, its 21 rayon and city party committees are working knowledgeably and efficiently, and those which have still not found their fulcrum are developing tangible and specific features with the help of restructuring and acceleration. It is noteworthy, however, that there are no definitely weak rayons in the oblast. How is it possible to prevent the appearance of such bodies which, according to the laws of technology, frequently determine the characteristics of the entire chain because of their weakness? In answering this question, the people at the party obkom described the following event.

Kamenetskiy Rayon is located in the area of the Belovezhskaya Forest in the oblast. In the past it was frontranking. Then a stagnation occurred, which began soon after the manager of one of the best farms was made chairman of the rayon executive committee. Where was the logic of this? The point was that it was not violated. This person worked in a kolkhoz which operated under proper conditions. It had good land, surplus manpower and income which had allowed it to purchase equipment, chemical fertilizers and even emergency resources. No particular efforts or enterprise were needed. Compared with the kolkhoz, the rest of the rayon operated under much worse conditions. Therefore, the new rayon executive committee chairman reached the conclusion that production growth here had reached its "objective maximum." This improper view was adopted by the economic managers and had a bad influence on the rayon executive committee chairman and the first party raykom secretary.

In a few years the rayon lost all the advantages it had gained through intensive work. The obkom had to apply "surgical" intervention. An official who had successfully worked as head of an agricultural administration in a truly difficult area was appointed rayon executive committee chairman. Help was provided in other areas as well, particularly in organizing a system for objectively assessing kolkhoz and sovkhoz possibilities and once again Kamenetskiy Rayon began to improve.

Objectivity. The system applied in the oblast and the republic of analyzing all work related to the production of agricultural commodities per 100 hectares deserves a much more detailed consideration. In these notes I shall limit myself by quoting the opinion of V.N. Getmanchuk, first secretary of the Ivanovskiy Party Raykom, to the effect that this approach allows to gauge the efficiency of labor collectives, economic managers and party secretaries with the necessary accuracy. The guideline here is not some kind of averaged indicator but the full utilization of the potential of land, herds, equipment and technology.

"In my view," Vladimir Nikolayevich said, "morality in economics is determined by the evaluation criteria used. The same applies to party work. One could plan, implement and assess a number of steps without even once asking oneself: What is their purpose? We try to do the opposite: we begin with a consideration of end results and only then of the technology used in achieving them."

How does this come out in practical terms? For example, party meetings were held in the rayon to discuss the development of recreation: clubs, sports halls and sites, libraries and amateur artistic activities. They raykom did not undertake to supervise with traditional methods the implementation of the decisions but its personnel visited virtually all projects which needed some reconstruction. The result of the trust shown in the primary party organizations and the precise study of accomplishments are obvious: in 1 year the people in Ivanovskiy Rayon renovated more than 70 percent of the rayon's clubs. Naturally, this style of emphatic respect for the people and their capabilities and efforts is manifested in other areas of party raykom activities as well. Here holding conferences on secondary or simply trifling matters "inviting" farm managers and party committee and party buro secretaries, was firmly abandoned some time ago. The raykom uses only the information related to the agroindustrial complex which is submitted by the statistical administration and the RAPO. Paperwork has been reduced substantially and the time and efforts of the rayon party committee workers, which were thus released, are dedicated to the main thing: work with cadres and joint search for possibilities for the long-term development of the rayon.

What are, according to the raykom's first secretary, the main objectives? V.N. Getmanchuk did not answer in a hurry, it was more as though he was thinking aloud:

"We could reach our potential by averaging 35 quintals of grain per hectare and 4,000 kg of milk per fodder-fed cow. We further need the centralized help of agrochemical, reclamation and selection workers.... Such achievements are directly related to the cadre problem. Today the rayon has economic managers

who, in my view, could be confidently promoted to responsible party work. The next step is to see to it that our primary party organization secretaries become confidently part of this reserve. We can no longer rely on the luck of finding born leaders. We must develop a system for the selection and training of people with leadership talent.

What Makes a Reputation Grow?

The restructuring and spiritual updating of society, the demand on our cadres of displaying a lofty morality and the assertion of the prestige of the best features of a person raised by the Soviet way of life is a topic which was greatly emphasized at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum and which is invariably discussed in talks with oblast party workers. It is probably no accident that the problem of spirituality is concerning many people who are by no means sentimental. Here are some final notes, dated 22 January 1987.

Mariya Ivanovna Manyuk, Brest Obkom secretary, Belorussian Communist Party:

"There are some 5,500 labor collectives in the oblast. Think: this is an entire galaxy of human souls and conditions! If we can see to it that the abilities and internal reserves of individuals become more fully realized in each collective and if their conscience is manifested more strongly our affairs would develop much more rapidly and better. I am confident that in some areas, such as trade and consumer services, construction and automotive transportation, for a variety of reasons some workers are very short of positive spiritual qualities. Hence lagging and substandard work. For the time being, the illusion that restructuring is essentially a concern of the "bosses" has not been surmounted everywhere. In short, we have as many ideologues and projects as we wish. Naturally, we are not alone in this...."

Georgiy Stepanovich Tomashevich, head of the Press Sector, Brest Party Obkom:

"In the newspapers moral topics are firmly in the lead. As indicated by the editorial mail, today people prefer reading well argued analytical publications on the struggle for restructuring, for what is new in our lives, rather than descriptions of court trials. What does this prove? It proves that the people are showing a great interest in manifestations of the moral views of their contemporaries and their specific actions, dictated by inner concepts of truth, honor and dignity. Writing on such topics is difficult. However, the public response justifies the efforts of the journalists...."

Vasiliy Petrovich Kunitskiy, head of the Agricultural Department, Brest Party Obkom:

"Frankly speaking, we have repeatedly tried to enhance sponsorship. We sought ways and means which could motivate the strong farms to help the weaker ones. These efforts were sluggish until there occurred a turn in the public consciousness. I would describe this as the sharpening of social consciousness and awareness of one's neighbor. With no prompting whatsoever on our part, the personnel of the Luch Breeding Sovkhoz held a meeting at which it was suggested to help the Sporovo Sovkhoz and Oktyabr Kolkhoz to increase milk production per cow to 4,200 kg by the end of the 5-year period.

A specific program was suggested: every year to sell their neighbors first-calf heifers with high genetic potential and to accept from the lagging farms heifers which they would raise according to their own technology and, after increasing their milk output, return them to their original farms. Today this sincere and truly noble initiative is being enriched with ever new approaches. It is extensively supported in the oblast and beyond it. It was approved by the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. This is a good spiritual thrust in action...."

Yes, a great deal can be accomplished by people who are confident that an interesting thought, feeling or concern for the common good will meet with a normal reaction and will not be denigrated by an arrogant bureaucrat to whom the highest manifestation of initiative is a report delivered on time. We must point out that, as a rule, particular attention is being paid in the oblast to the moral climate which has been established in a collective and its party organization. The moral qualities of managers of all ranks are being studied in detail. "Human," was a term I frequently heard mentioned in Brest party committees. Naturally, however, this does not mean that some kind of abundance prevails in this entire area.

What is a matter of particular concern? Mainly, the fact that there frequently is a disparity between a person's educational standard and his spiritual development. For example, more than one-half of the party members who were punished in 1985 for violations of CPSU statutes are people who are ordinarily classified as members of the intelligentsia. It becomes entirely intolerable when it is a question of violations of professional ethics and of communist idea-mindedness by a manager. Here is a fact which was mentioned at last autumn's party obkom plenum.

The oblast radio had planned a cycle of broadcasts entitled "The Brigade Asks." One of the first programs dealt with the Dinamo Factory in Brest. It turned out that the enterprise workers had a great deal of critical remarks concerning the factory cafeteria and other services. Factory Director A.M. Moroz reacted painfully to this collective opinion. He began by accusing the workers of lying and angrily scolded the shift foreman: how could she allow such things to be said in her presence. This was followed by challenging the participants in the broadcast, one of whom was the factory trade union committee chairman....

The "organizers" of this isolated incident were strictly punished. However, taking this and other touchy situations into consideration, where the old and the new clash head on, it becomes clear that restructuring in thinking and mentality is the most difficult of all. Extremely urgently needed for this process is socialist democracy and increased self-governing by the people. It is only on the basis of the development of democracy that the human factor can be truly manifested. This idea, which was repeatedly emphasized in the party's documents and at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is becoming the daily practice of party committees, including those in the Brest area. What is the most characteristic feature of this work?

Above all, it is the aspiration to develop as many direct contacts as possible between party committee workers on the rayon and oblast levels and the rank-

and-file party members and secretaries of primary party organizations. The methods used are quite traditional and people are not trying to be original. What matters is results, i.e., the free exchange of views, including some which may not be all that pleasant. For example, the Luninets Party Gorkom abandoned obsolete methods of holding seminars with primary party organization secretaries. Now the training of the elected aktiv is done in the labor collectives where the main work--analyzing practical experience--takes place. The gorkom personnel believe that this approach prevents overorganization or reporting to oneself. In Stolinskiy Rayon, every second Friday or Saturday a group of senior personnel of the party raykom and rayon executive committee and representatives of rayon services visit a farm. Most frequently the group is headed by a raykom party secretary. The purpose of the trip is to study the situation at livestock farms and brigades, check cultural and living conditions and become better familiar with the activities of the executive committees of rural soviets and the Komsomol. Help is given on the spot in eliminating shortcomings in current affairs. The work of the group goes on even after the visit.

At its November 1986 Plenum the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee considered the restructuring of the work of primary party organizations in the republic. According to party workers in Brest Oblast, the plenum helped to take a new look at the overall situation, on a self-critical and exigent basis and to see the broad opportunities for enhancing this basic party unit. Initial practical results of the measures which were taken are already visible. For example, a system for controlling the follow-up given to critical remarks and suggestions expressed in the primary party organizations is functioning at the Gantsevichskiy Party Raykom. Also energetically applied in the oblast is an efficient method such as reports submitted by party member-managers to their comrades in party organizations. Here there are essentially no cases in which a party member guilty of a violation can avoid a reprimand.

Is everything in order in this complex and comprehensive work of raykoms and gorkoms and the party obkom with the primary party organizations? No, we are far from having an idyllic situation which would be unlikely in actual life. Two problems were noted by my interlocutors who shared their frank thoughts on future concerns. The first was that after some outstanding impulses of openness, criticism and self-criticism and a desire for independence, a pause has been noted in some primary party organizations along with symptoms of relaxation and even a return to the comfortable channel of formalism. The second problem is how not to restrict the developing democracy in the primary party organizations with new legal documents which, alas, are appearing as a reaction to the concept...of developing intraparty democracy. The facts in this case are quite eloquent. However, the obkom tries to consider the interaction and the nature of present difficulties in the life of the primary party organizations. The problem of the great school of restructuring was discussed at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We must act intelligently, persistently and purposefully in order to complete this course more successfully.

The pale winter light, the frost-covered trees and the frosty fog over the distant line of roofs could be seen outside the window. Although the time for

the meeting of the party obkom buro was approaching, Yefrem Yevseyevich Sokolov did not simplify the problems. The discussion covered many aspects of what affects today the party members in the Brest area and on which they are working with various degrees of success and sometimes with painful thoughts and heated arguments but with firm belief in the justice of the tremendous project initiated by the party, such as cost accounting and planning, the agroindustrial complex of the area as the foundation for its socioeconomic development, the art of establishing priorities in tasks and the right to make an error, state inspection and the limits of cooperation in industry, the role of the leader, his moral health and components of management style, the sectorial department of the party committee and vestiges of "sectorial thinking," and democratization, which must become a compass for the future difficult travel.... Actually, even a most detailed conversation could not encompass everything which is today on the agenda here and in thousands of other party staffs. This is the agenda of a day which, in terms of importance, could be the equivalent of a full year....

This day must be lived honestly and fruitfully, for there is a lofty objective and there is help as we advance in its direction.

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ASCENDING THE MOUNTAIN ALONG UNTRODDEN PATHS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 51-57

[Article by Mikhail Aleksandrovich Ulyanov, People's Artist of the USSR, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers]

[Text] Whether we wish it or not, many people have become accustomed to the word "restructuring." And, wherever there is a habit, stereotype frequently appears, the type of frozen truth, simplified and sluggish. It is as though everything is clear, no one is arguing, everyone is "for." However, the moment the truth begins to stir and move, under pressure and with acceleration, the moment it begins to pester, demand and break existing structures, it turns out that it is not simple at all but is incredibly complex, sharp and burning. Naturally, such a situation creates a counteraction.

I realized this quite clearly at the recent Central Committee Plenum in which I participated as a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. Yes, restructuring is not so simple as we initially thought. Any sharp turn in the life of society legitimately triggers a conflict. It is much simpler to introduce the word "restructuring" into one's vocabulary than to become accustomed to openness in the press, clash of opinion, and hearing out and closely studying the viewpoint of people who previously merely obeyed and who are now openly expressing their attitude toward the comrades who lead them and who elect such leaders.

This is not all that easy to accept. Restructuring means not only that one tunes himself up, like a singer before a concert, but that life begins to turn people powerfully, to make them do what was previously not part of their routine. We must learn to live under circumstances in which we can be concerned, ordered and made answerable and think, rather than merely point and order. This is a threshold which some people cross either easily or not so easily; others cannot find the strength to cross it for they either firmly believe in their own infallibility and irreplaceability or exclusivity, or else simply show their inertness and display the comforting feeling of proud tranquility.

Restructuring may be uncomfortable and disturbing. It is windy and full of drafts. The point is this: if all doors and windows are closed I could let

someone in or not. Such people can be understood from the egotistical viewpoint: it is a thousand times easier to live this way. However, it is also deadly. It is deadly for the simple reason that in an enclosed atmosphere microbes develop faster. Communist boastfulness and the possibility of dipping one's hand into the pockets of the state as though they were one's own, and the habitual confidence that some of the goods offered by society are for personal use or else are inherited. It is no accident that favoritism and nepotism have assumed a threatening scale in our country. It has become almost a norm for some people to pass on to their children if not their profession at least their office, their position.

It is obvious that if someone mounts an offensive someone else must be on the defensive. As it has now become clear, opposition to restructuring will be fierce. No persuasion or conciliation is possible if someone's vital interests are affected. Naturally, no one will declare open warfare on us. However, such war is already under way, involving the use of all, sometimes even most disgusting weapons, including sabotage. We know of cases in which affected "businessmen" have brought some measures taken in the trade area to a point of absurdity, removing from store shelves even most vital items in order to create artificial shortages.

The changes which are taking place in society have brought to light diseases which may have settled firmly into the genes of some people. We must fight such diseases with conviction and uncompromisingly. We must not be tempted to expect that the full and final victory will come any day now. The struggle ahead of us will be long and hard. However, we know how to wage it. Once again, at its January plenum, the party indicated the radical means to be used in this struggle--candor, democracy and openness. It is precisely openness, criticism and self-criticism and control by the masses that are guarantees of the healthy development of Soviet society. Restructuring without openness under socialist conditions is like living without oxygen. However, some people do not like fresh air. They have become accustomed to something else and are unwilling to abandon their habit. They begin to apply pressure. Democracy, they say, is democracy but let the journalists not go overboard. We feel that there is an obvious wish on the part of some comrades to return to those blessed times when they stood above criticism, control or public influence. Such a feeling could be indeed blissful. I shall not argue the point. However, it applied only to those who held positions impervious to criticism rather than to the millions of people who were their subordinates and whom they led. Is there in our country a tool for openness equal to the press?

What I am most concerned with is the fact that sharp criticism in the press and on the radio and television is negatively accepted by a rather large segment of people who are not managers but quite ordinary comrades. They claim to be fed up! It is difficult to have an accurate estimate of how large this group is. Nevertheless, it exists and we should find out how did it suddenly appear and why the rejection of criticism has assumed such a firm place in our way of life. I believe that we, men of culture, are responsible to a certain extent for this sad phenomenon which is inconsistent with the very nature of socialism.

The intelligent and honest picture "My Friend Ivan Lapshin" was shown on television. The reaction to the film was also intelligent and honest. However, many people were angry and indignant: Why did we need this? Developing a taste or, to say the least, stereotypes concerning works of art is a most serious and difficult problem.

I recently filmed something in Penza Oblast, in a large village of approximately 12,000 people. The village has a movie theater whose plan calls for earning 20 rubles daily. Ordinarily, it earns 2 to 3 rubles daily, which means that it cannot even pay for the electric power it consumes. Nonetheless, the plan is fulfilled almost every month. How? By showing heart-rending films, mostly foreign. The moment a beautiful little story about a mad love affair overseas is shown, the theater is crowded with people crying and slobbering... And the plan is fulfilled!

My question is this: Where does this strange, amazingly sentimental attitude toward art come from? Serious works, such as that same "My Friend Ivan Lapshin" or "Road Check" did not have such amazing box office success. How did we manage to kill the taste for fruitful and profound art and become accustomed to superficial nerve-tingling entertainment? In addition to everything else, the popular enjoyed by a motion picture is a very objective indicator of social tonality.

I am no sociologist and I seek answers to touchy problems on the basis of my own experience and personal observations. I believe that not the least important role in this connection was played by all kinds of substitutes, pseudotruthful motion pictures in particular, which have no relation to real life. For 15 years we fed mediocrity to the public and the public lost faith in us. But why is it that mediocrity was able to gain such strong positions? Because in the course of those same 15 years even on the highest levels questions the urgency of which was felt by everyone were not raised. Today the party has mentioned this openly and self-critically. Yes, social life was suppressed, reduced to some kind of stagnating status, which was reflected in art. Not trusting us, the audience rushed to fill up the spiritual vacuum with sentimentality and entertainment. A strong stereotype of avoiding real problems developed.

This started approximately 20 years ago. Once again I fall back on my own chronology. I remember the lines of people waiting to see "The Chairman," and the arguments which raged around the picture, arguments of a political and social nature. There were those who claimed that this was casting aspersion whereas others submitted applications for party membership. The film became a social event which excited the public mind and made the people think.

"The elements of social corrosion which appeared in recent years adversely affected the spiritual tonality of society, somehow imperceptibly eroding the high moral values which had always been part of our people and of which we are proud--ideological convictions, labor enthusiasm and Soviet patriotism," M.S. Gorbachev said at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. He linked these processes to the inevitable decline in interest in public affairs, and manifestations of lack of spirituality, skepticism, consumerism, decline in social mores and other sad realities of the recent past. Alas, such was

indeed the case and we, men of culture, also made our contribution to such processes: we made the people unaccustomed to think, we led them into the world of beautiful irrealities, of a conflict-free, Manilovite existence. A socially passive attitude sunk deep roots and the atrophy of the social nervous system began.

The lowered importance of culture in the development of society affected all areas of life, including economics. A person without culture essentially lives with his ears and eyes shut, hearing or seeing nothing, or wishing to do so. He is not interested. How could we then speak of creativity or broad initiative? Art itself was afflicted with this disease. To a certain extent, we had emasculated it. We had deprived it of its taste and color to such an extent that many people developed a disgust for it, like for a tasteless meal. For decades the people were kept on a spiritual diet. Who needed this? What was achieved? Did we have better crops? Did our goods become competitive on the world market? Did stealing decline? On the contrary! Today we are lancing the boils and breathing has become easier.

As I remember those years and decades, my conclusion is that a very tangible stagnation developed in our awareness, particularly in the awareness of those who had then entered the active age group. Today we cannot ignore the sad and alarming times. We cannot fail to analyze the reasons for the stagnation and its psychological consequences. In the final account, the national character develops under the influence of the social climate in which a society has functioned over a long period of time. Twenty years are a long time, sufficient to mold an entire generation, and when we speak of the present difficulties in psychological restructuring, we must have a clear idea of what precisely should be restructured, what was the reason for the appearance of a given feature in our character and what are the historical conditions which contributed to this. We must not limit ourselves to statements such as things were bad and now they are becoming good. Such a leap is even more dangerous in educating the young although this is already happening. Life must not be reflected in art in a twisted manner for art itself will lose its quality. It is only lofty art that can create a favorable atmosphere in life.

However, one cannot ignore history any more than one could ignore oneself. To embellish or simply to ignore very recent events is both unprincipled and immoral. I am referring to recent years and recent decades. Why be taken for a fool? I experienced those times and I remember perfectly well what was taking place. I must explain frankly and reasonably why it happened, what made this possible, so that I may draw conclusions for myself personally and for the sake of breaking with the old stereotypes however strong they may be. Alas, such stereotypes prevail in many people. What is needed, therefore, is the truth and only the truth. We must not play crooked games with the people. If we write and say what is untrue or if we thoroughly smooth over sharp angles we will not be trusted. We will be ignored. At that point, as in the past, I will neither read nor listen, and all my thoughts and concerns would be concentrated on my own backyard or garden, on my dacha, my garage, or my hobbies. In other words, the well-tried mechanism of obstructing all progress will come into play.

It seems to me that in terms of our attitude toward our history we should beware of political, ideological and psychological shortcuts. History cannot be a deeply hidden secret. I want to know the details of what kind of person Peter the Great was and who was Paul. I want to understand what happened in 1919, 1929 and 1937. I must know this not for the sake of scratching old sores but in order to realize that the destinies of my homeland were not simple. We go on living and we must know our place in our history.

The film "Repentance" is playing. It has opened forbidden doors to Blue Beard's caves... Was it interesting? Yes. Was it necessary? Very much so. Yet according to my observations, young people were quite indifferent to it, not all but many of them. Why? Because they had grown up in a period noted by social passiveness and had not developed a taste for history. I shall not undertake to judge young people strictly, for I do not know them all that well. I feel, however, that most complex processes are developing within them, that strong traditions are hard to eliminate as they have been raised with a distilled presentation of history and in assessing what occurred in their own time.

I recently learned from the television that fights were breaking out regularly in a small town. The children were scared of walking the streets. The Komsomol leadership was asked the reason for this. A young man, wearing a tie, seeming terribly respectable, appeared on the screen. He was able to avoid the sharp question successfully. He said that a plan for taking steps had been drafted and was to be discussed. Meanwhile, however, innocent people were being beaten up. His words were familiar frighteningly familiar.

Art bears a certain share of the blame. It is true that we have learned something or other and done something or other. In his film "The Scarecrow," Roland Bykov exposed frankly and skillfully the roots of cruelty in some young people of today. He did not relish such quirks, for quirks they were, but raised the question: Why?! He answered the question, he made the people think, he stirred millions of viewers. However, some people were displeased: Why display all sorts of horrors?

Today the press is doing the same thing. Once again reaction is mixed. I clearly felt this at the Central Committee Plenum, in many of the speeches. Is the press carrying on excessively? Is it not time to suppress criticism, to "hold back the horses?" I admit that a newspaper may err. To begin with, however, one must acknowledge the error openly. Second, those who disagree must be given the opportunity to answer and to argue. Incidentally, this is what public opinion means, not in words but in reality.

We lost a great deal from the fact that for a long time public opinion was not given broad publicity. Yet it is precisely public opinion that is one of the most necessary prerequisites for the existence and progress of socialism as a system. Every one of us is the master of his country. The opinion of the master means something and should be made known to the public. Remember the great interest and heat with which the question of changing the course of northern rivers or the project for a monument to victory at Poklonnaya Gora in Moscow were discussed. That is what public opinion is, in its natural, its socialist aspect. Today it has enough power to prevent the course of rivers

to be changed or to build an unsuitable monument. Public opinion, embodied in a newspaper article or television program, is a radical and necessary means with which to oppose arbitrary taste or in-camera decisions.

Today we have traced the range of our negatives. However, we must not do this endlessly, noting what is bad or disgusting in our country. We must not keep rehashing something over and over again. One could spoil anything good, the more so since willing and expert people in this area can be found. The time has come for a profound analysis and decisive action.

At the January Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev named talented economic managers who were able to do their work as demanded by our time, with dedication and initiative. Such people include artists, although not too many. The difficulty of finding today people suitable for leading positions was repeatedly mentioned at the plenum. Today's leader absolutely needs qualities which were not valued all that much in the past and which are as categorically counterindicated to features which were overtly or covertly encouraged in the past. A noticeable reassessment of priorities in cadre policy has taken place. This entirely applies to the theater as well.

Our great trouble, which was by no means caused by strictly theater-related reasons alone, is that we trained extremely few serious directors. A tremendous scarcity of such cadres developed and every such director is worth his weight in gold. In general, the profession of a director is unique and that of artistic manager of a theater, even more so. It must combine a variety of human and professional qualities, without which no proper management of a theater group is possible. People like Stanislavskiy, Vakhtangov or Meyerhold are not born every day. However, if a society does not need such talent and if no conditions are provided for determining and developing the capabilities of such people, where would they come from?! Is this not the reason for which theaters, particularly in the outskirts, are experiencing a protracted crisis and that we have an incredibly small number of talented artistic managers? We have art administrators instead. A talented person will not take a theater into a dead end whereas an administrator would find it simplest of all, for he may not have ideas but he has power and a person with power without ideas is fearsome. And not only in the arts.

The party's policy after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum has been aimed at the development of the broadest possible initiative and creativity in all areas of life and at shaping a healthy social atmosphere. It creates the urgent need for talented and innovative people. Naturally, such people existed in the past as well, throwing themselves into desperate attacks against routine and trying to expose the imaginary well-being. However, their time has truly come only now. Here is an example in an area familiar to me: motion pictures which gathered dust on shelves for years and are now shown turn out to be incredibly modern. Some people may consider this a paradox, I personally do not. These pictures were always contemporary, for their main feature was truth. Truth is always contemporary. In order to fulfill their social purpose workers in literature and the theater must sound the alarm. They must be spokesmen rather than lickspittles or prosperous time-serving officials. Art educates people in its own image and semblance. This is

inevitable. Whatever the twists and turns, people go to the movies, read books and, even more so, watch television.

We are currently receiving many letters on the subject of the four-part TV film "Features of V.I. Lenin's Portrait." In this case it is not a question of how successful or unsuccessful I was, but of the people's shock at Lenin's frank discussions on the screen. In my view, this political film is quite traditional. However, Lenin's thoughts, his search for a solution to difficult and sometimes desperate situations, and his human assessments of critical conditions all turn to be extremely attractive. Why? Because for quite some time people were deprived of this. What their letters mainly deal with is not the way I performed a role I cherished but how necessary, how vitally needed such a discussion was. Lenin's concerns and anguish are quite similar to our present anguish and concern, which were so clearly sounded at the January Central Committee Plenum. And when the assessment of today's difficulties come from Lenin's mouth, very well documented, this is a tremendous spiritual prop, a spiritual weapon of real restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum confirmed that restructuring becomes real, difficult, conflicting and painful to some but nevertheless a reality. Perhaps more emphatically than in any other area of social life this applies to cultural life in the country. Remember the stormy sessions at the congress of cinematographers and writers, the critical, excited and daring speeches and the open clash of opinions in the search for a solution to stagnation and for the sake of progress in Soviet art. What about the story of the establishment of the Union of Theater Workers which, if judged by the old standards, would seem incredible? Does it not confirm the fact that a new quality has been established in our social life? The initiated theater reform indicates not as a mirror but as though through a magnifying glass, the most urgent need and sharp angles of restructuring. A fierce struggle is under way. There are open opponents of innovation but there also are convinced and courageous innovators. For example, G. Tovstonogov himself suggested that he was prepared to compete once every 3 years in front of a theater company and, unless garnering two-thirds of the vote, that same day would yield his position as artistic manager of the theater for lack of confidence.

I am convinced that it is precisely on such a basis that the competitive system in the theater must be structured. For the time being, however, its only purpose is to expel idling actors. Naturally, it is necessary to get rid of people without talent, the weak. However, this does not solve creative problems. Improving and cleansing our stage must begin at the head, not the tail. No special theoretical reasons for this are necessary. This is a universal principle. Remember how Chekhov's Vanka Zhukov was reprimanded for starting to clean the herring from the tail.

All that was heard at the January Central Committee Plenum applies to culture as much as to industry. Understandably, it is faster to remake a machine than a human mind. It is also true that such remaking is not always possible. We have already heard enough about our unfortunate combines which may be heavier, slower or worse than others. Nonetheless, it is easier to redesign a machine than a human soul. Years saturated with intensive social life must pass before a great deal falls into the norm consistent with a socialist society,

in which man is not a cog but a creator. The theater, our entire art, must become the party's tireless aid. The economy cannot be restructured without a spiritual cleansing.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, calls for openness, democratization, self-government and creative self-expression. This is the only way leading to the healing of society and the only possibility of pulling out of stagnation. No other possibility exists. Nothing practical can be created by working in a swamp. A swamp is a swamp, it is muddy, stinking, stagnant water. The party teaches us dynamism, purity and honesty. Continuing with this train of thought, the water must flow, must be cleansing. I repeat, however, that many people are resisting, pulling toward the old stereotypes, trying to squeeze the restructuring within them. They will fail.

Naturally, it is depressing to hear endlessly about our shortcomings. What are we, a people without talent? Lazy? History has proved that this is not at all the case. Therefore, something is obstructing us and drastic measures are needed; we must bring our weight to bear as we have frequently done in times crucial to the destinies of our homeland.

That is why all healthy forces in society are in favor of restructuring. We are not short of experience in revolutionism and democracy. We will get rid of the old stereotypes and we have already begun to do so. I said this at the January Plenum. The fact that it was unusual has been extensively mentioned and written about. I experienced this personally. I did not intend to speak and had not announced this to anyone. The very course of the debates on the speech and the circumstance of frank discussion created this need. I sent a note to the presidium and 30 minutes later I was given the floor.

Restructuring, as was noted at the plenum, is not a walk on a trodden path. It is climbing a mountain, frequently following untrodden paths. May this climb be daring and uninterrupted.

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CSO: 1802/11

STRATEGIC TURN: LESSONS FROM THE APRIL THESES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 58-67

[Article by Pavel Vasilyevich Volobuyev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, head of the Problem Group at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History of the Natural Sciences and Technology]

[Text] Seventy years ago, on 4 (17) April 1917, returning to Petrograd from exile, V.I. Lenin drafted a short program which was drastically to change the development and course of both Russian and world history. This refers to the famous April theses, which were published 3 days later in the bolshevik PRAVDA, under the heading "On the Tasks of the Proletariat in This Revolution." Materialized in the historical victory of the Great October Revolution, to this day they strike us with their theoretical power, daring scientific forecast and decisive conversion of the theoretical concepts of Marxism to the level of revolutionary practice and the sociohistorical creativity of millions of people.

It is particularly relevant and instructive today to turn to the Leninist theses and their political and methodological lessons, at a time when a profound revolutionary restructuring is taking place, the purpose of which is to take the land of the soviets on the path of renovated socialist development, in the way the initial revolutionary transformations opened to the country the path to socialism. Despite the substantial changes in general conditions and factors of the global revolutionary process, the April theses retain their methodological significance, which is relevant to the contemporary stage in the struggle of the peoples for social and national liberation, as a model of innovation in revolutionary theory and practice and the high art of politics.

Let us briefly recall the specific historical context of that unique crucial epoch. In 1917 Russia found itself on a fork in the roads of history. The February bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had overthrown tsarism, had opened to the country several choices of political and socioeconomic development. The question was the following: will it follow the old capitalist way or the way of developing the bourgeois democratic into a socialist revolution, a revolution which would lead to socialism? A victory of the land owner-bourgeois counterrevolution did not exclude a return to the monarchy. The objective situation and the entire course of events urgently

demanded of the political parties and their leaders new and daring strategic solutions to many grave and complex problems.

The point is that the February revolution, although it made Russia one of the progressive countries in the world at that time in terms of its political system, was by no means able to solve the most profound contradictions which had become tangled in a tight knot and which were at the foundations of the crisis in Russian society. The discontent of the popular masses with the bourgeois policy of pursuing the imperialist war reflected, in its most concentrated fashion, the contradiction between Russian imperialism and the overwhelming majority of the people. This contradiction aggravated all others, primarily the one between labor and capital, which had become monstrously enriched by the war waged between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, suppressed by capitalism. The unsolved agrarian problem worsened the conflict between the majority of the population, the peasantry, and a handful of semi-feudal landowners. Contradictions between the expectations of Russia's ethnic groups and the great-power chauvinistic policy of the Russian bourgeoisie remained extremely grave. Another contradiction was the one between the aspiration of the masses for a truly democratic system and the position held by the Russian bourgeoisie which did everything possible to hinder the democratic process. In short, the political, social and economic crisis was so deep that it was virtually impossible to surmount with usual bourgeois reformist means. Lenin could claim with full justification that "there is no reform which can take us out of the crisis, out of the war and dislocation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 407).

The bourgeois parties, which were trying above all to preserve and strengthen the capitalist order, to bring the war to its "victorious end," and to shift all burdens of the crisis on the people's masses, proved organically incapable of becoming the ideological and material bearers of bourgeois-reformist development. Nor could the petit-bourgeois parties--mensheviks and S.R.--offer anything to the people, oriented as they were toward Western bourgeois democracy which, they believed, would eventually give birth to an initiative for social change. The popular masses--workers, peasants and soldiers--who had made the February revolution thirsted for a renovation and improvement of their lives, for radical change and social justice; they wanted peace, land and bread and true democracy.

The sharp revolutionary turn in sociopolitical developments to a new socialist way became a vital need for a country which was being strangled in the clutches of imperialist war and economic dislocation. What were needed, were Lenin's genius and daring to look at this need, to see within it a practical solution to the extremely difficult, the critical situation and, secondly, to call upon the proletariat and the entire people fearlessly to move ahead, to socialism. The historical significance of the April theses was precisely that they brilliantly perceived this imminent socialist alternative to capitalism and defined in accurate scientific formulas the task of converting from the first, the bourgeois-democratic state of the revolution, which had put the bourgeoisie in power, to the second, socialist stage, the purpose of which was to put the power in the hands of the proletariat.

In outlining in the April theses and in the cycle of works which intensified and concretized their ideas, the new, the "true way to revolution" (op cit., vol 31, p 455), V.I. Lenin proceeded not only from the internal conditions of the country's development but also from the sober assessment of the nature of the new historical age and the international significance of the Russian Revolution. It was precisely this circumstance which ascribed to the theoretical and practical solution of the revolutionary problems of the Russian proletariat and its party their universal historical significance and permanent relevance.

The advent of the age of imperialism, which confirmed that the world capitalist system was ripe for socialist change, now opened favorable opportunities for its peripheral areas, where capitalism was less advanced. The first world war, which, as Lenin said, was the "omnipotent 'director'," and "powerful booster" (ibid, p 13) of the course of universal history, not only intensified the ripening of the objective, the material prerequisites for a socialist revolution, but also put it on the agenda. The social and governmental organization of capitalism began to crack up under the strikes of the war; the tremendous material and human losses, and the suffering and disasters of millions of people radicalized the masses.

Lenin was the first Marxist to realize that the World War, as the offspring of imperialism and militarism, armed with modern tools of destruction, was a terrible warning to all mankind of the danger of destruction of entire countries and nations. The dialectics of history was such that the general democratic problem of the antiwar struggle could be solved only with a socialist revolution. It is no accident that, in defining the attitude of the working class and the bolshevik party toward the imperialist war, Lenin asserted in the first of his April theses, to the effect that "... it is impossible to end the war with a truly democratic rather than coerced peace without the overthrow of capitalism" (ibid, p 114). It was thus that for the first time the inseparable link between the struggle for peace and against war and the struggle for a socialist reorganization of society came to light.

This tactic--linking the struggle for peace with that for socialism--brilliantly proved its accuracy under the specific historical conditions of that time. It allowed the bolshevik party to channel the powerful general democratic movement against war in the direction of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. That is why the April theses will remain forever a blend of the concept of "peace" and "socialism."

The ideas of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, the role and the place of the soviets in the revolution, the new social structure and the methods of work among the masses (second, fourth and fifth theses) are the core of the April theses. At that the leader of the bolshevik party arrived, these problems had become quite crucial by virtue of their theoretical and, particularly, practical and political significance. The position of the mensheviks and the S.R. was the same: they were unwilling to go beyond and orderly bourgeois system; despite their praises of the soviets, they did not consider them as being of any governmental importance in the future.

The bolshevik party, which emerged from clandestinity after the February revolution, mounted a tremendous effort among the masses in explaining the imperialist nature of the war, rallying the working people around the soviets and exposing the antinational nature of the policy of the Provisional Government. As a whole, as the All-Russian Conference of Party Workers indicated (27 March - 2 April 1917), it supported the already obsolete platform of further development and intensification of the democratic revolution. Fluctuations existed on a number of important problems (such as the attitude toward the Provisional Government); above all, prior to Lenin's arrival, the importance of the soviets had not been clearly realized and the alternative of socialism or capitalism, clarified. Lenin's April theses exposed the gnosiological roots of the lagging in the party and in its slogans behind the course of events and the sharp turn in history.

On the question of the future of the revolution, some party workers were holding the "old bolshevik" positions of 1905, believing that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had still not ended, for it had not led to the establishment of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship by the proletariat and the peasantry. Thinking in terms of obsolete stereotypes and failing to understand the nature of the new historical age, they reduced the forthcoming tasks of the proletariat and its party to the struggle for the further advancement of the democratic revolution to its "logical end," in accordance with the 1905 formula. Proceeding essentially from semi-menshevik positions, some party leaders believed that, considering the country's unpreparedness for a transition to socialism, it was premature to raise the question of the growth of the revolution into a socialist one and that socialism should initially prevail in the highly developed capitalist countries in the West. The party also included people who suffered from revolutionary impatience and who, ignoring objective conditions, were ready to call the masses to the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government. In substantiating the need for a transition from the first bourgeois-democratic state of the revolution to the second, the socialist stage, in his April theses and many other works which supplemented them, V.I. Lenin set models of Marxist methodology in the study of reality. This analysis was based on dialectics, which was the living soul of the April theses. In criticizing the erroneous views of his fellow-party workers, Lenin exposed their basic methodological fault: alienation from reality and failure to understand its real contradictions and conflicting trends and the new correlation between classes and political forces. It is unworthy of Marxists, he pointed out, to repeat a "senselessly memorized formula instead of studying the features of the new, living reality." He also said that "... in considering the moment, the Marxist must proceed not from what is possible but from reality." He must "learn from real life and the accurate facts of reality rather than continue to cling to yesterday's theory which, like any other theory, can at best indicate basic and common features and is merely an approximation to perceiving the complexities of life" (ibid., pp 133-135). The most important thing to a Marxist in the study of reality is to take into consideration the new correlation among class forces. It was this methodology that allowed Lenin to establish that, as a whole, the bolshevik slogans and ideas had been entirely confirmed by history but that their specific developments were different from what was expected. They were more original, more varied.

Actually, the second bourgeois-democratic revolution created an unparalleled intertwining of powers: the power of the bourgeoisie, represented by the Provisional Government, and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, represented by the soviets. The result was not a simple "monochromatic" picture, as Lenin defined it, but a complex "two-color" reality (see *ibid.*, p 139). The 1905 formula could not have anticipated such an outcome to the revolution, for which reason it had become obsolete. Meanwhile, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 had not only approached, although in an original manner, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but had also revealed a trend toward its development into a socialist revolution. The soviets were a step toward socialism (see *ibid.*, pp 109, 356). In order for the party to be able to move the revolution forward it had to free itself from the burden of theoretical stereotypes, which had been accurate in their time but were no longer consistent with new developments.

As to references to the need to "wait a while" before the proletariat would seize the power until the socialist revolution in the West had begun, Lenin defined such a system of views as a parody of Marxism, for the latter rejects in principle any kind of sequence in the conversion of one country or another to socialism (see *ibid.*, p 363). At the same time, he firmly opposed any voluntaristic anticipation and skipping the necessary stages of development, or urging on the revolutionary process, justifiably considering this a dangerous subjectivism in politics. Thus, Lenin convincingly proved that Trotsky's slogan "without a tsar and with a worker government" would have meant a leap toward "pure" dictatorship of the proletariat contrary to the wishes of the peasant majority. To an equal extent untimely calls for the overthrow of the Provisional Government erred on the side of Blanquism and adventurism.

It is pertinent to note in this connection that bourgeois Marxologists, who are trying to pit Lenin against Marx, keep accusing him of converting in theory and practice to voluntaristic positions, different from Marx's strict determinism. Nothing could be falsier than this version. More than anyone else, throughout his entire life Lenin struggled against voluntarism and subjectivism, which he considered as fatal to the cause of the revolution and socialism as dogmatism, revisionism or marking time.

Therefore, the most important methodological lesson of the April theses is that it directed the party toward the creative development of Marxist theory on the basis of a profound study of live and developing reality, new processes and phenomena and summation of the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, teaching us to wage a tireless struggle against dogmatic thinking and making theoretical concepts consistent with new objective circumstances without delay.

The main role in the Leninist plan of struggle for conversion from a bourgeois-democratic to a socialist revolution was assigned to the soviets--the mass political organizations of the working people and the result of the revolutionary creativity of the Russian proletariat. The people's masses justifiably considered the soviets agencies of true democracy. Lenin shared this view. He called upon the party to explain to the masses that soviets are

"the only possible form of revolutionary government" (ibid., p 115) similar to what the Paris Commune was in its time. Loyal to the creative spirit of Marxism, and drawing from the people's creativity material for new theoretical conclusions, Lenin formulated his fifth thesis: not a parliamentary republic, for returning to it from the social-revolutionary democracy would be a step backward, but a republic of soviets of worker, farmhand and peasant deputies, throughout the country, from top to bottom (ibid.). This was the summation of a long and intensive Leninist search for the most expedient form of proletarian governmental system in Russia. Lenin was entirely confident that the people, faced with the choice of having either a republic of soviets or an ordinary parliamentary bourgeois republic, would choose a republic of soviets and socialism. The prime duty of the bolshevik party, in his view, was to help the people to start organizing soviets immediately and everywhere, and to "put all life in their hands" and thus to facilitate their task of "choosing in favor of a republic of soviets of worker and peasant deputies" (ibid., p 164).

It was on the basis of the April theses that the famous slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" was raised and became the main political slogan of the bolsheviks for virtually the entire period of the revolution. Adopted and gradually mastered by the masses, it clearly proved the manner in which in a revolutionary age theory directly converts into political practice and party slogans become a powerful booster of the revolutionary action of millions of people.

This is yet another methodological lesson to be learned from Lenin's theses: it is only the live creativity of the masses and revolutionary initiative and energy that guarantee success in revolutionary change. The course of comprehensive enhancement of the human factor in the acceleration of socioeconomic development, proclaimed at the 27th CPSU Congress is, as we can see, based on old bolshevik traditions.

In order to substantiate the historical purpose of the soviets, initially as organs of revolutionary-democratic and, subsequently, proletarian statehood, Lenin used a variety of approaches to explain their origin, role and place in the revolution. First of all, he emphasized, the idea of a soviet system came from the very depths of the people's consciousness. It was a manifestation of the sociohistorical creativity of the masses. Indeed, the soviets were truly democratic in terms of their "social origin," scope of representativeness and methods, nature and trend of activities. They were more democratic than any bourgeois-democratic institution. They could and did ensure the broadest possible democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Second, Lenin considered the soviets the best form of people's socialist self-government. They not only meant the direct and broad participation of the masses "in democratic building of all state life from top to bottom," but also allowed the people independently to create "democracy in their own way" (ibid., p 163). He believed that in general, as agencies of true popular self-government, they could meet the vital needs of the people and administer governmental affairs better than the agencies of the bourgeois state. Third, for all these reasons it was precisely the soviets that made inseparably linking democracy with socialism possible. Socialism has an imminent need for democracy. Without it it cannot function normally. Furthermore, without it

it is threatened by serious deformations or even the possibility of degenerating into a bureaucratic-authoritarian regime. Conversely, outside socialism true democracy remains nothing but a pious wish.

Last but not least, proceeding from the Marxist theory of the state, Lenin reached the conclusion that building a new proletarian state of the soviet type would give priority to the question of dismantling the old bourgeois governmental structure and its apparatus. We read in the April theses: "Elimination of police, army and bureaucracy. The salaries of all officials, who must be elected and who can be replaced at any time, must not exceed the average wage of a good worker" (ibid., p 115).

As we know, like Marx and Engels, Lenin believed that a standing army, as an attribute of the bourgeois state, should be replaced by the universal arming of the people. However, the experience of the civil war, followed by the threat of imperialist aggression, on the one hand, and the development of military technology, on the other, forced the Soviet communists to abandon this concept and take the path of establishing and strengthening a regular army as the defender of the toiling people. As to the police, after the October Revolution it was totally abolished and replaced by a people's militia.

The question of the elimination of the bureaucracy proved much more difficult. The sharply negative views toward bureaucrats expressed by the founders of scientific communism are well known. In that same 1917, Lenin wrote that regardless of political form, "the real work of administration in the bourgeois states is in the hands of a huge army of officials. This army is totally imbued with an anti-democratic spirit,... surrounded by an atmosphere of bourgeois relations, breathing that atmosphere exclusively; it has become frozen, ossified, linked with respect for rank and certain 'state' service privileges...." (op cit., vol 34, pp 202-203). Lenin was well aware of how disliked Russian officialdom was by the people, for it was incompetent, uncontrolled, irresponsible and corrupt. What to do with such "legacy?"

Unlike anarchy, Marxism proceeds from a recognition of the historical need for a state as a tool for building and developing the new socialist society, a tool which protects it from attempts from the outside, a tool for suppressing the overthrown exploiting classes. Although such a state (soviet, in this case) is of an essentially different social type, it cannot, any more than any contemporary state, do without a corresponding administrative machinery, i.e., without employees, without officials. Starting with the April theses (and even earlier, in the course of the preparatory work on the book "The State and Revolution"), Lenin persistently sought guarantees against the omnipotence of officials in a future socialist society, finding them in their elective and replaceable nature, in depriving them of special privileges, in putting them under the control of the "lower strata"--the people's masses, etc.

The soviets have gone a long way since the April theses. Having become the agencies of socialist statehood after the October Revolution, and undergoing difficult trials, they withstood the test of time and proved their viability. However, the extent of their activeness and democratic nature was not always the same. Bureaucratic excesses and distortions did not bypass the soviet

state apparatus; in recent years, many of its inflated units became one of the main components of the "mechanism of hindering" social development, which was discussed at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Today, when our country is solving problems of the further democratization of society and the state, the all-round development of socialist self-government by the people and surmounting bureaucratism, Lenin's ideas are a manual for action.

In developing the question of Russia's way to socialism, Lenin set as its cornerstone the interest of the people's masses and sought in real life the most painless way to all for a conversion to a new social system. We are familiar with his idea of the possibility of a peaceful development of the revolution. Lenin considered the possibility of such a development of the revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution exceptionally rare historically, for which reason also as extremely valuable (see *ibid.*, pp 135-222). The formulation of this idea itself clearly refutes the fabrications of the opponents of Marxism according to which the leader of the bolsheviks raised violence and civil war to the level of an absolute.

A sober analysis of the correlation of class forces led to the conclusion that profiting from the fact the Provisional Government had no reliable armed forces, and under the pressure of the people's masses, the soviets could peacefully assume power and put an end to the twin power system. Mensheviks and S.R. could assume control over the government stemming from the soviets and turn it, in terms of its class nature, into a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Such an outcome of the struggle for power would have enabled the masses to correct their own errors through personal experience: to lose faster their faith in the bourgeoisie and its government (it was no accident that in his third thesis Lenin called for refusing any support of and trust in the Provisional Government, see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 31, p 114), also denying them to the conciliationist parties of the mensheviks and the S.R. This was one aspect of the peaceful development of the revolution. The second was that the struggle among classes and parties within ruling soviets could take place peacefully, in a civilized manner. In the course of such a struggle the bolsheviks, having won the majority of the people's masses on their side and, therefore, in the soviets, would have established their leading position within them, making the soviets agencies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "In order to assume the power," Lenin wrote, "the conscientious workers must win the majority over on their side: as long as the masses are not coerced, no other way to power exists. We are not Blanquists; we do not support a minority coup. We are Marxists and supporters of a proletarian class struggle...." (*ibid.*, p 147). According to Lenin, winning over the majority of the working people on the side of the bolshevik party called for taking into consideration the extent to which the masses were prepared to solve a revolutionary problem; it required patient, persistent and skillful explanatory work among the masses, and a substantiated criticism of the conciliationist policy of mensheviks and S.R. The party's leader believed that every bolshevik "should become an agitator, a propagandist and a booster of our party" (*op cit.*, vol 32, p 51).

Consequently, the important methodological lesson of the April theses is the following: in order to win over the politically active majority of the working people on the side of the revolutionary party (a basic condition

without which the victory of a popular revolution is impossible) persistent political work among the masses is necessary as well as a consideration of the extent of their preparedness and awareness as they acquire political experience. This has been confirmed by the practical experience of all liberation revolutions in the 20th century.

As we know, it was by the fault of the menshevik and S.R. leadership that the possibility of a peaceful power transition to the soviets was lost. The immediate negative consequences of this were analyzed by Lenin. In retrospect, however, one could note even longer-term dramatic consequences of the lost opportunity of peaceful development of the revolution: our country had to advance toward socialism down a more difficult and painful way, through armed uprising and civil war. Although Lenin's idea of a peaceful development of the revolution was not implemented in 1917, it nevertheless proved vital, for it was adopted by the global communist movement.

The concept of the revolutionary-democratic way to socialism, formulated by Lenin in the April theses and in particular detail in the autumn of 1917, is of special interest. In the context of Lenin's works it is related to substantiating the possibility of a peaceful development of the revolution. Unquestionably, however, it goes beyond that and is of general theoretical significance. According to Lenin, the transfer of state power to the soviets as agencies of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry through political means would have meant entering the revolutionary-democratic path to socialism. The revolutionary-democratic government, based on the soviets, would have implemented an economic system of daring structural changes which would have undermined the domination of big capital and strengthened the role and significance of the working class in society. In terms of their nature, such steps were not socialist yet but revolutionary-democratic and, as such, transitional, leading to socialism.

The party's economic tasks were formulated in the sixth, seventh and eighth theses. Lenin's socioeconomic program was innovative methodologically as well: It was the first to reflect the dialectical interconnection and gradual nature of the democratic and socialist steps he had discovered and, second, it stipulated not the immediate march of the country toward socialism but a system of transitional measures and steps leading to it. For example, the agrarian program found in the April theses included both general democratic requirements (confiscation of all landed estates and nationalization of all the land, which was already a step toward socialism), as well as requirements of a socialist type (setting up special soviets of farmhand deputies and soviets of deputies of the poorest peasantry and organizing model state farms at each big landed estate). However, by August 1917, having studied the peasant demands, Lenin called upon the party to shift the center of gravity in its agrarian policy to support for the revolutionary-democratic program of the peasantry (preservation of petty peasant farming, equal utilization of the land, etc.), although it was of an S.R. nature. This timely shifting of emphases in the party's agrarian program yielded rich results, ensuring the proletarian revolution's support of a peasant revolution against the landowners. It was precisely through the struggle for democratic demands, important to and understood by the toiling peasants, that they were led into active participation in the struggle for a soviet system and socialism.

Consequently, the April theses teach us not only flexibility in policy and the ability to maneuver but also a proper combination and gradual solution of general democratic and socialist problems. This lesson is relevant to this day to the communist parties in capitalist countries and the revolutionary-democratic parties in the third world.

In the April theses Lenin solved the most difficult theoretical problem of translating the general Marxist formulas of a socialist revolution and socialism into the language of specific steps and live revolutionary practices applicable to the conditions of a specific country--Russia. We saw this in the example of the soviet form of proletarian statehood he discovered. In economics, as a dialectician, he took into consideration the characteristics of the "two-color" reality which had "combined in practice in Russia unions in industry, and petty peasant farming in the countryside" (op cit., vol 32, p 293). In other words, material prerequisites for socialism existed at the "command heights" of the country's economy but not in agriculture, burdened by the vestiges of feudalism. Logically, this meant that socialism could not be established directly and immediately in Russia and that the proletariat "could not set for itself the goal of immediate implementation of a socialist change" (op cit., vol 31, p 451). Socialism however, Lenin believed, was entirely possible by urgently implementing a number of transitional measures and steps of a new type, such as the merger of all banks into one and state control over it, or else their nationalization, nationalization of syndicates, of trade secrets, nationalization of the land, etc. Combined, they made it possible to establish accountability and control by the state over public production and the distribution of products. According to Lenin, however, all of these steps were also the most important means of struggle against economic dislocation. That is why the April theses were a revolutionary program for rescuing the country from national catastrophe.

Therefore, the forthcoming transition to socialism was considered not as some kind of supernatural "leap into the unknown," but as a practical solution to the crisis of the bourgeois-land-owning system, coming out of the dead end in which the country found itself in 1917, i.e., as a specific answer to specific problems of its social development.

Let us note yet another aspect of Lenin's program of transitional measures and steps to socialism. As early as the April theses and in other works, in developing the question of accountability and control, Lenin threw a bridge toward comprehensive accountability and control as the basis for the functioning of a socialist economy. A reminder of these ideas is all the more relevant today, when the party, having rejected the system of replacing one set of accounts with another, has launched extensive efforts to restore the economic development of the fundamental Leninist principle that "socialism means accountability."

The dialectical approach to Russian reality and the program of transitional measures and steps to socialism based on it enabled Lenin decisively to reject the dogmatic incantations of the mensheviks on Russia's immaturity for socialism and on economic dislocation and backwardness as an insurmountable obstacle on the way to socialism. Conversely, he proved that it is only a break with capitalism and the socialist renovation of the country that would

release the powerful popular forces and open an opportunity for putting an end to dislocation within the shortest possible time and surmounting economic and cultural backwardness. As we know, this prediction was fully justified.

The ninth thesis dealt with internal party problems. At a sharp turn in history, party ranks had to be strengthened and the party members had to be armed with a clear understanding of the new historical tasks. It was precisely for that reason that Lenin called for mandatorily convening a party congress and, in particular, revising and adopting its new program and changing the party's name. Instead of being social democratic, which was scientifically inaccurate and a name which was, furthermore, shamed by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International, according to its leader, the bolshevik party should take the name of communist. However, this suggestion was accepted only in 1918, at the 7th Party Congress.

V.I. Lenin believed that the international obligations of the Russian working class, which found itself at the cutting edge of the global revolutionary movement, "are assuming priority with particular emphasis" (ibid., p 169). In this connection, in his final and tenth thesis he called upon the bolshevik party to assume the initiative of rallying all revolutionary-internationalist forces in the international workers movement by creating a new, a Third International. Two years later this Leninist idea as well was implemented.

After a discussion within the party, through the press and in the party organizations, as the expression of the collective thinking of the party, the ideas of Lenin's April theses were approved at the 7th (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP(b) Conference, which was held on 24-27 April (7-12 May) 1917 in Petrograd. This completed the formulation of the new strategic course and marked a sharp turn in policy from the line of continuation and intensification of the democratic revolution to a conversion to a socialist revolution.

Time has no power over Lenin's thoughts. Today as well, in making a new strategic choice--the party's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and restructuring--again and again we turn to V.I. Lenin's creative laboratory, drawing from his legacy most valuable lessons of scientific analysis of the phenomena of reality and a truly innovative approach to the solution of most complex theoretical and practical problems. In this sense, a classical work of Marxism-Leninism--the April theses--lives and acts in the revolutionary-transforming accomplishments of our days and is a reliable guideline in the struggle for peace and social progress at the present stage in global development.

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CSO: 1802/11

RESTRUCTURING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. SURVEY OF RESPONSES AND SUGGESTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 68-79

[Text] Following the publication of the article "Social Sciences on the Level of the New Requirements of Life" (KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1986) by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, the editors invited the readers and the broad scientific public to exchange views on the basic problems of restructuring in the social sciences and comprehensively to discuss possibilities of upgrading their efficiency and strengthening their ties with life.

The study of the initial responses received by the editors indicates at least two interrelated phenomena. The overwhelming majority of specialists are dissatisfied with the conditions of sociological research (in their ideological-theoretical and organizational aspects); they realize the need for radical restructuring and no one is in a hurry to report that such restructuring has been successfully completed in any given area. Furthermore, the outlines of the future restructuring are still insufficiently clear. Whereas its general principles are more or less understood, the ways of their implementation are either poorly concretized or are mired in a number of individual features. Furthermore, very regrettably, the new practical experience on the basis of which confident progress is possible, is quite modest and limited.

Should we hasten our search? On the one hand, as V.I. Lenin tirelessly emphasized, haste and a sweeping style are the most harmful in matters of science and culture; on the other, the real problem of the contemporary crucial stage in the life of socialist society leaves us no time to act leisurely. Under these circumstances, the editors deem it their task, by summing up responses and suggestions, to single out within them a number of main trends, to analyze them and thus to contribute to the more profound collective interpretation of the future development of the social sciences and to encourage the formulation of new ideas.

This is a time for most severe trials for the social scientists. They must undertake a profound and radical restructuring in their thinking. The Communist Party has formulated the basic problems and tasks of the social sciences and their implementation depends on the direction in which the thinking of the social scientists will be oriented and the way the course of

acceleration, restructuring and democratization of society is understood and, therefore, pursued. "The new style of thinking which all of us must master is dialectical..." M.S. Gorbachev said at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Sciences Departments.

Such thoughts are expressed by A.D. Ursul, Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences vice president: "The vector of restructuring in the thinking of social scientists is oriented toward the creative development and application of a truly dialectical method. I point this out not in the least as an indication that they have either forgotten dialectical thinking or else pushed it into the background. In our view, a new way of thinking is new precisely because it constitutes the next step in the development of dialectical thinking. It is not a question of the discovery of some kind of new laws of dialectics but of including the "acceleration," "restructuring" and other categories within philosophy. This is not to say that the current stage of revolutionary renovation will not affect the categorial foundations of philosophical knowledge, for it is more than likely that it will."

"I believe that, on the one hand, we must restore dialectical thinking, wherever it was forgotten and, on the other, enrich the already existing dialectical potential. It is no secret that some philosophers consider dialectical thinking as something which was established many decades ago, reducing it merely to its classical background. Unquestionably, this is important and we must be guided in our actions, in determining our future development by the fundamental truths within which the experience of the past is concentrated (an experience which many people have by no means mastered yet). However, those who, entrapped by the theoretical conclusions of the past, which they have mastered only superficially, on the level of phenomena related to the present, are making no effort to look deeper into the essence of contemporary processes are profoundly mistaken."

"The dialectical potential and way of thinking which we have accumulated, unless enriched with the progressive practice of contemporary life, gradually turns into its opposite and becomes dogmatized. It no longer speeds up but slows down our progress, developing it in an extensive direction."

"Obviously, the elimination of such phenomena of crisis in the thinking of social scientists presumes the restoration of the truly dialectical method of thinking and creative development and, above all, strengthening the link between theory and practice, which is essentially dialectical. It is important to apply all available means of mastering a dialectical way of thinking and reflecting in our minds the dialectics of life."

The new way of thinking, being truly dialectical, must be manifested above all in the formulation of new approaches to the solution of topical theoretical problems. We feel particularly urgently the need for new approaches in the area of basic social sciences which deal with summations on a very high level. What should be done, for example, to prevent philosophy in its extreme abstractions, from becoming alienated from life? These are the thoughts expressed by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S.G. Borshchov, head of department at the Saratov Higher Party School: "The study of the nature of philosophical concepts and laws based on human activities, on practice, and

not only on an 'ontological' approach, can greatly advance the enrichment of our outlook with philosophical ideas. In the study of matter and the basic forms of its existence our concepts of motion, space, time and reflection will become more extensive and accurate if we consider within them the correlation between objective processes and changes which our practical experience makes in them.

The enrichment of philosophical concepts on the basis of the study of activities is subordinate, as is anything else in the world, to the effect of universal laws, which is most relevant today in the realm of the attitude of the people toward objective contradictions within nature and society. Here we are bluntly faced with the need to clarify problems related to the mechanism of the motive role of contradictions, their utilization and assessment, and many others. In particular, the only way through which we can reach a conclusion on the specific nature of social contradictions is that of considering them in the closest possible connection with human activities. Obviously, this means that social contradictions create historical changes only through human activities, motivating people to engage in specific actions in specific directions. Therefore, social progress is less the result of the effect of contradictions than a product of human activities related to contradictions. Once it has become clear that one contradiction or another leads to certain changes in social life, this means that it leads the people to making such changes."

The study of contradictions in social development, as related to human activities, calls for the development and skillful application of a class approach. This is particularly necessary in understanding the processes occurring in the international arena. "The study of the problems of war and peace in the contemporary age," writes Yu.M. Belyakov, candidate of philosophical sciences (Moscow), "means the study of war and peace in their inevitable link with the class struggle. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle scientifically proves that contradictions between exploiters and exploited and between antagonistic classes are irreconcilable, which excludes any possibility of a class peace between the contemporary imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, V.I. Lenin scientifically proved that peace among governments, between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the socialist working class in the international arena, is historically necessary and possible. The tremendous destructive force of contemporary weaponry does not eliminate the effect of the law of the class struggle but, conversely, determines the historical need for a class struggle for peace among governments and for peaceful coexistence as the only acceptable form of solving the basic contradiction of the age."

The other pole in the philosophical analysis of social processes is the life of the person as an individual, the uniqueness of his individuality. "Philosophy," writes Professor L.N. Kogan, doctor of philosophical sciences (Sverdlovsk), "is not simply a doctrine of the world but of the place of man in the world. Man has always been, is and will remain the main object of philosophy! Unfortunately, it is precisely man in the entire wealth of his social relations that is extremely scantily represented in the current training curriculums in the social sciences, in the higher schools and the political self-education system. An entire series of age-old philosophical

and conceptual problems have either been "farmed out" to ethics and scientific atheism or else have been totally excluded from curriculums and programs.

"Let us consider, for example, the question of man's life, the so-called problem of 'destiny.' Popular publications and courses in scientific communism tell us that under socialist conditions every person makes his own life according to his own will and wish. In principle this answer is true in the sense that there neither is nor could there be any predetermined 'destiny' of a person and everyone is a participant in the most complex process of creativity--the making of his own life. However, under socialist conditions this creativity is determined by social necessity, by the needs of society which man cannot ignore. Finally, a man's life is also determined by previous actions for which he must pay extensively. 'One cannot avoid one's fate. In other words, one cannot avoid the inevitable consequences of one's own actions,' Engels wrote (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, p 388). The life of an individual depends, to a certain extent, on the specific social environment in which he was shaped and in which he developed. The implementation of plans for life could be hindered by unforeseen accidents, misfortunes, illness, etc. In short, creativity in one's life cannot be achieved as simply as presented in a number of popular pamphlets and even in some scientific works. It is no accident that popular among some modern young people are various types of horoscopes, fortune-telling and belief in the possibility of predicting one's 'destiny.'"

"Philosophy must provide accurate answers to such questions which must be included in training courses. In order to avoid improper interpretations, we should emphasize that the study of such problems should not take place at the expense of any currently offered course or 'alongside' courses, but in a state of close and inseparable interconnection, for necessity and accident are intertwined in human life. Man always finds himself in a situation of having to make a choice among different possibilities. He must be able to understand the cause and effect link of events in his own life, and so on. Since the 1930s in our course in dialectical materialism we have paid great attention to the natural sciences but extremely poor one to man. In the light of the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress, the problems of the increased role of the human factor must be presented in all (with no exception!) socioeconomic subjects. The same applies to the problem of social justice. Today these topics look like 'added weight' to the current (quite imperfect) course."

The increasing orientation of the social sciences toward the individual means, essentially, further strengthening of their ties with life and practical experience. This question is so sharp and relevant and efforts have been made for such a long time to solve it with the help of pious wishes and general appeals, which were totally worthless in practical terms, that its discussion should be initiated with an "angry" response.

N.S. Mayorov, a propagandist from Kuybyshev, writes: "We, particularly the elderly propagandists, have been hearing decade after decade talk on the fact that the social sciences are falling behind life without becoming any the wiser."

"A general answer to the question of why are the social sciences falling behind the vital requirements of practical work could be formulated as follows: artificially and subjectively the social sciences have been excluded from objective development laws. Unlike the natural and technical sciences, they have been monopolized in our country by a small group of people.

"Perhaps in the first years after V.I. Lenin's death such a directive-issuing practice in the development of the social sciences may have been justified to a certain extent, caused by the need to protect the theory and practice of Leninism from the sallies of various anti-Leninist opposition groups within the party. However, such a practice of issuing directives is alive to this day."

"The low social prestige which the social sciences enjoy today is largely their own fault," write B.M. Babiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law and UkSSR Academy of Sciences member, and I.F. Butko, doctor of juridical sciences. "What are they guilty of? We would classify as one of their worst faults lagging behind the faster (compared with political decisions) development of research on topical problems which are known and familiar to science. Here is a quotation from our own sector: the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, as we know, indicate the range of problems related to the development of socialist democracy and socialist self-government by the people, such as the further intensification of democratic principles in management and in the activities of soviet ispolkoms, their apparatus and other state authorities, protecting electoral practices, creating real opportunities for every citizen to obtain the necessary information on the activities of the apparatus, struggle against bureaucratism, etc. It would be futile, however, to look in the catalogs of scientific libraries for monographs with titles such as 'Democratic Principles in the Activities of Ispolkoms of Local Soviets,' 'Voter and Deputy in the USSR' or 'Legal Means of Struggle Against Bureaucratism.' No such works have been written as yet by experts on government and the law. Political decisions pertaining to such and other equally important and great problems have outstripped (and not for the first time!) science. We must give a great deal of thought to the reasons for this phenomenon which we consider somewhat abnormal. Could scientific timidity be one of them? Are we not bothered by the ghost of taking a certain risk in dealing with problems which, although not as yet subjects of political decisions, are nevertheless well known to us? Let us be frank, it is much simpler to write about something on which a decision has been made, calmly, firmly and with relevance, with a risk of possible error reduced to a minimum. In all cases such a work becomes a commentary (not a forecast, which is precisely what we are driving at). It is said, for example, that today there is virtually no government-study organization which has not intensively undertaken work on problems related to the development of socialist self-government by the people. Where were such organizations in the past?"

It is as though V.F. Ovchinnikov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, department head at Kaliningrad State University, takes up the same idea: "We must surmount the mentality of playing it safe. It is revolting to see today a split: on the level of individual contacts a person may be expressing original and fresh thoughts; in addressing a meeting and at theoretical

seminars, when the same person speaks and takes into consideration the 'political aspect,' he uses cliches and standard expressions and his speech is dull. Such a split must be surmounted before there can be a question of developing a truly creative atmosphere in the collective. The danger of such a split is even greater in another area: it creates in society an averaging trend with all the negative consequences this entails.

"In our view, a push must be provided, coated in some broad democratic formula and coming from a most authoritative printed organ such as, for example, 'every social scientist has the right to express an essentially new idea and the guarantee that he will not be blamed for any error made in the course of seeking the truth.' This is a very important aspect in the creation of a truly collective atmosphere and competitiveness among ideas in collectives of social scientists. I could cite many examples in which, not so long ago, social scientists have been reprimanded for expressing ideas which were brought to light and comprehensively developed at the 27th CPSU Congress.

"A great deal is still being seen through the trick mirror of prejudices. It is claimed, for example, that we must engage in sharp debates with the enemies of Marxism and not within Marxism itself. On what subject can we argue sharply and compete through our ideas since our theoretical platform is one and the same? Should we intensify reciprocal exigency rather than speak of establishing a creative atmosphere which may lead us who knows where? (I am quoting virtually verbatim statements made by some speakers at different meetings). Furthermore, it is usually believed that errors which are admissible and understandable in the natural sciences are inadmissible in the social sciences and must be roundly condemned. Many such prejudices remain.

"History proves that Marxist-Leninist theory is the most dynamic of all theories created in the past. It is internally dialectical and flexible and for that reason alone should not fear any competitiveness of ideas and sharp discussions and judgments. The threatening danger is of a different nature: it is when it is converted into a set of frozen concepts and indisputable truths, in which every new word is considered a virtual attempt against it. A certain averaging in theoretical views is one of the facets of the general trend of spiritual averaging in the development of an individual. Should such a trend become dominant in society, it would be dangerous, for it would narrow the creative potential for the development of outstanding individuals, of great personalities. Today it is as important to realize this than, let us say, to realize the need to convert our economic management system to the use of economic methods."

In continuing the discussion on strengthening the ties between social sciences and life, let us point out that the gap between theory and practice is by no means always the consequence of an abstract soaring of the scientists above our sinful reality. The opposite also exists: theories are formulated and new original approaches and solutions are presented. Meanwhile, the need for such approaches by individuals who had monopolized the right to speak on behalf of practical experience is lacking. This is the true bureaucratization of the mind which, alas, has not happened in the social sciences alone. A truly sharp turn will have to be made to prevent a repetition of such cases in

the future. How to do it? All of us together, practical as well as theoretical workers must think about it.

In particular, theoretical workers must realize that not every time that we follow life means that we are strengthening our ties with it. In this case we must fear falling as V.I. Lenin said, into "tailism" and sliding empiricism.

Taking sociology as an example, this is the subject of the thoughts expressed by Yu.A. Kovalev, candidate of philosophical sciences (Moscow): "What is preventing from making full use in practical work of the possibilities of the science of sociology? Let us consider the regrettably quite widespread situation which appears in sociological research.

"Let us assume that a major study (on the republic level, for example) has been made on some topical problems of the functioning of the spiritual and ideological area (I am familiar with this range of problems, thereby the example). In an effort maximally to satisfy the customer, the sociologist who prepared and conducted the study described it most thoroughly with the help of computer generated tables (the problem being comprehensive, with numerous aspects, there will be several hundred tables!). An entire volume of reports are then laid on the customer's desk as a result of such long and intensive work. It contains a great variety of data obtained in the course of processing primary information: assessment of surveyed mass information media, data on the frequency of attendance of movie houses and theaters, the nature of sources used by respondents in preparing for political education classes and many others.

"What is the impression of the customer who has been given this report? It is quite conflicting. Actually, what he expected of the scientists were results which would help him to formulate some system of steps which, if applied in the not-too-distant future, would lead to changes for the better. This could apply to upgrading in the awareness of the population the influence of materials published in republic newspapers and television. What he receives is a mountain of facts which may be interesting but are in fact nothing but 'sliding empiricism.'... The customer is somewhat upset: substantial funds and time have been invested and scientists with degrees have done some work but, strictly speaking, the results are impossible to apply. He hints this to the authors of the study. After a while, the customer is given a new section of the report which includes the results of the application of the 'latest mathematical methods' such as 'n-dimensional relations.' Among others, they provide a detailed study (and description!) of the frequency with which the republic mass information media have addressed themselves to young workers aged 20 to 29, male, bachelors, who have come to the capital city from the countryside, and young workers different from the groups already mentioned by the fact that they were born in the city. The study of data for the two separate groups indicated, let us say, that the difference in the frequency with which members of the republic mass information media address themselves to them was 17.2 (2 tenths!) of a percent. The sociologists have proudly submitted their most valuable information to the customer and expect to be praised and asked to continue to cooperate in the future. Meanwhile the customer is once again puzzled and then begin to doubt the need for sociology itself, which deals merely with "photographing" to the slightest detail one

area of life or another but which essentially is drowned in an ocean of figures. Furthermore, usually the customer is aware of the situation in his own area although he may not be familiar with percentile figures expressing the existing trends. The result of this entire work is one or two paragraphs included in the speech delivered by the first secretary of the corresponding party committee. And, as it were, the sociologist is no longer asked to cooperate...

"What happened? Why is it that in the example we cited no common language was found between the scientists and practical workers? In my view, the reason is the following:

"As a rule, applied sociologists work (formulate hypotheses, make investigations, etc.) on the basis of a so-to-say 'statistical vision' of the topic. In other words, the entire study of empirical data, generally speaking, is structured on the basis of the use of mathematical statistics (from the simplest to the most complex). Is this bad or good? Is rain bad or good? The use of the methods of mathematical statistics is good for in their time they enabled us to apply quantitative methods in social science. This was a real accomplishment. However, the use of such methods 'in all cases in life' is bad, for such methods presume a priori that the subject of the study will be treated as a reflection system, i.e., as a sum total of elements (people, for example) who react uniformly, in a straight line, to the factors studied.

"Someone may object, saying that the methods of mathematical statistics enable us to obtain reliable information in the course of sociological research. Yes, this is true. However, this applies only in solving a strictly limited range of problems: in establishing a situation, such as the state of awareness of people (concepts, etc.) in the group which is studied. In converting to forecasting (i.e., in solving a different type of problem) the established trends affected by the factors of interest to us (such as administrative decisions) it is clear that a consideration of a group of people as a reflectory system would be inaccurate for, as we well know, people do not react to outside influences according to the 'stimulation-reaction' system! Actually, this is the difference between computing the scattering of artillery shells in volley fire and forecasting changes in the concepts and behavior of the members of the studied group after providing it with certain information!"

We believe that, using his own specialty as an example, the author has accurately formulated the difficulties of the theoretical representation of social reality, the neglect of which leads to the alienation of theory from practice although the illusion that it has come closer to it remains.

Another aspect of the interrelationship between theory and practice is establishing reliable organizational connection between them. "What is the matter, why is it that the efficiency of all social scientists in the country is so low compared to the powerful and truly gigantic work of the classics?" asks S.A. Tokhtabiyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, Nalchik. "We have hundreds of thousands of them. Where is all this intellectual potential going? Here as well, apparently, we are suffering from irresponsibility, not

to use a stronger word. What is the reason? In our view, it is the lack of feedback between theorizing and reality. It turns out that we have borrowed from the classic everything: the conceptual apparatus, methods and the laws they discovered governing social development, but we have missed the main thing without which theory is dead, that which is usually known as practical or, to put it more accurately, political activities. This is the main reason for the armchair isolation of our social thinking.

"Based on the party's latest instructions, the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in particular, we suggest that the imminent problem of establishing a feedback between the social scientists and the daily requests of life itself, leading to the enrichment and development of Marxist-Leninist theory, be solved as follows: it is extremely necessary to fill vacancies in the state and party apparatus with social scientists, assigning them as advisors or consultants to enterprise managers, with a specific range of obligations, based on cost accounting. The social scientist must become involved in socialist building and management. He must be in the thick of activities of specific labor collectives. This would enable us to enhance our authority in training and scientific institutions. It would put an end to scholastic concepts and social sciences would become a true weapon in the revolutionary reorganization of society. We could gain knowledge of the contradictions which accelerate or hinder our development and influence more efficiently a given collective in painlessly solving a specific extreme situation not on the basis of newspaper or other reports but on the basis of most ordinary sociopolitical practice. It is only thus that, among others, we could put the results of sociological research to practical use."

Judging by the responses received, very little new practical experience has been acquired in the organization of social science research. Obviously, this is due to a certain timidity on the part of the authors. Thus, for example, the suggestion of the editors to discuss the question of creating informal and temporary scientific collectives and associations has not been implemented as yet. Clearly, this will require a certain amount of time.

Many letter writers agree that today there is an urgent need to clarify the conditions and premises for scientific debates and discussions in order to turn them into a truly efficient means of scientific development. Interesting considerations are expressed on this subject by V.S. Balenok, candidate of philosophical sciences (Lvov). "We must mandatorily have in mind," he writes, "that a debate is a double-edged tool. On the one hand, it enhances scientific thinking, brings forth new arguments and facts, eliminates conceptual 'bottlenecks,' enriches theoretical views, and strengthens belief in accurate conclusions and discoveries. On the other, however, under certain circumstances, in an atmosphere of anarchy, individualist arbitrariness and irresponsibility, not to mention hostile initial objectives and views held by the participants, discussions may turn into means of suppressing objective truth, promoting its pluralistic dispersal, replacing accurate knowledge with doubtful views and opening extensive opportunities for the uncontrolled reapportioning of forces in scientific circles and covert imposition on the public of group by no means accurate 'viewpoints,' and strengthening subjectivistic moods and disorientation.

"For example, in following the discussions on the subject of aesthetics and, particularly, the long debate on the aesthetic attitude toward nature, we reach the conclusion that they are focused on the means--the clash of opinions has become 'perpetuated' and the final objective and result have been forgotten in defining the truth which was brought to life and established as a result of the discussions. The situation which is developing on the organizational level is such that whenever in the course of one discussion or another a truth is born, it has nowhere to go, for everyone seems to be satisfied with his 'own opinion.' With good reason we have already abandoned the secret administrative-bureaucratic 'summing up' of the clash of opinions. Unfortunately, in our scientific life we have not replaced this life with truly democratic forms and procedures for summing up discussion results.

"In this connection, I would like to submit to the attention of the scientific public the following system for fruitful discussions:

"Each serious scientific discussion should have its organizational center: a council set up at a scientific institution or publisher, whose obligation would be to take into consideration all arguments and counterarguments, and to inform the participants in the discussion and the entire scientific public of such arguments through conferences and publications.

"Whereas at the initial stages of a discussion a simple comparison of views and opinions on the way to solve a problem may be adequate, at the final, the decisive stage, it is important to consider only the conclusions and their proofs which the authors themselves consider unquestionable and fully substantiated. The concluding conferences, on the basis of the materials of which the discussion councils should draft and publish the concluding articles in a special edition, should concentrate on such considerations. We must not ignore the fact that holding specific concluding conferences could contribute to intensifying the work of scientific fora and free them from the currently popular multiple-topic extensive 'talk-shops.'

"In writing the concluding articles it would be useful to follow the rule that if a new conclusion is not any better substantiated than an old, classical one, the older should be kept.

"Scientists should show respect for the conclusions drawn in the concluding article published by the discussion council and accept them as basic for the time being. Naturally, this does not mean ending the search for new arguments and proofs leading to the even more convincing and better solution of the problem. If a sufficient number of additional arguments and counterarguments, which may lead to major changes in the results of the discussion, have accumulated, the discussion may be reopened on the demand of one scientist or another."

Obviously, such an organizational structure cannot be considered absolutely unassailable. However, it has in its favor the unquestionable qualities of openness and democracy.

"The social sciences should have the same rights as the technical and the natural," writes D.I. Bernshteyn, candidate of juridical sciences and docent

at the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute. "The formulation of this question may seem odd but, in reality, there is an inequality of rights. Why is it that along with the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries there is no state committee (or department within the State Committee for Inventions) in charge of scientific theories, ideas and practical suggestions in the social sciences? We must reject the existing views that recording, legally processing, encouraging and applying ideas and suggestions are necessary only in the technical and natural scientific areas, whereas ideas, theories and tactical recommendations in the social sciences do not require such registration, systematization, control over their application, defense of authorship rights, moral and material incentives to the authors, etc. Obviously, it would be expedient to set up within the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries a department in charge of the social sciences, which would record ideas and suggestions in that area, assess their significance (a practical suggestion, scientific idea, theory), issue authorship certificates, and define methods for moral and, if suitable (if there are material results), material incentives as well.

"I also deem it expedient that the initiative of the journal KHIMIYA I ZHIZN on the filing, state registration and legal protection of ideas, whether published or not, and of results of surveys be applied to the social sciences as well (see KHIMIYA I ZHIZN, No 6, 1985; Nos 3, 9 1986)."

Nowhere are the social sciences' closeness to or distance from life so clear as in teaching them. It is no accident that the greatest number of articles and letters received deal precisely with this topic. In this area a number of problems have accumulated, starting with the training of teaching cadres.

Views on this subject are shared by L.V. Zharov, candidate of philosophical and medical sciences, docent (Rostov-na-Donu): "One must and can approach problems of social science and philosophy, in particular, only by facing the contradictions in specific type of activities and realizing that standing behind individual problems are general problems of social development, without the solution of which one is doomed to a narrow empiricism and philistine judgments. Marxism-Leninism cannot be developed without mastery of the accurate facts of reality or without a struggle among viewpoints and opinions. Many of the shortcomings in our social sciences stem from the fact that the majority of social scientists have second-hand familiarity with the contradictions of life, in their idealized form. They are indirectly involved in material production and look at life through the eyes of the consumer. We believe that the real and main contradiction here is the one between the need to provide a basic social science training to the young person (in any case, to people under 30) and the lack or obviously inadequate amount of social experience and mastery of at least one area of social practice. When such a young teacher begins to train students in any VUZ department, he reveals his lack of knowledge and inability to deal with the essence of the problem in a given field, thus displaying his bookishness."

The opposite view is expressed by Yu.B. Vostrikov, candidate of philosophical sciences (Moscow), who emphasizes the significance of the basic training of the specialized social scientist, the philosopher in particular, cautioning against any "light-hearted" attitude toward philosophy.

"Indeed, a student can transfer to the philosophy department from the departments of physics or mathematics (or any other department or institute) and defend his candidate dissertation on "Philosophical Problems of the Natural Sciences," much faster than he could by transferring to another department. Specific sociological studies which were made at one point in our country also created 'strong' prerequisites for a quick defense of a dissertation, although the results of many studies, according to the specialists, were not noted for the originality of the research or the depth of conclusions and summations. Therefore, there is nothing accidental in the fact that so many philosophers have no basic training as historians, linguists, economists, jurists, engineers, translators, etc. Actually, we by no means intend to lump all of them as 'pragmatists.' It is a question of something else, of the automatic transfer of cadres, which is not paralleled by a corresponding serious upgrading of the level of philosophical knowledge and its further development and which, in a certain sense, has become a hindrance."

Obviously, both views have their "kernel of rationality" and they are right in one thing: the "model" of the contemporary specialist in the social sciences must be further developed and refined. In this connection, the role of the "teaching factor" is described by N.Ya. Vezheniyeks, candidate of historical sciences, docent (Riga): "Let us not confuse teaching with the personality of the teacher. Teaching also includes a method, a great part of which fetters all initiative-minded and thinking social scientists. We claim to be in favor of restructuring but, in fact, methodical means are left untouched. This can be seen from our journal publications. Many pedagogical bureaucrats have kept their positions."

Similar thoughts are expressed by the authors of many other letters. "The elimination of dogmatism and stereotype which are stultifying Marxist doctrine," write docents O.G. Okhrimenko and V.I. Pustovoytov (Kiev), "will be achieved when we begin to consider dialectical materialism not a preserved 'system of laws and categories' but a methodology of knowledge and a transforming activity, when we learn to use the laws governing the development of the base and the superstructure in analyzing and forecasting contemporary social reality. However, the implementation of such essential concepts immediately clashes with existing stereotypes of methodical support. The first such obstacle is the current philosophy curriculum. Plans for its modification, with all due respect for their authors, are nothing but cosmetic changes within a durable tradition."

How to surmount dogmatism and scholasticism in teaching is a question which many social scientists ask themselves. Their answers are summed up in the letter of M.P. Kapustin, doctor of philosophical sciences (Moscow): "In order to put an end to meaningless scholastic way of thinking, consisting of infinite deductions of ever new conclusions based on the 'eternal truths' discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the educator should begin by mastering the entire volume of specialized knowledge of a specific problem (discussed in his lecture). This means that we can no longer limit ourselves to a selection of classical quotations and our own pale deductions from them on the subject of the problem but implement in fact, i.e., specifically, the Marxist principle of unity between history and logic. To this effect we must

present the basic stages in the history of the formulation of this problem in its entire contradictory nature (the dialogue of opinions), including contemporary global experience (different and conflicting viewpoints in foreign philosophy), and latest empirical experience.

For example, the new curriculum on historical materialism includes, for the first time, a course on the problem of man. Here as well, could we, in the case of the old topic of "The Individual and Society," be limited by a set of corresponding deductions relative to the fact that the essence of man is the "totality of all social relations," and stop there? This concept was taught for several decades and we were justly criticized for "forgetting man" and for "mental sclerosis;" the present rebirth of the role of the human factor, as revealed by the first, albeit timid, draft of the new VUZ program, immediately brought to light the concept of man's methodological problem. Therefore, we believe that today we should consider as a minimum the entire dialogue of this problem in the context of global arguments, including the dialogue (yes, precisely a dialogue and not a 'blanket rejection!') with foreign philosophical anthropology, and the "philosophy of the mind," including idealistic philosophy. Furthermore, we deem it inconceivable to ignore in this area the latest data on man and the psychological structure of the personality, as described in worldwide works on psychology, psychophysiology, neurophysiology, the theory of the subconscious, etc."

It is to be hoped that many of the suggestions expressed in the letters will be used in the course of the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education in the country. Nonetheless, the editors believe that the problem of perfecting the teaching of the social sciences will not end here and that a broad field for creative research exists. It would be desirable for teachers and method instructors teaching social subjects in the schools to express their views on these problems.

In the course of the discussion, the editors received a number of materials on specific topical problems of the social sciences, which will be addressed by this journal.

Without summing up final results, we wish to emphasize that the discussion of the restructuring of social sciences is gathering pace and becoming practical. The turn has now come for submitting more specific suggestions supported by practical experience.

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CSO: 1802/11

THE LABOR COLLECTIVE IN THE NEW CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 80-84

[Article by Yevgeniy Petrovich Torkanovskiy, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, doctor of juridical sciences, professor]

[Text] The development of a proprietary feeling for and attitude toward public production and the consequent active participation in production management do not appear by themselves. Sociological studies confirm that 30 to 40 percent of respondents consider their participation in production management inexpedient for a variety of reasons. We are particularly concerned not only by the significant percentage of individuals who do not consider themselves owners of the production process but also by the stability of such figures over a long period of time.

A variety of reasons account for such a passive attitude. The consequence of the lack of openness is the lack of information in labor collectives concerning the plans and difficulties of their enterprise and the decisions of local soviets and other authorities. Suppression of criticism, formalism in the work of public organizations, the commanding style of economic managers and other factors suppress the activeness of the members of the collective. However, the main reason for which labor collectives have still not assumed a leading position in the production management system is the insufficient concentration of the economic mechanism on the more efficient use by collectives of public property put at their disposal. We must develop in each labor collective and in its members a proprietary attitude toward the work by involving them in active participation in production management.

Initiative does not come out of thin air. Economic interest is the motive force of self-government in production. However, the economic interest of the individual or the collective is not reduced to the ruble, although under socialism material incentives are of prime importance. The economic interest of the owner of the public production process includes interest in upgrading the well-being of society as a whole and of the specific labor collective. Such interest appears and develops in the labor collective when it acts as the overall organizer of the production process and when its activities are directly related to the shaping of production resources, improving social labor conditions and earning and distributing income. The result of the

economic restructuring will be decisively determined by the extent to which the labor collective as a whole and each one of its members will develop an interest in solving the enterprise's problems.

The draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) essentially meets this criterion. Nevertheless, the argumentation of some of its stipulations is debatable. As we know, as a result of numerous suggestions submitted by scientific and practical workers, a decree was passed on eliminating planning the size of administrative-managerial personnel. This was followed by setting standards governing the wage fund for this category personnel, based on the principle of the systematic lowering of the cost of the administrative personnel (who include engineering and technical workers). This procedure has been repeated in point 4 of Article 14 of the draft law.

Let us recall that for many years ministries have called for reducing such personnel. This was being accomplished in a peculiar manner: the ministry's apparatus would increase while that of enterprises would be severely curtailed, not only in terms of typists, patent experts and norming workers, but also designers and technologists. Since someone had to do this work anyway, deceit was practiced, and "snowflakes" appeared. That is why the formula is accurate if it applies only to the administrative apparatus of ministries and departments on the assumption that their functions have been changed. Their apparatus is being reduced and, obviously, will continue to be reduced in the future, as we convert to economic management methods. But what happens to the enterprise in this case? Let me cite a practical example. An automatic welding system was installed at a machine building plant, as a result of which the number of welders was reduced by several dozen. Was the result satisfactory? No. Several engineering positions had to be eliminated, for the ratio of workers to administrative personnel was violated. Hundreds of such examples could be cited. They prove that this rule is an element of a mechanism not of acceleration but of obstruction of technical progress.

This does not apply to designers and technologists alone. As we know, a number of associations were given the right to export their output abroad. The latest equipment requires the hiring of programmers at enterprises. The increased amount of economic work must be handled by the service of the chief economist. The development of the social area requires increasing the personnel in the nonindustrial (medical, housing, preschool) subdivisions. On the other hand, the installation of automated production facilities which require less personnel means reducing the number of workers. How was it figured out that under such circumstances the share of administrative personnel within the enterprise should be reduced? Furthermore, why under the conditions of total cost accounting and self-financing, when the enterprise is profoundly interested in lowering production costs, should such correlations be dictated "from above?" The labor collective can decide for itself the type of people it needs more--it may be a mathematician or a drill operator. For that reason I am firmly in favor of the already expressed suggestion that this specific paragraph in the draft law be deleted.

It is equally important to ensure through juridical means the actual observance of the stipulations of the law. Stipulating the rights of the enterprise is not enough. The law should also stipulate the consequences of

violating such rights, for in the past as well the enterprise was given quite good, important and necessary rights. However, they were violated frequently precisely because no penalties for their violation were stipulated. Examples are on hand. Planned assignments for 1987 were based on the principle of "the level reached," as a result of which once again (for the umpteenth time!) enterprises which worked well were penalized. In violation of the law some of the material incentive funds are being appropriated, foreign exchange earned the previous year is being confiscated, etc. This calls for stipulating specific penalties for violations of the law.

Even the most favorable "external conditions" cannot influence production efficiency until they are applied within the collective. Practical experience has indicated that a number of important steps which were carried out in the past, aimed at improving the economic mechanism, failed to yield expected results in particular because they stopped at the enterprise level, with no effect on the interests of the collectives of shops or brigades or else individual workers.

Let us reemphasize that broadening economic independence does not exclude the possibility of using authoritarian forms of management in the course of which decision-making rights are concentrated in the hands of the administration and the labor collective is excluded from management. In itself the broadening of economic autonomy directly enhances the meaningful nature of labor and the interest in the work essentially among economic managers, creating proper conditions for the manifestation of socialist enterprise. However, upgrading the creative activeness of nothing but the administrative apparatus, however significant, cannot yield long-term stable results.

Therefore, the actual and efficient development of democratic principles in production management is possible only if the economic independence of the structural units within the national economic complex is achieved by developing the self-government of labor collectives in socialist production.

The economic responsibility not only of managers but of the entire labor collective for inefficient management, violation of contracts, inadequate technical production standards, management faults, and so on, must be intensified. Such responsibility must be substantial and inescapable. In other words, the economic mechanism for attracting the working people and their collectives in production management should be structured according to the principle that end results depend on each individual production unit and that benefits must be based on the end results of the work of the labor collective.

The existence of such a mechanism is largely determined by the organization of the production process and the creation of conditions under which achieving certain indicators in enterprise work is clearly related to the results of the work of the structural units and individual members of the collective. Here is a typical example: when the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom asked the working people to submit suggestions on ways to increase production efficiency, about 40 percent of the letters received contained the conclusion that the organization of production and labor had to be drastically improved. In the view of the respondents this was the prime and most necessary prerequisite for

acceleration and its main reserve. This refers to the implementation of a set of "intracollective" steps which would make it possible to take the national interests down to the level of the individual brigade and worker. The ways and means of intraplant economic management, which are aimed at combining individual interests with those of the labor collective and society as a whole, are found precisely in the economic mechanism which involves labor collectives in production management.

A study conducted at the Kontaktor Low-Tension Appliances Plant in Ulyanovsk showed that less than one-third of the cases of nonfulfillment of daily assignments was due to outside reasons. The rest was the result of breakdowns in the production process. It became urgently necessary to improve external and to create new economic management conditions and to make major changes in intraplant planning and production organization in order to increase the interest of all members of the labor collectives in the end results of the work. The main step in this case was the application of a system of related indicators operating on all management levels, such as basing the output plan of all structural subdivisions not on "gross output" but strictly on received orders. In the case of procurement shops and brigades, for example, this applies to the number of assembled sets; in the case of finishing shops, it means shipping out the goods according to the contracts.

The result of such a procedure is that efforts to meet individual or small-group interest in fulfilling the monthly plan by producing "advantageous" items (which, for example, may not require the realigning of machine tools) are no longer necessary. The nonfulfillment of assignments for even a single item becomes an inevitable obstacle to obtaining a bonus regardless of whether or not all other indicators were fulfilled or overfulfilled. The collective is given an incentive not for overfulfillment but for the accurate and qualitative observance of the schedule (brigade, shop) for the production of finished goods in terms of sets, variety or other physical units.

Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that an orientation toward specific orders increases the number of realignments needed in converting from one type of production to another. This increases the length of preparatory time, the consequence of which is a drop in individual earnings. For that reason a number of enterprises do not use the intraplant planning and incentive procedure we mentioned: the new indicator is considered only as auxiliary to that of assignments based on volume. Naturally, this is an unpromising method, a path of least resistance. Other possibilities must be found which would not harm the interest of individual workers and would protect the unity between their interests and those of the collective.

One of them is to restructure the work of procurement and marketing services. The activities of such services must go beyond the traditional limits of eliminating shortages with the help of pushers or requests submitted to various agencies (including party authorities) with complaints about careless suppliers. Under the new circumstances their main task is to formulate together with customers reciprocally acceptable solutions which, by rechanneling orders, would make it possible to optimize the use of production capacities and thus reduce to a minimum the need for equipment retuning and realigning. This is helped by a review of their organizational structure by a

number of enterprises, leading to the unity between production and commodity marketing.

This organizational connection, as practical experience proved, helps to solve both marketing and production problems, as a set. To a considerable extent the content of economic contracts and the forming of a portfolio of orders have begun to determine the production process. Information drafted by marketing workers on the quality, features and deadlines for fulfilling orders are the starting point in planning the annual assignments of the structural subunits of the enterprise, broken down by quarter and month. Success in this work depends on the stability of contractual relations, which are frequently violated by material and technical supply agencies. The prohibition written in Item 3 of Article 15 of the law of arbitrarily revising existing long-term relations by material and technical procurement authorities will provide legal grounds for such stability. However, as in other cases, here as well the consequences of violating this prohibition should be stipulated.

Therefore, new directions are appearing in intraeconomic planning and production organization, as elements of the economic mechanism used in involving the members of the labor collective in management. The economic interest in end results, which is developing in this connection in the structural subdivisions of the enterprise, creates conditions for granting them adequate independence on matters of organizing their work and increases their responsibility.

Nor can the problem of conservation of resources be solved without the active participation of the labor collective. The present system of encouraging the conservation of resources at enterprises must be not only improved but, above all, applied in each production sector and explained to the individual worker. Internal cost accounting, which covers all structural subdivisions within the enterprise, is a lever with the help of which concern for economy becomes universal.

The collectives of shops, sections and brigades will begin to be truly concerned with the use of materials and energy only when the economy obtained in one shop will not be wasted by another and when the success of a single brigade will not be used to conceal the carelessness of another. It would be unrealistic to expect a truly proprietary attitude toward resources as long as economy or overexpenditures are computed for the plant as a whole and are subsequently "apportioned" among the individual shops in proportion to production costs.

In this connection, radical improvements must be made in the legal foundations of cost accounting. The problem of developing progressive standards has been a topic of discussion for many years. Although not simple, it can be solved. The main way to solve it is to generate a desire for stricter standards within the labor collective itself.

Progressive standards governing labor and the use of material resources should not be considered merely a lever of centralized planning or manifestation of a national interest. Such standards must equally reflect collective interests. The enterprise needs them in order to improve wages based on labor and to

encourage thrift. Under certain circumstances, in a properly functioning brigade form of labor organization and incentive in particular, they are also consistent with the individual interests of the workers. This creates objective prerequisites for including the producers themselves in the standard-setting process. In other words, if work at the enterprise is organized in such a way that the individual worker and the collective as a whole are interested in end labor results, "self-norming" turns from possibility into reality.

It would be futile to hope for involving labor collectives in resource conservation without actual and efficient intraplant cost accounting, as futile as any resource-conservation steps (including technological production improvements) unless the labor collective is interested in them. This does not apply merely to brigades but to other structural subdivisions as well. That is why I suggest that the second paragraph of Item 3 of Article 14 be deleted and for the third paragraph to begin with the following words: "Use of intraproduction cost accounting in all structural subdivisions; converting brigades, sections, shops and other subdivisions to the contracting system."

Upgrading the collective's labor and managerial activities calls for material incentives which would be efficient and consistent with the principle of social justice. In the course of the experiment the rights of enterprises in the area of distribution relations were expanded. Nevertheless, the established incentives (wage supplements for different worker categories) cannot be considered sufficient in strengthening the labor and managerial activeness of labor collectives decisively and qualitatively. All of them are concentrated on upgrading individual labor productivity and are almost entirely unrelated to the collective's end production results. However the results of the work of the collective are not reduced to the sum total of the achievements of its individual members. Labor cooperation itself adds to the productive force. However, this is possible only if it is based on proper organization. The higher the level of management, the more efficient cooperation becomes. The material incentive system must be directed precisely toward achieving such highest possible results.

Every member of the collective, and not only the managerial personnel, should be interested in efficient production management. This common interest is the essence of the collective interest. However, such responsibility and interest can appear if the level of income of the members of the labor collective is determined not only by the way the individuals works but also the way they manage the work together.

As the efficiency of the economic mechanism used in involving the working people in management increases the ties between collective and individual interests strengthen. With the present economic management conditions, such ties are established through the economic incentive funds, the amounts of which are directly related to the collective's work results. The principle of total cost accounting and self-financing, included in the draft law (Item 2, Article 2) substantially strengthens their role.

However, strengthening the economic incentive funds does not solve the problem entirely. One must also know how to handle them properly. This applies above

all to the material incentive fund. Payments from this fund are structured in such a way that the end results of enterprise work as a whole and of its structural subdivisions influence nothing but the income of the administrative personnel. Therefore, the collective interest is centered in the enterprise's administration rather than in the labor collective. This means that the collective interest is only stipulated but not implemented. This interest exists among the leading personnel and, partially, the engineering and technical workers and employees, whereas the income of the bulk of the workers is unrelated to end labor results and the majority of the members of the labor collective bear no responsibility for it. Furthermore, as a rule the rank-and-file workers are generally not given any information on the financial status of the enterprise. The plant may be buried under debts but the worker nonetheless receives his regular bonuses. In 1985 the Samarkand Household Refrigerators Plant lost nearly 5 million rubles. Its rank-and-file workers had high earnings and bonuses and believed that they were working in a profitable and progressive enterprise.

Such a situation is frequently justified by saying that the worker should allegedly not "suffer" from the faults of the administrative personnel. However, such a logic ("the worker must work and the manager must manage") conflicts with the level of development of production forces already reached (in a number of cases the individual contribution of the worker cannot be singled out and evaluated), and the nature of the property of the whole people. Naturally, it is insulting for a worker or a brigade to have fulfilled their production assignment in terms of variety and quality and not to be rewarded for this because someone failed to do something in a subsequent operation or in marketing. This being a public production process, however, the result of the work of the entire collective is important. If the purpose of the production process has not been achieved and if there is no contribution to the public wealth, there should be no reward. Otherwise the economic mechanism for involving the working people in management will inevitably develop hitches. Encouraging individual (brigade) achievements regardless of their social value and economic interest unrelated to the results of collective labor irreconcilably conflict with developing a feeling of ownership of the production process and do not make the worker interested in participating in the affairs of the collective and controlling the activities of the administration and his comrades.

In this connection, it would be expedient to draft the first paragraph of Item 4, Article 14, of the law, as follows: "The enterprise sets up the wage fund in accordance with stipulated standards on the basis of end labor results. The amount of the earnings of individual members of the labor collective is determined in accordance with the size of said fund." The reference to the need to ensure a standard correlation between the growth of wages and labor productivity is unnecessary. The enterprise must observe all set standards not because of this law but because of the strictness of the standard itself.

The general trend, which is one of increasing the dependence of the wage level on the reproduction results of the work of the cost accounting unit, does not mean any equalization in paying for the individual efforts of the worker. Conversely, within the income earned by the labor collective the distribution (including the bonus) should be entirely consistent with the individual

(brigade) contribution. Depersonalization of individual labor efforts by engineering and technical workers and the dependence of their earnings exclusively on general results would be as harmful as awarding bonuses to brigades regardless of the results of the work of the shop or the enterprise.

Therefore, the material incentive, which is aimed at upgrading the socioeconomic activeness of the workers, of all members of the labor collective, should be made dependent on two factors: the end results of the work of the collective as a whole and the individual accomplishments of each one of its members. Naturally, the correlation between such factors should vary among the individual worker categories.

A number of problems exist in ensuring the economic interest of the working people in creating truly self-governing labor collectives. They include, for example, obvious gaps in encouraging the creation and application of technical and organizational innovations, errors in awards given to the winners of the socialist competition and others. Nor should we ignore the fact that participation in production management and its highest form--socialist production self-government--do not depend exclusively on economic factors. Organizational and legal problems are as important as ideological support. What is clear is that upgrading the role of labor collectives, as stipulated in the draft law, in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development demands a restructuring of the economic mechanism simultaneously "from above" and "from below." Its new elements (increased economic independence, self-support, self-financing, etc.) must be introduced, in addition to substantial changes in the organization of the production process, on the intraplant level, which is the economic foundation for the exercise of production self-government, the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive and other means used in the application of democratic principles in production management.

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CSO: 1802/11

FROM A PRACTICAL VIEWPOINT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) p 85

[Article by A. Rzhevuskiy, deputy general director in charge of planning and wages, Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod Production Association, and V. Chernov, drill operator, chairman of the council of the association's brigade leaders]

[Text] Article 6 ("Enterprise Management") calls for electing the managers at general meetings of labor collectives, by open or secret vote. We believe that it is only a secret vote that would enable everyone to express his opinion more frankly and objectively. A secret vote should be preceded by a discussion of the candidate (or candidates). The opinion of the labor collective may not coincide with that of the administrative authority which must approve the candidate. That is why a possible solution of such differences should be considered.

We believe that many people would be interested in the experience of our association in appointing heads of structural subdivisions. It is our sociologists who do the preliminary extensive work aimed at determining the practical and moral-political qualities of the applicants. Once the candidates have been nominated and, subsequently, approved in their position with the proper order, they are acquainted in detail with the materials of the study. Why is this necessary, after the completion of the project? In order for the manager to be familiar with the objective assessment of his qualities and possibilities and work on correcting his shortcomings.

Article 14 of the draft law stipulates that the enterprise assigns grades to the workers. Nothing is said about assigning skill categories to specialists and employees. An addition is needed to this part of the draft. Furthermore, the stipulation on brigade cost accounting and contracting does not clearly describe the use of this progressive form of labor organization and wages for specialists and employees. Yet our association and other enterprises have already acquired such experience. That is why the law should stipulate that the enterprise will use the brigade cost accounting and contracting system as a basic collective form of labor organization and wages not only for workers but also for specialists.

A regulation was enacted as of 1 January 1987, confirmed in Article 14 of the draft law, stipulating that the superior authority will approve the standard

for the enterprise's wage fund for managerial and scientific and technical personnel and employees. This means that the enterprise can spend on wages for this category of workers a sum from the wage fund which is strictly regulated by the superior authorities. However, this stipulation conflicts with Article 2 of the draft law which states that the enterprise operates on the basis of the principles of total cost accounting and self-financing, and that the funds, including those appropriated for wages, which are formed on the basis of the cost accounting income of the collective, are the source of its activities. Why limit the wage funds of specialists and employees, whose role under the conditions of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress increases? We suggest that this restriction be deleted from the draft law. It should be replaced by an item stipulating that the enterprise wage fund is based on standards approved by the superior authority, depending on the growth rates of the volume of output in terms of net output and growth rates of labor productivity included in the plan (factually attained). This standard method for planning the wage fund is already being applied by enterprises working under the new economic management conditions; for some reason, the draft law is silent on this point.

Let us also mention Article 11 "Scientific and Technical Progress and Quality Improvements." A great deal has been said of late about scientific and technical progress and people are being called upon to accelerate it. How to interest them in this? A stipulation must be included on moral and material incentives for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. There are frequent cases in which two engineers with the same rating work in the same collective. One of them does his normal work while the other submits suggestions, tries to develop innovations, is not always successful and is therefore subject to abuse. His name would not be put on the board of honor. The end results of his work, however, would be greater. Therefore, the following should be stipulated: a display of initiative must be immediately rewarded. Individual wage supplements should be differentiated according to the contribution of the individual engineer. The greater the economic results of the application of a new development the greater should be the reward.

Article 17 of the draft law should stipulate a conversion from the outlay price-setting mechanism to price setting on the basis of a comparison among technical features or consumer properties of the new item compared with another similar item. In such a case the enterprise would be interested in developing and producing new highly efficient items and ensuring their regular updating.

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CSO:1802/11

CONSERVE MINERAL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 86-87

[Article by V. Lepeshenko, manager of the Belgorod Oblast Office, USSR Stroybank, professor]

[Text] Article 20 of the draft law on the enterprise assigns to the enterprise responsibility for the efficient utilization of natural resources. The importance of this problem is made clear by the example of the work of enterprises along the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, located in Belgorod Oblast.

Like its entire adjacent area, for a number of years our oblast has suffered from an acute scarcity of nonmineral construction materials. Millions of tons of such materials are extracted hundreds of kilometers away and frequently hauled with a great deal of difficulty, imposing an excessive load on the railroad system. Meanwhile, no less than three-quarters of the rocks extracted as a byproduct, which could be used as raw material for the production of those same construction materials are being dumped in the iron-ore quarries of the KMA.

Studies conducted by the NIIKMA imeni L.D. Shevyakov have indicated that if the plan of the Lebedinskoye Ore-Dressing Combine would include the extraction and processing of crystallized shale and oxidized quartzites, which are currently dumped, the cost of the raw ore would drop by 6 kopeks per ton, which would yield additional earnings of 3.6 million rubles per year. The sale of crystallized shale, loam and sand from the dumps would yield the metallurgical workers additional profit of 1.9 million rubles. These are merely some of the currently unused benefits which one enterprise in this area could provide. As a whole for the ore-dressing combines in the oblast, simply the use of two materials extracted as byproducts (gravel and sand) could yield economic benefits totaling 40-45 million rubles. For the sake of comparison let us point out that the scale at which rock is used today saves only slightly more than 15 million rubles.

Consumers are eagerly awaiting the new output of the KMA! Here is a single example. The builders of nuclear electric power plants add metal as a filler in the production of heavy radiation-shielding concrete (drilling pellets, metal shavings, iron ore pellets). This significantly increases construction costs. Meanwhile, the Stoylenskiy Ore-Dressing Combine dumps iron-containing

waste which could be used as heavy concrete filler quite adequately. The USSR Minenergo has suggested to the USSR Minchermet to finance the construction of facilities for dry magnetic separation at the Stoylenskiy Combine, which could use the valuable waste. However, the Minchermet rejected even such a profitable suggestion.

Instead of yielding possible profits, the waste of the ore concentration combines are a source of increasing losses. Dumps 40 to 60 meters high have changed the previously flat landscape of the area; more than 1 billion cubic meters of rock has already been dumped on the surface. The dust from the dumps is spoiling the soil of surrounding fields and the dumps themselves have "absorbed" thousands of hectares of chernozem. More than 10 million cubic meters of chernozem is under such so-called temporary dumps.

Discussions on the comprehensive use of natural resources have been going on for decades. The problem has long become clear but changes for the better are virtually nonexistent. The approach to this matter must be changed radically. Experience has convinced us that it is useless to wait for help from ministries which are responsible for fulfilling the plan for "their own" output. Therefore, in discussing the draft law, we must clearly stipulate that the very concept of the enterprise should be greatly changed in many aspects. In particular, the ore-mining enterprises must act as the real proprietors to whom the state has entrusted the deposit and which must be held strictly accountable precisely for the comprehensive and sensible use of all natural resources in such deposits, regardless of what department will be credited for the commodities produced.

In order to achieve this, we must change our attitude toward designing and building ore extracting combines, their financing, evaluation of the work and price setting for their output. We must introduce as soon as possible an economically substantiated payment for the land, water and all types of natural resources, in such a way that they mandatorily influence the cost accounting income of the collective. At that point the enterprises will begin to consider whether valuable raw materials extracted as a byproduct should be dumped, thus increasing their losses, or else organize their processing better and thus earn additional profits.

The creation of such enterprises will require the solution of a number of practical problems. In particular, in solving problems of building enterprises, ore mining enterprises in particular, the local soviets should allocate land for construction only if a plan has been drawn up for the rational utilization of the land and all natural resources. It is particularly important, however, to set up the economic levers in such a way that the thrifty or, conversely, irresponsible attitude toward natural resources mandatorily affect the cost accounting income of the collective.

Without such steps, first of all, enterprise cost accounting will not be truly complete, for such cost accounting presumes, in particular, the full consideration of all outlays and excludes the free use of resources belonging to society. Second, without such steps no guarantees will exist that the stipulation of Article 20 of fully compensating for the adverse effect of industry on the natural environment would be implemented. Therefore,

paragraph 2 of Item 1, Article 20, should begin as follows: "The enterprise shall deposit into the state budget economically substantiated payments for all types of natural resources put at its disposal," followed by the rest of the text.

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CSO:1802/11

RIGHTS OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVE'S COUNCIL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 87-88

[Article by V. Andreyev, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, candidate of juridical sciences]

[Text] A comparison between the rights of the labor collective's council, as stipulated in Article 7, Item 1, of the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and those of the administration and, in matters of social development and the organization of labor and wages, also those of the trade union committee and the Komsomol organization, makes their presentation insufficiently clear. I believe that this could lead to the same type of difficulties which arise in implementing the Law on the Labor Collective.

The draft stipulates that the labor collective's council makes decisions on the use of the production, science and technology, development, material incentive, social development and other funds. It is not clear, however, whether such decisions are mandatory for the administration or are merely recommendations. This should be stipulated in the same article of the draft.

The point is that the concept of "labor collective" is a structural part of the entire concept of the state enterprise, for it is the cost accounting income of the labor collective that is the source of enterprise activities. As an indivisible structural component of the latter, the labor collective has rights distinct from those of the enterprise manager and the trade union organization. This is accurately noted in the draft law in terms of the rights of the labor collective's council. In the public sector of the economy the labor collectives are the actual owners of state property. Juridically, this is expressed in their right and obligation to make efficient use of this property under conditions of full cost accounting, self-financing and self-governing.

That is why the decisions of labor collectives, particularly as represented by their councils, must be juridically equal to the orders of the administration and create rights and obligations affecting the enterprise (association) as a whole. Such decisions, made within the competence of the council and signed by its chairmen and its secretary, should have legal power without any need for ratification by the enterprise's manager.

In this connection, I suggest that Item 1 of Article 7, after the first paragraph, read as follows: "The labor collective's council makes the final decisions, which are mandatory to the administration and the enterprise as a whole, as follows:

"a. Approves the conditions of the socialist competition and sums up its results together with the elected authorities of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations;

"b. Defines the areas of utilization of material incentive and social development funds;

"c. Adopts counterplans..., etc."

This list could be extended if in the course of the discussions suggestions are submitted on the additional rights which it would be expedient to transfer entirely to the labor collective's council.

It would be desirable to include in the same article a list of questions on which some decisions of the labor collective's council are in the nature of recommendations. Item 1 should end not with an appeal to work in close contact (incidentally, the draft law has a number of declarative concepts such as the entire next article on enterprise cadres), but with the statement that the manager must take the necessary economic steps to implement the resolutions of the labor collective. For example, if the labor collective's council has decided that a residential building or a nursery is to be built out of social development funds, the administration must order the drafting of the cost estimates, raise the question of allocating a plot for such construction, including contracting work in the plan, etc. Within the range of the council's consultative rights, the administration should ask for its opinion, something which should be stipulated in Article 7 of the draft law.

The CPSU program stipulates that the task of the trade union organizations is "to contribute to the exercise of the rights of labor collectives." In my view, the creation of proper conditions for the efficient work of labor collective councils should become the obligation not only of the administration, as the draft law stipulates, but of the enterprise's trade union committee as well.

The labor collective's council has the right to appeal to the superior economic authorities any decision made by the enterprise's manager on problems which are exclusively within the range of competence of the general meeting (conference) or of the same council, and which require a consideration of the view of the labor collective in their implementation, unless it has already been taken into consideration by the administration. It is important to remember that the labor collective's council is not one more public agency which takes part in enterprise management but a form of production democracy, in which some rights and obligations in economic management are exercised by the labor collectives themselves on an equal footing with the administration.

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CSO: 1802/11

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 88-89

[Text] Ye. Shapovalov, docent, Philosophy Department, Leningrad State University imeni A.A. Zhdanov, candidate of philosophical sciences:

The clear classification of people into workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees, which was characteristics of the first half of our century, has long stopped being consistent with reality. A modern enterprise employs programmers, sociologists, psychologists, jurists, professional managers and other new-type personnel. As a community, singled out on the basis of some feature, there is no such group as engineering and technical personnel. The obsolete classification within a single group of working people performing qualitatively different types of specific jobs violates the socialist principle of distribution according to labor and is a convenience benefiting bookkeepers or accountants.

Article 14 of the draft law includes stipulations relative to workers, managers, engineering and technical and scientific personnel, specialists, technologists, designers and personnel in the technical control services. However, other categories of personnel are not mentioned anywhere. The draft does not stipulate who should be considered an engineering and technical worker, specialist or employee, although these are quite different concepts. Item 3 of the same article, for example, stipulates that the brigade may include engineering and technical workers. The following question arises: Is it possible to include in a brigade a manager (foreman, chief of section) or a technologist, designer or psychologist? Probably, if necessary, a brigade could include any type of employee.

I suggest that stipulations concerning specific jobs (designer, technologist, engineering-technical worker, specialist, employee, etc.) be deleted from the text of the future law, for these stipulations are partial and apply to individual elements of the varied structure of the overall worker, based on different concepts. It would be inexpedient to list in its entirety the cadre structure of a contemporary enterprise because of its dependence on the specific nature of the enterprise. It would be preferable for the law to use the concepts of "worker" and "manager."

Item 4 of Article 14 contains a stipulation which fetters the development of the structure of the overall worker as the nature of his work changes. Such stipulations set standards governing the wage fund of working people who are not workers. Obviously, such standards would cause nothing but harm, for they would hold back the independence of the enterprise, above all in the area of accelerating scientific and technical progress.

According to Item 4 of Article 8, managers, specialists and employees must undergo certification. In the case of an engineer, such certification must include his work place. If the work place of an engineer is not equipped with modern working facilities, he would be unable to meet the ever-growing technical needs of society at the end of the 20th century. The engineering profession will become prestigious only when the engineer undertakes to solve engineering problems rather than do office work which makes him a faceless engineering employee.

V. Goylo, candidate of economic sciences:

It would be expedient for the first articles in the draft law to formulate concisely the very concept of "property of the whole people," and to explain its nature and describe the forms of its implementation.

The point is that some articles in the draft law describe as ownership some social relations whereas others consider this concept as a synonym of socialist property.

I believe that it would be suitable in all possible cases to indicate the specific legal relations which are implied: ownership, handling, or utilization. In particular, the formulation of Item 2 of Article 1 "the enterprise is a juridical person which controls a specific part of the property of the whole nation and has its own balance sheet" should be redrafted as follows: "the enterprise is a juridical person which owns, handles and uses a specific part of the wealth of the whole people and has its own balance sheet."

N. Lityagin, jurist:

The organization of labor collectives' councils raises the question of their interaction with the other public authorities and, above all, the permanent production conferences. I believe that the last paragraph of Item 1, Article 7, should be refined and formulated as follows: "The labor collective's council works under the leadership of the party organization and directs the activities of all social formations with the exception of the elected authorities of trade union and Komsomol organizations. The permanent production conference performs the functions of the production section of the labor collective's council."

It would be expedient to supplement Item 5 of Article 6 of the draft law with an instruction on the right of the general meeting of the labor collective to interact with other labor collectives in solving production and social problems and, above all, with a view to integrating efforts in implementing contractual obligations. In particular, it should stipulate the right of the

labor collective to hear at his meetings reports submitted by the economic managers and the managers of public organizations of related enterprises on the implementation of their contractual obligations.

I. Malmygin, candidate of technical sciences:

I suggest that the preamble to the draft law include a regulation on the development of commodity-monetary relations, to read as follows: "This law intensifies the centralized principles in solving the most important problems of development of the national economy as a single entity and the strengthening of economic management methods, development of commodity-monetary relations, and extensive utilization of full cost accounting..." followed by the rest of the text.

Bearing in mind that enterprises are significantly different from each other in terms of technological standards and availability of housing and other social benefits for the workers, I suggest that in the distribution of the cost accounting income of the collective, the standard which should govern the wage and economic incentive funds not be considered mandatory but recommended. Correspondingly, the second paragraph of Item 1, Article 3, of the draft law should read as follows: "The wage and economic incentive funds are formed from the cost accounting income, based on the recommended standard..." followed by the rest of the text.

It would be expedient to set commodity prices on the basis of agreements between purchasers and sellers. However, in my view, the need to limit the advantages offered by the monopoly status of producers of such commodities requires that Item 4 of Article 2 be specified further as follows: "The state uses planning and extensively applies competitive designing and production, financial-credit levers and supervision of prices in order comprehensively to develop economic competition..." followed by the rest of the text.

For a number of years Soviet economists have argued about end results in capital construction. In practice this has turned to setting up the wage fund of construction organizations according to the volume of resources used. Therefore, Item 4 of Article 14 should clearly indicate that "the enterprise will determine by itself the number and composition of workers and employees and set up its wage fund according to the income earned as a result of the produced goods and apportion this wage fund between workers and employees."

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CSO: 1802/11

MAN IS ALL IMPORTANT. ROUNDTABLE MEETING OF THE JOURNALS 'KOMMUNIST',
'KOMMUNIST UKRAINY' AND 'FILOSOFSKA DUMKA' IN KIEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 90-100

[Text] [Editorial note] The development of man is the main objective and decisive factor in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. This was the theme of the roundtable discussion which was held on 20-21 January 1987. Participating in the 2-day discussion were more than 40 scientists in different fields from Kiev scientific institutions, VUZs, party, soviet, Komsomol and economic workers, men of culture and the arts, educators and journalists.

In opening the meeting, I.T. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief said that M.S. Gorbachev used the term roundtable in his address to leaders in world culture. To socialist society humanism has never been simply an efficient slogan or philanthropic wish. It has always been and remains a specific practical matter. Thanks to the victory of the Great October Revolution, for the first time in world history the working man, his interests and needs have become the focal point of governmental policy. The Soviet people can be justifiably proud of and the progressive forces on earth justifiably admire the successes and achievements attained in the real humanizing of social life.

However, even the greatest accomplishments neither can nor should conceal the real contradictions existing in the process of developing truly human conditions for life, not to mention our errors and omissions in such a difficult and important matter.

In most materials published after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the circumstances and reasons, the consequences of which so urgently require at this point an upsurge in the activity of the masses, are related to the stipulations of the general sociological law of the increased role of the masses in history, particularly under socialist conditions, when the spontaneous nature of social development is replaced by a conscious process of the development of the scientific and technical revolution and putting an end to underestimating the significance of the human factor and to its insufficient enhancement, as was the case in the recent past. Correspondingly, steps and starting points for the program for upgrading the role of the human factor are being formulated. They include ensuring that every able-bodied member of society work with total dedication at his job,

strengthening discipline, organization and responsibility, changing the style of thinking and acting, democratizing all aspects of life and upgrading the role of education (in all its aspects) in encouraging the activeness of the masses.

However, the speaker emphasized, this is only part of the problem of man, his development and study.

In accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, confirmed through the practice of building socialism, the concept of the development of man as the target of social development expresses the meaning and nature of socialism; it has been objectively included and is inherently present in the new social system. There was a time when authoritarian assessments and judgments became unappealable truths, and subjectivistic views of man as a "bolt," an appendix to the social system, became popular in theory. Furthermore, such concepts were essentially identified with the essential characteristics of socialism which eliminated from theory and practice the task of ensuring the development of man not only as a factor but also as a target of social progress, i.e., the task of subordinating to this purpose the entire mechanism of the national economy and all available resources of the country. This substantially weakened the effect of social ideals. No proper support was given to the studies of man, his interests, needs, interaction with the environment and scientific and technical progress. As a result, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, the social trend of the economy became obviously weakened. Although having successfully solved problems of population employment and provided social guarantees of a basic nature, our society was unable to make full use of its advantages in the development of man and the maximal determination of his capabilities and talents. The inevitable consequence of this was a decline in the level of interest in social affairs, a drop in the labor and social activeness and initiative of individuals and manifestations of irresponsibility and consumerism.

All of this was given a principle-minded assessment. The party formulated a scientific theory and practice of restructuring, the end purpose of which is the profound renovation of all aspects of the country's life and giving socialism the most advanced forms of social organization and ensuring the fullest possible determination of the humanistic nature of our system.

This means that science, philosophy above all, has the task of summing up, within Marxism-Leninism, the latest data in the natural, technical and humanitarian sciences, and to provide an integral concept of man in the light of the sharp increase in the role of the subjective factor and the aggravation of global problems, under the conditions of the transition from a world of private ownership, exploitation, class antagonisms and wars to a world based on the principles of socialism, i.e., humanism, progress and peace.

In order to engage in a truly comprehensive study of man, i.e., a study within all of his material and ideal features and relations, an accurate uniform conceptual and methodological foundation and a common viewpoint concerning the problems of man are necessary. The results of such studies will directly depend on the nature of this viewpoint. This is not only a purely theoretical but also a topical practical matter.

We know that the restructuring of thinking and the reorientation in the value concepts of a large number of our cadres are still too slow. In frequent cases new ideas are being mastered formally, only on the terminological level, which conveniently conceals either inaction or entails minor purely quantitative changes. Man is a factor in the development of the economy and scientific and technical progress. This is easy to understand. However, we must not stop there, for man is the supreme objective in the development of socialist society as a whole, a "measure of all things." In cautioning against any narrowed interpretation of the human factor, which could reduce man to the level of a simple means of implementation of external objectives, we must also take into consideration the fact that man is an entity combining social with biological qualities, which directs scientific studies to adopt broader approaches to the integral person as the target of history.

[Editorial note] We are pleased to note that the subsequent roundtable discussion followed this precise line.

V.I. Shinkaruk, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, editor in chief of the journal FILOSOFSKA DUMKA, UkSSR Academy of Sciences member and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

Let me first of all refine the meaning of the concepts of "human development" and "human development factor." The former establishes the nature and objective of socialist production and the reproduction of social life and the entire life process of socialist society. The latter pertains to the subject of the production and, in general, the life process and its activities through which and within which the objectives of this process are practically implemented, i.e., in the final account, the development of the individual. On this level man acts as a subject and as the target of socialist production and his activities are a means of his development (and self-development).

The appearance is created in correlating the concepts of "human development factor" and "human development" that in the former case man is a means and in the latter an objective. This appearance leads to bureaucratic and technocratic views on the working man as one of the means of production (and not the main one, for in such a view primacy is assigned to the machine). In reality, in socialist production, even if the person merely services a machine, he is not a simple means of production. He is the subject of this production, and the means is not man but his activities, his labor. The subject of activities is responsible for such activities. If a worker is assigned the status of a means of implementation of production objectives, he does not bear any responsibility for his activities; such responsibility is assumed by the "bosses." A most decisive struggle must be waged against such shortcuts; we must develop in the working people the awareness that they are the masters of the production process and not a "factor" in this process.

Therefore, it is not man himself but his activities that are the human factor; the enhancement of the human factor means, essentially, the enhancement of human activities--production, social, political, ideological, and so on. In this case the dialectical connection is such that the development of the individual defines the advancement of his activities and the advancement of his activities lead to the development of the individual.

Under Socialist conditions activities, production activities above all, are, in terms of their objective, a means of human development. Hence the most important requirement in party social policy and the steps earmarked for the 12th 5-year period, aimed at perfecting the conditions and nature of labor, and its increasing conversion into a means of developing the creative capabilities and talents and the professional and general standards of the working people. The underestimating of the human factor in this area, which still exists, is manifested, among others, in technocratic concepts of the primacy of machines and technology in general compared to man and the peak of scientific and technical progress as the total elimination from the system of automated public production not only of human "hands" but also "heads." In this case not only the technocratic underestimating of the "power" of the human intellect but also of human hands is harmful. Our ideal is not the total elimination of manual labor but the harmonious combination of mental with physical toil.

Although public production, as it is studied in economics, i.e., as the production of material goods--means of production and consumption--is the most important area in the development of man, its direct economic purpose is, nonetheless, maximally ensuring the material well-being of society, i.e., the production of means of existence.

Man and his all-round development are the direct objective of public production when the latter is considered on a broader level, as the production and reproduction of human life. Marx and Engels considered public production and its objective precisely on this broad philosophical level.

Public production, as the direct production and reproduction of life (Engels) is the dialectical unity between two areas: 1. the area of producing means of survival and 2. the area of producing man himself--the family and the entire social system of education and instruction of the growing generation. Usually, the first area is described as material production, while the second is not classified at all as production or, if it is, it is considered not material but spiritual production. This shortcut, in my view, stems from J.V. Stalin's familiar criticism of the definition given by Engels in his work "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." As to Marx and Engels, they classified the production of man himself as material production.

From the Marxist viewpoint, the first in the dialectical interconnection between the two areas of public production (the area of the production of means of survival and that of the production of man) is the determining one. Under socialist conditions, however, public production can implement its objective--the development of man--only by subordinating the entire economic area to the objectives of the social area, above all to the realm of education and upbringing of the growing generation. On this level, although the economic area may be determining or basic, so to say, priority belongs not to it but to the area of human reproduction and development. In the stage of building socialism in the 1920s and 1930s, during the Great Patriotic War and in the restoration period, for the reasons we know the area of the production of means of survival and means of production and consumption was not only determining but also given priority. Unfortunately, the traditions of this approach and the underestimating of the realm of education and upbringing

continue to prevail in the public consciousness to this day. Hence the notorious "residual principle," and the slow implementation of the reform of secondary schools and restructuring of higher schools, which are encountering numerous bureaucratic obstructions.

M.S. Gorbachev is profoundly right by saying that in order successfully to solve the revolutionary problems of achieving a new qualitative status of our society we need a substantial restructuring of our mentality, and the rejection of a number of stereotypes, including some theoretical ones. In my view, this includes concepts of man (of working people in general) as a means of solving production problems and of material production as belonging exclusively to the area of creating material means of survival.

[Editorial note] This essentially important theoretical concept of the matter was supported by the participants in the discussion and intensified and expanded in many of its areas.

V.G. Antonenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of the department of scientific communism at the philosophy department of Kiev State University Imeni T.G. Shevchenko, emphasized that the human area is a manifestation of the active essence of man. In terms of the socialist society, it could be defined as an active manifestation and realization of the interests, capabilities, concepts and values, creative energy and willpower displayed by man in the course of implementing social targets and objectives. The concept of the "human factor" is similar to the concepts of "social activeness," and "creative activeness" of the individual and the masses.

T.M. Melnik, candidate of juridical sciences and docent at the Kiev Automotive-Highway Institute, said that the "man-making function" of the communist socioeconomic system is still insufficiently studied. Although the overall attitude toward the person as the main value was retained, this attitude experienced some changes in the course of time. In the process of establishment and development of the communist system, on the economic level man has been considered differently. Thus, during the transitional period he was considered a labor resource; subsequently, he was considered a production resource and it is only now, at the present level of socialism, when a sufficiently high material and technical social base has been laid, that the question of the human factor has been formulated in its full magnitude. This requires a restructuring not only of economic relations and the economic mechanism, but of the entire system of political relations and the democratization of social life. The broadest possible masses must become involved in the process of solving arising problems. That is what makes so urgent the task of restructuring the way of thinking, outlook and education of the creative, responsible and independent person, who can make decisions under extreme situations. As long as man will consider himself the subject of influence rather than a participant in the shaping of life, there can be no question of any restructuring.

S.B. Krymskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of sociological research methods, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, pointed out the need to develop at present new theoretical and practical approaches to the problem of man: "We live in a most crucial age in

the history of mankind in which practical experience assumes vital importance because of the drastic aggravation of the social consequences of errors in planning and social projecting of the future. Here as well we encounter a major contradiction. All means of social prediction of the future are based on probabilities. Practical experience proves, however, that the probability approach does not work in determining man's future. Many social organizations and institutions, such as the courts, do not rely on probability methods. We must bear in mind that even unlikely or incredible things could occur. This leads to major disparities and creates a gap between approaches strictly based on probabilities, on which we base our models of the future, and the real state of affairs. We must remember that the mathematical theory of solutions and practical experience prove that the most efficient solutions involve the greatest risks. The question arises of how to assess it.

It would be senseless to rely in this case on value or, in general, on quantitative indicators and measures. On the contrary, we must learn how to oppose the existing simplistic approach, which is reduced to the fact that if something useful and good may be found in man and mankind, it must mandatorily be multiplied quantitatively. We need a qualitative, a strictly human consideration of the consequences of all socioeconomic and political changes and scientific and technical achievements. In other words, we have reached a level of development in which the question "What must I do?" is increasingly turning into "What should I be?"

How to solve these problems? What should be the base for quality measurements of man's activities, which are so greatly necessary today? This topic was discussed by M.V. Popovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the philosophy, logic and methodology of science department, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. In his opinion, the key to the solution of this problem is found in the development of a philosophical understanding of man alongside the consideration of man from the viewpoint of the specialized sciences. Let us take as an example the problem of sensible human needs. The individual sciences can define quite accurately and in detail the set of external objects and conditions which man needs as a biological and social being in order to survive. This, however, is insufficient in order to determine sensible needs. The latter require a philosophical approach, specifically a turning to universal values which embody the interests of social development as a whole.

These values were discussed by B.S. Stupka, actor at the State Academic Ukrainian Drama Theater imeni I. Franko and people's artist of the UkSSR:

The current restructuring in all areas of our life is a sharp struggle. It is very important in this case for all of us to keep in mind the noble objectives on which it is based, so that the clashes it creates are not reduced to some petty passions and rivaling ambitions and for the entire restructuring to be sanctified by the ideals of social usefulness, justice and good.

Many of the people present here are scientists and I believe that at this point they are ready to ask me what my interpretation of good is. I am hard put to answer, for I am no theoretician. In my view, sometimes good means not to cause bad to another person. Sometimes it means to put a person in a

situation in which he experiences an upheaval, a crisis, a catharsis and a moral cleansing. This is like in the theater, where the viewer is shaken up and his old concepts are destroyed but, meanwhile, he has gained the impetus to develop a new outlook and rise above his previous way of life.

No, I am not trying in the least to draw a direct analogy between the theater and the restructuring of life, although some analogy is possible. Alas, sometimes we become an audience and other people become actors acting the restructuring. Let me add that these are bad actors, for however hard they may try, eventually we can always see whether they are pursuing good objectives and accomplishing good deeds for the common good or not.

Let me point out that sometimes even good could lead to evil, if we replace the eternal, the human criteria with circumstantial ones based on personal considerations, when we are not truly good. Such an attitude has already caused substantial harm to feelings of responsibility, duty, and honor, which we encounter today more frequently in a historical play or novel than in life. Let me also point out that the technocratic way of thinking, which was criticized by many people here, or something which I could describe as the "bookkeeper's approach" to man, which frequently predominated in our country in assessing man's labor, dignity, success, and others, also played their negative role in a certain devaluation of motivations and principles governing rewards for good work. No, I am not against bonuses, wage supplements, etc. I am opposed to gauging human accomplishments primarily in terms of rubles, for I believe that man deserves more than such a yardstick. Furthermore, such a yardstick surreptitiously encourages, on the one hand, the utilitarian attitude toward the person as a means (the more you give him the more he will give, the less you give him the less he will give) and, on the other, strengthens within man the view that he is a means and that this is what he should be. He is told to be initiative minded but if he displays initiative, nothing happens.... Is this not the root of expectations concerning the restructuring which, incidentally, are not inherent only to senior officials? Give us the concept of restructuring, give us a procedure, earmark who to restructure and how.... Who could possibly provide all of this, instruct or point if not we, all of us by ourselves and together? What other criteria do we need other than the familiar criteria of goodness and justice, openness and frankness, social benefit and the common good?

[Editorial note] Similar questions were raised by other roundtable participants in their speeches. The result was a substantially unanimous view that the approach to the individual should be both theoretically and practically above all as to a subject, who is fully independent and responsible for the meaning and significance of his activities and their consequences. It was precisely on the subject of the social responsibility of the individual to himself and to society that the most fruitful discussions of contemporary topical problems related to the enhancement of the human factor developed.

F.M. Rudich, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the science and training institutions, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee:

The technological age, the age of the atom, demands of the people a higher level of education, strictest discipline, restraint and moral standards in the work. Last year was exceptionally saturated with events, unfortunately, some of them tragic. The people were profoundly shaken up by the news of the Chernobyl misfortune and the accidents involving the ship "Admiral Nakhimov," the passenger trains at Koristovka railroad station, and the Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya mine and their social consequences. Without wishing to dramatize these events, which are dramatic enough by themselves, but on their basis I would like to emphasize that we see today in the social and civic irresponsibility of specialists in many areas one of the sources of such events.

Unfortunately, our schools, our entire public education system, has weakened its most important function, that of developing a feeling of responsibility in the growing generation and, subsequently, the generations which are entering production activities. The restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education and the aspiration to set up a continuing educational system, the essence of which, in the final account, will be reduced to the integration among education, science and production, is one of the trends in solving this problem. Let us particularly point out the role of the social sciences in the molding of the personality. Do we always keep in mind the fact that the teaching of social subjects in a higher educational institution mandatorily presumes that the shaping in the students of the ability to see the social meaning of their future activities and to anticipate in their professional and managerial activities the results of such actions to people and society? Without this teachers, metallurgical workers, construction workers, economists, agronomists, medical workers, navigators and power workers cannot function.

Responsibility is shaped in all systems involving relations between man and the world, such as "man-man," "man-technology" and "man-nature." Let us consider first the "man-man" system. It would be hardly possible here to exaggerate the role of training in the humanities. The purpose of socioeconomic disciplines is to shape a Marxist-Leninist, a materialistic outlook in the individual, a deep understanding of specific-historical correlation between freedom and necessity and duty and obligation of the person to the collective, the class and the nation. Phenomena of stagnation in teaching the social sciences, omissions in the conceptual upbringing of secondary and higher school students lead, for a variety of other reasons, to an uncritical adoption of harmful, apolitical, including nationalistic, views, customs and traditions. The old disease of a problem-free and emasculated presentation of the material, and an orientation toward memorizing rather than developing in the students firm class positions and ideological convictions, is difficult to cure. Socioeconomic disciplines are still being "presented" rather than mastered and accepted as a personal viewpoint. Furthermore, in operating with lofty abstractions and categories, in the majority of cases the social scientists ignore the active role of man and his influence on the future of the collective and, in the final account, of society. Unwittingly, this approach develops in the future specialist a certain underestimating of his actions, lowers the feeling of social responsibility and creates irresponsibility instead.

Another aspect is developing individual responsibility within the "man-technology" system. Scientific and technical progress formulates essentially new requirements toward the specialist, the scientist. The growth of technical facilities at the disposal of the individual worker and the concentration of tremendous power in a single pair of hands lead to a great increase in the importance of decisions and the significance of their consequences. Slackness, triteness and inability to think things through by a worker trigger a long chain of consequences, the end result of which could cause social and economic harm or even totally irreparable losses. It is becoming increasingly difficult to exercise external control over the activities of a worker and the quality of his work with the new technological systems. In this case the significance of moral and psychological features, such as honesty, conscientiousness, discipline, persistence, a balanced approach and willpower increases immeasurably. In short, this applies to features and qualities which are generally referred to as responsibility. The social scientist must not only bring to light the meaning of these human qualities and not only teach the future specialists to understand the human mentality but also to develop a responsibility within themselves.

Third and final is the development of individual responsibility in the "man-nature" system. This is accomplished by developing a deep-seated materialistic outlook on which the personality is based. It is precisely the study of the social sciences, not separately but as a uniform Marxist-Leninist theory, that is the main source for the general humanitarian knowledge of the specialist. In the final account, the specialist must develop a high humanitarian standard. Shortcomings in this area are very costly to society. A person lacking a general training in the humanities and, therefore, a person who thinks in terms of narrow and strictly technical concepts is essentially a socially irresponsible person. In the final account, dry logic, not enriched by feelings, stultified computations which ignore beauty, and utilitarianism without goodness inevitably ends in major losses to society.

To sum it up, let us emphasize that, in our view, reorientation from abstract appeals for the fulfillment of civic duty to developing in the future specialists true social responsibility should be the most important element in the current restructuring in the teaching of the social sciences. The solution of the problems raised in this area and the formulation of answers to the questions of the role of man, the human factor, in the acceleration of the economic and social development of our society require studies on different levels of social knowledge. Based on theoretical and political materials and the methodological role of scientific communism, we must study the factors which determine, train and shape the sociocivic activeness of the individual and formulate corresponding recommendations which are so greatly needed today by our society, scientific institutions and party and state authorities.

K.M. Sytnik, vice president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, UkSSR Academy of Sciences member and director of the Botanical Institute Imeni N.G. Kholodnyy:

We live in the noosphere, i.e., today it is the mind that solves all problems on earth. The postulate that "man is the main thing" is the only accurate one. We have become accustomed to say that man is a creator, a builder. This is true. Most people are creative. However, some people are also destructive

and they too need our attention. How to explain the fact, for example, that in the Ukraine about 40 percent of the land has been eroded and that in the USSR as a whole 100,000 hectares are eroded every year? Several thousand small rivers have disappeared since the war. Who destroyed them? I believe that the main factor in this case, alas, is also man. These losses were caused by specific individuals. We acted entirely correctly when we began to think about water resources and set up water reservoirs and water systems. Although the idea was good, we spoiled huge areas in timber, pastures and fertile land which could have been saved. If this is what is happened in the rest of the world, we shall soon lose entire continents. Unless we change our attitude toward the land we would lose the chernozem, and of the 300 million hectares of chernozem in the world, 190 million are in the Soviet Union.

What to do so that the destructive power of man, of the man who harms, i.e., the man who causes damage to nature, is reduced or totally eliminated? In principle, could we see to it that man does not act as a destructive force? At this meeting, Feliks Mikhaylovich Rudich spoke of man's responsibility I believe that this is the only force. How to develop this responsibility?

This is a difficult task, for there are prosecutors and courts to punish irresponsible people. Obviously, such authorities will be with us for a long time to come. However, these are extreme measures of influencing the individual in the struggle against irresponsibility.

We must see to it that people be held morally responsible for their actions normally, without such steps. We must create the type of situation in which people who are now retired but who engaged in such so-called improvements in the past, as a result of which hundreds of hectares were lost, may not live at peace with themselves but be tortured by their conscience. Man is above all a sensible being and should be influenced above all through moral means.

[Editorial note] But how to develop a feeling of moral responsibility? Many perfectly accurate statements were made at the roundtable meetings on the role of scientific, conceptual and other training in the course of this process. However, although aware of the full importance of this, we must not forget also that a moral awareness is shaped within certain specific conditions of human life, work and social activities. Perhaps the nature of such conditions is manifested most clearly under unusual, extreme circumstances. This was discussed by Ye.I. Golovakhi, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate (UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy):

Let me discuss the initial results and conclusions of studies conducted among people employed at vital sectors in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. These studies, conducted by a group of sociologists from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, revealed a number of important factors related to the possibility of harnessing reserves within the human individual and significantly energizing the production process.

As the initial interviews conducted among people employed in such operations indicated, they felt that if under normal and everyday circumstances everyone worked the way they were working at Chernobyl we would have have been living in the 21st century a long time ago. The general view was that people work

with considerably greater productivity, willingness, responsibility and organization under such circumstances than they do normally.

We tried to determine the reasons for this. Following are the initial conclusions.

For example, when we asked the people how satisfied they were with various aspects of their work and life under these circumstances, it turned out that their satisfaction with many aspects of the work, such as its organization, material procurements, incentives, etc., was low, lower than at ordinary production facilities. Satisfaction was very high in only two items: the responsibility and importance of this work to society and the fact that it was precisely they and not others who were doing this health-threatening job.

Some of the particularly dangerous jobs are done strictly by volunteers who receive no special material incentive. The incentive is to be working in this sector, the roof of the third block in particular.

Reasons such as the desire to earn an award or to distinguish oneself, or liking to take a risk were mentioned quite rarely. In other words, priority was given to awareness of the responsibility and understanding of the particular importance of the job.

What matters above all, however, is not the fact that extreme circumstances are needed to bring to light the human possibilities but the fact that under normal circumstances the necessary mechanism which would make the individual realize that his work is needed, the realization of his irreplaceable nature, has not been created. It is particularly the realization that this is something which that particular individual can accomplish that enables us to discover important resources.

Managers with whom we talked have told us that people refused bonuses, preferring moral incentives. For example, they would reject a 500-ruble bonus in favor of a commemorative badge indicating participation in repairing the damage from the accident. Priority was given not to cash awards which, naturally, are of importance to a working family, but to a letter of thanks at their place of work, pointing out that courageously and with a strong feeling of responsibility that person had fulfilled his civic duty.

I would also like to point out the following. A person engaged in such work shows a greater degree of dissatisfaction with a bad organization of the work, although it must be noted that the organization of the work there was quite good. Nonetheless, people demand more. This indicates that those who can show such a critical attitude can also contribute more to their jobs.

By developing the ability of a person to criticize and to interpret a situation in which he may find himself we can develop his potential.

[Editorial note] Let us point out that some people distrusted Ye.I. Golovakhi's report. It was specifically asked if the speaker was not exaggerating the importance of moral factors compared to material ones?

We believe that this question is based on pure misunderstanding or, more precisely, on the habit which has developed of late of interpreting the concept of "material" in rather narrow terms, reducing it exclusively to gross material "benefits." But material conditions in human life are by no means entirely covered by this, for they also include labor organization and the totality of relations among people and, in particular, the specific and unique role which man plays (should play) in the production process. Every person is unique and awareness of his uniqueness stimulates more than anything else his activeness and responsibility. Generally speaking, most participants in the debates were accurately aware of this circumstance.

V.G. Antonenko: I did not feel that the statement by Ye.I. Golovakhi exaggerated moral factors. It was precisely the events at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant that emphasized the tremendous importance of moral incentives in human labor activities.

I could quote a number of cases of people feeling hurt not because they did not receive a bonus but because they were left unnoticed. The difficult conditions under which they did their selfless work were ignored.

L.V. Sokhan, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the social psychology department, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

A paradox was solved in the course of the discussions: a person is socially active and ready to engage in work which is quite difficult and dangerous not only to his health but to his life and to act under exceptional conditions; meanwhile, under normal circumstances, such a person does not always display such qualities. I recall a statement made by a fictional extraterrestrial who was amazed at an earthman saying, You are strange beings. You show your best human qualities under the worst possible conditions.

In this interesting meeting let us consider what mechanisms should be engaged to achieve the same human virtues and practical qualities in ordinary working conditions? F.M. Rudich and K.M. Sytnik discussed responsibility at length. It seems to me, however, that this factor cannot operate alone. I would like to formulate the question thus: What other mechanisms related to an objective situation should be engaged in order to obtain the necessary results?

I believe that at the present stage, in addition to responsibility and enthusiasm, which was striking in the Chernobyl situation, there should also be a better mechanism for organizing our lives in all of its aspects, so that labor, civic and family behavior become consistent with scientific criteria.

[Editorial note] The common solution to the problem is known: The way to enhancing man and upgrading his initiative, civic daring and responsibility goes through the all-round democratization of social life and socialist self-governing by the people. Some specific aspects of the implementation of this objective were covered in the statements of the roundtable participants.

A.F. Aksenov, UkSSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, rector, Kiev Civil Aviation Engineers Institute (KIIGA), and G.A. Lisovik, candidate of philosophical sciences, head of the political education sector, KIIGA:

The problems in our institute are obviously similar to those of all higher schools. The main task now is to find a way to solve such problems including, as F.M. Rudich mentioned today, that of developing a feeling of responsibility in the technical specialist handling a complex machine.

In our institute we are applying what we believe to be a very effective method, which is the development of student self-government. The experiment, which was started in 1980, had the following objectives:

First, to develop a feeling of ownership and responsibility in every student for successes and shortcomings of his collective and, in the collectives, responsibility for every student. To upgrade the social activeness of the students in solving the most important problems in VUZ life: improving grades, strengthening discipline and developing the socially useful activities of students; providing scope for youth creativity and initiative in organizing daily life and recreation, maintaining model order in dormitories and in using the cultural and sports facilities of the institute. Second, to contribute to the fullest extent to developing in our alumni qualities of managers, organizers and educators of labor collectives. Third, to free dean's offices, administrators and the faculty from petty supervision of student collectives. Fourth, to upgrade the responsibility of faculty and administrators for the quality of the training process and to provide suitable conditions for training and molding the personality of the future specialist; to contribute to the organization of efficient joint activities by educators and students and to create a training-educational collective in which faculty and students share a relationship based on mutual responsibility.

Let us point out that wherever a serious leadership in the development of student self-government is absent and where it is left to develop on its own, education results different from those expected are possible. An instructive example in this respect was the effort to convert to student self-government the university city dormitories of the KIIGA in 1978, which led to a worsening of the situation in this area. With improper organization of self-government, students who are members of self-governing bodies, particularly those who hold leading positions, could develop negative qualities such as arrogance, conceit and individualism. Improper implementation or absence of the process of electivity, as a result of which the same students perform the same obligations for a number of years and do not report to the collective, alienates them from the collective, leads them to suppress criticism and to make decisions which do not reflect the opinion of the collective.

Nonetheless, the organization of a collective on a self-governing principle cannot be achieved only with the help of external measures. This also requires the initiative, willingness and inner incentives shown by the student group to convert to self-government. Our experience indicates the existence of four basic stages in converting a student group to self-government. The first is strict control and organization of the group, entirely based on the requirements of the instructor. This is an initial condition for a group which is as yet to become a collective. Second: an aktiv which develops in the group and which, in support of the instructor, begins to formulate requirements concerning the collective. Third: the collective of the student group formulates requirements concerning every student. Fourth: every

student in the group becomes exigent toward himself and his comrades. In short, we have the requirements of the instructor, the aktiv, the group and the individual student. The task is to cover the first two stages during the first year and to let the self-governing group to deal with the rest.

At this point we can also find an answer to the most crucial and debatable question: Does the group require an instructor? An instructor is needed during the first two stages, particularly during the first. There is another seemingly paradoxical conclusion: the more the instructor organizes in a talented and pedagogically knowledgeable manner the process of shaping the group into a collective, the earlier he becomes, simply stated, unnecessary to the group in his traditional role as instructor.

Practical experience indicates that defining relations between the administration of the various departments in the institute and the student self-governing authorities is a very difficult problem. In no case should the administration take over from the self-governing authorities and independently solve problems which are within the jurisdiction of such authorities, even if the management's decision may seem accurate; if the administration deems impossible to implement a wrong decision made by a given self-governing authority, it must appeal to the general assembly and not simply revoke the decision; the basic method to be used by the administration should be to use its influence on the self-governing authorities and make entirely clear the fact that the work of a comrade who does not enjoy such influence and is always in conflict with self-governing authorities is unsuitable for the job.

The student self-governing system was implemented in its entirety at the engineering-economics department of the KIIGA, where the solution of problems directly pertaining to student activities has been put entirely in the hands of the student organizations: assigning places in dormitories, granting and revoking scholarships, assigning to production practice, drafting resolutions on rewards and punishments, and organizing socially useful labor, living conditions and recreation. The student self-governing authorities consist of councils of academic groups, courses, departments and dormitories. Each one of them includes, in addition to the student aktiv, representatives of the dean's office and departmental party, trade union and Komsomol buros. The high efficiency of student self-government in that department not only influenced student grades and enhanced their sociopolitical activeness but also helped in the successful adaptation of graduates to work in labor collectives and to their quick promotion to heads of departments and services. The department's experience was used as a base in the further development of self-government in the VUZ in the light of contemporary party requirements.

[Editorial note] The problems of young people in general drew great attention at the roundtable meeting. Are young people objects and subjects of a special relatively independent social policy?

According to N.N. Churilov, head of group at the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Scientific Research Center for Youth Problems and candidate of philosophical sciences, this is unquestionable and demands of us specific practical actions. "Practical experience indicates that the solution of the absolute majority of youth problems is possible only through the development

of interdepartmental union-republic target programs. We believe that there is a need today to draft such programs for perfecting the training of young people for labor, developing scientific and technical creativity among youth, creating youth residential complexes, developing independent cost accounting centers in the areas of entertainment and others. The formulation and implementation of such programs will contribute to increasing the activities of young people as subjects of social policy and upgrade the contribution of young people to the acceleration of socioeconomic development. In order to accomplish this, in our view, a special authority must be set up, such as a state committee for youth affairs."

For the time being, however, this is only a suggestion. What is being done or could be done to solve the problem of young people today, by the existing organizations and, naturally, the Komsomol above all? This was discussed in the statements of Komsomol workers S.P. Levitskaya, first Komsomol secretary, Leninskiy Raykom, Kiev, and V.A. Novak, head of the department for work with scientific youth, Kiev Komsomol Gorkom. A number of problems have accumulated here and their enumeration alone would take a great deal of time. What is clear, however, is that youth initiative, creativity and independent activities, which are so needed to solve them, frequently encounter a mass of bureaucratic twists and obstructions.

[Editorial note] The struggle against bureaucratism is a practical problem which cannot be solved without the efficient theoretical interpretation of the nature of this phenomenon. What is bureaucratism? Is it a management phenomenon or a social illness? The discussion brought to light a variety of approaches in answering this question.

K.K. Grishchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, head of the department of ethical problems of management, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

Today bureaucratism has become a dangerous social phenomenon, the scientific study of which has been virtually ignored. As an attribute, a satellite of power, it inevitably creates the temptation of abusing it and it would be naive to hope that it can yield to exhortations and lay down its arms voluntarily. More frequently, with proper means at its disposal, it sets up a strong "perimeter defense."

The essence of bureaucratism is the aspiration of individual executive authorities (obviously, also individuals with power) to be independent of their subordinates and of influence "from below." In other words, bureaucracy is the most refined and concealed form of abuse of power, which creates a specific type of manager, whose main features are conformism, orientation toward formal rather than meaningful objectives in his activities, and preserving and strengthening his official position and related privileges.

In hierarchically organized management systems, bureaucratism creates its own code of unwritten laws, standards, regulations, procedures and principles which can greatly affect administrative decisions making and implementation.

How to organize on a practical basis the struggle against bureaucratism under present conditions? We believe that all the necessary prerequisites exist for the creation, on a national scale, of a sufficiently reliable system which could counter and directly affect any display of bureaucratism on all administrative levels. Such an antibureaucratic system will provide firm support for the further development of democracy and the creative activeness of the masses. In undertaking to solve of the problem on the basis of the main principle of management, priority is given to eliminating the "shortcut" or, more precisely, distortions of democratic centralism, in which centralization from the top of all measures taken on all management levels leads to the unlimited "right to order," which inevitably weakens democracy and triggers bureaucratism in all of its hipostases.

The imperative of our time has put on the agenda the item of the more profound identification and utilization in management of the most important advantages of the socialist social system. In this case, this applies to the possible and necessary use of a new qualitative level of feedback in management. This is a kind of regulator which reacts to deviations and secures the implementation of the program-target stipulations governing the functioning of socioproduction systems.

In our view, the suggestions submitted by the working people are most important in the entire variety of currently used "regulatory influences" (criticism, self-criticism, complaints, statements, suggestions and control). Suggestions (naturally, socially useful suggestions), unlike criticism and control, are complete regulatory influences aimed at eliminating deviations and perfecting the functions of systems.

Nonetheless, so far, despite the merit, great significance and unlimited opportunities in solving the numerous vital problems which our society faces, suggestions continue to play a rather modest role in the present laws, along with petitions and complaints. State and public authorities and managerial and official personnel must consider suggestions within one month, answer them and take proper steps. The same applies to suggestions submitted by labor collectives. No mention is made of the implementation of suggestions!

Such an "omission" emasculates the essence of democracy, leaving only its skeleton and programs in advance bureaucratism, freeing its hands fully in suppressing such influences "from below," which come from collectives or individual citizens. By allowing bureaucracy to solve problems related to the development of democracy and self-government, are we not like the familiar character who tried to pull himself out of the swamp by pulling himself up by his own hair? It would be difficult to overestimate the moral and material harm caused to our socialist society in its internal development and internationally by the fact that most valuable suggestions have been wandering among bureaucratic labyrinths, finding no exit, for years and even decades.

Taking into consideration the relevance of such problems, we deem it expedient and timely to raise a question of creating a unified state system for accountability and control in the implementation of suggestions.

Yu.D. Prilyuk, candidate of philosophical sciences, deputy editor in chief of the journal FILOSOFSKA DUMKA, leading scientific associate, department of historical materialism, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

The preceding statement left me with a double impression. On the one hand, it is good that an attempt was made scientifically to explain bureaucratism as a managerial phenomenon. As a whole, however, what is the strategy used in the scientific study of bureaucratism? The distance from a cybernetic explanation to full study by social science is tremendous. The word "bureaucracy" literally means "office rule." Therefore, since it is a question of offices, it becomes a management phenomenon; if it is a question of power, it becomes a social problem and a social phenomenon which applies not only to the area where it was created but to the entire social awareness and, perhaps, to all social life.

Ordinary awareness tells us that everything is due to the existence of management, of managerial work, and the fact that in our country this area has grown gigantically: We have nearly 18 million people one way or another engaged in managerial activities. To begin with, however, management will never disappear; secondly, it seems as though under communism, with "literal participation" in management, everyone will become a bureaucrat. Is that so? Naturally, it is not! Even today by no means is everyone employed in management a bureaucrat. On the other hand, elements of bureaucratic thinking are also inherent in those who work outside management. Let us recall letters to the editors, suggesting to the press that the various manifestations of bureaucratism be fought by setting up yet another special department or, as Mayakovskiy said, holding one more session on the problem of eliminating all sessions! Is mass faith in the changing power of a piece of paper not a symptom of a bureaucratic way of thinking?

The main reason for the durability of bureaucratism is found in a contradictory combination of interests. However, the study of the problem of interests has long been in our country in a "state of certain remoteness from the problems of life." Mountains of books have been written and suffice it to read only one to realize that in terms of interests everything is in order in our country! Interests are combined, harmonized, optimized, etc. For many years we have been proving to one-another that all of this is taking place on the basis of the unity of basic class interests although, judging by all available information, no one among us doubts it. Poor results could be achieved in this case also by the study of individual interests such as, for example, the private ambitions of a bureaucrat, which are more consequences than reasons. On the other hand, if today we are seriously speaking of the revolutionary nature of restructuring, this means that there also exists a noncoincidence of interests, which restructuring should eliminate. Naturally, this does not apply to class interests, but then to what interests does it apply? A noncoincidence between the interests of the individual and society? Between the individual and the collective? Between the collective and society? However, the noncoincidence of such interests is a natural manifestation of the dialectics of the interaction between the entity and its parts, between the single and separate and the common, a noncoincidence which cannot be entirely eliminated by any kind of restructuring, for it is one of the boosters of social progress. We are fighting that which prevents

development. We are fighting stagnation, negative phenomena in social life. However, on what type of combination of interests are such phenomena built?

As practical experience in restructuring indicates, this applies to the combination of interests with which our scientists are still unfamiliar. I mean by this above all departmental interests which, under certain circumstances, try to duplicate the interests of the state (of the whole people). Amazing transformations take place under the wing of departmental interests: a collective interest may degenerate into a corporate interest and an individual interest into a private interest. As we can see, this leads to the development of a "shady hierarchy" based on the familiar system of national-collective-personal interests. As though obeying the laws of symmetry, such "shady hierarchy" has its socially opposite sign, so to say, a sign of political negativism and regression. Could this be the invisible school for the training of bureaucrats, which we discussed? The fact that hiding behind departmental interests, bureaucratic self-serving and arbitrary rule usually enhances corporate interests and revives private interests is something familiar to all. As to how precisely this takes place we are as yet to learn, although how to study this is still unclear: there are no specialists who study the manifestations of corporate and private interests under socialism. We know mostly from practical experience that such manifestations are bad and negative, that they destroy the living fabric of the social organization.... The situation is no better with the analysis of the socioregulatory role played by departmental interests.

If we transfer departmental interests from the sectorial to the regional management levels, we obtain the virtually same model but in which parochial interests predominate. It is thus that we find yet another equally "productive" school for training bureaucrats, a school which, incidentally, we condemn without having studied it.

The combination and confrontation between such interests leads (through proof rather than intuitively) to the interpretation and explanation of any manifestation of bureaucratism and its derivatives: formalism, whitewashing, etc. What is important is that on the basis of such clashes we can model a specific mechanism for the reproduction of bureaucratism. The study of its work will give us the necessary knowledge of how to eliminate this mechanism in practical life. (To be continued).

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ON THE ROAD TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 101-107

[Article by Yevgeniy Pavlovich Glazunov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The Lao People's Democratic Republic is experiencing a difficult but exceptionally interesting period in its development. Gradually surmounting its historical difficulties, headed by its battle vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party, the republic is confidently advancing on the road of laying the material and technical foundations for socialism. This is a hard road. There are no ready answers to hundreds of specific questions which arise in converting from a pre-capitalist to a socialist system. The solution of this problem is possible only in the case of a party guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and whose activities are based on the experience of the other detachments of the international communist and worker movements.

The Sixth Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, which was a most important landmark in the life of Lao society, was held in November 1986. A total of 303 delegates representing more than 40,000 LPRP members and more than 200 invited veterans of the national liberation and revolutionary movements, workers, peasants, military servicemen and men of culture and education participated in its proceedings.

The purpose of the party forum, as defined by Kaysone Phomvihan, LPRP Central Committee general secretary, who submitted the Central Committee's political reports to the congress, was profoundly to interpret the progress made in the 10 years since the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and to sum up the implementation of the party's resolutions, above all those of its Third Congress, accurately to assess both achievements and shortcomings and to draw lessons from the acquired experience.

The congress pointed out that under contemporary international conditions the transition of Laos toward socialism is an objective law. It is consistent with the overall trends of our age and is the only way which can take the people to freedom and true happiness.

As was emphasized in the political report, "The seizure of power is a difficult matter. However, defending and strengthening it is even more

difficult." To this day subversive activities against Laos have not ceased, including armed struggle, the remaining threat of invasion, blockades, and economic, ideological and cultural subversions. The enemies of the people's regime are trying to divide the ethnic groups in the country and to alienate Laos from fraternal countries and from its tried friends.

Despite objective difficulties and intrigues on the part of international reaction, the young republic is achieving noticeable successes in all areas of economic and cultural construction. In the time since the victory of the 1975 revolution the GNP doubled; during the first 5-year period (1981-1985) it increased by 54 percent, and the national income by 48 percent (per capita income increased by 60 percent in 10 years); the volume of capital investments increased by 41 percent and public labor productivity by 28 percent. For Laos, which began its socialist reorganization quite recently, this is a major feat.

In speaking proudly of accomplishments in economic construction, the delegates particularly noted achievements in agriculture, which is presently the main sector of the Lao economy. During that period the volume of gross agricultural output increased by 42 percent. There has been a gradual conversion from a single-season extensive farming to more progressive forms and to agricultural production intensification. As a result of the efforts of the entire people, compared with 1976, the first year of people's regime, production of unhulled rice had more than doubled by 1985 and increased by one-third during the 5-year period. Animal husbandry is developing faster.

The state is paying great attention to strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture. New irrigation systems are being built (130,000 hectares were irrigated during the 5-year period) and the areas from which two annual crops are harvested are expanding. The republic's working people are relating their achievements in agriculture to the policy of cooperativization promoted by the party. By the end of 1986 the country had about 4,000 cooperatives which included more than one-half of all peasant families and more than 50 percent of all areas in rice.

It was nonetheless pointed out that a more efficient use could be made of the country's timber and other natural resources.

An interested discussion was held at the party forum on the achievements and prospects of domestic industry. In this area as well the Lao working people have something to be proud of. In a 10-year period the gross volume of industrial output increased by a factor of 4.4. Within that time dozens of new enterprises were built and many old enterprises reconstructed, including the machine-repair plant, tin-extracting enterprises, a gypsum mine, a plant for the production of concrete and construction materials, the fifth power unit of the Ngum electric power plant, and others.

Proper attention was paid to artisan production and traditional artistic crafts, the development of which made it possible substantially to increase the production of consumer goods and helped to increase employment and income.

Under the people's regime the state economic sector has strengthened. Today it includes some 300 enterprises. Economic relations between town and

country, in which agricultural cooperatives play an increasing role, have expanded significantly.

The congress positively rated the work done on the creation of the new economic management mechanism, consistent with the real conditions prevailing in the country and contemporary development trends.

Great successes were achieved in the areas of culture, education and health care. Initial steps have been taken to mold the new person--the active working person and fighter for the socialist future of his homeland.

Before the revolution nearly two-thirds of all Laotians were illiterate. Today this legacy of the past has been ended: one-quarter of the virtually entire 4-million strong republic population is in school. The task has been set of introducing mandatory primary education. Until recently Laos did not have a single higher educational institution. Today it has six VUZs and dozens of secondary educational institutions. In the period since the revolution, more than 6,000 Laotians acquired higher training. This 5-year period several thousand more young men and women, who have graduated from institutes in Laos, the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other members of the socialist community, will reinforce the growing national army of highly skilled specialists.

All of this was made possible thanks to the party's socioeconomic strategy, which was charted in accordance with specific Lao conditions, formulated at the third LPRP (April 1982) and concretized at the subsequent plenums of its Central Committee. The party strengthened in the course of solving the difficult problems of the socialist revolution. Its prestige among the people increased and its international relations strengthened. This also contributed to strengthening its influence in the broad toiling masses.

In discussing the difficulties of a direct transition to socialism in an economically underdeveloped country, Kaysone Phomvihan emphasized: "The transition to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, was the shortest way chosen by our party toward equality, well-being, happiness and prosperity for the entire population in the country. However, in advancing toward this objective we must surmount numerous difficulties and severe trials, for it is a question of a new path in the new history of our country and we are entering this path lacking adequate experience and starting practically from scratch" (Kaysone Phomvihan, "Revolyutsiya v Laose: Nekotoryye Osnovnyye Uroki i Glavnyye Zadachi" [The Revolution in Laos: Some Basic Lessons and Main Tasks]. Moscow, 1980, p 213).

From that viewpoint the 4th LPRP Congress can be considered a very important landmark in the formulation of a specific program for action aimed at the radical restructuring of Lao society during the second 5-year period (1986-1990) and the period until the year 2000, defining the basic trends and tasks in the socioeconomic development of Laos and the strengthened concept of restructuring the economic mechanism.

The conclusion contained in the political report is that in the period since the last party forum the people's regime in the country strengthened and

tangible changes occurred in all areas of economic and cultural building. Nonetheless, after noting the successes, the congress undertook an exigent and sober evaluation of accomplishments. It noted that results could have been better had a higher level of labor management and organization been achieved and had there not been numerous shortcomings still found in the activities of party and state authorities and economic organizations.

Unsolved problems were sharply criticized and errors and omissions which are hindering the process of building a new life were exposed; slowness in restructuring economic management and unsatisfactory attention paid to problems of upgrading economic efficiency and applying cost accounting were pointed out; weaknesses in the ideological struggle against the enemies of the people's regime and in the education of the new person were brought to light. The congress called upon all party members decisively to correct existing shortcomings, to surmount difficulties, to block a simplistic understanding of objective laws of the transitional period, and to proceed from real possibilities in formulating the tasks of socialist restructuring.

The congress exposed many shortcomings in cadre work. In particular, it noted that some managers forget the need steadily to increase the level of their knowledge and to set an example to others. There still are cases of alienation from the masses and manifestations of conservatism, mental laziness and lack of a feeling for the new.

As was emphasized at the congress, admitting omissions and errors is insufficient. What matters is to correct them decisively and to prevent them from occurring in the future.

Based on the lessons of the past, the speaker drew attention to the need to upgrade the party's leading role, to chart the political course on time and firmly and consistently to implement decisions. He particularly emphasized the permanent significance of strengthening the cohesion and unity between the party and the entire people. In all areas of activity, economics in particular, noted, prime attention must be paid to objective laws; we must caution against subjectivism and voluntarism. The strength of the party and the guarantee for the accuracy of its charted course lie in the knowledge and creative application of the laws of building socialism.

Having chosen the path of socialism, like the peoples of neighboring fraternal Vietnam and Cambodia, the people of Laos have joined in the implementation of a task of historical significance: to prove through their own example the unquestionable superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Today sufficient grounds exist to note that the socialist countries have greatly outstripped development in capitalist countries in political, social and cultural construction, in creating an atmosphere of collectivism in relations among people and in shaping the new human community. In the area of economics, however, this task remains unsolved. This will require time and the great efforts of the working people. By correcting errors and making more energetic use of the tremendous potential of the new sociopolitical system, the congress indicated, the Lao working people will achieve new successes in laying the material and technical foundations for socialism and, together with

Vietnam and Cambodia, will prove that the socialist way is not only most fully consistent with the spirit of our age but also more efficient than capitalism.

That which the Lao working people have accomplished in the past and are accomplishing now clearly confirms the accuracy of Lenin's idea expressed in his article "On the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution:" "We have already initiated the necessary restructuring of our economic policy. Although minor and partial, we have nevertheless achieved unquestionable successes in this area. We are already graduating the preparatory class in this area of the new 'science.' By learning firmly and persistently and by checking each one of our steps through practical experience and boldly redoing projects, correcting our errors and closely analyzing their significance, we shall move on to the next grade. We shall take the full 'course'..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 152).

The most important feature of the Lao revolution is the fact that the country is advancing toward socialism essentially from a pre-capitalist formation; when the revolution won even the feudal system had not reached its full development. It is this feature that determines the pace of the advance and the methods in solving arising socioeconomic and political problems. For that reason the working people in the republic must solve a large number of such problems during the transitional period, problems which the working class in other more developed countries did not have to solve in the course of making a socialist revolution, for they had been solved much earlier, in the course of the development of capitalism. The political report to the congress submitted by the LPRP Central Committee states that as a result of the dedicated work of the people the image of the country has changed. Today Lao society "is no longer what it was when it entered the path of socialism. However, it would be erroneous to consider it as entirely socialist, for petty commodity output with a clearly manifested barter economy continues to play an important role."

The LPRP makes creative use of the stipulations and conclusions of Marxist-Leninist science as applicable to specific conditions in Laos, guided by Lenin's familiar concept that the party "must be able to apply the common and basic principles of communism to the specific correlation among classes and parties and specific features in the objective development toward communism inherent in each individual country in which one must know how to study, identify or guess" (op cit, vol 41, p 74).

In the first stage of the transitional period, the Lao working people and the party are solving exceptionally difficult problems of restructuring public labor and creating prerequisites for subsequent socialist industrialization and organizing large-scale socialist production in industry, agriculture and forestry. It is only after solving such problems that Laos will be able to move on to the next stage in building socialism. It is along this way that, guided by its party, the Lao people will be creating essentially new qualitative production forces and production relations and an economic base and superstructure in order to ensure the victory of the socialist system. This is an extremely difficult task which requires the tremendous efforts of the party and the people.

The experience of Laos and of the other socialist countries in Indochina shows that shaping an efficient agroindustrial structure and new production relations and a new management mechanism are among the most important tasks in the first stage of building a new society. As was pointed out at the congress, in Laos the transitional period will take quite some time.

The Fourth LPRP Congress, which approved the 2nd 5-Year Plan, also formulated the party's economic strategy until the year 2000. This 5-year period the efforts to improve the management mechanism of the growing national economy and the experiment in converting a number of enterprises to cost accounting will be pursued.

During the 5-year period the gross national product will increase by 67 percent and the national income by 60 percent. The volume of industrial output will increase by 90 percent and worker and employee wages will be raised by 24 percent.

By 1990 food production must reach 2-2.2 million tons, including 1.8 million tons of rice, averaging 430 kilograms per capita as compared to 390 in the past 5-year period. The annual increase in per capita food production will be about 6 percent.

The congress noted that the development of agriculture and forestry under present Lao circumstances is the base for an upsurge in the national industry, which will contribute to the establishment of the new economic structure.

The systematic implementation of profound socioeconomic changes in the country's life is inseparably related to further improvements in the leading and guiding activities of the LPRP. Particular importance is ascribed in this connection to improving the activities of party and state authorities on all levels, the radical restructuring of the work of these authorities and strengthening them with skilled cadres loyal to the homeland. "Cadres," the political report emphasizes, "are our most valuable resource. In the final account, it is precisely they that determine the victory of the revolution." That is why, as was noted, unabated struggle must be waged against violator of party morality standards and those whose words differ from their actions.

In characterizing the difficult situation of the country, the LPRP Central Committee general secretary noted that "Although our party was founded in an underdeveloped country with an unclear differentiation among classes and with an embryonic working class, nevertheless it was able to assume the role of sole guide of the revolution and lead it to its full and final victory. Naturally, this victory was the result of several reasons. However, the decisive factor was that our party was able to forge a strong alliance between the working class and the peasantry" (Kaysone Phomvihane, op. cit, p 65).

The amendments to the LPRP statutes, which were adopted at the congress, will contribute to the organizational strengthening of the party and its increased influence on all aspects of social development and on upgrading the discipline and responsibility of party members for assignments.

During the new and very important stage in the country's life, the party sets as the prime task that of improving management methods in all areas of social development, strengthening the primary party organizations and enhancing ideological and political work among the masses. This work becomes particularly important today, when the party organizations have undertaken to deal more energetically with socioeconomic problems and when young, initiative-minded specialists are being assigned party work, which enables the local LPRP committees to adopt a more specific approach to problems of economic and cultural building and to enhance the level of economic management in provinces and enterprises.

The successes of the Lao people are a particularly valuable contribution to the unity and strengthening of positions of the revolution in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia and of the entire socialist community, and to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The close cooperation between the three Indochinese countries and the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist community is a decisive factor which guarantees success in building socialism and protecting national sovereignty.

The efforts aimed at normalizing the situation in the area, achieving mutual understanding with ASEAN and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation, undertaken by the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Cambodia, are of unquestionable importance in creating a favorable situation in the Asian-Pacific area. These efforts are making a substantial contribution to the implementation of a uniform concept of peace and security in Asia, which is gradually acquiring an increasingly realistic foundation.

One of the factors which ensure success in building socialism in Laos, as stated by the LPRP Central Committee general secretary, is the "all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all." In this connection he emphasized that "We have always clearly realized that the Soviet Union is our strategic ally and reliable support. Strong relations with the USSR are a fundamental principle of the foreign policy pursued by our party and state. All the victories of the Lao revolution are inseparable from the help, support and valuable comradely aid provided by the CPSU, the Soviet state and the fraternal people of the land of the soviets.

The LPRP actively supports the initiatives of the Soviet Union aimed at ending the arms race, preventing the militarization of space and eliminating the threat of nuclear war, and the constructive suggestions expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and developed in the course of his visit to India.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Laos extends to virtually all areas of social and economic life. The unbreakable friendship and interaction between our countries and peoples is based on the firm foundations of ideological and political unity between the CPSU and the LPRP, resting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The systematic course of further strengthening friendship and advancing comprehensive relations between the CPSU and the LPRP and between the USSR and Laos was reasserted in the course of the meeting between comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Kaysone Phomvihane, which was held in Moscow in October 1986.

Soviet-Lao economic cooperation is developing. Big bridges, a hospital, an enterprise for automotive and agricultural equipment repairs, a space communications station within the Intersputnik system, and tin mining facilities were commissioned with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union; the main Route 5, which links Laos with the Vietnamese coast is being rebuilt; a polytechnical school is being constructed, etc. The 1986-1990 agreements gave a new impetus to Soviet-Lao relations. Our joint labor is practically embodied in the development of industrial and social projects, the development of transportation, increasing Lao export possibilities and formulation of economic plans. The Soviet Union will continue to give Laos comprehensive aid in developing its economy and in training skilled cadres and specialists for various economic sectors.

Nonetheless, major opportunities remain for promoting cooperation between the USSR and Laos. The main task now is to enhance the efficiency of such cooperation and to make it maximally to contribute to the solution of economic and social problems in Laos and be entirely consistent with common objectives. These objectives are stable and permanent: the good of the peoples. History confirms and proves that the closer the interaction among countries which have taken the socialist path of development is, the greater the socioeconomic and cultural accomplishments of their peoples become.

The greetings addressed by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers to the Lao leaders on the occasion of their national holiday--the 11th anniversary of the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, express the firm confidence that "Fraternal Soviet-Lao relations will continue to develop and advance for the good of the Soviet and Lao peoples, the interest of strengthening the socialist community and the joint struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war."

The 4th LPRP Congress, which was held in an atmosphere of total unanimity and a businesslike and self-critical environment, inherent in the communists, opened a new chapter in laying the material and technical foundations for socialism in Laos. It became a significant event in the republic's life and one of the important landmarks in the development of global socialism.

Once again the congress convincingly proved the inseparable unity between party and people. Unquestionably, the working people in Laos, headed by their combat vanguard, will implement the program earmarked at the party forum and achieve new successes in building socialism on Lao soil.

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CSO: 1802/11

THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IS IRREVERSIBLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 108-116

[Article by Joe Slovo, secretary general of the South African Communist Party]

[Text] South Africa has been literally seething for more than 2 years. This is not a temporary phenomenon. The South African authorities will be unable to stop the nationwide actions neither with brute strength nor terror. Unquestionably, the political storms are affecting the economy, which is experiencing one of the longest declines in its history. This trend originated soon after the 1976 uprising in Soweto and there are no indications whatsoever that it is abating, for the roots of the economic crisis are found above all in the internal political conflict. Of late economic problems have worsened as a result of the growing international isolation of the apartheid state.

However, it cannot be said that the racist regime has been somewhat weakened and that the people's masses have become so well trained, politically and organizationally, that the question of the immediate seizure of power can be put on the agenda. However, many of the conditions which make a revolutionary offensive possible are beginning to mature and the future breaching of the racist fortress by the people is becoming increasingly clear with every passing day. Obvious symptoms of the development of the type of "nationwide crisis" (affecting exploiters and exploited), which, as V.I. Lenin noted, create favorable circumstances for major social changes, are present.

In the Camp of the Exploiters

The political and economic crisis which has developed on a national scale is strongly undermining the historically developed unity within the ruling racist bloc. The ruling regime has actually acknowledged that it can no longer rule as in the past. Furthermore, some of Botha's allies in the imperialist camp, who formerly supported the apartheid system, have begun to lose faith in the ability of the regime to preserve the system intact. Together with some South African business circles, they are beginning to apply pressure on the government in Pretoria to make political changes without exceeding the limits of bourgeois freedoms. Generally speaking, their suggestion is reduced to a separation of powers without the present ruling class abandoning its economic

and political domination. Whatever their end objectives may be, the fact that influential circles belonging to the ruling upper crust in our country (and some of their imperialist allies) are acknowledging the impossibility of ruling as in the past, is favoring the revolutionary forces. All of this deepens the crisis in the enemy camp, destroying its previous monolithic unity and objectively improving prospects for a radical turn of events.

In the Camp of the Oppressed

The realization that it is no longer possible to live as in the past is growing in the camp of the oppressed and exploited. This opinion is shared by the overwhelming majority. Events, particularly those of the past 2 years, proved that one of the main historically erected psychological barriers on the way to liberation has been lifted: the feeling of helplessness in the face of the powerful tyranny which, through total monopoly over the contemporary attributes of power, has dominated and suppressed the people's masses for more than 300 years, has disappeared.

Under the inspiring influence of the victories achieved in the armed uprisings of the peoples in neighboring countries against colonialism and of the growing capability of the military wing of our liberation movement to strike at the enemy, the conviction is growing that the racist monolith is actually vulnerable and that, in the final account, it will be possible to defeat it. Confidence in this possibility has captured the minds and hearts of the new generation, which is combining passionate support for the cause of the struggle for revolutionary changes with readiness, if necessary, to sacrifice its life for the sake of the victory of this sacred cause.

Initiatives and suggestions coming from below are proof of the development of events leading to revolutionary changes. That which may appear as a spontaneous or semispontaneous outbreak of trouble is, in reality, an instant organized response by the local antiracist forces to the actions of the enemy and his accomplices. New methods of organizational forms of struggle have appeared thanks to the initiative of the people's masses.

Communal organizations began to spring up like mushrooms after rain; people's committees, people's courts, special combat units, and so on, have become widespread. They are the embryos of the future people's regime. This reminds us of the creativity of the masses which led to the establishment of soviets in Russia in the period of the struggle against tsarism. In some parts of the country the boycott of stores, mainly white-owned, proved to be quite efficient, forcing many merchants and shopkeepers to speak out in support of a number of people's demands. The refusal of hundreds of thousands of tenants in the black ghettos to pay rent was another important act of resistance. For the time being the authorities are unable (even with the help of armed police) to make the people pay their rent, which will soon reach half a billion rand.

The people's masses convincingly responded to the April 1985 appeal of the African National Congress (ANC) to make the country ungovernable. In the black settlements the government's administrative system using the help of so-called communal councils has broken down almost totally. The majority of the members of such nonrepresentative authorities have resigned. The others have

either ran away or need armed protection to live in their own communities. It would be no exaggeration to say that the racist regime has virtually lost its ability to control the majority of the black ghettos through normal civilian measures. It is forced to maintain large military contingents in these areas and to subject their population to daily terrorist attacks. These armed groups are considered by the population as a force of occupation in the same way that in World War II the Nazis were looked upon in Europe.

Nationwide mass associations have appeared in the past few years, which have immeasurably strengthened the organized liberation movement. I am referring above all to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Unions (COSATU). The former has more than 2 million members and has become a powerful legal instrument of resistance and disobedience. The second is the largest trade union association in South African history. It includes organizations with a total membership of almost 600,000 people. A confirmation of its growing strength is the unprecedented general political strike of 1 May 1986, in which 2 million working people participated. COSATU's call for a strike was supported by the UDF and the other progressive organizations.

The Subjective Factor

The combination of major crisis on the upper levels and the growing restlessness among the people do not, however, necessarily guarantee a victorious outcome for the oppressed. Yet another component is of exceptional importance, i.e., the existence of a revolutionary movement whose leadership is accepted by the masses and which has the will, strength and ability to lead to a change. As a whole, we could point out that the subjective conditions which are necessary for revolutionary changes are also beginning to mature.

The Freedom Charter, which reflects the concepts of the liberation movement concerning a free South Africa has become the rallying element of an increasingly large number of people among those millions who are awakening to political action. Despite the danger which membership in the African National Congress (ANC) involves, thousands of activists are behaving as though it is a legal organization. They proudly raise its flag (and the flag of our party) and shout slogans and toasts in honor of its leaders even in the face of the punitive forces. Although it would be inaccurate to claim that the ANC and its allies hold the total monopoly on the aspiration for change, they are no longer considered merely an opposition force limiting itself to agitation. They are considered by a significant segment of the world and, which is particularly important, the majority of our people, the main and direct power alternative to racism and exploitation. Obviously, this explains the endless pilgrimage to the headquarters of the ANC by representatives of a broad spectrum of social forces from our and other countries (including some leaders of the Western world) to exchange views on the future of South Africa.

State of Emergency

Of late the racists have reacted to what they describe as the "revolutionary pressure" of the people by proclaiming a state of emergency throughout the country. This step (which was taken in June 1986) was aimed at suppressing by

force any manifestation of discontent with the existing order and preventing South African and worldwide information media to expose the increasing armed terrorism practiced against the people. In the past few years proclaiming a state of emergency has been a second attempt to hold back the upsurge of the mass movement.

Under the laws of the present state of emergency, the ruling regime has put behind bars more than 20,000 leaders and activists of the antiracist movement. Thousands of others have escaped the police net and are continuing to work underground. The new situation may be judged by the fact that the racist regime has been unable to disorganize and demoralize the opponents of apartheid, as it was able to do in 1960 by proclaiming a state of emergency after the Sharpeville events. One of the main reasons for this is the appearance of a large number of popular leaders in the local areas and the growing power of the organized labor movement. The appearance of an organized movement on all levels and the strengthening of the revolutionary underground indicate that today the people are prepared better than ever to oppose the enemy's pressure.

Nevertheless, the scope of maneuvering by the masses in broad street actions has been obviously narrowed, which demands the formulation of the type of tactics which would enable us to maintain the level of the struggle under conditions of siege. Furthermore, the obvious need exists of broadening the operations of the military organization of the liberation movement and providing leadership and everything needed by the combat groups which have been organized of late.

The current stage could be characterized as a temporary stalemate. The ruling regime is unable to control the situation in the country but retains sufficient capability of preventing its collapse. The rooted racist ideology has retained its own momentum. However, the more the foundations of superprofit on which it stands are destroyed the stronger will a trend toward the division and splintering of the ranks of the ruling class and its main supporters become. The development of this trend contributes to reducing the possibilities of the racist regime to maintain the safety and economic privileges, in the old meaning of these terms, of its main support within the white community. As a result of the rapidly worsening economic circumstances, for the first time in the past 50 years symptoms of partial poverty and increased unemployment among white working people have appeared. Cracks within the white organized labor movement are widening, as confirmed by the recent disbanding of the largest and oldest union--the TUCSA--caused by the increased number of withdrawals from its rank by its right and left wings. A great deal will also depend on the economic sanctions applied against the state of apartheid, which could have a substantial negative impact on its economy.

Failure of Pretoria's Economic Strategy

Power has always been the crucial weapon of racist domination. After the Soweto 1976 uprising, however, its use has been usually paralleled by political propaganda initiatives aimed at lowering criticism of the regime abroad and channeling the energy of the people into reformism which would take

them away from true democracy and majority rule. Today all such initiatives have been played out and it appears that the ruling system has little to offer in the sense of further constitutional reforms.

The racists themselves have actually acknowledged that their great "final solution," which is dividing the country into so-called independent bantustans--has run aground. Of late the resistance movement has reached the bantustans as well. As a result of the Kwandebele popular uprising, granting "independence" to that area, which had been planned for December 1986, was canceled. The tricameral parliament, to which Africans were not admitted (although they account for 75 percent of the population) and in which second class representation was given to "colored" and Indians, has been essentially forgotten. The powerful actions mounted by the working people forced the ruling regime to recognize the African trade unions. The labor legislation aimed at drawing them away from the liberation struggle did not attain its objective. The steps taken with a view to making schools and universities, which had turned into centers of struggle, obedient, yielded no results. Even the official lifting of the hated Pass Law was met everywhere with justifiable suspicion. In order to prevent freedom of movement by the Africans, as was the case in the past, the ruling regime has begun to resort to other steps (the law of removing squatters, an urban housing policy, the fabrication that millions of bantustan residents are "foreigners," etc.).

Generally speaking, the events indicate that virtually all so-called reform initiatives, formulated by Pretoria in the past few years in an effort to ease the situation and mislead the popular masses, have failed. Actually, most such steps led to precisely opposite results. Each retreat of the "reformists" is considered by the people as their own victory rather than a concession made by the enemy, and is a new catalyst leading to greater demands and a more stubborn and militant mass opposition.

As to the foreign policy of the racists, the idea of creating a constellation of countries around Pretoria is dead. The horrible fraud which was the result of the signing of the "Nkomati Treaty" by the racists, dispelled most of the illusions concerning Botha's plans for South Africa. The billions of rand which the South African propaganda apparatus is spending throughout the world were unable to halt the increasing disgust of apartheid tyranny. Even its most loyal supporters in the Western world are forced to make more or less significant gestures in connection with racist excesses. Of late corporations such as Coca Cola and General Motors, two of the most prestigious symbols of a Western consumer society, announced their withdrawal from the country. Their example is being followed by multinational giants such as Shell, IBM and Warner Communications.

Counterrevolutionary Tactics

The failure of the reform policy in the country and the weakening of the political and economic positions of the racist regime in the international arena are factors of great importance in the further development of events in South Africa. Politically, Botha has gone as far along the path of reform as he could. In the final account, the even greater pressure exerted by the

popular masses, combined with efficient economic sanctions, will leave him no choice. For the time being Botha's main policy is to dig in.

Clearly, we are entering a stage in which the main feature in the strategy of the racist regime will be the increased use of naked force within the country and aggression against neighboring states. The main objective of the racists is to achieve a situation in which a reformist solution will become possible (sharing the power without losing control over its main political and economic levers). The ruling regime knows aware that this cannot be achieved without dividing and weakening the organized popular movement and lowering the influence of the African National Congress, which is the vanguard in the alliance of revolutionary forces. For that reason, repressive measures are increasingly combined with an offensive mounted in several directions, the purpose of which is to promote civil strife among the oppressed, to depict the struggle as a civil rather than liberation war and narrow the base of the broad front which is necessary in order to achieve liberation, and make use of the vestiges of tribalism. To this purpose gangs of mercenaries similar to the "Black Hundreds," which were put together by the tsarist security service in Russia, have been set up in a number of areas. A group known as "Fathers," engaged in bloody reprisals against the residents of the Crossroads settlement, not far from Capetown. The press exposed the existence of ties between the "Fathers" and the secret services of the racist regime and rejected attempts at depicting the events as an ordinary civil strife conflict among Africans. In Soweto the ruling regime regularly sets up gangs of hooligans consisting of migrant workers, using the backwardness of such rural people and urging them on to attack participants in popular actions. The ties between such gangs and the Inkata movement, headed by Butelezi, is by no means accidental. In particular, in Natal Province, tribal "impi" (armed detachments) are being steadily used to attack leaders and activists of the UDF, COSATU and other progressive organizations and their houses.

Yet another method used by the racists with a view to weakening the liberation forces "from within" is the use of some organizations (in a number of cases created by agents of the racist regime) to promote strife within the camp of the oppressed.

In the trade unions, with a view to blocking the increased influence of COSATU, a new federation, UVUSA (headed exclusively by businessmen related to Incata)--was organized in June 1986. Police agents have penetrated some organizations, particularly in the eastern part of Cape Province, who are stirring up black against black and terrorizing progressive activists. We may expect that within the framework of this reactionary policy (within and outside the country) efforts will be made to breathe new life in the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in the hope of undermining the positions of the ANC as the leader of the overwhelming majority of national forces. Another diversionary action aimed at promoting division was the recent formation of yet another trade union--CUSA-ASACTU. The maneuvering of counterrevolutionary elements is a structural component of the intrigues of the "third force" within the country and abroad. The purpose is to weaken the ranks of the fighters rallied under the ANC banner.

Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism as well play an important role in the propaganda arsenal of the racist regime. The alliance of liberation forces is depicted as a tool of the South African Communist Party and, through it, the Soviet Union. Numerous rumors are being spread about imaginary differences between communists and so-called nationalists in the ANC leadership. Such propaganda may put trumps into the hands of reactionary Western forces but is having an extremely low impact on our people. The prestige and organizational strength of our party are growing. Its role is welcomed by the popular masses who are openly raising our red flag alongside that of the ANC and make no effort to conceal their sympathy for our party. The firm alliance between communists and the ANC has no secret clauses. It has always been based on total reciprocal respect for independence and noninterference in the internal democratic processes of either organization. The place which the communists hold in the leadership of the national liberation movement was earned by them thanks to their heroic actions and contribution to the struggle for democracy. The elaboration by our party of the theory of the South African revolution (especially relative to relations between the worker and national-liberation movements) had a tremendous revolutionary influence on the awareness of the broad toiling masses and the participants in the national liberation struggle.

As to the USSR, its place in the hearts of our people and the entire movement has been secured by history itself. Our people, who are struggling for their liberation, as are virtually all liberation movements in the world, have received and are continuing to receive the exceptionally consistent support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. However zealous the propaganda of our enemies may be, it will not be able to separate us from those who were with us from the very start.

The Liberation Front

The nature of the counterrevolutionary offensive increases the urgency of expanding the front of struggle against the racist regime. This front is not limited to the main revolutionary forces within the alliance headed by the ANC. The crisis in the country has brought about the appearance of many other groups (including defectors from the white camp) who favor a substantial withdrawal from apartheid but do not fully accept the more radical objectives of the ANC. Although these supporters of change are not part of the revolutionary forces, it is clear that they are helping to weaken the main enemy and some of them are unquestionably part of the opposition.

Even in the narrow meaning of the term "main revolutionary forces" we do not neglect the fact that they constitute an alliance of different classes and social strata (black in their overwhelming majority) who are suffering in different degrees from national oppression and economic exploitation. Although all of them could support the slogan of "Power to the People!" one should not expect them to share an absolutely identical concept of its content and its future. We are dealing not with a unified mass of the black population. The most consistent guarantee for true liberation is the black working class: it is less interested than the others in preserving the status quo and has the least reasons for replacing white with black exploiters. Our party must secure a special role for the working people in the alliance among class forces within the liberation front. In this case it is extremely

important to act in such a way as not to narrow the base of the front in the struggle for the elimination of racism and for achieving the objectives of the national democratic revolution.

Looking at the Future

The rapid development of events has made the prompt solution of a number of problems related to our conversion to democracy more urgent, problems which have become topics of broad discussions in the country. One of them is the future of so-called minorities in a people's South Africa. We believe that, in the words of the Freedom Charter, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it--black and white" and that this objective can be achieved only within a unified South Africa, whose fundamental principle will be the will of the majority. Equality must exist among people (if necessary, it will be secured through constitutional mechanisms) and not among racial or ethnic groups as such. Ethnic parity is a prescription for ethnic domination. Naturally, our support of a united democratic South Africa does not threaten the historically developed cultural and linguistic legacies of the individual ethnic groups which constitute the South African nation.

Another important problem which requires an urgent solution is that of the correlation between private and public ownership at the stage which will occur immediately after majority rule has been established. We, communists, believe that in the final account the economic well-being of the people can be ensured only by changing production relations on the side of economic equalitarianism. However, revolutionary experience also teaches us that premature efforts to skip certain stages and steps and go directly to communism leads to major economic failures and, in many cases, to undermining confidence in a socialist future. For example, we believe that after apartheid has collapsed a mixed economy will be organized in the country in which there will be a place for nonmonopoly private enterprise on different levels. This applies not only to small black businessmen, who are now oppressed by the racists, but also to supportive managers and businessmen who either have rejected or are ready to reject racism. We also assume that after an end has come to political domination by the current ruling class and a new state apparatus will be established, as the Freedom Charter stipulates, the existence of a mixed economy, controlled in the interests of the people, will facilitate rather than obstruct the steady progress toward a socialist future. In a truly democratic society the question of this progress could be solved through discussions rather than street action.

These and many other questions no longer belong to the area of pure speculations. They demand the most urgent and thorough consideration, for we are on the threshold of major social changes. This does not mean an underestimating of the domestic and foreign resources which the racist regime could still bring forth in its efforts to prevent the majority from opening the gates to political power. However, the possibility of a popular victory is becoming increasingly real with every passing day. Consequently, while continuing to concentrate our attention to the protracted conflict in our country, we must also be ready to engage in much faster changes.

Oliver Tambo, the ANC chairman, described our party as one of the two main pillars of the alliance of liberation forces. As part of this alliance as well as an independent force which reflects the desire of our proletariat for socialism, we are doubling our efforts with a view to achieving the fastest possible victory in the difficult struggle against racism and consider it a stage in the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

Struggle Against Apartheid: Facts and Figures

Last year the South African Communist Party (SACP) celebrated its 65th birthday. It has waged a heroic underground struggle since 1950, when the Pretoria authorities made it illegal.

According to a survey, the results of which were published last year in the journal FINANCIAL MAIL, 77 percent of all Africans living in South African cities answered the question of the system they prefer, capitalism or socialism, in favor of socialism.

In the 8 months since the state of emergency was proclaimed in the country on 12 June 1986, more than 20,000 fighters against the disgraceful apartheid system have been jailed. About 9,000 of them are adolescents aged 10 to 17.

Nelson Mandela, the outstanding leader of the African National Congress, has been wasting away in South African jails for nearly 25 years.

In their futile efforts to preserve the criminal apartheid system, the racists have relied on total terrorism and military dictatorship. The number of casualties in dead and wounded in clashes with the army and the police has exceeded 22,000 since the mass actions were started against the Botha regime in September 1984.

Since the beginning of 1987 strictest possible press censorship has been imposed in South Africa. The publication of any information on actions against the Botha regime has been forbidden.

The South African authorities and their Western accomplices are extensively setting against one-another members of different racial, ethnic and tribal groups. A direct consequence of such a dirty policy was the 18 December 1986 clash between tribes at a mine of the Anglo-American Multinational Corporation, one of the largest in the world. The result was 11 dead and more than 70 wounded. Such clashes have been provoked at other enterprises owned by Western capital.

In addressing the celebrations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, in January 1987, Oliver Tambo, the head of this mass organization, said that the main task at the present stage is the growth of the armed struggle into a popular war which should spread throughout the country. On behalf of the national executive committee of the organization he proclaimed this anniversary year the year of "advancement toward a popular system."

Economic relations between the United States and Great Britain, on the one hand, and Pretoria, on the other, are prospering and remain unaffected by the extensively publicized "sanctions" or the withdrawal of capital. In order to escape responsibility, the Western countries are unanimously claiming that the strict observance of such steps has had a rather painful effect on the "frontline states and the African population in South Africa." In this connection EL-MUJAHID, the Algerian newspaper, quotes the reply of one of the ANC leaders: "It is not sanctions but apartheid that is killing us."

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CSO: 1802/11

NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 117-119

[Article by Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research (ISI), doctor of philosophical sciences, professor]

[Text] The main purpose of peaceful coexistence, to which socialism invites any other social system, is to create material and spiritual conditions truly worthy of man, for all nations, and to ensure the habitability of our planet and a thrifty attitude toward its resources.

Historical developments and social progress in the contemporary world create the necessary prerequisites to this effect; conditions are being provided for the constructive interaction among countries and peoples. One of the most important among them is the assertion of a new way of thinking which eliminates the way of thinking, stereotypes and dogmas inherited from the past.

In his meeting with the participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the struggle for the elimination of the nuclear threat "has already become a major moral and political school in which the people's masses and entire nations learn the difficult yet necessary art of living with one another in peace; finding a balance between common and individual interests; boldly and honestly looking in the eyes of the present and the future, attaining this future and promptly drawing conclusions for practical use."

Public opinion is a specific and quite accurate barometer of the extent to which people realize the threatening danger and the degree to which they are ready to oppose it, i.e., the firmness with which the principles of a new way of thinking are finding their place in social consciousness.

In recent years USSR Academy of Sciences ISI sociologists have made repeated studies of public opinion in connection with major international events and most important foreign policy initiatives taken by our country. In the course of public opinion soundings studies were made of the results of the Geneva (1985) and Reykjavik (1986) summits and the attitude toward the idea of a

nuclear-free world, in the course of the preparations for the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and for the Survival of Mankind" (February 1987), and others.

What did they indicate? What views and moods are prevailing in the minds of Soviet people in the contemporary international situation and the conditions of a threat of nuclear war? What is the view of the Soviet people concerning the Americans? Do they see in them enemies? What is the attitude of Americans toward us? The studies conducted in a number of RSFSR cities on the results of the Geneva summit provide a sufficiently accurate assessment. One of the blunt questions in the survey was the following: "What is your attitude toward the American people?" The possible choices ranged from "great sympathy" to "hostility."

As a whole, for the entire array of respondents, 80 percent answered "sympathy;" 10 percent answered "cautious;" 4.4 answered "great sympathy;" only 0.4 percent had a "hostile" attitude. Similar data were obtained in the study of public opinion based on the results of the Reykjavik summit. This study was conducted among Muscovites. In this respect we find interesting the answers to the question: "If given the opportunity to address the American people, what would you wish them?" The study of the answers indicated that, first, virtually everyone would seize this opportunity. One half of the respondents would wish the American people peace, happiness and a "clear sky above them." Another major group of answers, approximate one-third, consisted of assurances of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union toward the United States. This was followed by numerous invitations to visit and offers to learn and better about our country. This also included the simple appeal "boys, let us live in harmony!" or else a wish such as "live as you like but do not prevent us from living our own lives," and so on.

It would be interesting to compare the results of these two studies with indicators of public opinion surveys conducted in the United States.

Thus, according to one of them, 60 percent of all Americans believe that "the Soviet Union is an evil empire which is threatening our moral and religious values." It is not astounding, therefore, that 61 percent are ready "to take the risk that the United States is destroyed rather than be under the heel of the Russians" or, as the notorious extreme right slogan proclaims, "Better dead than red." It was equally indicative that 54 percent of Americans believe that "the USSR is aspiring to global domination."

Nonetheless, 79 percent of those same Americans believe that there are no reasons for mankind to justify the use of nuclear weapons. This indicates an obvious clash between the stereotypes of the old way of thinking and an understanding of the cruel reality of the present, which mortally threatens everyone should a nuclear war break out. This split in the mass consciousness of the Americans is triggered, on the one hand, by fear of the "Soviet threat" and, on the other, fear of a nuclear war, which can be noted today in virtually all public opinion polls conducted by American socialists.

Survey Results
(in percent of number of respondents)

	Agrees	Disagrees	Uncertain
1. No winner would come out of a general nuclear war. The USSR and the United States would be destroyed totally	89	4	7
2. Regardless of the outcome of previous wars life went on. After a universal nuclear war human civilization will perish.	83	6	11
3. A "limited nuclear war" is absurd. If nuclear weapons are used a general nuclear war is inevitable	88	4	8
4. Mankind has no reason justifying the use of nuclear weapons	93	3	4
5. Any further growth and perfecting of nuclear arsenals by the USSR and the United States would given no advantages to either country	83	6	10
6. The stockpiling and advancement of nuclear weapons increase the risk of accidental use	95	2	3
7. Putting nuclear weapons in space would increase the risk of their accidental use	93	1	6
8. The total elimination of nuclear weapons is the only way of avoiding a nuclear war	93	2	5
9. The total elimination of nuclear weapons is possible	71	6	23
10. A total ban on nuclear tests would be a major step toward nuclear disarmament	96	1	3
11. The elimination of nuclear weapons should be accompanied also by a reduction in conventional armaments	84	7	9
12. The USSR will never be the first to use nuclear weapons	93	1	5
13. The United States will never be the first to use nuclear weapons	8	37	55
14. The elimination of nuclear weapons would increase the likelihood of non-nuclear conflicts between East and West	30	38	31
15. If a nuclear weapons has been invented, it cannot be "uninvented." Therefore, its total elimination is impossible	22	48	30
16. The interest of mankind's survival must stand above all other	96	1	3

Naturally, in order for the results and studies of public opinion in the USSR and the United States to be fully comparable, we would need a uniform or at least a basically coinciding survey method. On the eve of the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind" we asked D. Yankelovich, the president of the American Agenda for the Nation Foundation, to conduct a parallel study on the so-called "nuclear survey." The American side accepted the initiative of conducting joint surveys with a great deal of

interest and, generally speaking, observed it. However, for material and organizational reasons the Americans were not prepared to conduct a survey within such a short time.

The survey took place only in the USSR. It was held in Moscow on 5-6 February 1987. A total of 1,066 people were polled in three Moscow rayons, in 25 places, representative of the basic categories of the working population in the capital. The volume of the survey ensured an accuracy of +/- 3 percent. Answers were given to 16 questions on topical problems of disarmament and achieving a nuclear-free world.

It is important to compare these results with the opinion of student youth, i.e., those who will take over from the adults tomorrow. This opportunity was offered with the survey "The World Through the Eyes of Youth," which was sponsored by the ISI and the USSR Academy of Sciences U.S and Canada Institute, in October 1986, among 5th to 10th-grade students in Rostov and Tambov Oblasts. Based on a representative sampling, 2,024 students in town and country were surveyed. The results indicated an overall high level of information by the students on the catastrophic consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. Thus, 82 percent of the respondents were aware of the consequences of a nuclear war, known as "nuclear winter" (although not all of them were familiar with the term). The majority of those polled were greatly concerned with the problems of war and the threat of its outbreak; 83 percent of them, regardless of age, said that they periodically think of the likelihood of a nuclear war (the percentage was higher among 9th graders--89).

Also indicative are the results of the same type of survey conducted on problems of Soviet-American relations. Thus, 51 percent of the surveyed students, averaged for all ages (56 percent were 9th graders), hold the view that the United States should not be trusted as a partner in talks whenever it submits various suggestions in the area of limiting nuclear armaments; 14 percent believe that it could be trusted while 35 percent had no opinion on the matter. This, however, did not prevent them from expressing an overall optimistic viewpoint concerning relations between the USSR and the United States. Asked "Do you believe that the United States and the USSR could not only reach an agreement on ending the nuclear arms race but also develop cooperation and good neighborly and friendly relations?" 86 percent answered in the positive (80 percent among 9th graders); 2 percent answered in the negative (7 percent among 9th graders) while 12-13 percent had no opinion.

Optimism and hope characterize the answers to the question of the possibility of successfully solving the problem of the elimination of nuclear weapons. Thus, 91 percent of those survey believe that a program for eliminating nuclear weapons from earth by the end of the century can be implemented.

It is important to note that the majority of students are convinced that their views on the problems of nuclear war coincide with those of their parents and the majority of adults. Even a most approximate study confirms this conclusion. The concern of the adults is transmitted to the young. This continuity is a guarantee that the movement for a nuclear-free world will be joined by ever new generations.

As a whole, based on the results of the sociological studies, the conclusion may be drawn that the absolute majority of Soviet people have firmly adopted a new way of thinking and understanding that nuclear disarmament is necessary and attainable and that there is no sensible alternative to it.

Naturally, moods in the U.S. public change as well and react to the "warming up" in Soviet-American relations. The Americans are particularly impressed by their experience in personal contacts with Soviet people and by the possibility of seeing for themselves our way of life. Nevertheless, anticommunist stereotypes are quite durable. We see the effect of the low level of information on the part of the Americans concerning our country and its history, culture and system of values of the Soviet people.

As we know, the idea of setting up a "foundation for the survival of mankind" was expressed at the Moscow forum. The attitude of the Soviet people toward this idea was expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech to the participants in the forum. He emphasized that "we would welcome the active participation of the Soviet public--both materially and intellectually--in the activities of such a foundation."

One of the specific forms of such participation, in our view, could be the assistance given by Soviet scientists in the preparations for and conduct of an international study project which would involve the regular survey of public opinion in different countries, conventionally named "International Peace Barometer." Such studies would provide sufficiently complete information on changes which are taking place in the political consciousness of the broadest possible popular masses, their reaction to the greatest problems of our time and the possible means of solving them. It would be expedient for such information to be periodically submitted to the UN secretary general and disseminated among the international public through the press, television and radio. We believe that the formulation and implementation of such an international project could be useful in consolidating the efforts of all people who are trying to prevent a catastrophe and open the way to a civilization without nuclear weapons.

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CSO: 1802/11

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. ON THE PAGES OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 'SOCIALIST AFFAIRS'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 120-123

[Review by S. Yastrzhembskiy, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] The CPSU favors the development of relations with social democratic, socialist and labor parties; it maintains contacts with their international organization--the Socialist International (SI)--which numbers dozens of such parties on all continents as its members. The intensiveness of such relations has noticeably increased in recent years, i.e., under the conditions of the increased nuclear threat and the unprecedented worldwide upsurge of the struggle for its elimination. The CPSU highly values the desire of the SI, which is an influential political force in the international arena, to contribute to reciprocal understanding, dialogue and talks in ending the confrontation, strengthening peace and curbing the arms race.

In this light, the relevance of studying the positions of the Socialist International and its member-parties on the most crucial problems of our time and the possibility of exchanging views and cooperating between communist and social democrats is understandable. A great deal could be accomplished on this level by studying the materials in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, the official organ of the SI, a quarterly published in London. It is a rostrum for the exchange of views as a rule among leading personalities in the social democratic movement. It reflects quite fully the concepts and practical accomplishments of the SI and provides a broad panoramic view of the political and, particularly, electoral activities of social democrats. As the publishers of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS themselves claim, the journal is "the only source of its kind of news, analyses and views expressed by democratic socialists of events occurring throughout the world" (No 1, 1984, p 3).

The present survey is an attempt to acquaint the readers with this leading social democratic publication in the world, the problems it discusses and its basic topics covered between the last two SI congresses, i.e., from 1983 to 1986. Within that time important processes took place in the social democratic movement, which left their mark on shaping a number of the current concepts held by the SI.

The notable trend in the development of the SI in the second half of the 1970s was the desire of its leadership, headed by W. Brandt, chairman of the SI and of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, to eliminate the Eurocentric profile which had become characteristic of that organization of late by extensively accepting within its ranks non-European parties and extending its activities to other parts of the world. Furthermore, the SI leadership undertook to ascribe to the movement a "global" nature by including in the priority area of its interests the global problems of our time.

Understandably, this reorientation was reflected in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. The journal's appearance substantially changed as of January 1984: it became thicker and the range of topics and geographic scope of problems increased. Its contributors became more varied, above all after the journal opened its pages to some noted governmental and political leaders of Third World countries, such as J. Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, or R. Mugabe, Zimbabwe's prime minister. Nonetheless, judging by all available information, the process of recruiting new contributors has its ideological and political limits. Thus, representatives of socialist states or communist parties are exceptions among the authors of articles.

The topics covered by SOCIALIST AFFAIRS are quite varied. It carries articles on problems of peace, security and disarmament, processes occurring in the global economy and the indebtedness of Third World countries. The journal includes frequent studies on problems of ecology, communication, gene engineering, international law, health care and food. This list alone proves the seriousness of the SI's intention of trying, in its own way, to answer many of the crucial problems of our time and to present its own solutions. As the voice of an international organization, SOCIALIST AFFAIRS deals extensively with the political activities of the SI and the work of its numerous standing and temporary committees, commissions and study groups. Judging by the information provided by the journal, the most intensive work is being done by bodies such as the Consultative Council on Disarmament, the Committee on Economic Policy and the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean Countries. Countries previously not mentioned in reports on SI activities are increasingly acting as hosts of congresses and conferences held by the SI or meetings of its bureau. Thus, in 1984-1986 a number of projects of this international center of social democrats took place in Argentina, Brazil, Tanzania and Peru. Within the same period, the SI sent missions to Cyprus, Haiti, Japan, Uruguay, Guatemala and some other countries. It is a noteworthy fact that this list includes countries located either in the epicenter or in the immediate vicinity of the "hot spots" on the planet. This too is proof of the SI's desire to be global, and to be "present" everywhere with its organizations and, if possible, to influence processes which may occur in them.

The following question would be pertinent: What is the spirit in which the social democrats are acting and influencing, through their association, the international situation and the course of events in various parts of the world? An answer to this is provided by the study of materials published in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, although it is stipulated in the periodical that the articles express the viewpoint of their authors, which do not necessarily coincide with the opinion of the SI or the journal itself.

Let us note, above all, that the global problems of our time, those of war and peace, hunger, poverty, underdevelopment and preservation of the natural habitat above all, are ascribed great importance in the articles published in the journal. The approach of most SOCIALIST AFFAIRS contributors to such problems is distinguished by realism, a feeling of concern for the state of affairs in the world and the future of mankind and the desire to take practical action in improving the international situation.

The social democrats proceed from the fact that after Hiroshima and Nagasaki the age-old problem of war and peace assumed a qualitatively different dimension. "Nuclear war," writes in this connection B. Karlsson, the Swedish social democrat and former secretary general of the SI, "rejects the basic principle of Klauzewitz's strategy, according to which war is the continuation of politics by other means. A nuclear war would result in the destruction of mankind and of politics itself" (No 2, 1986, p 44).

The articles in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS clearly indicate the growing understanding in the world, including in the international social democratic movement, of the commonality and interdependence of the fate of countries and peoples on earth. Many of the articles by leading personalities in the SI repeatedly emphasize that despite all differences and contradictions existing between social systems and countries, peace can be secured only through joint efforts. "Preventing a world war," writes W. Brandt in an article entitled "Neighbors on a Small Plant," "is everyone's duty. It is the duty of all nations and states and we must and will demand of every government to fulfill this duty" (No 3, 1984, p 33). Similar views are expressed by David Lange, New Zealand's prime minister and leader of New Zealand's Labor Party, who favors a consistent antinuclear course for his country. "Countries which are not nuclear powers," he says in the article "In the Defense of Reason," "have the right and the responsibility of doing everything possible to frustrate the arms race through peaceful means" (No 2, 1985, p 7). According to many of the articles in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, other factors (in addition to the growth of military arsenals), which destabilize the international situation include mass hunger, underdevelopment, astronomically huge indebtedness of Third World countries, and the ecological crisis.

For that reason the social democrats call for solving the key problems of mankind's survival--eliminating the nightmare of nuclear war, the ecological chaos and crying poverty--through peaceful efforts by the entire community of nations on the basis of extensive international cooperation which must not be obstructed by national, bloc and ideological barriers.

The prestigious social democratic leaders who write in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS are practically unanimous in agreeing that today a new approach is needed to understanding the meaning and ways of ensuring national security. The present security doctrine which, in the words of many authors, is based on fear of "mutually assured destruction," should be replaced, according to the SI leaders, with the fruitful idea of "joint security." This idea is persistently promoted in the journal by representatives of the social democratic parties in the FRG, Sweden, and Denmark, the New Zealand Labor Party and many others. "The policy of confrontation," emphasizes L. Budtz, one of the leaders of the Danish Social Democratic Party and parliamentary

deputy, in his article "Approaches to Joint Security," "must be rejected.... On this level, contacts must be maintained not only with the governments of Eastern European countries but with their communist parties as well" (No 3, 1985, p 43).

Not only individual articles but also the joint documents adopted by the member-parties of the SI, reject the chimerical idea that by creating "technically advanced" armaments, one could protect oneself from the nuclear threat. "The idea that conflicts between East and West can be eliminated with the help of increasingly complex technology is wrong," we read in the statement of the socialist parties in EEC member-countries. "It stems from the persistent reverence of technology" (No 4, 1985, p 72). The participants in the Vienna SI disarmament conference expressed themselves even more clearly on this question: "We must improve not the quality of weapons but that of politics. Disarmament, peaceful cooperation and detente are the only sensible answers to the threat to mankind" (Ibid, p 36).

The overwhelming majority of parties within the SI, which sharply criticize the "reverence of technology," have expressed their disagreement with SDI and rejected the plans of the Reagan administration of spreading the arms race to outer space. Thus, in the concluding document adopted by the SI bureau in Buumerswik (Sweden, June 1985) especially emphasized that "the Socialist International rejects the SDI and similar concepts and believes that no side should adopt them. The technological challenge of such concepts should be countered by international and regional cooperation for peaceful purposes" (No 3, 1985, p 29). Unfortunately, not all members of the Socialist International support this approach, the parties in power above all.

Another noteworthy fact is that in a number of articles representatives of social democratic parties of NATO members critically assess the current role of this bloc in international politics and express the intention of helping to revise its military doctrines. Some authors openly proclaim their aspiration to replace NATO's flexible reaction strategy with the concept of "joint security" (see No 3, 1984, p 34). J. Rau and L. Budtz formulate their own positions less distinctly. The latter, for example, proclaims his faith that "NATO can and must cooperate in disarmament and detente." Be that as it may, it is very significant that there is a growing understanding in SI circles to the effect that the interest of peace and security call for a revision of the current nonconstructive views held by NATO's leadership and its openly confrontational concept of increasing armaments.

These are all clear shoots of a new political thinking, the need for which is dictated by the current situation. Nonetheless, this process is developing, as the journal's articles indicate, by no means simply, coming across stereotypes of pre-nuclear age thinking and remaining anticommunist and anti-Soviet prejudices in social democratic circles and the notorious aspiration of social reformism to play the role of some kind of "third force," of an "alternative" to both capitalism and communism. Thus, although dutifully acknowledging the traditional SI "balanced approach" to Soviet and U.S. policies, some authors writing in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS (including those we mentioned) call for displaying vigilance "regarding the efforts of the two (!) superpowers to create efficient defense systems based in outer space." It is

true that, as the latest articles indicate, today we also find a more realistic assessment of the role played by each of the two great nuclear powers in the process of clearing the way to true disarmament and a nuclear-free world. Let us note, incidentally, looking beyond the reviewed journal articles, that after Reykjavik this positive process has clearly been strengthened in the spirit of a new political thinking.

Topics related to problems of disarmament are quite extensively represented in almost all issues of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, in articles, studies or SI documents and documents of its member-parties. Thus, in the "Vienna Appeal" and the "Lima Manifesto," the final resolution of the 17th SI Congress (June 1986) includes an appeal by the social democrats to the United States and the Soviet Union to initiate a reduction in armaments and to observe their obligations based on SALT I and SALT II and to assert the inviolability of the antimissile defense treaty; to conclude an agreement on a radical reduction in strategic armaments, including warheads and delivery systems; to abstain from tests and from developing antimissile and antisatellite weapons and shifting the arms race to space; to proclaim a moratorium on nuclear tests and to conclude corresponding treaties to this effect ("The Socialist International," emphasizes the "Lima Manifesto" in this connection, "firmly calls upon the U.S. government to abandon its negative view on the question of a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests") and to conclude an agreement on halting the further deployment of medium-range nuclear systems, and their subsequent elimination (see No 4, 1985, p 36; No 3, 1986, p 21).

Anyone somewhat familiar with the state of affairs at the various disarmament talks currently under way can easily detect the common views on such problems shared by the SI and the large-scale daring initiatives formulated by the Soviet leadership. The Reykjavik package suggested by the USSR and formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in his discussions with the U.S. President, and his suggestions of 28 February 1987 on medium-range missiles alone eloquently prove how far our country has gone in its desire to preserve and strengthen peace. It is no accident, therefore, that the suggestions of the USSR are meeting with the growing support of many noted social democratic leaders. This too is a recent phenomenon.

In a number of articles SOCIALIST AFFAIRS has also properly assessed the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. An interesting view was expressed by U. Palme, the former prime minister of Sweden and noted SI leader, whose last interview (given to a Swedish newspaper 8 hours before his tragic death) was reprinted by SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. "We continue to hope for a reciprocal and controlled ban on nuclear tests," the leader of the Swedish social democrats said. "A comprehensive ban on tests will provide both a time for discussions and thoughts.... It is obvious that we could live in a state of greater security if all tests are halted" (No 1, 1986, p 7).

Many social democratic writers include among the vital problems those of banning chemical weapons and gradually having Europe get rid of them; creating nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones; revival of detente; reduction of military budgets; and a political settlement of regional conflicts.

Naturally, it would be a simplistic and even distorted presentation of the truth to consider that the positive concepts of the SI on problems of political and military detente are shared by all of its members and that, furthermore, they are being implemented systematically. Naturally, matters are not that simple. The SI rallies parties which operate in different areas and under different circumstances, with different types of historical experience and political importance and are either members of the government or members of the opposition. This is the reason for the frequent gap between social democratic words and actions and major differences in views on a number of vital problems of world politics found among SI member parties. Occasionally the clash of views and positions may be seen in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS as well.

One of the controversial problems is that of the attitude toward medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe. For example, L. Budtz, the Danish social democrat, argues with his colleagues in the French Socialist Party, pointing out that the latter "holds a separate view on the deployment of medium-range missiles, which is firmly opposed by the majority of SI members" (No 3, 1985, p 41).

Another area of disagreements is the question of ending all nuclear tests and the related decision of countries in the South Pacific to proclaim the area a nuclear-free zone. However, this decision, which is fully supported by the labor parties in Australia and New Zealand and by the Japanese socialists, and which was officially approved by the SI, was not supported by the French Socialist Party. The tests conducted in France, D. Longi, the New Zealand labor leader, noted, "are creating great indignation in the entire southern part of the Pacific Ocean" (No 2, 1985, p 7). "We," said E. Yasui, Japan Socialist Party secretary for international problems, "oppose French nuclear tests in the Pacific" (Ibid., p 12).

Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of social democratic, socialist and labor parties hold similar and, which is quite important, as a whole constructive positions on the main problem--the approach to the solution of problems of war and peace and ensuring international safety.

The study of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS leads to yet another conclusion. The documents adopted of late at different social democratic meetings and published in the journal contain a great positive potential, many healthy views and specific useful initiatives. By further acting in this spirit, the SI parties, considering their political importance and influence, could unquestionably increase their contribution to saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe. Particularly after Reykjavik, the international situation makes it possible to enhance efforts to solve this major problem and offers new opportunities for interaction and parallel actions between communists and social democrats and by all leftist forces in the struggle for a nuclear-free future on earth.

In this brief review we concentrated on the most topical international global problems of our time as reflected in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. In addition to them, naturally, there are many other problems, including some in which basic ideological disagreements and major differences in political evaluations exist. This refers to the ways of converting from capitalism to socialism,

the nature of socialism as a new social system, the principles of democracy and social justice, the interpretation of the nature and content of human rights, the place and role of working people in production management, etc. In our view, all of these as well could be topics of calm, sympathetic yet principle-minded discussion between the supporters of the two currents in the international labor movement, on all theoretical and political levels. These topics, however, exceed the scope of this survey.

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CSO: 1802/11

FACTS AND FIGURES. USSR CENTRAL STATISTICAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 123-127

[Text] Number of APK Enterprises and Organizations at the End of the Year

	1980	1985	1986
Kolkhozes, total, thousands	26.3	26.7	26.7
Excluding fishing	25.9	26.2	26.3
Sovkhozes, thousands	21.1	22.7	22.9
Interfarm enterprises and organizations, thousands	9.6	10.4	7.6

Combines are being established. They are a form of integration of agriculture with other sectors in the agroindustrial complex. Such enterprises have been established in the RSFSR, the UkSSR and the BSSR. Agricultural-trade firms have begun to operate in the LaSSR and TaSSR, on the basis of the integration among kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing industry enterprises and trade organizations.

The production of agricultural commodities by kolkhozes and sovkhozes is characterized by the following data (million tons):

	1981-1985		1986 (estimate)	1986 in % of		All category farms in 1986 (estimate)
	(annual average)	1985		1981- 1985	1985	
Gross agricultural output (in 1983 comparable prices), billion rubles	142.6	149.1	158.7	111	106	219.2
Grain	173.1	184.1	202.3	117	110	210.1
Potatoes	30.1	28.5	37.9	126	133	87.2
Vegetables	19.5	19.4	20.9	107	107	29.7
Sugar beets (industrial)	75.8	81.8	78.8	104	96	79.3
Sunflower	4.7	5.0	5.1	107	100.1	5.3
Cotton (purchases)	9.1	8.8	8.2	90	94	8.2
Cattle and poultry (live weight)	15.9	16.8	18.2	114	108	28.6
Milk (including purchased from the population with contracts)	69.1	74.5	77.7	112	104	101.1
Eggs, billions	50.3	53.7	56.5	113	105	80.3
Wool (physical weight), thousand tons	341.1	325.3	342.8	101	105	465.1

In 1986 kolkhozes accounted for 49 percent of the gross agricultural output; sovkhoses accounted for 51 percent.

The increased volume of agricultural output was essentially due to increased farm crops and cattle and poultry productivity, as follows:

	1985-1985 (annual average)	1985	1986 (estimate)	All farm categories 1986, (estimate)
Yields (quintals per hectare)				
Grain crops	14.8	16.1	17.9	18.0
Potatoes	100	98	132	137
Vegetables	160	156	164	164
Sugar beets (industrial)	218	241	233	233
Sunflower	11.9	12.9	13.6	13.6
Cotton	28.1	26.4	23.7	23.7

Cattle and Poultry Productivity

Milk per cow, kg	2,313	2,453	2,604	2,421
Average daily weight increase from fattening, g:				
Cattle	474	487	509	
Hogs	332	344	361	
Eggs per laying hen, pieces	211	216	223	
Wool per sheep, kg	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.3

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses increased their sales to the state as shown in the following data (million tons):

	1981-1985 (annual average)	1985	1986 (estimate)	All category farms, 1986 (estimate)
Grain	66.6	73.4	78.8	78.8
Potatoes	12.2	11.8	15.1	19.0
Vegetables	17.8	18.4	19.5	20.9
Sugar beets (industrial)	68.2	72.5	70.5	70.7
Sunflower	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.3
Cotton	9.1	8.8	8.2	8.2
Cattle and poultry (live weight)	16.6	17.8	19.3	20.0
Milk	61.2	67.4	71.4	71.8
Eggs, billions	46.8	49.7	52.8	53.6
Wool (in terms of yarn), thousand tons	176.6	175.9	184.8	242.3

Compared with 1985, the 1986 average annual wage of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers increased by 3.6 percent while labor productivity increased by 6.9 percent.

The financial indicators of the work of agricultural enterprises improved as follows (billion rubles):

	1985	1986	1986 in % of 1985
Gross income	67.1	70.6	105
Profit	20.5	23.0	112

However, 6,000 kolkhozes and sovkhoses ended the year with a loss.

Kolkhozes (Excluding Fishing)

	1980	1985	1986
Number of kolkhozes (end of year), thousands	25.9	26.2	26.3
Average annual number of kolkhoz members employed in kolkhoz public farming, million people	13.1	12.7	12.6
Gross agricultural output (in 1983 comparable prices), billion rubles	66.3	73.9	78.0
Fixed production assets for agricultural purposes (balance value, without subtracting wear; end of year), billion rubles	94.1	126.6	134.0
Gross kolkhoz income (actual prices) (1), billion rubles	19.6	35.2	37.1
Cash and products from the public farm paid as wages to kolkhoz members, billion rubles	19.0	23.4	24.2
Kolkhoz member wages in kolkhoz public farms, rubles:			
average monthly	118.5	153.4	159
daily	5.52	6.85	7.08
Man/days averaged per month, per average annual kolkhoz member	21.4	22.4	22.5
Farmland, million hectares	171.1	169.8	
Area under all public land crops, million hectares	95.2	91.3	91.5
Number of public farm productive cattle (end of year), million head:			
cattle	47.9	50.6	51.4
including cows	16.1	15.8	15.7
hogs	28.1	29.1	29.8
sheep and goats	45.5	43.7	44.2
including sheep	45.2	43.4	43.9
Tractors (end of year):			
thousand units	1,057	1,146	1,169
total engine power, million hp	76	91	94
Number of grain harvesting combines (end of year), thousands	300	366	380
Trucks (end of year), thousands:	529	607	634
Total hauling capacity, thousand tons	1,631	2,250	2,453

(1) The gross income (net output) of the kolkhozes is computed as the difference between the cost of the entire gross output (excluding capital construction and capital repairs) and material production outlays (seeds, fodder, fuel, fertilizers, amortization, etc.).

In 1986 the net kolkhoz income (profit) was 11.7 billion rubles and the level of profitability of kolkhoz production averaged 20 percent.

Average Kolkhoz Size (Excluding Fishing)
(per kolkhoz)

	1980	1985	1986
Farmland, thousand hectares	6.6	6.4	
Public crops, thousand hectares	3.7	3.5	3.4
Public cattle (end of year), head:			
cattle	1,844	1,926	1,925
including cows	621	600	588
hogs	1,085	1,108	1,116
sheep and goats	1,755	1,662	1,655
Tractors, physical units (end of year), number	41	44	44

On 1 January 1987 the average kolkhoz had capital assets totaling 6.4 million rubles, which included agricultural fixed production assets worth 5.1 million rubles.

Average Sovkhoz Size
(per sovkhoz)

	1980	1985	1986
Farmland, thousand hectares	17.2	16.1	
Area in crops, thousand hectares	5.3	4.8	4.7
Cattle, head	1,906	1,881	1,870
including cows	645	589	579
Hogs	1,120	1,170	1,194
Sheep and goats	3,281	3,001	2,986
Tractors in physical units (end of year), units	57	57	68

On 1 January 1987 the average sovkhoz had fixed assets worth 9.9 million rubles, including agricultural fixed assets worth 7.2 million rubles.

In 1986 sovkhoz profits totaled 11.3 billion rubles; sovkhoz production profitability average 17 percent.

On 1 January 1987 the value of fixed productive capital for agricultural purposes owned by kolkhozes and sovkhozes totaled 296.4 billion rubles, showing a 6 percent increase compared with the previous year.

Sovkhozes

	1980	1985	1986
Number of sovkhozes (end of year), thousands	21.1	22.7	22.9
Average annual number of workers employed in all sovkhoz sectors, million people	11.6	12.0	12.0
including in agriculture	9.8	8.9	10.0
of these, workers	8.8	8.9	8.9
Fixed production capital for agricultural purposes (balance value not counting wear; end of year), billion rubles	110.8	152.4	162.3
Gross agricultural output (in 1983 comparable prices), billion rubles	67.1	75.2	80.7
Sovkhoz worker wages, rubles:			
average monthly	149.7	184.4	191
daily	6.48	7.99	8.25
Man/days average per month per average annual worker	23.1	23.1	23.0
Farmland, million hectares	362.6	365.2	
Total land in crops, million hectares	111.8	108.2	107.9
Productive cattle (end of year), million head:			
cattle	40.1	42.0	42.9
including cows	13.6	13.4	13.3
hogs	23.6	26.4	27.4
sheep and goats	69.0	67.9	68.5
including sheep	68.1	66.8	67.8
Tractors (end of year):			
thousand units	1,190	1,294	1,320
total engine power, million hp	91	108	111
Number of grain harvesting combines (end of year), thousand units	373	420	429
Trucks (end of year):			
thousand units	585	685	705
total hauling capacity, thousand tons	1,988	2,689	2,842

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CHRONICLE: MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 87 (signed to press 11 Mar 87) pp 128

[Text] The editors were visited by V. Momov, first deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department. Problems of enhancing Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in the social sciences and participation of representatives of the journal KOMMUNIST in bilateral projects carried out in the USSR and Bulgaria were discussed.

The editors were visited by G. Pankov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union. His talk with the editors covered a wide range of problems related to the restructuring taking place in both countries and the development and intensification of comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria. It was emphasized that mass information media and public organizations, the Society for Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship and the National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the 30th anniversary of the founding of which was celebrated in February 1987, play an important role in this process. Members of the editorial staff described their work on the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, aimed at the unification among socialist countries and the intensification of friendly relations among them in all areas of social life.

KOMMUNIST was visited by a delegation of scientific workers from the French Communist Party, who are in our country in connection with the plan for relations between the CPSU and the FCP. The delegation is headed by FCP Central Committee Member G. Chambase, deputy director of the Institute of Marxist Research. The other guests included F. Cohen, head of the institute's socialist countries sector; M. Rogalsky, editor of the journal RECHERCHES INTERNATIONALES ("International Studies"), N. Rondeau, member of the economic department of the FCP Central Committee; and C. Gendin, editor in chief of the journal PENSEE ("Thought"). The members of the delegation were interested in the way KOMMUNIST is helping the restructuring and in the journal's tasks in this connection. The French comrades showed great interest in the discussions sponsored by the journal and their purposes and ways of conducting them.

The delegation was informed on the results of the meeting of editors of theoretical and political journals of communist and worker parties, which was held in Moscow in December 1986.

A meeting between KOMMUNIST editors and a propaganda aktiv was held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade. The results of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and problems of development of Marxist-Leninist theory at the contemporary stage were discussed. Other discussions dealt with the most important aspects of restructuring, ways of further democratization of party life and Soviet society and the role of the social sciences in the theoretical interpretation of revolutionary processes in the country. The editors described the journal's creative plans.

A talk was held in the editorial premises with James Harrison, executive director of the Soviet-American exchange program sponsored by the Esalen Institute (San Francisco); problems of the new way of thinking and its role in closing the gap between international political practices and universal moral and ethical standards were discussed. Particular attention was paid to problems of cooperation between Soviet and American scientists in furthering the positive impetus and ideas of the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and Survival of Mankind."

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