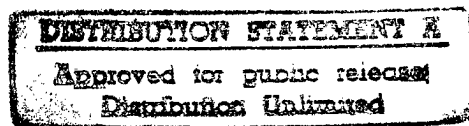


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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 5, September-October 1988

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[The following is a translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of articles not translated.]

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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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Increasing Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Solving Key Social Problems of Soviet Society
18060003a Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed to press 5 Oct 88) pp 3-5

[Decree of the CPSU Central Committee: "On Increasing the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Solving Key Social Problems of Soviet Society"]

[Text] The decree emphasizes that the implementation of the course of the 27th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee for a revolutionary restructuring, the carrying out of a radical economic reform and activist social policy, the complete democratization of society and the renewal of its spiritual and moral sphere demand a stronger role for Marxist-Leninist sociology in scientific support for the restructuring, in solving key theoretical and practical problems of socialism and in shaping the sociopolitical thinking of the broad masses of workers. This determines the qualitatively new demands on developing sociology as a science and on employing the results of sociological research in the practices of managing social processes.

The CPSU Central Committee feels that the present state of affairs in sociology does not meet the needs of society. Sociology has still not come to take its proper place in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist social sciences, in shaping the scientific ideology of the workers and in carrying out CPSU social policy.

The task has been set of raising the development of Marxist-Leninist sociology to a qualitatively new level, to fundamentally increase the theoretical, methodological and procedural level of the scientific studies and fundamentally improve their employment in the management and forecasting of social processes as well as in deepening democracy and glasnost. A system of measures must be carried out aimed at ensuring the comprehensiveness and effectiveness of sociological research, developing the network of sociological institutes and centers, increasing the role of the social development services at the enterprises and organizations, fundamentally improving sociological education and the training of sociologist personnel, creating a scientifically based system for studying public opinion, widening the information base of sociology, increasing the publishing and improving the quality of sociological research, as well as improving the material-technical and financial support for scientific studies.

Provision has been made to focus the efforts of the sociological collectives on examining the most urgent and complex problems in the development of Soviet society and the main areas of sociological research have been set out.

The USSR Academy of Sciences should provide the gradual development of a system of scientific institutions and subdivisions in the sociological area as required and with the presence of the corresponding personnel. The Sociological Research Institute Under the USSR Academy of Sciences is being converted into the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It will be concerned with working out fundamental, theoretical, methodological and procedural problems in sociology, with coordinating sociological research in the nation, and carrying out chiefly international, all-Union and interregional research. The USSR State Committee for Public Education should adopt measures to develop the network of special-problem sociological scientific research laboratories and scientific subdivisions in institutions of learning operating on economic accountability principles.

Proceeding from the requirements of the USSR Law Governing a State Enterprise (Association) dealing with the primacy of the social development of the labor collectives, it has been judged essential to fundamentally improve sociological work in the national economic sectors and at the enterprises, and to raise the role of the social development services in studying the motivation of labor activity, value orientations and interests in the various workers groups, in developing socialist democracy and realizing the principles of social justice as well as labor and sociopolitical activeness.

Measures have been provided to improve sociological education, the training, retraining and advanced training of sociologist personnel. The USSR ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the Union republics must determine the demand for sociologist personnel for the period up to the year 2000. During the current five-year plan, we intend to open sociological faculties or divisions at the major VUZes of the nation and organize a sociological specialization and the establishing of other specialties at the institutions of higher learning.

In the aims of improving the qualitative composition of the higher skill sociological personnel, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Public Education with the participation of the concerned ministries and departments, in working out the annual plans, will make provision to increase the admission to graduate studies and the doctoral program in sociology. It is considered essential to broaden the retraining of personnel on special sociology faculties under the leading higher institutions of learning as well as organize

instruction on the problems of sociology, social psychology, the management of social processes for leading workers and specialists in the sectorial and intersectorial advanced training institutes.

In the aims of improving the social orientation of the personnel, provision has been made to incorporate in the system of worker political and economic studies the giving of courses on sociology and social psychology as well as actively develop the sociological faculties at the Marxism-Leninism universities.

Particular importance is given to analyzing and using public opinion in deepening the processes of democratizing Soviet society, in developing glasnost, creative initiative and sociopolitical activeness of the masses. We intend to bring about an improvement in the study of public opinion primarily on the basis of developing and increasing the effectiveness of work done by the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socio-economic Questions Under the AUCCTU and the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the sociological subdivisions of the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee, the higher institutions of learning, the ministries and departments.

The USSR Goskomstat [State Statistical Committee] together with the appropriate ministries and departments will implement a gradual forming of a system for the study of public opinion on the major problems of domestic and international life.

For increasing the information available to the public on the main questions of social development and improving the statistical base of sociology, provision has been made to broaden the publication of statistical materials of a social nature, organize the systematic periodic publishing of pertinent statistical materials and reviews, and set up regular information for the broad public on questions of moral statistics.

The decree points to the need for strengthening propaganda of sociological knowledge. There are plans to substantially broaden the publishing of scientific, methodological and popular literature on sociology. Provision has been made to prepare and publish textbooks on Marxist-Leninist sociology and on concrete sociological disciplines for students, plant sociologists, as well as the system for advanced training and political and economic education.

Measures have been outlined for resource support for the development of sociology. The USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science], the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the

councils of ministers of the Union republics must allocate the material and technical resources for carrying out the work in the sociology area in accord with the current decree.

The central committees of the Union republic communist parties, the kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party have been instructed to strengthen organizational and ideological-political work in developing sociology, in studying public opinion on the spot, as well as to exercise constant supervision over the activities of the sociological subdivisions. The party committees should proceed from the view that the results of sociological research must actively aid in improving the style, forms and methods of party leadership.

The decree emphasizes that the measures to improve the role of sociology in resolving key social problems in Soviet society should help in activating the process of restructuring and more fully bring out the creative potential of the Soviet people.

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Socialist Pluralism

18060003b Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
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[Materials prepared by T.Yu. Znamenskaya of a roundtable discussion held by the Novosti Press Agency and the editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] The materials of the discussion published below represent one of the first scientific discussions of socialist pluralism. Obviously, because of this circumstance, the discussion at the roundtable was not free of shortcomings. The reader may gain the impression that pluralism for the participants of the discussion is merely a new category which, in observing precautionary measures, should be explained and integrated into the old system of natural sciences. A great deal of space has been given to a dispute over definitions and to explaining what can and cannot be said and most importantly, the current real processes of social life have remained, in essence, unanalyzed.

In publishing an abridged verbatim record of the roundtable, the editors thereby invite the readers to continue the discussion about socialist pluralism, the direct consequence of democracy, glasnost, and radical political and socioeconomic transformations. Primarily why are the approaches proposed by the participants interesting? They open up an opportunity to take a new step ahead in analyzing the problem and in correlating it more soundly to the practice of socialist construction.

Do limits of socialist pluralism exist and where are they? If pluralism presupposes a multiplicity of sociopolitical positions, will not these positions develop into opposition? What is the role of the party under the conditions of socialist pluralism? Can there be any guarantee that "socialist" pluralism tomorrow will not again be called "idealistic"?—this is just a small part of those difficult questions which were raised by the participants of the situation analysis organized by the Novosti Press Agency [APN] together with the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

Let us introduce the participants in the discussion: the director of the OAN [Academy of Social Sciences] under the CPSU Central Committee, I.I. Antonovich, the sector head of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada, the leader of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V.G. Britvin, the sector head of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences [IGPAN], V.Ye. Guliyev, the science associate at the IS [Sociology Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences, T.Yu. Znamenskaya, the editor-in-chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, A.V. Dmitriyev, doctor of philosophical sciences, Prof V.N. Ivanov, the sector head at the IGPAN, V.P. Kazimirchuk, sector head of the IS of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yu.P. Kovalenko, professor at MGU [Moscow State University], R.I. Kosolapov, sector head at the IGPAN, B.P. Kurashvili, the leading science associate at the IS of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I.V. Ladodo, sector head at the IS of the USSR Academy of Sciences, N.V. Merzlikin, the head researcher at the Philosophy Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, M.N. Perfilyev, head of the chair at the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement under the AUCCTU, Yu.N. Popov, consultant at the CPSU MGK [Moscow City Committee], B.L. Prozorov, and the Vice President of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association], B.V. Rakitskiy.

The discussion was led by the leader of the priority action group of the APN, I.S. Modnov, and the chief science associate at the IS of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V.G. Smolyanskiy.

[Modnov]: Today we have an improvised situation analysis and we can call it "brainstorming." This was organized so that scientists could help us understand the very concept of socialist pluralism and all that is related to it.

Pluralism and Integration

[Ivanov]: The moving of the problems of ideological support for restructuring to the forefront makes it essential to examine first of all the new and most acute problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. Among these is the problem of socialist pluralism. For a long time, we have employed this category chiefly as a subject of criticism in the phrase "bourgeois pluralism." At present, new facets

of content and a new situation in the perception of the very term and the phenomena related to it have been pointed up and this, naturally, requires its own methodological analysis. At present, we are unable to resolve all the questions, although I do feel we are attempting to outline the range of the most important ones. The first thing which we must draw attention to is a definition of the concept itself. In my view, socialist pluralism can be defined simply as a diversity of superstructure and base phenomena adequate to the nature of socialism, to its economic, political, social and spiritual system (order) and to its ideals and goals. Secondly, this is the quality of the multiple aspects of the category itself, its multifacedness reflected in the concepts: ideological, theoretical, philosophical, social, propagandistic and economic pluralism. What is acceptable for us, what gives us the right to employ the given category along with the tag of socialist? At present, most often it is a question of a pluralism of opinions. But can the entire problem be reduced to this? I feel that it cannot. A pluralism of opinions is the reflection of pluralism in social practice, in social everyday life. But, in characterizing the given phenomenon, one must first of all take up the concept of ideological pluralism. And here the categories of monism and dualism naturally arise. There is scarcely anyone who would dispute the obvious that what is tied to our understanding, to our ideological canons and initial positions is reflected primarily in the category of dialectical materialism as a monistic review of the world. For this reason, it is not advisable to search for any fundamentally new philosophical concept which would be an alternative to dialectical materialism and which brings together in itself the ideas of the material base and development. All historical practice persuades us of the methodological fruitfulness and correctness of dialectical materialism and a retreat from it (or its mistrust or oversimplified interpretation) have always led to errors and mistakes, to one-sidedness and metaphysical dogmatism.

We can view theoretical pluralism at present as a definite pattern in the development of scientific knowledge and its diversity. In this sense, probably, it would be valid to say that a theoretical socialist pluralism is possible but this does not proclaim a multiplicity of truths but rather reflects a way to the truth which is concrete and unified. For this reason, in accepting theoretical socialist pluralism as a way to the truth, there is reason to feel that such a category has the right to existence. For a long time, we denied it. However, the growing diversity of social development, the heterogeneity of today's world and an understanding of this heterogeneity are not only applicable to the world as a whole but to socialism in particular and presupposes a different view of this category. In this context one must also speak of economic pluralism which is expressed in the growing diversity of forms of socialist property, the methods of possessing it and the methods of management.

[Dmitriyev]: As for sociological or social pluralism, this question has been virtually unexamined in our literature. I feel that the given term has been employed here for the

first time. It is a question of the relative independence of individual social groups. But it is premature, it seems to me, to speak of such pluralism.

[Smolyanskiy]: Anatoliy Vasiliyevich [Dmitriyev], what do you think, does a social pluralism exclude social integration?

[Dmitriyev]: It does not exclude it. Any society does not exclude social, political and spiritual integration. It generally speaking does exist, but with definite independence and separateness of the individual elements. In any event, the unity of society on the social level is supplemented by a certain diversity, a certain multiplicity. But since among social property the dominant phenomenon continues to be state property, in the social area one can speak only of the sprouts of pluralism.

[Ivanov]: I would also like to bring up the question of ideological, propagandistic and such other pluralism. Is the given category applicable to socialism, that is, socialist ideological pluralism? If by this we understand the elaboration of some ideology which would be an alternative to Marxist-Leninist, socialist, then it seems to me that this has no solid grounds under it or any real sense. At the same time, under the conditions of revolutionary restructuring there cannot help but be clashes of opinions, polar viewpoints and ideological struggle. The most tangible is the struggle, on the one hand, against conservatism, and on the other, against the pseudorevolutionary phrase expressing an historical "impatience" on the part of some of our cadres. Neither one nor the other will help resolve the creative tasks of restructuring.

[Kosolapov]: What is healthy pluralism, from my viewpoint? Here Vilen Nikolayevich [Ivanov] has correctly said that there is one truth if it is found. But the approaches to it are undoubtedly numerous. Ideological workers, in particular the professional ones who are accustomed to follow a monistic, monolithic view, must now switch, and seriously and lengthily and, possibly, forever, to a monopluralistic view. All of us, and primarily, of course, the scientists, are confronted with the problem of determining the degree of monisticness, monolithicness of pluralism. In the same manner that the basic question of government under socialism is the ratio between the democratic and centralist aspects (here we are constantly moving from one extreme to another, up to now choosing a centrist version which is most convenient for daily practice and the calmest), we must adjust our own awareness and switch it to completely new lines. This is the main difficulty.

Furthermore, there is the question of the pluralisticness of ideology. Lenin at one time allowed definite ideological differences even among party members, in considering, for example, the possibility of admitting religious persons to the party. During the period of preparing for the revolution, when it was essential to unite the political army for the storming, it was important to unite people not so much by philosophical views, sometimes of a

rather abstract nature, as it was by sociopolitical positions. This position can be common to both the most convinced communist and, let us assume, to a priest.

Certainly, we should not try to revise dialectical materialism. But, on the other hand, how, comrades, we would suffer if there was a prohibition against advancing hypotheses! I have experienced this many times. In 1984, I merely had to come out with an article entitled "Socialism and Contradictions," when two neat notes on this question were sent to a place where only unpleasantnesses can issue forth, regardless of whether you are right or guilty. This should be put to an end once and for all. There must be a diversity of hypotheses, free search and the promoting of optimum views from the viewpoint of the given research, the given thinker, the given communist.

[Bestuzhev-Lada]: I am already 60, and I will speak, as Saltykov-Shchedrin taught, out of habit and not as I would like. But, I think that I can be understood.

Since you and I have the problem of studying this question and reaching the level of mass awareness, I would start with what is pluralism. Obviously, opposition to something. Well, for instance, monism. But what is monism? Monism in the given instance (monism has many different concepts) is monopoly. And what is monopoly? Monopoly, as Lenin taught us, is rottenness.

If you have monopoly in the economy, then only a small portion of the product is suitable for export, while no country will buy a large portion. This is the state of our economy which we are now restructuring. If you have a monopoly in services, then there is a line a kilometer long with black Volgas driving up to the "back door." Finally, if you have a monopoly in politics, then inevitably Rashidov, Adylov and others appear. Inevitably. This is why there must be pluralism. I have given some thought to how it should be defined. I have come up with two plural definitions of pluralism but there are probably 22 of them.

One I would formulate as follows. Pluralism is nothing more than the impunity for dissidence. Lawyers have the presumption of innocence. I would introduce a concept of the presumption of impunity for dissidence. Initially we should understand what a person thinks and says and only then punish him. But for us it is still the reverse. If you don't first shout "hurrah" then for a long time later they shout "guard." This is one aspect of the matter.

The second aspect is that pluralism is still the recognition of objective reality. It always has been, it is and will be. And the other thing is that we cover this over with some veils and drown it out with shouts. But pluralism was and still is.

[Britvin]: I feel that the very fact of the appearance of the concept of "socialist pluralism" in the scientific literature is a reflection and a response to definite processes

which have occurred in real life. Regardless of all the attempts to "smooth out" reality and to make it fit to uniform standards and norms, in real life pluralism has still existed and not only a pluralism of opinions but rather a pluralism which has been reflected in various structures. In the economic structure it has made itself felt including in the existence of a shadow economy, various deviations and in the political area at some stage in the rise of dissidence and so forth.

Incidentally, the results of analyzing the attitude of people to dissidence shows an interesting feature: officially those who could be considered as dissidents have been few in number while the sampling of public opinion has discovered that the views of the dissidents are shared by significant groups of citizens. The at-first-glance incomprehensible phenomenon can be explained, it seems to me, by the attempt of people to link their own stance with the stance of that group which has expressed a definite disagreement with the official state of affairs and official policy.

[Antonovich]: I am a pessimist in assessing the realities of pluralism at the given stage of our society's development, if you wish, I am a pluralistic pessimist. Unfortunately, we, it seems to me, are not ready for pluralism, and here there must be maximum caution.

As for intellectual pluralism, this is a function of social awareness and from which we still must not expect what we would like. Certainly our social awareness is a product of the era of the cult of personality and the period of stagnation and it is conservative. Over the decades this has been divided into right and wrong and for long years its result has come down to enforced conformity of ideas which excludes pluralism. I do not consider "armchair pluralism" as real pluralism. This has been an escape valve by which we did not blow up but on the other hand drank more than we should. That was the tradition. To break this is the main thing, I would say, the basic revolutionary direction in the current stage of restructuring. And at present we still say only partially the truth and we prefer not direct but indirect discourse. Hence, in our social system there still are serious flaws which tend to reproduce leaders of an autocratic type who mercilessly destroy any manifestations of intellectual, social and other pluralism.

At present, we are ashamed of ourselves for the fact that at the end of the 1950's we condemned "Doctor Zhivago" without having read it. But, if we had read it would things be any better? It seems to me that they could have been worse as the condemnation would have been by collectives including the nurseries, schools, military units, kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industrial enterprises. And, of course, by collective letters from all the creative unions.

Pluralism is tolerance. And look how tolerant we are: at present, we have convened this prominent meeting but we could not start it without ensuring support from the

authorities. This still is not pluralism. Pluralism is when there is a single truth but a multiplicity of approaches to it. And the victor is not the strongest but rather the best as a result of extended democratic discussion. The clash of opinions is important in and of itself and in this there cannot be either winners or losers. This is the social state of pluralism.

Proceeding from the particular features of our organization, our system and cultural tradition, I feel that for us pluralism is important as an intellectual and not a social state. Let me endeavor to explain why.

The social matrix of pluralism is a democratically organized society. Not pluralistic but precisely democratic. A multiplicity of organizations fits poorly in the historic tradition of Russia. One ends up by finding the most powerful organization which subordinates all the rest to it. For this reason, it remains for us to have the greatest possible activation of intellectual pluralism under the conditions of a democratic, sociopolitical structure of autocracy of the Communist Party, the autocracy of 20 million people as an open political organization in which entry and departure are free and which activates each communist to be a conscious agent of pluralism. I do not see any other way.

From a Pluralism of Opinions to a Pluralism of Actions

[Dmitriyev]: It seems to me, that we still do not completely understand what pluralism is. Most often we talk about pluralism in the spiritual sphere, forgetting that any spiritual sphere depends upon other spheres and, in particular, the economic and political. This relationship in our situation is very important. In contrast to the preceding speaker, I would still style myself a cautious optimist. I feel that the germs of pluralism in the political, economic and social areas do exist in our country but pluralism is most fully apparent at the given stage in ideology and the spiritual sphere.

[Smolyanskiy]: The political sphere is not an abstract concept. Is there pluralism and can there be a pluralism of power as a most important political category?

[Dmitriyev]: I propose that the elements, germs of political pluralism do exist in the political area. For instance, take the state system. Here diversity can be found in the various nationality and state formations and a certain decentralization. I would like to recall that pluralism means not merely diversity but rather a multiplicity of independent elements.

If one speaks about bourgeois or liberal views, then it is a question that a number of political institutions effectively influences the state, it guarantees the independence of the population from this state and participates in the sharing of power and in the supervising of power. This is approximately the understanding of political pluralism in the West and which is not completely shared by us. But it is essential to study carefully how applicable

this approach is in our system. For now I feel that it is premature to speak about the flourishing of socialist pluralism in the political sphere.

[Smolyanskiy]: Does socialist pluralism presuppose a pluralism of power? I personally feel that it does not. Why? Because there can be no pluralism of power in a pure form either under socialism or under capitalism. With any multiparty capitalist organization of society, capitalism as such is not placed in doubt and no alternative for it is proposed. The changes offered do not touch the essence of power. For this reason, I would not say that there is any pluralism of power in the literal sense of the word regardless of how democracy is viewed.

[Kazimirchuk]: Never has anyone, any party or any class shared power with anyone and will not do so in the future. For this reason, there can be no question of a pluralism of power. The dividing of power into two or three is a phenomenon only in a transitional period. Power is never divided with anyone and for this reason to say under present-day conditions that there is some pluralism of power, I feel, is at least inaccurate. It is an issue of who is attracted to power, through whom power is exercised and for whom this power exists. And it has turned out that the famous slogan summoning to power primarily for the workers and through the workers has been warped.

[Kurashvili]: A pluralism of opinions, comrades, this is an ordinary timid designation of unpleasant reality. And the unpleasant reality which we still must tolerate and engage in dialogue is political pluralism. Not a pluralism of opinions but rather a political pluralism. If something does not reach political expression or the formulating of certain political requirements then this is something immature in our society. Such an immature thing is the notion of a pluralism of opinions which would supposedly replace political pluralism.

But nothing can replace political pluralism and it is this that we must recognize and study.

Incidentally, if one is speaking about the relationship of pluralism and moral-political unity, then no moral-political unity, if it even existed for us, could free society from splintering over each important question of its development. For instance, even if our society was morally and politically unified, all the same restructuring would inevitably split it and, consequently, two groups would be formed in society: one the majority and the other the minority. Both these groups would have a situational alternative nature. Consequently, situational alternative pluralism is one of the types of political pluralism which is completely inevitable in any society.

[Smolyanskiy]: But isn't the current struggle in the area of ideas which was spoken of by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during the reception of Sanginetti not to be

conducted against conservatism, against what others style the vanguardism, and against what is actually an antisocialist trend in ideology?

[Kurashvili]: I am not asserting that we must not speak about ideological pluralism. It seems to me that it is not enough to speak about this and that the essence of the matter ultimately comes down to a political pluralism. For Lenin all the essential discrepancies in social life and in the positions of groups assumed social significance only when these had risen to the level of political demands. But we wish to avoid this question and reduce things solely to a pluralism of opinions, to the struggle of ideas and so forth. It is important to make clear whether this struggle reaches the point of political pluralism and is it the norm under socialism. We should ask ourselves the question whether there is an objective basis for the various courses precisely in socialist policy. And generally speaking, what courses are possible in principle here? This is how I would approach this matter.

In the first place, various courses are possible from the viewpoint of the left and right in politics. And what is left and what is right in socialist policy? Left is an orientation to realizing the specific traits of socialism. There are not very many of these and include public ownership of the means of production, distribution according to labor and a more significant role for the state than in previous systems in managing the economy and sociocultural life as a whole. A leftist policy, I repeat, is oriented at realizing these specific traits of socialism and shows a tendency to be limited to these. In the same instance, socialism is a transitional system from capitalism to communism and it cannot help but carry in itself certain common human traits: commodity relationships which have an objective nature and cannot be transformed, democratic forms for organizing social life which also have existed over millennia. There are other specific traits of capitalism which can be present in a socialist policy under certain conditions and under certain definite circumstances. For instance, private entrepreneurship, for example, concessions and joint enterprises which are now being organized along with the capitalist countries. A rightist policy is oriented at employing certain elements of capitalism for socialist purposes while a leftist one is aimed at the purity of realizing the socialist traits and there still is one other course which is oriented at more or less the use of the intermediate, boundary zone, primarily in commodity relations.

There is a whole spectrum of socialist policies which are always an object of choice. In my view, in socialism there are six political regimes each of which has occurred in history. The totalitarian, excessive regime goes beyond the limits of socialism and which has historically encountered this plague. This was the regime of several years of Stalinism. A classic example of a totalitarian regime is Cambodia. Further, along this "fan" is a rigid totalitarian regime. Precisely this characterizes all the years of Stalinism and not the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's. After this comes an authoritarian-democratic

and democratic-authoritarian regime. Finally, there is the full-scale democratic regime, the limit of our dreams and not a close one. There is also one other regime which is the anarchistic-democratic. This existed in Poland up to 1981.

It is a curious thing that even a very sharp tilt toward a rightist policy, the admission and use of capitalist elements in no way means an analogous tilt toward a strengthening in the elements of democracy. I would even say that under certain conditions, a tilt to the right (and at present our restructuring, of course, is a tilt to the right from the leftist-radical policy) can be also left of center. The experience of history shows that the stronger the tilt to the right, the greater the need to maintain authoritarian elements in the political regime, in the administrative regime. Let us recall that in introducing the NEP [New Economic Policy], Lenin simultaneously proposed that fractions in the party be banned. It was essential to consolidate the political regime under the conditions of a shift of policy to the right, to consolidate in order not to lose control over events and not permit capitalist elements in policy. Incidentally, with good reason with the introduction of NEP the universal electoral law was not introduced. At present, we at best are located somewhere in the transition from a rigid authoritarian regime to an authoritarian-democratic one. It is not to be excluded that over a period of several years and possibly two or three five-year plans, we will approach a democratic-authoritarian regime. But as long as the socialism in our nation is not an economically flourishing and self-governing system, we will scarcely be able to achieve a full-scale democratic regime.

[Guliyev]: I am agreed in principle with the fact that we are not ready for the sharing of power and that possibly this is not required. But at the same time, it is certainly essential that within the limits of a single power of all the people, there could exist a multiplicity of centers of influence. Actually this has always been the case. When the draft of the state budget was being discussed, be this in the Gosplan, the ministry of finances and in other political levels, strong lobbying arose on the part of the various departments, republics and regions. Hence, the pluralism was very strong, although distorted since it was latent: the struggle was not of constitutional institutions but rather cliques, not representatives in the Supreme Soviet, but rather influential wheeler-dealers on the all-Union and republic levels under the conditions of Civil War and acute class struggle. A pathology of social life was present but, nevertheless, from the viewpoint of pluralism the situation in that period was incomparable with what we have observed prior to April 1985. Moreover, there still is a social structure of power. Lenin wrote an excellent article about this. Even within the power which is unified in its class essence there are various currents and it is not for me to explain this to sociologists. This manifests the monistic pluralistic approach, a monism which lives in the numerous diversity of pluralistic forms. A unity in diversity, a unity in the most important, most fundamental, most essential and most principled.

[Ivanov]: What is the difference between socialist and bourgeois pluralism? At the basis of socialist pluralism, of course, there is no ideological and social antagonism. And the revolutionary restructuring is now being carried out not under the conditions of struggle of classes, where the corresponding struggle of ideologies, views and so forth is a reflection of the class antagonism, but rather under different social conditions. The absence of social antagonisms as such, naturally, presupposes the absence of the corresponding concepts, as there are no real social forces behind them.

[Perfilyev]: Is it possible now to speak not only about a pluralism of opinions but also actions, a pluralism of programs? I do not feel that there should be some other power, but this power must be substantially improved. Possibly, the accent should be put on the representative membership which is elected. For example, possibly a rayispolkom would not need to have 150 members but only 50 or 40. Here I have in mind that path which has been taken by certain RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] in a number of oblasts. They have given up their rayon personnel and have taken on several consultants and in relying on them settle current problems. Here possibly we would have to include certain elements of parliamentarianism, that is, when a deputy not only reports at a session but is also concerned with the questions of culture, science and industry. It seems to me that our society has matured to a point where such a reorientation can be made. But with the current apparatus we will not be able to solve these problems.

Alternative Position or Opposition?

[Smolyanskiy]: There is one problem which today, under the conditions of a rather tense ideological clash, has become even more acute. I had in mind certain antisocialist trends and the desire to establish opposition parties. You know about such an attempt. In the first issue of GLASNOST which is published by a society with the same name, a program was set out for the seminar "Democracy and Humanism" with, for example, following: changes in the text of the Constitution in a spirit of its deideologization and without conditions of the sort (let me quote): "In the aims of communist construction and so forth."

I have spoken with those who in the West are called dissidents. These are people convinced in their rejection of socialism, including socialist pluralism, and which was shown by the recent attempt to form a so-called opposition party named "Glasnost." I have briefly summarized its credo. Or take, for example, the unofficial association known as the "Democracy and Humanism" Seminar. Its participants have submitted the Soviet government with an ultimatum. In their words, as long as the demands and ideas of the seminar members are not carried out (and here there is the demand actually for direct propaganda against the existing social system), let me quote: "Our glasnost and very democratization will remain the same sweet creamy surrogate like the pies in

the form of temples baked by Barateli in the film 'Atonement,' and will never become an authentic, just, true democracy." To the question of whether socialist pluralism presupposes an opposition, I would answer in this manner: "If one speaks about opposition which has been officially organized, then politically speaking this does not. But if one speaks about public opinion, about the opponents of restructuring, then it does. Its social roots are a separate item (from persons deprived of privileges to a sort of shadowy smart dealers).

[Bestuzhev-Lada]: Is there an opposition under socialist pluralism? Yes, of course there is. But not in the form in which this exists, for instance, in China, Cambodia or anywhere else. In my view there are three forms of opposition. The first is religion. In truth, this is an opposition of its majesty and not to its majesty. It is like the English Church. But nowhere will you see religion protesting against something. Moreover, when the priests protest the patriarchy itself—and I have observed this—brings them to heel and chucks them out. The case of Father Dimitriy Dudko was a world scandal only our mass information media did not deal with this. Hence, this is an opposition (although a particular form of it), since it by its very presence offers alternatives to what our official propaganda proposes.

The second form of opposition is Iosif Vissarionovich [Stalin] on the windshield of a motor vehicle. Why does no one stick pictures of Lenin, Marx or Engels on the vehicle windshields? I have never seen Suslov, Brezhnev, Khrushchev or even Chernenko. But Stalin is there. Why? Because it is like thumbing your nose. Like singing the Marseillaise in the presence of Alexander III; it was trumping his majesty. It was a form of protest. I am well acquainted with this.

The third form of opposition is informal groups. And here also one must see the entire picture: in one area are the outright extremists and in the middle.... There I was sitting in the Ministry of Culture in the section which is endeavoring to tame the formal opposition. One after another leader comes in. Including the president of the All-Union society of Cactus Growers. He was no extremist. He looked like a merchant at Jr Officer Prishibeyev, the section head. The latter wanted to take the bull by the horns and let me see just what this was. But the cactus grower in reply said: "No, we will be independent, we are cactus growers. We have our own business, only don't interfere with us, for God's sake. These were the cactus growers but what would you say, for instance, about the "Club of Social Initiative"? They had to lead me in, so great was my terror. And what sort of "social initiatives" were there? No, nothing, the fellows lectured one another. I would have published them because it was innocent.

[Antonovich]: I do not see the agents of pluralism in the informal groups. The informal groups are an alternative to power. And this is based upon a petty bourgeois approach in the way of life and in ideology and which has

reproduced itself in our society over the last 20 years. This is ideological and philosophical eclecticism. The leaders of the informal groups are aggressive mediocrities who have lost the possibility of affirming themselves by constitutional action. For this reason extremism is inherent to them. At present, even if they do say that their movement is a peaceful alternative, in actuality it is a struggle for power. I know only one dynamic of power: no ruling institution has voluntarily surrendered power nor is doing this.

[Prozorov]: We do not apply the concept of an "informal grouping" or an "association" to all groups but rather divide them into amateur associations which possess official status and the informal youth groups which have arisen spontaneously as a consequence of the fact that the public youth organizations cannot at present fully meet the needs and interests of the youth for its creative self-expression. This is one of the most important reasons for the rise of such informal groups and in which we put, for example, the imitators of hippies, style setters, break dancers and fanatics. Such spontaneously arising youth groups which are essentially politically passive have nothing in common with the amateur associations involved in a negative social approach. Antisocial conduct of the latter can be explained only by understanding the internal and external factors of their rise. In the former are a desire of the ideological opponent to skillfully inspire a political opposition within the nation. But this external influence would never have been so tangible if within the nation the objective prerequisites had not existed, mainly the bureaucratic distortions which have been skillfully employed by the extremist leaders of informal associations in order to attract regular participants to their antisocial activities.

It is also important to consider that of the 30,000 independent associations in the nation the basic portion of these is amateur associations which maintain a positive attitude toward restructuring. For example, in Leningrad of the 2,000 independent associations, only 18 could be styled antisocial. In Moscow, out of the 2,500 amateur associations, we have been able to isolate only around 30 who have assumed positions of political extremism. They do not define the appearance of independent youth movement. But we do not have the right to overlook their extremism. For example, the leaders of the Association of the "Club of Democratization in Trade Unions" act not only against the bureaucratic distortions in the state: they identify the bureaucratic distortions with the state itself and in this context feel that the main contradiction of restructuring rests in the struggle between state political administration and social self-government. These figures see their task in eliminating the state structures and replacing them with social ones, for example, the same "Club for the Democratization of Trade Unions." And although against the background of the positive manifestation of social energy in the almost 30,000 amateur associations, we must not ignore these individual cases. It is important to promptly analyze the reasons and prerequisites for the rise of such

associations and prevent their development into mass ones. They do not have a social base. In this aspect they are politically dead but all the same they do today influence public opinion.

[Rakitskiy]: The informal sociopolitical associations are diverse. I work in the "Democratic Restructuring" Club. This club stands for socialism and for restructuring and it arose in the aim of supporting it.

The only thing that the fellows have not been able to achieve during the entire year of the club's existence is for the party bodies to give at least some assignment, or at least to merely say: yes, you are acting correctly and get on with it. No, just persecution. We do not even have any place to hold a meeting.

It seems to me that we are not sufficiently using the opportunity to activate others. Yesterday was a discussion of the "democratic imperative" which our club wrote for the party conference, having set out here its positions in responding to the statement from the General Secretary. Of course, Ivan Ivanovich [Antonovich] was partially right here, as elements of eclecticism can be spotted here in the position of the fellows. But I would not say that these are uneducated persons. Some of them would give a jolt to the professors from the Academy of Social Sciences. The unofficial sociopolitical movement which we are involved in greatly helps in spreading political literacy and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the masses. I assert this with a full sense of what I am saying.

The Democratization of the Party or a Multiparty System?

[Alekseyev] (APN, a response from the floor): Since this meeting is termed situational, I would propose one situation for discussion. This is related to the question of a multiparty system. As is known, the movement toward socialism is varied. There are different forms and so forth. Let me leave aside the question of how realistic is the existence of several parties in the nation. In our nation it has developed historically that a single-party system arose. This was related to the Brest Peace, with 6 July and with our historical past. But is there no possibility in our model and in the form of our progress to socialism for the rise of other parties with legal, juridical limitations? Will not the leading role of the party as set out under the Constitution collide with the conscious socialist choice of a majority of the population? Possibly this is a hypothetical question. But it is now worthwhile reflecting on it. At present, the cooperative movement is a mere drop in the sea. If it becomes a normal element in our existence, then what political views may arise over this economic base and how will they endeavor to be formed? Or take, for instance, the family contract. We at present are arriving at a situation where this is the sole opportunity to raise agricultural production. What ideology and what aspirations might arise on the basis of such forms of work?

[Smolyanskiy]: First of all, I would like to ask whether we have made sufficient use historically of such a reserve as the democratization of the party itself? Are not the problems which we currently linked to the socialist pluralism primarily the problems of democratizing internal party life.

[Antonovich]: We currently have a unique institution of democracy, the CPSU, which is backed up by 20 million members. This is not an elite, as bourgeois political scientists assert. This is a mighty, mass, mass political, democratic institution which we have been merely criminally negligent in using because out of the 20 million communists only an insignificant part was active democrats. Here is where there is hard work to be done as the 20 million must be involved down to the last one. Then we will have democracy. But this is a completely new role for the party because it should then turn from the authority of power into the power of authority. We are moving toward this. At present, the Communist Party, the 20 million-strong mass political club of the nation, must not surrender its power to the informal associations. This would be unreasonable. History would not forgive us. And ultimately the people would not forgive us. This is a very important consideration.

[Sedykh] (APN, comment from the floor): I am interested in the debate at the 10th Congress on the unity of the party and the famous resolution concerning unity which created the mechanism of Stalin. In the course of the discussion, a proposal was made to introduce into the resolution a correction which would prohibit the voting of platforms. Lenin, as is known, was against this correction and it did not come into force. After this the platforms were used by Stalin in order to depict a nonexistent opposition as reality.

[Antonovich]: That is, the resolution was given in a distorted form, as a majority of what Stalin did, calling this Leninism.

[Sedykh]: Yes, but let us remember Bukharin after the defeat of the leftist communists. Six months later, and I have in mind 1918, he actually was not working actively in the party but was engaged in wrecking. Then in October he had not admitted his errors and was not involved in general work. This phenomenon is rather characteristic. I merely give Bukharin as an example. The group which lost in the discussion, in one way or another then set out to sabotage the adopted decision. Such democracy has ended up a mess. What do you have to say on this question?

[Antonovich]: Let me try to answer. I do not agree that this problem must be considered the root of all our evils. All our misfortunes derived from a radical change in the party's structure after the end of the civil war, when uneducated, politically untrained persons rushed into it. Stalin was the first who realized that in this mass there was a need for directives from above, for obedience. It

was at that time that the apparatus arose. This was the genius of Stalin which we do not now wish to recognize. He used his discovery to the extreme.

I am not in favor of platforms. I am in favor of free individuals, the free struggle of opinions, because the party should excel in discipline. A decision adopted as a result of free discussion should be an obligatory platform. At present, I would not speak about a freedom of platforms but rather of a unity achieved by a long and tortuous democratic working out of the opinions of each individual.

[Bestuzhev-Lada]: A multiparty system in our country would be beneficial if we could establish it. But we are not prepared for this either politically, organizationally, on an international level, because at present any new party is extremism for one; there is inevitable CIA interference, for two; national and all sorts of other frictions, for three; the artificial heating of conflict, four.

Initially there was pluralism under Lenin but, in essence, for his time it was a single-party system. But he wanted a multiparty system, but this did not happen, incidentally, for reasons which did not depend upon us, the communists. That was the situation. Initially, the Social Revolutionaries left the SNK [Council of People's Commissars], but the Bolsheviks invited them to participate in administration. What was the SNK under Lenin? This was a party in a party in terms of the richness of views, but also the addition of persons who ardently hated one another: Stalin and Trotsky. No matter, the entire system worked. A multiparty system in a single party, if one is to call things by their name. We can organize thousands of parties, but we should work for Leninist pluralism.

[Kosolapov]: Everything in our system starts with the party. Whatever we might say, we in fact must return to one thing: to the leading social organization. If there is healthy pluralism in the party, if the party sets the tone for socialist pluralism then everything else will fall into place. Is there any experience on this question or are there any models? There certainly are. The Leninist standards of party life. Let us take the congress minutes during the time of Lenin. Draw attention to the nature of the discussion of problems during this period. For example, the last congress which was attended by Vladimir Ilich in 1922. Antonov-Ovseyenko, Lomov, Shlyapikov and Larin in a comradely tone, but still sometimes very sharply, argued with Lenin. Even Trotsky, like all the rest, debated him in a normal, comradely situation.

Even in the 1960's, thinking party members were well aware that it was essential to bring about a turn toward domestic problems and intensification in all areas of social life. The period, for instance, until the 24th Congress was a period of certain passification and appeasement of the cadres. Later on, to a significant degree, our creative work was focused merely on trying to dress things up. Certainly this was also true. I must tell

you that neither the party nor Marxism-Leninism has any role to play in this. For example, can you imagine at the bureau of a party raykom that those who know ahead of time the viewpoint of the first secretary would also act against this viewpoint? Where should one start? With the restoring of normal criticism and self-criticism. There must be a constant search for the best version to resolve one or another question in the practice of our intraparty organizations and all the party committees. It is essential that a statement addressed to someone not be turned back against the speaker, as they say. The party must institute such a standard and defend it by all means. But this should not violate one important thing in the general rule: a unity of actions, when the decision has been accepted by the collective. Later it is possible to voice one's disagreement in private, but you are obliged to carry out this decision. Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself set an example in this sense. During the NET period, for example, he said directly that for a portion of the questions and in certain areas we were violating the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Program, but for us the practical conclusion is more important than the document. Moreover, at that time, in 1919, the Program had been formulated under the influence of the ideas of war communism.

In the adoption of the famous resolution of the 10th Congress concerning party unity, it was proposed that various platforms be banned, but Lenin did not agree with this. He thought it possible that, for instance, a group of Central Committee members might put forward and set out certain of their positions, even after the corresponding decree had been adopted. And this was the standard.

The Stalinist application of the resolution concerning party unity came down to prohibiting the expression of different opinions altogether. However, this also had its own history. At the 14th and 15th Congresses, the comrades who then were promoting a platform which differed from the Central Committee platform (I have in mind, in particular, the Leningrad opposition), did not serve one very important rule—they did not restrict themselves to just the expression of one or another viewpoint, but went on to establish their own organizational structures which would be alternatives for the existing official party system and partially with their own press organs. In their relation to the united opposition which was excluded from the party at the 15th Congress, the conclusion was drawn which came down to the following: they had established a different party.

[Guliyev]: I am in full agreement with everything that Richard Ivanovich Kosolapov has said here, but there was one phrase which grates on my nerves and this is that "the party has no part to play." If we proceed from the presumption that the party was not to blame for what happened in our nation, then we might as well not start at all. I agree that Marxism may not have any part but as for the party this is not the case. I feel that the authors judge correctly when they proceed from the view that

here the party "does have a part." It is responsible to history, to the people and to the world liberation movement for all that happens under it. Here there is no middle ground. Either a complex of infallibility or an awareness of responsibility. And it was correctly said that the alpha and the omega of restructuring lie in the ruling, guiding party.

I would also like to dispute one other question. Here it was said that Lenin wanted a multiparty system. I doubt this. Yes in terms of multiple approaches, yes in terms of the presence of party platforms. Only, and I want this correctly understood, not closed off, semisecret, secret and so forth and even conspiratorial fractions, but rather platforms which he on various questions agreed with with various members in the party leadership and the congress participants. All of this can be found in the verbatim minutes. On the military question, on the peasantry, on work among women, various platforms were put forward in the debate sheets, at the congresses and conferences. This is true. But as for a multiparty system.... Stalin certainly at that time showed that we could only have one party. And he certainly picked out quotes from Lenin's works where it said that only one party could lead, direct and head. Hence, I do not feel that we should imagine Vladimir Ilich as a great liberal.

[Bestuzhev-Lada]: He considered the circumstances but the party leadership of the RKP(b) did not shed many tears over the question of the departure of the leftist SRs. I do not feel that at that time there was a permanent slogan of "we want a multiparty system." Nothing of the sort.

[Kosolapov]: That generally was quite true. What did Lenin favor? He favored that the various groups could put forward various proposals and he was against the prohibiting of this. Nothing more than this.

[Guliyev]: Correct, I would agree with that.

[Dmitriyev]: In society various processes are occurring and it is not really a question of the appearance of independent groups which we have spoken of here. It is rather a question of the growing movement which, whether we like it or not, will obviously assume the status of an institution. For example, the question of protecting the environment and the protectors of this environment. Here obviously a very powerful movement is gaining strength. Certainly I do not feel that this movement will assume party status but it is obvious that it is assuming certain organizational status and the farther we go the more this will happen.

We should also bear in mind that in the political sphere various questions which we did not discuss for a long period of time are not being debated. This does not mean, let me repeat, an appeal to split the party into individual groupings depending upon the platform and so forth. But an attentive study of this new phenomenon for our society is an imperative necessity.

Prerequisites and Guarantees of Socialist Pluralism

[Dmitriyev]: The essence of socialist pluralism, it seems to me, lies in a diversity of the forms of ownership. In other words, we again return to economic pluralism. As long as monism exists (and I am profoundly convinced of this) in the forms of ownership, there can be no question of any serious development of pluralism in other areas. In the given instance I am also a pessimist. The development of the civil awareness of people will also depend upon how quickly there is development in the cooperative and other forms of ownership, for instance, international, family and individual. Consequently, awareness, ideology, social, political and economic relations are interrelated things. Still, it seems to me, the basis lies in the economy. And here as well the situation is also not uniform but is characterized by many disputed questions. In particular, the question of ownership of the means of production. The logic of economic development clearly leads not only to greater decentralization but also to a diversification of ownership forms.

[Antonovich]: May I ask a question? It is well and good that this problem has been raised, that is, the problem of ownership. Do you feel that in this possible mixed socialist economy, state ownership should be dominant or should it give up its monopoly, for as long as there is a monopoly there will be no pluralism?

[Dmitriyev]: Yes, that is a difficult question. It seems to me that state ownership should significantly give up its positions, here remaining the basic form of ownership.

[Antonovich]: But don't you feel that this contradicts Lenin's concept of socialism as a system of civilized cooperative members? A concept of his last tragic days which at that time we did not consider.

[Dmitriyev]: Possibly, but clearly we must also carefully analyze and study the concept of state ownership. Just what does this ownership mean: ownership of an abstract state, a bureaucracy or the ownership of as yet not cooperative labor collectives within the state framework? In a word, here we still have a great deal to analyze.

[Popov]: The problem of economic pluralism exists and it is extremely interesting. It is a question of more specific notions of ownership. This is not only an economic problem. It is linked with the area of social awareness and everyday psychology. The attitudes of people will depend largely upon our conscious action and this will determine in which direction they will go and in what organizational and political limits they will develop.

I would like to describe a conversation with young American political leaders who were visiting here recently. What were they expecting from restructuring

and from pluralism? In their opinion, we have eliminated the monopoly of state ownership, and various forms of ownership are appearing which inevitably did produce different currents not only in the area of social awareness but also in politics. These currents begin from the informal associations which, naturally, according to the laws of political development, will require a formal reinforcement as a political organization. And this process inevitably (in the opinion of the Americans, in approximately 10-15 years) will lead to a situation where the monopoly of the sole political party will also be eliminated.

[Merzlikin]: In this context I would like to recall that the American political scientist George Vigel in his report "Beyond the Limits of Containment and Detente: Pluralism of the Soviet Union" even raised the question of the importance of a transition to "nonmilitary means for undermining the Leninist monopoly of power in the USSR." As one of the main areas for the "peaceful destruction of socialism" G. Vigel proposed viewing the "struggle for pluralism in the Soviet Union" and which was seen by him as a "long-term goal." The well-known representative of American Soviet studies, A Vildavsky, considers this goal to be a geopolitical one, proposing that in addition to the United States, the other nations of the West become involved in realizing it.

[Popov]: How under the new conditions should we understand the leading role of the party on the enterprise level? Is it possible to have the existence of several economic models? They should exist as the same total of investments provides scores of various economic and social results.

What are the relationships of the various plant organizations with the party organization? I feel that it is not an issue of the number of parties but rather the admissibility of various opinions within the party. Certainly pluralism will exist when our social organizations such as the trade unions and the Komsomol can put forward their own independent ideas. Is there an independent idea among the trade unions on the questions, let us assume, of employment? Or take the problem of prices. There is the idea which was put forward by the representatives of the ministries, that is, by the state apparatus. There is the opinion of the independent economists, theorists and academicians who are little involved in this reform. But the opinion of the grass-roots trade union organizations and the AUCCTU should also be heard. If this does not happen, then the Americans will be right.

[Tkachenko] (APN, from the floor): The question is related to the independent economists, and particularly Shmelev. Do you not see in his economic research the requests of the socialist bourgeoisie for power?

[Popov]: I do not wish to say anything insulting about the independent economists. I am in favor of having all proposals received with attention. If we are to speak about Shmelev, I would advise you to compare those

proposals which he made in the magazine NOVYY MIR with the proposals of the well-known American economist Golden to whom our economist Pletnev was responding in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. The proposals by Shmelev coincide in 99 percent of the cases with the proposals of Golden. This is not to my liking. We must endeavor under our conditions to create something our own, something original.

[Kurashvili]: The comrade has quite rightly raised the question of whether or not possibly the socialist bourgeoisie is making claim to power. If there is a social group which bases its life and its income on individual labor activity with a tendency to also assimilate certain capitalist elements; if we will permit, albeit in a slight measure, private entrepreneurship (ultimately we already have joint enterprises where a certain portion of society is employed), then these groups cannot help but have their own interests and cannot help but endeavor to state their interests on the political level.

[Rakitskiy]: I agree that there should be not only a pluralism of opinions, but also a pluralism of actions, a pluralism of structure, a pluralism of organization. All of this has already been set down in the Constitution, but we are still very far from actually realizing this.

At present, the most popular and most acute question for any audience, both Soviet and foreign, is the question of just what socialism is. It seems to me that in our literature we draw little attention to the essence of the occurring transition, to the essence of restructuring. We forget that restructuring has a revolutionary nature and we are not bring this out. This consists in the fact that we are moving not from socialism to socialism, but from a warping of socialism, from barracks socialism and from a system in which socialism is not socialism. This is the antipode of socialism. We can turn from this to the line of socialist development. Restructuring provides such an opportunity. The slogan "we are all on the same side of the barricade" for a very long time inhibited development in the right direction. At present, we realize that restructuring also has its own barricades. The barracks deformation of socialism, that is, the society in which we live has its own antagonisms. And these can be resolved only in the course of a social revolution. The central antagonism of the barracks deformation of socialism is that the people perceive socialism as a society of good and progress, while the command-punitive system of administration reserves and maintains the Stalinist variation of society. For this reason there are grounds for a social revolution, so to speak, on two levels: one is the general democratic level which encompasses all the people, a general democratic movement to eliminate coercion, tyranny and shift to a state of law. We can and must go farther, that is, for a socialist way out of the barracks deformation of socialism. This is the second, higher level. It is essential to develop those forces in order to emerge from the deformation not merely into a democratic society, a state of the law, but also into a socialist society.

Now about the motivating driving forces. Of course, such an enormous force as the CPSU is a recognized authority. But at one time we were confident that "we say the party and we understand Lenin." But what do we understand now? I feel that at present it can be an issue of at least three levels. The first is party leadership. This is not uniform. We see the leadership headed by the general secretary and this performs the function of the main force aimed at emerging from the barracks deformation toward socialism. We see the backbone of the party apparatus. This is a completely different force operating in a different direction. We see the rank-and-file party members, those soldiers of the party who over the long years have become accustomed to doing what they are told. At present, many in the party apparatus have fallen behind both the leadership and the people in an understanding of the tasks of restructuring and the actions to implement it. This is a great impeding force. I have in mind the backbone of the apparatus, that is, the raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms. They were in confusion last year, and approximately from September of last year this confusion abated and they began acting by their former methods and very actively so. The senior apparatus does not know how to work with the masses, it is unable to assimilate the new methods and is afraid to talk with the people. Indications are perpetrated and double-dealing flourishes. This is particularly noticeable in the work with the informal groups. They promise them the skies. They talk literally and loyally and then make phone calls in order to cut off all paths, for example, for obtaining quarters for meetings and so forth. Why the duplicity? Certainly all of this comes out and does not aid one's authority.

From the fact that our party apparatus which has real power is unable to perceive the situation of restructuring and pluralism in an adequate manner, the problem arises of the formalized sociopolitical movements. Into whose hands does this play? Certainly these movements actually exist and they publish magazines and printed materials.

We are talking about a multiparty system. Of course, it is not a question of chauvanistic, fascistic and other such organizations. But read, for example, the declaration of the leaders of "Memory" and this is word for word what the Nazis preached. The movement of informal groupings plays into the hands of such organizations, because they cannot be brought to justice as they actually exist and at the same time it is as if they did not. We must request to see the program of such organizations and say: no, you are prohibited, you are not permitted because your tasks or methods of action do not correspond to the Constitution. And then there can be court prosecution. But the informality merely ties one's hands and you cannot do anything. People should be able to exercise their rights and freedoms set out in Article 51 of the USSR Constitution, where the right is guaranteed for establishing voluntary societies and sociopolitical organizations. The article does not state that these are only the Komsomol and the trade unions. It is a question generally of organizations. If someone does not like the

Komsomol, if the people want other youth organizations they have the right to establish them. We speak about a pluralism of opinions but certainly no pluralism of opinions appears. We have recognized this. It has always existed. At present, it is a question of recognizing a pluralism of actions. The Constitution provides such opportunities. People wish to exercise their rights and freedoms but all our laws are not designed for freedoms. There are no freedoms at all for our laws. They set down only rights and duties, while freedom presupposes a category of permitted actions. This does not exist at all in our laws.

[Smolyanskiy]: A number of speeches has mentioned the term "State of Law" which is related to our understanding of socialist pluralism. How does the concept of a state of law correlate to pluralism generally and to socialist pluralism in particular?

[Kazamirichuk]: Are we not ascribing some global significance to the problem itself forgetting that any problem must always be viewed within a certain definite context? For this reason I would resolve the question of pluralism precisely within the context of democracy, primarily democracy and democratization of the social process, just as one of the elements, one of the factors and one of the approaches which in no way closes off all the remaining complexities and all the remaining social, political and economic problems with which we should be concerned.

I feel that above all we should raise the issue of the individual and the rights of man. Presently in light of the concept of pluralism, this is the number-one problem.

Boris Vasilyevich [Rakitskiy] spoke well on the activities of the social associations. Do we have a law about social associations? There is no law which would establish a legal grounds for the activities of the social organizations. Article 51 of the Constitution merely states that a citizen has the right to form associations. But how are the associations to be formed? Where should he go? Where can he turn? Who defends his rights? What is the mechanism of legal defense? And what is this right to association? Is it essential to supplement Article 51 of the Constitution with a provision which would state that the citizen has the right to associate in those associations which he considers essential and that this is guaranteed by the state. Then this will be a legal legitimate basis. Without this supplement Article 51 is dead.

In our nation there is no body which would monitor the observance of human rights. Employers are making such proposals. The Poles, for example, have already set up such a body. They have a representative who reports only to the Sejm. He is not afraid that tomorrow he will be driven from his job, because only the Sejm can resolve this question. Why don't we have such a mechanism? It

is a question of so-called constitutional control, constitutional supervision. If you are prohibited from something, if you are insulted, then you can go to the Constitutional Tribunal which reviews whether your claims relate to the Constitution. We should establish a system of constitutional tribunal where a citizen could go and complain. Or, for instance, a system of administrative justice. We do not have this. We have adopted an administrative code but there is no administrative justice. We might ask how could it happen that the tree has grown up while there was no earth. I feel that we must establish not only administrative justice, but also labor, social and constitutional justice. There should be an extensive network of such institutions and such an organization which would provide possibility and guarantee for civil rights. The party need not be concerned with this.... The party has enough to do, and there is no reason for it to rule on, for example, to whom space should be given and to whom not. For this there are other bodies and other organizations. I feel that the party will be concerned primarily with policy, the strategy of political development (international and domestic) and the strategy of economic development. The party should not intervene into all questions of state administration. Certainly it is no secret that the laws at times are written at the party headquarters. The party workers write the laws and then transmit these to the Supreme Soviet. Is this constitutional? Is this really a matter for the party bodies? We have a Supreme Soviet and there is a Commission for Legislative Proposals and there are the deputies. The deputy body at present does not work and we should honestly admit that its existence is a mere formality. Unfortunately, in our country the authority of the law is low. And this is correct, because the law is bent and mishaped by numerous instructions which are put out by anybody including the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Railroads and the Ministry of Civil Aviation. What sort of authority can there be for such a law?!

The law should have a direct action and this is the Constitution, and on the grounds of an infraction of constitutional law one can turn to the court and initiate proceedings. Have you ever seen where a citizen came to the court and said that in accord with Article 126 of the Constitution I demand the following. This never happens. It is a shameful phenomenon that the Constitution exists but it does not work. What sort of Constitution is this?

When we speak about pluralism, it is a question not only of a pluralism of opinions and interests. It is also a question of a pluralism of those means and mechanisms which should force our democratic principles to work. Then there will be pluralism.

[Comment from the floor]: I have the following question for you. You have spoken about the separation of functions, let us say, of the party and state bodies. Do you feel it possible to have a separation of functions within the state into executive and legislative?

[Kazamirichuk]: This is not only possible but also essential. This is the first imperative: not a separation of powers but rather a separation of functions. It is a question of the dividing of functions within the state. There should be separate functions of legislation, functions of administration and court functions. The legislator promulgates the laws, executive power must observe them while the court should rule on cases and protect the rights of the citizens. This is the guarantee. If there is no legal court defense against the arbitrariness of administration, then there is no democracy. Unfortunately, we have not completely realized this Leninist, Marxist idea.

[Guliyev]: If Soviet power was a question of those soviets which were established and fostered by Lenin with Sverdlov and the other Leninists, and if from the start they had established sensitive receptors for social satisfactions and dissatisfactions, moods and interests, needs and requests, tensions and harmonies, then there would not have been any Stapanakert. That is the problem. For this reason, the best means for struggle is not to pull down the idols but rather to organize a social mechanism which in a natural, self-adjusting manner would spot the rational in different and even radical demands. And this same mechanism on a legal basis, and if need be, by court procedure, would turn down those whose demands did not correspond to the legislation, to the Constitution and to the fundamentals of our system. And when the Soviet of Nationalities differs much less from the Soviet of the Union than does the Granite Palace from the Armory, then, of course, the mechanisms will work outside the system of soviets. Why didn't the Soviet of Nationalities become concerned with Karabakh promptly. Because the proper sensitivity does not exist in Soviet power or among the soviet administrative bodies.

The political system is a system of social structures, institutions and so forth. It is a mechanism of social regulation. It is much wider than the political system per se which should undoubtedly increase its scope. In the law it is essential to establish guarantees and mechanisms which define what actually is socialist, or, at least, prosocialist and what is antisocialist. At present, this is not set down in the law but rather there are various declarations. In this sense we still do not have a guarantee for pluralism.

Pluralism and Glasnost

[Kovalenko]: Pluralism and glasnost are the basic concepts proposed for our discussion. I would pose the question thusly: was there pluralism before glasnost and what has glasnost given to pluralism? In my view, the assertion that a pluralism of opinions was lacking in the real life of our society prior to restructuring is one of those myths which was created by our propaganda and intensely supported by the information media. Like a number of other social myths, it was destroyed by restructuring. It would be hard to say what was pluralism and what was not. Of course, the mass information

media did not propagandize pluralism, in carrying out a monistic approach in their practical activities. At official meetings and conferences pluralism also, as a rule, was missing. But in real life it always existed and will exist.

The domatically squalid notions of socialism were shaped by two or three social groups in society in the absence of the remaining rights to expression of any viewpoint through the information media. This, in particular, served as the reason for the dissemination of the samizdat materials.

I would also like to mention our research on restructuring. In ten major cities, we asked workers, engineers and white collar workers working in production on their attitude toward glasnost. The results were that certain respondents, there was around 13 percent of them, noted the absence of social guarantees for glasnost and expressed concern that after 5 or 6 years everything would come full circle. From 10 to 15 percent of those questioned voiced fears over the issue of whether this glasnost would harm us and would not play into the hands of our ideological opponents, while the same share pointed out that the development of democratization causes harm and that this is the borrowing of capitalist methods for organizing social life. It is worthy of note that such opinions were expressed not only by representatives of the intelligentsia, but also by the workers.

[Ladodo]: In speaking about glasnost and pluralism, one cannot help but mention the mass information media. To what degree do they satisfy the current spiritual and intellectual requirements of the Soviet people?

The results of surveys conducted by associates of our institute at the end of 1987 and the beginning of 1988 recorded a sharp rise in the importance of the mass information media in shaping the awareness of the nation's population. Thus, the number of subscriptions to periodicals has grown, and there have been an increased frequency and time allocated to contacts with the mass information media. Many respondents note an improvement in the quality of mass information provided to them and expressed satisfaction with the glasnost policy being carried out by the press, radio and television.

At the same time, research in various regions of the nation (the north, Baltic, Moldavia, the Ukraine and the center of Russia) discloses a whole series of negative aspects. In particular, the positive changes in the work of the local (in comparison with central) mass information media are viewed significantly lower; extremely low is the degree of coincidence in the assessments of the course and results of restructuring in the nation with the assessments by respondents concerning the real state of affairs in the labor (educational) collective. Suffice it to say that everywhere the share of persons questioned whose views coincide fully with the views of the mass information media does not exceed 5-7 percent.

Furthermore, there have been low assessments of the effectiveness of the actions of the mass information media (of the 88 percent Muscovites respondents who feel that over the last 2 years the degree of criticism of the mass information media has risen, only one-half noted a strengthening of their effectiveness and greater objectivity). Finally, not all are satisfied completely by the quality and quantity of information concerning life in the nation and abroad, although, according to the data of the surveys, definite shifts in this area have been noted. The gaps in the information lead to a situation where in acute dramatic situations (Chernobyl and Nagornyy Karabakh) the mass information media become frequently a factor creating conflicts while the foreign radio continues to remain a source of up-to-date alternative information.

[Britvin]: According to our data, around 70 percent of the respondents feel that the mass information media should be completely free in their activities from party, soviet and other social organizations. And here, albeit on a spontaneous level, there is formed that pluralism of opinions (possibly it would be more correct to say attitudes) which in one way or another will effect the pluralisticness of the various social structures.

[Rakitskiy]: Let us ask the following question: will pluralism and glasnost survive when restructuring comes to an end as certainly this is a transitional state which cannot go on eternally? I feel that glasnost will not survive. It will be dissolved in freedom of speech, the press and information, and in constitutional freedom in the full sense. We already have the Constitution. Pluralism also will not survive. Pluralism and glasnost are a half-step. And the full step is in full constitutional rights and freedoms.

[Kazimirschuk]: Boris Vasilyevich [Rakitskiy] says that glasnost will wither away and there will be freedom. I do not agree with him. And this is why. We understood glasnost during the long period of stagnation as follows: if a person can voice his opinion then it means that this is glasnost. Such an understanding is wrong. Glasnost is, in the first place, the acceptability of information and openness in the activities of the state bodies. Any person has the right to go to any state institution—from the highest and to the local authorities—and demand that information which he needs and which concerns him personally. Secondly, glasnost is when any city has an opportunity and right to attend all sessions determining questions important for society. Thirdly, glasnost presupposes publicness. Everything that happens should be either taken up in the press or transmitted by radio and television. Only in the aggregate of these principles will there be glasnost and not merely freedom of speech which generally presupposes freedom of expression.

How can we guarantee our glasnost? There is actually no way. We do not have the legal bases for this. The law which has been drawn up by the Institute of State and Law is still being circulated and has in no way been put

up for public discussion. And it is precisely this law which set down the principles which would make it possible to put a legal basis under restructuring.

[Guliyev]: I am against overestimating what has been accomplished, although, in my view, the greatest revolutionariness actually is we are no longer the same. This will remain in the awareness, in the memory of the people, regardless of the further fate of the fatherland. For now, glasnost has not achieved its planned scale. And we are demanding guarantees as if the edifice were already complete and we could hang up a sign: "construction completed." What are the guarantees? How many of them are there? We still do not know the archives which, in the words of my historian colleagues, for some reason are not being opened up very willingly and some for some reason are even being closed off. We do not even know our own times. It is a good thing that Comrade Gorbachev in Murmansk, if I am not mistaken, said how much our management apparatus costs, some 40 billion, and before this such information was secret. We, the lawyers, are very sensitive to the classification "top secret." This is a definite article: responsibility for violation and so forth and so forth. But how much does the apparatus of our social organizations cost? For instance, a trade union? The party? The party budget which is not known, judging from the reports of the auditing commission, even to the communists. Even at a congress this is not revealed. The income, expenditures and sources. Or how much does our diverse international aid cost—both financial as well as in human terms? Hence, I feel, we must go farther. And it is a question not in the interests of any general, abstract glasnost which is understood liberally, unpublicly and unhistorically. Nothing of the sort. There is no other people in the world who would so sensitively understand the boundary between glasnost and military secrecy as ours does. Or between an economic secret and a state secret. But let us open up what the people should know.

Take the situation in our places of incarceration. Has superglasnost really had a look at this? In essence, one department has been entrusted with the most important question, that is, the reindoctrination or, so to say, the resocialization of large classes of people; this is a department burdened down with very severe moral, legal and other failings, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Where is our observer commission? On paper, it is found somewhere, it exists somewhere. Where is the procurator supervision? How much does our Soviet prisoner receive per diem and what amount is spent on his food? Is there an international standard which we, incidentally, supposedly have not refused. How are things going here? I do not know.

Another example. A decision was taken on the highest level to publish criminal statistics. Where is this? At the briefings at Petrovka 38 the announcements of which are printed by MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS? In truth, it is said that the next annual "SSSR v 1987 goda" [The USSR in 1987] will publish this statistics. But for now

the Ministry of Justice stints on things and the MVD conceals things. What about moral statistics? Divorces and suicides. Where is this? This is not even mentioned.

I feel that the guarantee of glasnost lies in its further broadening as a process and not as a result. And this is the guarantee of pluralism.

[Smolyanskiy]: Comrades, our discussion is drawing to a close. Let me attempt to formulate certain conclusions.

Under the conditions of democratization and glasnost, there is a natural need for various aspects of socialist pluralism which is embodied in the economic, social, political, ideological, cultural and other spheres of social life as well as in the public opinion of various strata and groups in the population. Such a pluralism has existed and does exist in the various stages of development of Soviet society both in an adequate and inadequate form, including in warped versions in individual spheres (for example, during the period of stagnation tendencies or Stalin's cult of personality) on the basis of an antagonistic contradictory or nonantagonistic existence (for example, during the NET period and under present-day conditions).

Thus, it is possible to speak about the historical development of socialist pluralism and even about a certain periodization in it in accord with the main stages of the transitional period and the construction of socialism as a whole.

Socialist pluralism in the economic sphere is presently being manifested in various forms of economic activity including at state enterprises, in cooperatives and in individual labor activity. In each of these forms there is the common, the separate and individual in the management methods, in the organization of production and distribution and so forth. Full economic accountability, self-management and self-financing make it possible to provide an entire fan of typological examples which show the content and essence of such pluralism within the limits of the state enterprises on the basis of public property, when the latter, with the new organizational and economic relations, in fact more and more ceases to be "nobodies" and becomes an active form for consolidating the pluralism of interests of the individual strata and persons. The same thing can also be said about the activities of the cooperatives and about individual labor activity which has also existed in various forms (at times inadequate) in the various development stages of our country.

In describing economic pluralism, it is important to bring out that individual labor activity excludes hired labor, the exploitation of labor and that in this event at present it is incompatible with the "private owner" of the NET period. In a word, the restructuring of society in the USSR means the restoring of a Leninist approach to real pluralism and in no way a mechanical repetition of the already passed historical stages.

In the social area, socialist pluralism makes itself felt in a further detailing of the class structure of society on the basis of the concept of social strata (levels), and in various groups of workers in the production and nonproduction sphere, and in no way but only in various manifestations of common class interests, but in various specific interests and this, per se, also comprises the qualitative definition of any pluralism. However, here it is important not to overlook the broad content and nonantagonistic nature of individual collisions, of specific interests which consolidate the opportunity of a socialist society on a basis of an essential social unity in diversity.

In the political area pluralism is apparent in the various forms of a doctrinal approach to improving the structure, functions and tasks of the state, its role in the concrete processes of the development of socialism, in ensuring a more effective mechanism of guarantees for the socioeconomic, civil and political rights and freedoms of the Soviet people and so forth.

It can also be a question of the various forms of expressing a general political will, of individual specific interests and their manifestation.

In the ideological area, one can speak about a pluralism of different views on the nature and content of restructuring, on an often very acute struggle of ideas and various interpretations reflecting contradictory ideas and approaches and ultimately interests of individual social strata and groups. This struggle can and should be viewed now as an inseparable element of glasnost and democratization, a pluralism in public opinion which has come into being over a rather extensive period. At the same time, it must be said directly that ideological approaches and views have surfaced which in no way form the ideals and goals of October, the socialist revolution and socialist development. For this reason socialist pluralism which presupposes an unity of common goals and a diversity of proposals and the development of an offensive socialist democratization is incompatible with many antisocialist views and tenets reflecting the interests of hostile, essentially antipopular forces.

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Social Guarantees of Effective Employment

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[Article, published under the heading "Employment, Personnel Turnover and the Organization of Labor" by Fridrikh Rafailovich Filippov who is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and head of the Section for the Social Structure of Soviet Society at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is the author of the monograph "Sotsialnyye peremeshcheniya" [Social Shifts] (1970, co-author), "Kak stanoviyatsya rabochimi" [How They Become workers] (1973, co-author), "Vseobshcheye sredneye obrazovaniye v SSSR [Universal Secondary Education in the USSR] (1976), "Sotsiologiya obrazovaniya" [Sociology of Education] (1980), "Sotsializm, molodezh, obrazovaniye"

[Socialism, Youth, Education] (1986), and "Upravleniye razvitiyem sotsialnoy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" [Management of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society] (1988, co-author). He is a constant contributor to our journal]

[Text] Universal employment of the able-bodied population and the social protection of Soviet citizens against unemployment are one of the greatest historical victories of socialism. The Resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System" states: "The party is fully determined to assist in strengthening the social rights of the workers as these are a clear expression of the advantages of the socialist social system" [14].

Social protection for the workers on the questions of employment, labor guaranteed by society in a specialty with wages according to quantity and quality of labor provide the basic mass of the population with a feeling of certainty, a strength of their social position and independence—and we have every right to be proud of all of this. What is being changed now? Why are people posing the question with growing alarm: does not the turn toward the intensification of the economy and the related change in the structure of unemployment mean the appearance of the whole specter of unemployment in our society?

The grounds for such concern lie not only in the forecast calculations of the pending liberation of millions of workers in line with the elimination of a significant number of jobs. And it is not only the statistical data according to which in the first quarter of 1988, the total number of industrial and construction personnel was 400,000 persons less than in the corresponding period of last year. The grounds for this are to be found primarily in the daily experience in the various categories of the population and the people are alarmed by the announcements of the mass information media. The newspapers announced that on the Belorussian Railroad, the inhabitants of certain station settlements were "superfluous." Or it is explained that out of the 120,000 persons who in 1987 came to the Moscow City Labor Placement Bureau, one out of every four went away empty-handed [13]. More and more frequently one of the accomplishments of glasnost is the acts of bureaucratic red tape and official indifference in resolving questions of finding work for persons dismissed in personnel cutbacks.

In the social structure of our society, a new "boundary layer" has appeared of persons "expelled" from production by the system of cost accounting, because the engine of radical economic reform is running faster than we can activate the social mechanisms for ensuring effective employment. The mentioned layer, understandably, is heterogeneous and in it are represented both nonspecialist white collar personnel and unskilled manual workers,

persons of prepension age and youth standing on the threshold of their labor career. The interests of all these groups intertwine in a complex knot of social problems.

Effective Employment—A Social Problem

The June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has recognized the need "to establish a system for forming the effective employment of the population.... There is to be a fundamental improvement in the organization of the utilization of the labor resources, recruitment, training, retraining and job placement for the personnel" [2, p 107]. Subsequent to this a decree was adopted of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU [5, pp 236-253], where ensuring effective employment is defined as one of the most important areas of social policy at the present stage. In January 1988, a decree was adopted of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU "On Ensuring Effective Employment of the Population, Improving the Job Placement System and Strengthening the Social Guarantees for the Workers" [6].

Thus, there is a political and legal basis for a practical solution to the fundamental task of restructuring. At the same time, the implementation of the planned measures is in no way a problem-free undertaking. Moreover, one can expect the appearance of problems which presently are still difficult to foresee but which will require immediate solutions.

The 27th CPSU Congress condemned the "technocratic distortions" in the approaches to the tasks of national development and demanded greater attention to the social sphere. However, recently, in my view, a sort of "economic distortions" is becoming evermore apparent and these consist in the fact that the focus is being put on the economic advisability of various measures, without considering their social consequences. This is the state of affairs, in particular, in examining employment questions as here the entire diversity and entire complexity of them come down, in essence, to providing the dismissed workers with new jobs in the former place of their labor activity or in the service sphere, in newly established cooperatives, in the individual sector and so forth. Here many social problems remain in the "shadows."

Little attention is being paid to the tensions which arise within the labor collectives between those who remain at the former job and those who are forced to leave it; between the personnel backbone of the collective and those who arrive as a result of the reorganization of production. The very dramatic situation involving the dismissal of thousands of management workers has been clearly caught—albeit in the form of a grotesque—in the film of E. Ryazanov "Forgotten Melody for Flute." Particularly difficult is the situation of dismissed female white collar personnel who have very limited opportunities to find other employment.

In resolving the questions of ensuring effective employment, any manifestations of bureaucracy, calousness and violations of social justice are intolerable and the 19th All-Union Party Conference acted decisively against these.

The disruption of the customary stereotypes for the way of life of people which has come into being over the decades is a difficult process. In order to minimize its social and moral-psychological costs, it is essential to have the greatest sensitivity, attention and concern, the ability to put oneself in the place of the person being dismissed and who can expect difficulties and hardships in finding a new job (and possibly a new residence), in retraining, training for a new profession and so forth. This is important not only in terms of regular workers but also in terms of the youth who with a strictly "economic" approach can be (and often are) in the most difficult situation.

Clearly if the employees to be dismissed are to undergo job placement primarily at their own enterprise, including in new production subdivisions, then not only the available but also the potential reserve of jobs will be absorbed and these jobs could have been filled by the graduates of the PTU [vocational-technical school], the technical schools and VUZes the requirements of whom for job placement will thereby be met according to the notorious "residual principle." Even now, as was pointed out in the report of the AUCCTU at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, "often the brigades well known for their accomplishments are unwilling to accept young workers who are the graduates of PTU and secondary schools" [7]. It is scarcely possible to break this trend with mere appeals to be concerned for the young workers under the conditions of cost accounting and the covering of costs. Here it is essential to have a system of measures of an economic and legal nature which would guarantee job placement for the youth in accord with the obtained education and skill and the retaining for the youth of the job held by them in all reorganizations and cutbacks. There is experience in the carrying out of such measures and we have merely to recall the reserving of jobs for the youth at enterprises in the 1920s and 1930s.

According to the statistical data, more than 30 percent of the workers is young persons under the age of 30. However, the youth is distributed far from evenly over the national economic sectors. Thus, in industry their share is around 31 percent, in construction a little more than 30 percent, in the housing-utility system and in the nonproduction types of domestic services some 25 percent [8]. Over the last 10 years in the national economy the average age of employees has increased by 1 year and was 37.9 years, including 38.4 for men and 37.4 for women [9]. If the given trend goes on (and there are no indications of its abatement), in the national economy there will be a further "aging" of the personnel and in no means due to demographic factors.

The average annual increase in the number of workers was: 1,859,000 persons in 1960-1970, 1,398,600 in 1970-1980, 574,400 in 1980-1985 and 434,000 in 1985-1986 [10, p 414]. Thus, in the mid-1980s, in comparison with the 1960s, the increase rate of the average annual number of workers declined by 4.3-fold, and in comparison with the 1970s, by 3-fold. In 1987, the number of workers virtually did not increase and at the beginning of 1988, as was already stated, had begun to decline. As a whole, this is a natural and regular process. But it would clearly be one-sided to view this solely as positive, without pointing out here that the start of the labor career for youth has been substantially made more complex. The given circumstance is important primarily for the labor-surplus regions. Thus, according to the calculations of G.A. Shister, in Uzbekistan in 1985, only 7 percent of the graduates of the rural schools was placed in jobs in industry and 6 percent in construction [11, p 66].

Difficulties are also growing in job placement for the graduates of the PTU, the technical schools, the VUZes and graduate studies. At the same time that the youth already employed in the national economy is often among the first candidates in a cutback for the reasons that the older workers are persons who are less mobile, with families, they have children and other persons to support and they have not only gained experience and skill but have also won the respect and authority of their collective—it is more difficult and painful to get rid of them than for the youth. Sometimes a solution is seen in contractual relationships of the enterprises with the VUZes, technical schools and PTU which predetermine the number of trained workers to be sent for job placement. In actuality, the experience of such contracts provides positive results. But here in no way can we exclude the possibility of a cutback in the scale of training workers and specialists for those vocations which at a given moment are not provided with contracts, although they are of important long-range significance for the development of production. Even more complicated is the question of the humanities specialties where a sound calculation of the need for personnel, as a rule, is completely lacking. In facilitating job placement for the graduates of institutions of learning and giving them a guarantee for employment in the chosen specialty, contractual relations at the same time can entail a decline in admission to vocational training schools and hence a narrower opportunity for the admission of the school graduates for training in acquiring a profession. One cannot help but consider that an enterprise operating firmly on the grounds of cost accounting is far from willing to conclude a contract with each institution of learning. Here the principle of rivalry and competition will begin to operate and the institutions of learning which provide poor training for their graduates will drop out almost automatically.

Guaranteeing the youth a most important social right to labor is one of the components of restructuring. This was emphasized in the resolution of the 19th All-Union

CPSU Conference: "The conference considers it essential to have a strong, integrated state policy vis-a-vis the younger generation and which would create conditions which would make it possible for the youth as early as possible to acquire independence, to show their abilities to a maximum degree and realize their goals in life...." [14]. The opportunities for vocational training are a most important prerequisite for rational and effective labor employment for the youth.

There is the acute question of job placement for the white collar personnel to be released, particularly in the large cities. Thus, in Moscow in April 1988, there were 101,842 vacant positions, but only 12,000 of these were for engineers, technicians and white collar personnel [13]. Hence, the workers dismissed from the abolished ministries and other elements of the managerial apparatus and to wish to maintain their specialty are forced to do work outside of Moscow. Is this possible for family persons, particularly women and even more those in prepension age? Unfortunately, work in the area of retraining and establishing conditions for the mastery of new specialties and simply for psychological adaptation to an abrupt change in their life has not been promptly carried out. There were few who believed even in the possibility of such a mass cutback in managerial personnel. And now vitally important questions must be settled under rush conditions by various hurriedly established commissions.

The departure of the dismissed employed (not only from Moscow) to another location rests primarily on the housing problem. The housing construction program being carried out is aimed at providing over the next decade and a half (and in some places earlier) a separate fully-equipped apartment or own home for each family. But, in the first place, there is no clear definition of the concept of "family" (thus, it is not clear whether a single adult should be counted as a family or how they should view divorced spouses who previously occupied the same dwelling area, or what about arising families even if they have not entered a new marriage). Secondly, no consideration has been given to the growing need for a housing reserve.

This demand is calculated, as a rule, considering the number of persons and families on the list to improve their housing conditions. The availability of housing for the public is growing. Thus, in 1987 alone, over 11 million persons improved their housing conditions. As an average, per inhabitant there are now 15.2 m² of total and 10.3 m² of housing area [9], while in 1980, the total area was only 13.4 m² (13.1 in the cities and 13.9 in rural localities) [10, p 522]. However, there is a substantial unevenness for the given indicator in the Union republics and regions of the nation. Thus, in 1986, the average available housing per inhabitant was 8.7 m² in Tajikistan, 10.5 in Azerbaijan and 11.3 in Kirghizia while in Estonia the figure was 20.3 m² [ibid.]. This indicator is significantly lower in the new development areas.

The designated circumstances have direct bearing on effective employment. We should point out that the lowest level of available housing is in the labor-surplus areas as well as in the oblasts of the RSFSR to the east of the Urals. While the former of the designated areas cannot be viewed as territories for a mass influx of the dismissed employees (although they do have quite attractive natural and climatic conditions and one can expect intraregional migration there, the latter remain territories for an intensive "influx" of a portion of the migrating population which under the conditions of the functioning of a new economic mechanism has shown to be interested (but at times forced) to move their place of residence. This means that the calculating of the demand for housing must be carried out in such a manner as to provide a reserve of this and not "fit" the regional programs for apartment supply to the number of persons officially on the waiting lists.

Completely real is a situation whereby the dismissed workers, in arriving at the media place under planned redistribution, will endeavor to keep their place for obtaining housing in the former job location. This will lead to a reduced opportunity for housing to be received by workers of that labor collective where the newly arrived workers have gone. It cannot be excluded that they will hear arguments addressed to them such as "they will not cut back a good specialist" and so forth. Thus, in addition to the difficulties related to moving to a new residence, adaptation to unfamiliar natural and climatic conditions and the particular features of the social milieu, it is essential to consider the complexity and painfulness of changes in the labor career of dismissed workers.

It is wise to recall the following circumstance. Over a long period of time our national economy has employed every means to combat personnel turnover. Various types of material and moral incentives (a 13th month salary, 100 percent payment of the sick lists, a good place in the line for improving housing conditions, there is benefits for the labor veterans and so forth) have been employed for detaining workers in the collective. At present, more and more probable will be a situation where we must encourage a worker's mobility including social, vocational, intersectorial and territorial. This inevitably will involve profound changes in the entire system of value orientations. Under these conditions, the negative traits of a "rolling stone" and "job hopper" should fade out, giving way to positive views for such qualities as entrepreneurship, the ability to find a successful approach in changing jobs, residence, specialty, type of vocational training and so forth. And this will happen with millions of people. The press has mentioned an approximate figure of 16 million workers who are to be dismissed up to the year 2000 and 3 million are to be dismissed during the current five-year plan [11].

Clearly, no legal enactment alone can make provision for the entire diversity of specific human fates and here there remains a broad field for the initiative of the labor

collectives as well as personal efforts by each person for his job placement. Certainly an affinity for a job and place of residence is explained not only by nostalgic motives: frequently there are completely objective and valid reasons (the illness of elderly parents requiring care, the absence at the new place of opportunities for job placement for the second spouse, a shortage of places in the children's preschool facilities and much else). Even if the transfer to a new job does not involve a move, there remain difficulties of psychological adaptation to the new collective as well as the problems related to the remoteness of the job from the house, transport problems, an inconvenient shift and so forth.

The cooperatives provide new opportunities to solve the social problem of employment. "In organizing diversified production designed for differing skill levels, cooperative activities make it possible to increase the employment of all strata of the population, including in the small towns, settlements and in the countryside," pointed out M.S. Gorbachev in a speech at the 4th All-Union Kolkhoz Member Congress [4, p 14]. However, the legal status of the cooperative only recently was defined by the Law Governing the Cooperative Movement in the USSR, and their number is not great. Moreover, there is still a strong precedence against them among various groups of the population.

Closely intertwined into the over-all nexus of personnel problems are those related to improving pension coverage. Naturally, not all the questions can be resolved simultaneously. But we must not delay as no later than a year after the putting into effect of the new economic mechanism we will actually begin to implement new pension legislation which as yet has not even been worked out. At the same time, only in cooperation with job placement for the youth under the new conditions of economic accountability can the altered system of pension payments provide an optimum scale for **personnel rotation**.

The number of pensioners at the end of 1986 was around 57 million persons in the nation, including over 40 million persons due to age [10, p 438]. The demographic processes and the new management conditions which will encourage the "expelling" of persons having the right to a pension (regardless of its category and size) from among the employed persons will lead over the next few years to a further rise in the number of pensioners (here a portion of them will be employed in the cooperatives or engage in individual labor activity). Obviously, in those sectors of the national economy where "dead end" situations involving the renewal of personnel and job placement for the youth and the social and vocational growth of the youth develop most quickly, additional incentives must be provided for the dismissal of workers retiring on pension. This applies, in particular, to the workers of the managerial apparatus, science and scientific services, the higher school and so forth. As a whole, the problems of the elderly are becoming evermore acute.

In working out scientifically based measures to ensure effective employment of various demographic and social groups in the population, the importance of objective statistical and sociological information has been growing steadily. This information should not only record the objectively occurring processes, but also aid in analyzing the attitude of various groups in the population toward the occurring changes, and not only in the form of public opinion but also on a "behavioral" level. The importance of the sociological services is also growing but they, however, will become probably the first victims in the cutback of the managerial staffs. Obviously it is essential to overcome these distortions which disclose unique paradoxes of technocratic and narrow economic thinking.

Guarantees "From Society" and "From Man"

Effective guarantees for employment can be ensured only due to an interaction of social and personal factors. Hundreds of jobs will also go unfilled under the conditions of the general cutback in the number of vacant positions and with the broad development of various forms of retraining and skill improvement of the workers, if the latter become indifferent to the proposed forms of labor. It is said that it is not man who chooses his vocation but rather the vocation that chooses the man. In a certain sense this is true, for it possible to choose only that vocation which at a given moment and in a given place is offered by society. But within the limits set by society, the opportunities of choice are rather numerous. How a person makes use of these opportunities will depend largely upon the specific circumstances of his life, individual inclinations, abilities, as well as social, professional and value orientations.

The February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set out the most important areas for a fundamental change in the general strategy of education and civil indoctrination of the new generations of Soviet people. "General educational, labor, general cultural and moral training in the school must aid the young people to choose a profession, a sphere of labor and the paths of continuing education in a conscious manner and considering the needs of society, and to participate effectively in sociopolitical life," stated the plenum decree [3, p 65].

Planned job placement for the youth in accord with individual abilities and interests as well as considering social needs should be provided by a system of vocational education institutions of learning, including the PTU, the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning. However, a little more than 60 percent of the secondary school graduates go through such institutions of learning before starting their careers [10, p 534]. The remainder are placed in jobs independently and only a portion of them receives vocational training in the evening and correspondence schools. And those who complete the PTU, the technical schools or VUZes in no way are always provided with work in their specialty. As the statistics shows, around 4 million persons who have a higher or specialized secondary education are

employed in positions which do not require such training [10, p 418]. According to results of research conducted in 1986 at a number of Kharkov enterprises by the graduate student at the ISI [Sociological Research Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. V. Serdyuk, 28 percent of those questioned had received a higher and specialized secondary education while remaining workers, 14 percent of respondents after completing technical schools were sent to worker positions. Only one-half of these (54 percent) began to work in accord in the area of the obtained training and only 11 percent were employed in a job requiring a specialized secondary education. Some 52 percent of those questioned had moved from the engineer-technical intelligentsia into worker positions. Thus, there is a mass spontaneous redistribution of personnel and under the new conditions the element of spontaneity will obviously be significantly stronger.

At the same time, among persons holding positions of leaders and specialists there are 4.1 million "practical workers" without special education [10, p 421 (estimate hours)]. Seemingly, the virtually complete coinciding of the number of "practical workers" with the number of graduated specialists employed "out of their job," would make it possible to quickly instill order here. However, this has turned out to be far from an easy matter for many specialists are greatly inferior to the "practical workers" in terms of the quality of their training, abilities for organizational activity, knowledge of production and dedication to it, without mentioning that the practical workers often have high authority in the collectives.

One of the most important social guarantees for effective employment is **continuous education**. It is a question not only of establishing the appropriate system of institutions of learning which provide for the retraining and advanced training of all ranks of personnel, the updating of their knowledge in accord with the changing needs of production under the conditions of scientific and technical progress, but also under the conditions of restructuring and the improving of social relations. The question here is much broader and it involves a fundamental change in the attitude of the workers themselves to knowledge, education, culture, as well as profound changes in the entire way of life of the population and involved with a transition to ongoing education.

The transition to a unified system of continuous education is a major social task for Soviet society as formulated in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress [1, p 106]. Providing effective employment presupposes competition and a rivalry of knowledge, abilities, skills gained in various levels of continuous education. The preparedness of a worker will determine his opportunity for advancement toward more complicated and correspondingly higher paid types of labor. There will also be greater significance for selecting the most able and best trained persons for advancement up the levels of continuous education as well as for forming and developing its most "advanced" forms. The difficulty will be to

promptly prevent possible abuses, to stop the development of social tensions, and not allow them to grow into outright conflicts. The sociostructural aspects of the contradiction between the equal right to education and the unequal opportunities of using it (apparent, in particular, in the activities of specialized schools, certain prestigious VUZes and so forth) are supplemented by national and regional (particularly in the system of "center—periphery" relations) aspects of the given problem.

It is essential to set up a diverse social infrastructure in the system of continuous education as this would include video files and libraries, enterprises producing training literature, aids and films; specialized public health and physical culture institutions; vocational guidance and psychological health facilities; a network of comprehensive consultation points and so forth. Let us emphasize that this is a question not merely of the physical plant for continuous education but chiefly its social infrastructure and the people who will be employed in it as pedagogues, consultants, experts in the servicing, adjustment and repair of teaching equipment and much else.

There should also be a substantial change in the structure of working and nonworking time due to the increased expenditures of time not only directly on purposes of education and self-education but also traveling to the place of study and back, visiting libraries, video rooms, bookstores and so forth. Up to now these expenditures have remained extremely insignificant. According to the results of a survey on 51,000 families (in 1985), male workers and white collar personnel spend an average of 10 minutes on workdays and 6 minutes on days off for study, for improving skills and social work and for women the figures are, respectively, 11 and 8 minutes. For male kolkhoz members these expenditures average 4 minutes on all days of the week and for female members 3 minutes [10, p 428].

Regardless of whether the various types of continuous education will be paid or gratis, the structure of the family budget will also change as there will be greater expenditures related to studies and there will be a decline in expenditures for other needs. In the system of family and personal relations, educational questions will begin to hold an ever-larger place, for the material prosperity of the family as well as its satisfaction with various aspects of their way of life will come to depend more and more upon a solution to these questions.

Materials from sociological research of recent years show a quite high verbally expressed focus among the youth for continuing their education. As for the "behavioral" level of such orientation, here it is expressed much more weakly, although as a whole higher than among the older age groups. Thus, according to data of nationwide research conducted in 1982-1983 by the ISI under the USSR Academy of Sciences together with the USSR TsSU [Central Statistical Administration], only 7.2 percent of the respondents were continuing their education at the moment of the questioning (6.5 percent among the

workers, 8.2 percent among the white collar personnel and specialists and 3.5 percent of the kolkhoz members), but among those questioned under the age of 30 the figures were 15.7 percent (respectively, 13.3, 18.4 and 7.6 percent). Thus, even among young-aged workers, this indicator was low. Along with confirming the long-known fact that with a rise in the educational level a focus on continuing this education also rises, it was discovered that with an increase in the position in the hierarchical structure of the collective, a concern for continuing education declined.

It is obvious that the cool attitude among a significant portion of the workers, including the youth, to continuing education has an impeding effect on the entire process of retraining and advanced training for the personnel. However, the production-technical and social necessity has brought about a significant intensification in the given process, the activating of new material and moral incentives and the establishing in the labor collectives of a true "cult of knowledge." Studies and advanced training are not a personal matter for each worker but are a social concern of enormous importance and a true social guarantee for effective employment which would be incompatible with parasitism and wage leveling.

The designated problems, of course, do not exhaust all the contradictions which have been engendered by the fundamental restructuring of the economic mechanism in the sphere of employment for the population. But they do make it possible to outline those areas of search which may assume primary significance in the sociology of the social structure, labor, education, leisure, the family and a number of other scientific disciplines. Without claiming to "set problems" for these sectors of sociological science, we have endeavored to draw attention to the social aspects of effective employment for working out scientific bases for controlling this under the conditions of the restructuring of the economy and the democratization of social life.

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Who Needs 'Dead Souls'?

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
to press 5 Oct 88) pp 33-37

[Article by B.N. Belyakov: "Who Needs 'Dead Souls'?"]; the article is subtitled "On the Creation of Jobs"; Boris Nikolayevich Belyakov is a candidate of economic sciences and docent on the Chair of Industrial Economics at the Chelyabinsk Polytechnical Institute imeni Leninskiy Komsomol. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] As is known, during the first years of Soviet power, unemployment existed in the country, in other words, the number of workers exceeded the number of available jobs. This was caused by the economic chaos and averaged 15 percent and in 30 cities over 20 percent. It is also known that this phenomenon was ended by the beginning of the 1930s. Later during the period of industrialization and the postwar reconstruction of the national economy, the newly created jobs were filled basically by an influx of the peasantry to the cities (from 1940 through 1982, the number of persons employed in agriculture declined by 35 percent, in industry and construction it rose by 16 percent and in the nonproduction sphere by 14.9 percent [1, p 23]) and by the fuller involvement of urban dwellers in social production.

However, beginning from the 1960s up to the present, there has been the reverse process of an unrestrained rise in the "vacant" jobs. In 1960, these equaled approximately 2 percent [2, p 41] and this was close to the objective need of the national economy for vacant places. These are essential for the vocational reorientation of the workers. In 1985, according to assessments of various specialists, the "vacant" jobs were on the order of 10-15 percent. Thus, in industry the job reserve calculated by I.A. Malmygin for fixed productive capital was 13-14 percent at the beginning of the 1980s and from 3 to 4 percent according to the wage fund and on information concerning needed workers [3, p 70]. In construction the "reserve for the work front" varied from 30 to 40 percent and in terms of fixed productive capital 18-20 percent. If one considers information on the required workers and the wage fund, the job reserve in construction is 4-5 percent [ibid.]. In the sectors of the agroindustrial complex in 1983, there were 8.6 million vacant jobs [4, p 89]. The results of a study by the USSR TsSU on 240 enterprises from a number of ministries have shown that in 1983, the job surplus just on the first shift was 10 percent of their total number [5, p 5]. According to data in the journal *Kommunist* in the 9th Five-Year Plan, 2 million jobs which were not covered by labor resources were created while in the 10th Five-Year Plan there were over a million [6, p 32]. In other words, in the 1920s we started with 15-percent unemployment while by 1985 we arrived at the directly opposite result with a 15-percent excess in the number of jobs over the number of workers. And this excess has developed chiefly over the last 25 years.

Similar trends have been observed in the development of production personnel in the socialist countries. For example, in Czechoslovakia in 1982, some 15 percent of the total number of jobs was not filled. Approximately the same situation is observed in the GDR [7]. Obviously, one must speak about general trends in the ratio of personal and material production factors in the socialist countries in the current stage of socioeconomic development.

On the one hand, the given picture seemingly could be grounds for satisfaction in contrast to the capitalist countries which have 10-15 percent unemployment or a manpower "surplus," and we have precisely the same surplus of jobs. But let us analyze the situation more closely.

In practice socialism has completely excluded the main scourge of the workers, unemployment. But a completely different phenomenon has arisen with a distorted unemployment in the form of a job surplus. This has a different influence on satisfying the demand for labor than does its opposite, ordinary unemployment. What is the issue here? A traditional 15-percent unemployment provides an 85-percent level for the absolute satisfying of the need for labor (calculated as the level of unemployment). But certainly, 100-percent unemployment with a 15-percent job surplus provides a relative satisfaction for

labor also on a level of 85 percent (let us emphasize: not absolute, but rather relative). In this instance, each worker has a job which is 15 percent less equipped than should be. Each worker underutilizes fixed productive capital with a value from 1,000 to 10,000 rubles. That is, if we proceed from a calculation of the cost of the surplus jobs presently existing in our country as 100 billion rubles, or 12.5 percent of the value of the fixed productive capital in the national economy [8, p 22].

In other words, a 15-percent surplus in the number of jobs means that the working conditions for the basic mass of workers are 15 percent lower than they objectively could be.

As is known, the USSR Constitution guarantees the right not merely to labor but also to a skilled labor corresponding to the educational level and skills. Correspondingly we place hard demands on a job. The creating of an enormous number of surplus or vacant jobs violates the demands guaranteed by the Constitution and, it worsens the guaranteeing of the right to skilled and creative labor and also worsens the social awareness of a person on the job.

We say that under socialism the labor force is not a commodity. However, with a significant surplus in jobs, as is the case with unemployment, regardless of the public forum of ownership of the means of production (that is, of jobs), in the allocating of the latter there inevitably are the traits of a commodity nature. These give analogous traits to manpower. Of course, this is not completely turned into a commodity, but due to the job surplus (or the so-called personnel scarcity), the allocating of manpower differs little from the market. Simultaneously with this, the character of market relations arises for wages. By 1982, this trend had led to an exceeding of the growth rate of wages in comparison with the growth rate of labor productivity.

The overproduction of jobs, thus, creates the prerequisites for turning the labor force into a commodity. This immediately is felt in the social life of a society, social relations assume traits of a commodity nature and under socialism these relations should not have such features. The consequences of this arise in spheres so distant from production relations that ordinary awareness does not see their sources in the ratio of the number of workers and jobs. It is a question of social justice, social activeness and so forth.

Naturally, the question arises of the social and economic reasons for the overproduction of jobs and the presence of social groups interested in this. As for the economic prerequisites, these are generally known and consist in the underdevelopment of the social forms of property directly under socialism and, as a consequence, in the spent economic mechanism.

In the social sphere this is expressed in a lag of the forms of direct democracy, when the question concerns the day-to-day management of the property in comparison with representative democracy. The mediated forms of democracy rest actually on the anonymity of socialist ownership and on the powerful apparatus of the administrative-bureaucratic mediation and representation.

We would answer the question of presence of social groups interested in maintaining vacant jobs in the following manner. Of course, under socialism there is no class which is vitally interested in the overproduction of jobs, but there is a rather strong extraclass group which utilizes the disproportions in its own selfish interests and is indirectly interested in such a situation. This includes a portion of the workers who manipulate the artificially arising job "market" or increasing their salaries (often without a corresponding rise in labor productivity). This can entail, for example, a transfer to better jobs and the making of demands on the management to increase wages regardless of output. The management is forced to satisfy these in order not to lose the personnel. This, finally, also involves a portion of the administrative-managerial apparatus of the enterprises and organizations and which employ the vacant jobs for satisfying their own particular interests and reinforcing their privileged position.

Let us explain our idea with a specific example. In 1981, in the material production sphere in Sverdlovsk there were 32,000 vacant jobs. But one-half of them was filled, although there were no workers at the machines. The workers of the municipal financial section found these people. There were 17,000 of them. They were "false workers," that is, persons merely listed as workers. Most frequently the "false workers" had grown up in the apparatus and around the apparatus, in the trade union committees, party committees and Komsomol committees, they were listed as instructors, artists, correspondents and service personnel at the bases and administrative institutions, bathhouse attendants, the drivers of official vehicles and the heads of warehouses and storage facilities.

The total number of "false workers" throughout the nation until recently, according to our estimates, has been from 4 to 5 million persons. They, naturally, are consumers (wages, a portion of the material incentive fund, bonuses, special privileges for apartments, nurseries, free trips and so forth), the support of whom is put against production costs [8].

Around a third of the vacant jobs created over the last quarter of a century and costing the state some 200 billion rubles was employed for forming "dead souls" who by a simple manipulation were turned into living "false workers." They must be put in the group of workers in the managerial apparatus with the total number of these being more correctly calculated not at 17.7 million persons [4], but 4 or 5 million persons more.

Let us return to the institution of representation or mediation. At its basis lies the acquiring of managerial rights by persons not directly involved in the property relations or in relations of linking man (the labor force) with the means of production (jobs). Mediation is inclined to isolate itself and take precedent over those who empowered this. This trend is inherent to the institution of representation and its development leads to the bureaucratizing of administration, and the actual identification of state and public property with the command-order style of management [9; 10]. All of this disappears only with a transition to the forms of direct democracy.

In the 1930's and during the war, chiefly administrative principles were employed in allocating jobs and positions. In the 1960s an opportunity appeared to replace administrative procedures with economic levers. For this, representation would have to switch to new methods of mediation in the management of property. And this meant the abandoning of customary forms and methods of work, and even the customary awareness of the world and the methods of satisfying the feeling of intrinsic worth. To put it briefly, this meant the abandoning of customary goods and channels of power.

But what methods were to be abandoned? Above all, dismissal, that is, deprivation of the right to labor. Certainly the basis of government by administration is ultimately dismissal and the deprivation of a person of a job and position. Such methods are effective only in the instance when the loss of a job entails serious unpleasantnesses. And this is provided primarily by an absence of vacant jobs.

But then the need arises of abandoning the administrative and volitional methods and switch to economic management levers. But here can one limit oneself to employing a score standard administrative methods (from a reprimand to a dismissal)? It is also essential to have accounting and worker control, economically based standards and norms, the bringing of cost accounting to the work areas, and concluding an economic contract between the workers and management. A radical restructuring of awareness is required for carrying out the representation functions on the new basis. The method of the arbitrary tethering of a person to a job has become too rigid and it no longer corresponds to the right to creative labor.

However, the transition to economic management methods was accompanied by the maintaining of ossified administrative forms. This was the issue of increasing the number of vacant jobs. Dismissal frequently masked the settling of personal scores and the getting rid of disliked employees. In formal terms, this act did not contradict the principle of a universal right to labor. Such a maneuver did not put the managers in a situation of violating the labor legislation. But in fact this was the case.

Vacant jobs at that time were created very simply, by new construction at the expense, as a rule, of centralized capital investments. This provided an unforeseen opportunity. The overproduction of jobs created an enormous number of "dead souls," that is, listed but actually nonexistent people. And they were not merely actually nonexistent but also incapable. The artificially created manpower shortage assumed that those who should fill the created jobs actually did exist, but since the claimants could not occupy jobs which in fact merely did not exist, from the formal viewpoint this manpower must be recognized as incapable. And an incapable person, as is known, needs a guardian or mediator, a representative of his right to work. The empty jobs became a sort of confirmation of the existence of an enormous number of rights to labor the possessors of which were incapable and for this reason needed a representative who would assume these rights and responsibility himself. Such sponsor-representatives of the nonexistent persons were the managers and they supplemented their own rights with the mythical but economically "sound" rights of incapable persons. In speculating with the shortage of labor resources, they from the mythical rights of the "dead souls" created real rights and goods. The additional privileges created out of nothing reinforced the bureaucratic apparatus. The "false workers" were merely one of the many and the simplest form for realizing this opportunity.

A comparison with Gogol's "Dead Souls" is in no way a mere formal analogy. Certainly the adventures of Chichikov are based on the socioeconomic plot (the obtaining of state credits for manpower) used even by Pushkin who, as is known, was quite an expert on economic realities. The modern Chichikovs have used, in essence, the same procedure for manipulating the "dead souls." Only Chichikov by the deal souls wanted to gain access to state financing while our contemporaries, on the contrary, in using state financing, have created "dead souls" and "false workers" with real jobs.

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Personnel Turnover in Trade

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[Article by V.P. Voronin and S.N. Nechayeva: "Personnel Turnover in Trade"; the authors are co-workers at the Voronezh Correspondence Institute of Soviet Trade. Valeriy Pavlovich Voronin is a doctor of economic sciences and acting professor. In our journal he has published the articles "Social and Economic Effectiveness of the Service Sphere" (No 2, 1981) and "Trade as a Factor in Saving Free Time of the Population" (No 4, 1984). Svetlana Nikolayevna Nechayeva is a candidate of economic sciences and senior instructor. She is being published for the first time in our journal]

[Text] For a long time, the prestige of the trade profession has been determined by the possibility of acquiring scarce goods out of turn. The access to the markets of distributing material goods particularly during the period of stagnation could not help but tell negatively on the trade worker personnel.

The democratization of social life, the broadening of glasnost, and the strengthening of effective supervision over the operation of the trade enterprises under the conditions of converting to real cost accounting and the covering of costs have required greater attention to the problem of personnel turnover and in which, in our opinion, a multiplicity of various factors in labor activities is integrated.

High personnel turnover in trade causes significant harm to society and prevents the implementing of the social program. Above all, it leads to a shortage of sales personnel, cashiers and packagers. The usual transfer from one trade enterprise to another requires around 3 weeks (the drawing up of the dismissal, the search for a new job, the drawing up of the hiring). Certainly all of this involves the assuming, as a rule, of responsibility for material commodities, the rotating of the brigade shifts (every other week), the undergoing of a medical examination (as a condition for being permitted to handle food

products) and so forth. As a result, there are fewer opportunities to sell commodities to the public and primarily perishable food products. Often the products rot at the depots, they are not accepted from the farms and cannot be found in the stores as there is no one to sort, batch and sell. Most often this happens with inexpensive vegetables as the fewer losses are not reflected in the retail commodity turnover plan (and thus in the wages of the sales personnel). Due to the large number of leaving personnel there is also a decline in the efficiency of labor at the trade enterprises themselves. Those who have submitted a request to leave show a lesser interest in work and, correspondingly, in labor productivity. According to our estimates, the economic loss from this is 1-1.5 percent of the trade turnover volume.

Turnover also has a negative effect upon the use of working time. There is a definite dependence between the skill level and the length of work in one job. The frequent changing of personnel reduces labor discipline. One also cannot discount such aspects as the lessening of demands placed on the personnel, their suitability for very responsible work with others, the ability to consider moods, to ascertain the desires of the purchasers and prevent possible conflicts. As a result, quite often behind the counter and cashier desk in a store, or in handing out food in a mess there are unsuitable persons in the job in the given sphere of the national economy and they do more harm than good. For this reason it is important to study the reasons for personnel turnover and then work out and implement measures to reduce this. The farming of stable labor collectives at the trade enterprises is an essential condition for ensuring high growth rates of commodity turnover as well as for improving the level of services for the public.

In 1986-1988, we conducted a sampling of the trade organization workers in Voronezh in instances when they had submitted a request to leave (77 persons). In addition, in Voronezh a study was run on the level of satisfaction with the working conditions (482 persons) and in Lipetsk the satisfaction level with the brigade form of organizing labor (200 persons).

An analysis showed that the basic reason for dismissal was changed family circumstances (29.5 percent). Subsequently the replies were distributed in the following manner: dissatisfaction with housing and cultural-service conditions (16 percent), the working hours of the stores (15 percent), the working conditions (12 percent), the vocation and amount of wages (8 percent), a desire to continue studies (4 percent), the presence of material liability (3 percent) and so forth.

If all these reasons are grouped, then it turns out that almost one out of two workers (46 percent) leaves over dissatisfactory working and leisure conditions. In recent years, the opening hours of many stores have been extended in the interests of the served public. However,

a majority of the workers in these trade enterprises perceive the new conditions as a deterioration in the working conditions while shift work (8 hours) is employed very rarely.

There must be a new organization of trade services for the public. A number of cities have begun setting days off in the food stores on Sundays or Saturdays and reducing the operating hours on such days. This applies primarily to the handling of vegetables, dairy products and bread. Since standby stores with extended operating hours and with a sufficient assortment of goods for the entire day have been opened, we consider such measures as completely acceptable. Trade in food products have been organized in a similar manner in Belgorod. The standby stores until the end of the working day (2300 hours) have milk, butter, cheese, sausages and bread for sale. In other places, by the end of the workday the assortment of goods in the stores declines sharply. And hence the dissatisfaction of the sales personnel (there is no business) and the purchaser (there is nothing to buy). Social and economic harm is present, however the leaders of the trade organizations do not take this into account.

The second area is technical. It is essential to extensively develop and improve the network of trade vending machines which could serve the customers during a lunch break and in the late evening hours.

Personnel turnover has been studied depending upon age, length of employment, the presence of special education and so forth. Analysis has disclosed a symptom which is alarming for the sector: over 62 percent of those leaving is young persons under the age of 30. Over the long run this means a gradual aging of the employee contingent. Some 61.9 percent of those leaving have work in trade for less than 5 years. For one-half of them, during this period they completed their obligatory employment after completing the vocational schools. Research has shown that 45 percent of the SPTU [secondary vocational-technical school] graduates did not intend to remain in trade [1]. In truth, here the question arises of the advisability of retaining people who do not possess vocational suitability and do not desire to work in this national economic sphere. The moral (and often the material) harm from their labor at times is much greater than the benefit obtained from a compulsory period of work after school. The numerous complaints of impoliteness, the violating of the trade rules, inattentiveness and so forth are addressed primarily at them.

The motives for leaving are of particular interest. Here an essential role is played by the age of the employees: as this increases the priorities in the motives for leaving change. Thus, young people 21-30 years of age are intolerant of the unsatisfactory working conditions and the inconvenient operating hours of the trade enterprises. This factor was mentioned by 30.9 percent of the respondents. It must not be forgotten that the operating hours of trade and industrial enterprises fundamentally differ. Switching to different operating hours forces the

young people out of their customary nonproduction situation and narrows the opportunity for contact with friends, for establishing a family and so forth. Among other reasons for leaving the young people mention dissatisfaction with housing and cultural-service conditions (23.1 percent), wages (11 percent) and the profession (10 percent). Departure because of family circumstances (20.5 percent) is basically related to the raising of children and the difficulty of placing them in nurseries. In our opinion in order to retain in the sector skilled personnel who are able to work with others, we must maintain their uninterrupted period of employment for the entire period spent raising the children. This does not require additional expenditures from the enterprise, however it will be a social protection for the material interests of a young mother in the future.

In the group of employees 31-45 years of age, in first place is dissatisfaction with the profession and with relationships in the collective (40 percent), wages (33 percent) and the work hours (26.7 percent). Over a third of the employees in this age move to other national economic sectors into positions with a higher salary in order to subsequently obtain the appropriate pension.

In our opinion, in order to raise the authority of employees who for many years have worked irreproachably at one enterprise, it would be advisable to make the bonuses for the results of a year paid considering the length of employment and regardless of the amount of the salary. Such a measure would help to reduce turnover among the least paid employees of mass professions. This is also an important moral factor as there is recognition for the essential contribution of the ordinary sales personnel to the total results in the operations of the trade enterprises.

The same thing can be said about the providing of material aid. Everywhere a practice has come into being when in leaving on vacation requests for the providing of material aid are submitted by the leaders and leading specialists, that is, the highly paid employee categories. There is even a special fund for this purpose. But such benefits do not extend to the ordinary employees. In our opinion, material aid in going on vacation must be provided to all employees without exception. Here it is essential to consider the length of employment and not the position. For example, this is how they proceed at the Riga Wholesale Trade Depot at the Latpotreboyz [Latvian Consumer Union] [2].

Along with material incentives, satisfaction with labor is of important significance. Certainly even in the large department stores three-quarters of the sales personnel consider the working and everyday conditions to be unsatisfactory [3]. In our research, 44 percent of those questioned named the reason for choosing the profession of sales person as a desire to bring benefit to others, for example, 18.5 percent pointed to relatives and friends. The given group had an idea of the future profession with its merits and shortcomings. Here one can speak

about a dynasty of trade workers. At the same time, 17 percent of the respondents said that they were indifferent to the profession of sales person, that is, almost one out of every six workers arrived in trade out of chance. Such an attitude toward the profession also causes the appropriate servicing of the customers.

The quality of trade servicing depends largely upon the satisfaction from the job performed. Some 73.8 percent of the respondents were satisfied with their job. Seemingly this is a rather impressive figure. But at the same time, almost one-quarter of the employees was not satisfied. This, as is known, reduces the interest in the results of labor and thereby in the purchasers. One cannot help but be alarmed also by the circumstance that a large portion of those dissatisfied with their job in trade is young people under the age of 30. And although the young people took a very intolerant attitude toward the various shortcomings in the organization of labor, it was not this that served as the reason for their leaving trade. However, precisely due to the given factor, the young people can develop an uninvolved and often a disrespectful attitude toward the customers.

At the same time, the analysis has made it possible to disclose the following trend: as age increases the share of those dissatisfied with their work declines. This shows that the establishing of an optimum microclimate in the collective, the improving of informal relations, primarily between the young and the regular workers, are an important aspect in the activities of the personnel departments as well as the medium- and lower-level leaders.

As for the profession of sales persons, some 68.3 percent of those questioned considered it prestigious. The reduced attractiveness of the profession is influenced by the impoliteness and complaints from the customers as some 25.8 percent of those questioned pointed to this. Also to be considered was the uninspiring and monotonous labor, the poor equipping of the store (20.6 percent), work on days off and holidays (19.7 percent), dissatisfaction with the amount of wages (12.9 percent), the negative attitude of friends and relatives to the vocation of sales person (12.6 percent), and a desire for a more intellectual or romantic profession (7.2 percent).

A major reason for personnel turnover in trade lies in the shortcomings in the organization of material liability. Often the sales person becomes the guard of the goods instead of the consultant and assistant of the purchaser. In our opinion, the extending of material liability to a limited group of persons will make it possible to more rationally utilize the sales person, to move them from one job to another, to observe the work and rest hours and retain young people in trade. From 41 percent of those questioned took a positive view toward introducing material liability for a limited range of persons. This will make it possible to attract students, pensioners and housewives for working an incomplete work day and an incomplete work week and will help not only to reduce

the demand for personnel but also to accelerate the servicing of customers during the "peak" hours. Unfortunately, this reserve for improving trade services as yet is employed extremely rarely.

As for the psychological requirements placed on sales personnel and cashiers, only 15 percent of those questioned felt that because of their particular nature they were unsuited for work in trade. The fact that 85 percent were certain of their vocational suitability should not evoke glee. Certainly with the existing practice of the "residual" forming of trade personnel, when many choose the vocation of sales person as an alternate or a compulsory measure, such conviction causes concern, as work with other people is the labor activity which is most stressful on the psychological level. And such a large share of employees convinced of their vocational suitability shows the low exactingness and weak vocational training. This is seen from the quality of trade services which in no way can be considered acceptable.

The work of trade employees is marked by heavy physical stresses. It is no accident that 73 percent of the respondents noted their heavy fatigue by the end of the work day. The best trade enterprises are endeavoring to create conditions for rest. Thus, the Rossiya Department Store has opened a psychological relaxation center. According to the estimates of psychologists, such measures make it possible to increase labor productivity by 10-17 percent [4]. Moreover, it is important to teach the workers to eliminate stress states independently and control themselves in critical situations. It would be advisable to conduct a series of exercises on autogenic training (for paying the specialist it would be possible to use money from the production and social development fund). Also very beneficial are regular exercises to resolve conflict situations. Unfortunately, such training measures are employed very rarely in trade.

To the question "who is to blame in a majority of the conflict situations—the sales person or the customer?" only 20 percent of the correspondents replied that the sales person was to blame; 36.6 percent said both sides were to blame and 43.4 percent said it was the customer. Behind this one can see not only the reasons for the development of conflict but also a definite attitude toward them. As is known, many acute situations are provoked by the incorrect conduct of the sales person and by his or her vocational unpreparedness.

The recruitment of psychologically and emotionally stable personnel for work in trade and a knowledge on their part of the main psychotherapeutic methods for resolving conflict situations with customers can help in maximally reducing the bad effect of such incidents on personnel turnover. Lastly, in the process of the training and retraining of trade employees, it is advisable to introduce a course on "The Psychology of Relationships," having put the chief emphasis on practical exercises. Certainly illiteracy on this question has a negative effect upon the organization of trade services and costs

the sector itself dearly. The sales persons and cashiers should not only assimilate the principles of economic knowledge but also master the psychology of relationships with the customer. The economy of an enterprise is directly linked to the organization of trade services. This must not be forgotten in converting the sector to cost accounting and self-financing.

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Do We Need a 'Country Within a Country?'

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[Article by Sergey Borisovich Filatov, candidate of historical sciences and science associate at the U.S. and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time he appears in our journal.]

[Text] At present, it is customary to say that "the church is not separate from society." However, there are grounds to doubt this truth. The church is a social institution which does not fit in the notion of the "monolithic unity" of Soviet society. We speak about "pluralism" but words are words and deeds are deeds.

Up to now, there has been one sphere of social life where the clergy was permitted. This was peace-movement activities abroad. But as for the mass of believers, we were accustomed to feel that the church was a thing for the elderly. Of course, there was a significant grain of truth here. In any European country, a majority of those praying in church was comprised of elderly persons. But in our country this statistical pattern assumed a certain institutional significance, and a pensioner in church was quite normal while an active worker was an anomaly. Thus, the idea was promoted that the church somehow exists outside of society. A pensioner to a significant degree is excluded from social life and for this reason his presence in a church could be tolerated. But a religiously active worker, engineer or scientist was the "servant of two lords" and this was "scandalous" and psychologically intolerable. "Are you with us or not?" was how we

would pose the question to him. Such an attitude toward an institution which legally and actually was completely "ours" and brought together persons about whom there were no grounds to suspect of disloyalty to socialism, put the church in the situation of a sort of "country within a country." The clergy appeared like foreigners who live by some special laws which do not extend to the remaining population of the nation while the regular churchgoers are like persons with a dual citizenship (in certain heads "internal emigres").

Publishing policy has also been founded on the unclear assumption of a "country within a country." The literature which is viewed as reflecting the views of churches existing in the USSR is not printed by the state publishing houses. Particularly odious is the turning of the publishing of the Bible into a "matter of the church." The monument to world culture does not have an academic edition in our country. An ignorance of the Bible on the part of humanities specialists and the failure to require knowledge of it for students of history, philosophy and philology ultimately are a blow not against the church but rather the culture of our society. It would be possible to give other examples of publishing policy which go beyond the limits of common sense. The lives of the saints are the main genre of ancient Russian literature. At present, a majority of the readers perceives these as fables and legends. It would be very difficult to imagine a person who, having read about the miracles committed by Vasiliy the Blessed or how Ioann of Novgorod traveled through the skies to Jerusalem would turn to faith. Judging from publishing (and library) policy, the works of religious thinkers and theologians should also be outside the mental perusal of a curious reader. Any persons desiring to read these books is able to get his hands on them in one way or another, but the turning of one of the main ideological traditions of Russian and European culture into a private matter of the Church narrows the cultural horizons of Soviet society and limits the opportunities to understand the fate of both our own nation and the fates of other countries developing on the basis of Christian spiritual values. In this regard, the absence in Russian of works by leading thinkers of Western Christianity of previous centuries and our times is irremediable. The absence of translations of R. Guardini, K. Barth and J. Maritain and other thinkers of our times deprives us of not only a complete understanding of the modern ideological state of Western society, but also we lose an important impulse for the development of domestic thought and culture.

We publish nonclerical philosophical literature written by non-Marxists. However, such an all-encompassing ban has not been imposed on any of the philosophical schools, including those having direct political conclusions contradicting Marxism-Leninism. And all of this, I feel, is due to an awareness of the presence of a "country within a country" in our nation. In no instance should we try to please the internal foreign ideological corpus— notion which sits deep in our mind constantly closes off the ideological gates.

Does this aid "atheistic indoctrination"? Only an extremely rarified mind would come to the church as a result of acquaintance with theological literature. One of the American Catholic specialists on evangelicalism has commented that "only a genius would find his faith in books." But a few persons of great intellect and diverse education do seek out their way and find it. At the same time, good Marxists, as a rule, are intellectually impotent in colliding with theological thought because they do not know it at all. I would risk voicing the heretical opinion that lack of contact with religious thought deprives our society of an important impulse for development in certain areas of the spiritual sphere, ethics, for example. Our current debates about morality and culture to a certain degree suffer from an intellectual primitivism. Of course, in several decades we will be able to overcome this primitivism but a principled discussion could help us avoid the necessity of the long and tiring experience of reinventing the wheel.

A love for the beautiful has forced us to restore the rights of citizenship to church art, including architecture, icon painting and music. It seems obvious that Rublev's "Trinity" or the ancient church music have a much greater influence on the souls of others and could sooner bring them to the church than the works of Maritain and Vasilii the Great which require great philosophical and philological erudition. But in terms of art the value of which is so great and indisputable, the desire to maintain the barrier to the "country within a country" has been weaker than common sense.

We have endeavored to persuade ourselves that all the ecclesiastical and Christian, while at one time in deep antiquity did play a progressive role, presently has no value. Art, the uniqueness and originality of which stem from the uniqueness of Christian awareness and church dogma has been depicted as the creation of secret anticlericals and dubious proof has been found of a "spontaneous people's materialism." An honest admission of the obvious that there is a Christian, clerical essence of the masterpieces of medieval art psychologically has been (and presently remains for some) a completely impossible question.

There is the deeply rooted conviction that atheistic propaganda and the practice of isolating the church have led to the secularizing of Soviet society and to the establishing of a materialist ideology. This evokes profound doubts. The level of the secularization of Soviet society is not something unique. In the 20th Century, institutionalized religion has declined sharply in all the European countries, including the capitalist ones. The data of sociological surveys indicate that the attendance rate of churches in the USSR does not substantially differ from the attendance rate of churches in England or the Scandinavian nations. The main reason for such a situation is in all instances the same—the profound change in social, cultural and economic structures in the course of the scientific and technical revolution. Of course, in our country this process has occurred more

dramatically and has its own particular features. After October 1917, these changes occurred very rapidly and a new ideology was formed as a result of revolution and not evolution. Thus, we became a more secularized country than the European states. During the years of the cult of personality, repressions descended virtually on all strata of society, including on the clergy and on the believers. The repressions, without any doubt, helped to weaken the influence of the church. But is it possible to justify such methods of secularization? In the postwar period, the decline in religiousness has occurred basically in the rural population. The turning of the rural populus from the basic agent of religiousness into a religiously indifferent stratum and the shifting of the social base of the church to the city are a phenomenon characteristic not only of the USSR. In recent decades, analogous processes have been occurring, for example, in Latin America.

In the course of this strange war to isolate and exhaust the church, we have not merely exhausted and isolated the church but we have also helped to shape its social ideas and the relations inside it. I am little acquainted with the inner life of the church and I would not assume to draw categorical conclusions on what is occurring in it. But I would like to share my impressions from sporadic contacts with believers, conclusions which come to mind as a result of acquaintance with religious studies and church publications.

Our atheistic literature asserts that affiliation with the church engenders social passivity. This assertion seems debatable to me, although it is seemingly backed up by facts. However, passivity can be the result again of the psychological sets of a "country within a country." The notion of isolating the church naturally leads the believer to alienation from social life and to the notion (albeit subconscious) that he is superfluous in the "holiday of life." All the more as the clergy does not preach its social position and sets an example of exclusiveness and alienation. Is it a good thing for society when millions of people are oriented as escapism? Scarcely so.

How do the clergy and inner life of the church appear to the outsider? One is struck by the black Volgas of the bishops which look like the local nomenklatura or foreign guests. The ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy] (ZhMP) periodically announces their travels abroad and the receiving of foreign guests in the residences. Do they see anyone else except each other and foreigners? The impression is created that the leadership of a social institution with ties to millions of Soviet citizens who trust it with the most important questions of their spiritual life and their conscience lives closed off in its own narrow world.

Let us leaf through the KhMP for last year. This is the official organ of the Russian Orthodox Church and seemingly reflects the life of the church, its ideas and

interests. Reading the journal leaves a strange impression. A great deal is written about international, ecumenical contacts. There is a large official section on who has been awarded what, who has been appointed where, obituaries, and announcements on where individual bishops have traveled and where they performed services. There is a great deal about the whereabouts and activities of the Most Holy Patriarch Pimen and the Chairman of the Publishing Section (which is in charge of the ZhMP) the Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryev, Pitirim.

No matter how you might look, you will not find anything in the journal concerning the inner problems of the church. Perhaps it is completely free of corruption, incompetence; there are no disputes over ideological and practical questions and there are no problems in the parishes. The journal is silent about social problems. How does the church view restructuring? Are there no opinions? A majority of the believers consists of pensioners and disabled persons. Certainly the journal could say something about their problems? Or what about alcoholism and drug addiction? Or the preservation of cultural monuments? There is much else that seemingly could concern the ZhMP but it does not.

In leafing through the official organ of the Orthodox Church, one feels with surprise that one is in contact with something long familiar, with the atmosphere of the recent past, with what we now term "stagnation". This is the complacent and completely vapid style of the oblast newspapers at the beginning of the 1980s. Possibly the reader will say that if there is stagnation in the church it is all the better for Soviet power. During the years of political polarization and social clashes at the beginning of the 1920s, this was a completely justified judgment. The church and the supporters of religious conscience in their majority were either on the side of the counterrevolution or were not active and consistent supporters of building socialism. Presently in the person of believers we are involved with citizens who share the ideals of socialism and persons who comprise an inseparable part of society, regardless of all attempts to view them as a "country within a country."

But how does the psychology of a "country within a country" reflect on the basic portion of the nation's population, on the nonbelievers? They are required first of all to have no formal ties with the institutionalized religious associations. Not to cross the "frontier" is an indicator of a materialistic ideology. To cross the "frontier" is to baptize children, to get married in the church and participate in funeral services for the deceased. It should come as no surprise that very many people participate in services because believing relatives ask them, because they consider the rites beautiful and solemn or consider them a national tradition. These rites do not directly evidence religiousness. Nevertheless, for the Komsomol member, for example, this is an infraction for which one can be deprived of a Komsomol membership card. In atheistic literature just 2 or 3 years

ago, one could read articles which stated that one must struggle for a "purity of ideology" by preventing the baptizing of children and funeral services. Here it was admitted that all of this does not show the religiousness of the populous.

The "depravity" of a religious service has not been established in any rational way and for this reason has assumed some magical nature. The feeling has arisen that a person participating in a church service will be mystically "tainted." In church teachings there is a certain logic but it is rather hard to find in the antichurch magic. I can rationally explain this entire terror of participating in a church service only by a view of the church as some "country within a country" to which a true Komsomol member cannot be loyal. Among a majority of people, in some consciously and in others subconsciously, there still is a sensation of a certain unseriousness or artificiality in this playing of principledness. And the bifurcation of consciousness between common sense and the requirements of a "higher order" is one of the many but still a noticeable contribution to the growing hypocrisy and social cynicism.

Just what is the disbelief of our atheists? Before the era of glasnost we could rest certain that without traditional institutionalized religiousness the most diverse beliefs could flourish in society as these did not fall within the perusal of the fighters against the "religious opiate" precisely due to their noninstitutionalized nature. Certainly in such a situation they were not "a country within a country" and did not evoke active resistance. Let me merely recall one example, the exotic sect of Abay Borubayev which propagandized an unbelievable mixture of various mystic teachings and practiced a way of life far removed from the generally accepted ideas of the standard. The head of the sect is presently behind bars for organizing the murder of his successor.

The wide distribution of the most improbable as well as primitive beliefs is a secret to no one. But as long as they do not assume institutionalized forms, no one has any particular argument against them. It is not merely a question of the formalism of accounting for religiousness (if the number of baptisms rises in a rayon, then the local leadership is given a blow) and not only that the reckoning was kept only from formal features so that as long as there was no "organization" the carriers of religious beliefs were still "ours," the principle of "ideological monolithichness" was observed and precisely formal ideological monolithichness up to now has been our main offspring.

One of the results of such an approach to orthodoxy can be traced in the ideological concepts of the Pamyat [Memory] Society. I have run into representatives of this movement several times (and the interest, in my view, is not so much the narrow group of the members of the "society" as it is the more spontaneous and numerous movement arising around Pamyat). I do not claim a complete knowledge of its ideology. There has been no

sociological research on this phenomenon and for this reason, I feel, no one at present can claim a sufficiently complete and objective analysis of the ideology of the Pamyat supporters as moreover there are hostile fractions within the movement. Common to all the supporters of Pamyat, evidently, is a strong desire for a "national rebirth of the Russian people" who supposedly have been the "victim of a conspiracy of hostile forces including Jews, other 'foreigners,' 'Masons' and the 'West'." The members of the movement are endeavoring to resurrect "truly Russian values." On the religious level there are a neopagan fraction, outright atheists and Orthodox believers. But, according to my observations, the most widespread ideological trend is the desire to consider oneself orthodox without any institutionalized religiousness and without a belief even in the main dogmas of the church.

These persons do not even have the most elementary understanding of what Christianity is. This is not what they need. This noninstitutionalized "orthodoxy" is much closer to racism, a feeling of national exclusiveness, the search for a leader, neopaganism and magic and which is far removed from traditional peasant religiousness. For several years, such a "noninstitutionalized" nonorthodoxy has been propagandized at various officially sanctioned meetings, although it represents an obvious political danger certainly for propagandizing racial and national intolerance in our multinational country. Only after Pamyat began to seek an official status was the danger recognized.

All of this clearly demonstrates that the isolating of the church as "a country within a country" not only does not prevent the use of "orthodoxy" for dubious political purposes but even contributes to such use. Here it is not only a question of an ignorance of church ideology, but the very ambiguity of the church's position and the absence of a normal dialogue with it provoke an appeal to the prohibited and the unknown and to speculation on the ambiguity.

The principles of socialist pluralism which are now becoming established in our life, I hope, will lead to the disappearance of this "country within a country." The church and believers will be active and full participants in social life. The anachronistic, stupifying prohibitions will become a matter of history. Believers and nonbelievers will enter into an open and honest dialogue and this will help the ideological, cultural and political maturity of our society as well as raise its stability and unity. During this transitional moment one would like to say: that is enough hypocrisy and giving way to illusions.

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Public Opinion on Unearned Income

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[Article by F.N. Ilyasov and O.B. Mukhammetberdiyev. The authors of the article are employed in the Philosophy and Law Section of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences. Farkhad Nazipovich Ilyasov is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior science associate. Ovezdurdy Berdiyevich Mukhammetberdiyev is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior science associate. Both are appearing for the first time in our journal]

[Text] In September-October 1987, the Philosophy and Law Section of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences conducted a survey devoted to studying public opinion on unearned income.¹ By the time this was carried out, more than a year had passed since the adoption of the Decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Improve the Struggle Against Unearned Income" and the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Improving the Struggle Against the Gaining of Unearned Income" [2] and there is now more than enough time to make the first social assessments.

We had to learn what was the result of the aggregate of ideological, legal and economic efforts by society along this path. We commenced our research with a study of how accurately the public understood the very term "unearned income" which comparatively recently had entered the active vocabulary of the mass information media and ordinary life, having replaced the slang "left-handed income." The question "what do you actually understand by unearned income?" was an open one. An analysis of the replies showed that a majority of those questioned understood this term sufficiently adequately: "Income obtained without the use of one's labor or by another person's labor," "income obtained by dishonest deeds," "easy gain at the expense of the state and other citizens" and so forth.

A more complete understanding of the perception of the respondents was provided by replies to the question of what methods for obtaining material goods were considered by them as unearned and what would be considered earned income. Initially it was assumed that this question would provide a control function, in disclosing contradictions between the answer to the open question of what was understood as unearned income. However, in comparing the replies to the two designated questions it became clear that the respondents were not so much explaining what they understood as unearned income as they were voicing their attitude toward this [see the table].

Distribution of Replies to the Question "Which of the Below-Listed Methods of Gaining Monetary Remuneration Do You Consider as Earned and Which as Unearned Income?" %

Methods of Obtaining Monetary Remuneration	Unearned Income	Earned Income	Difficult to Reply	No Reply
Speculating	85.2	4.0	1.0	9.8
Bride Money	76.8	4.2	4.0	15.0
Overpayments for goods and services in the trade and service system	74.1	5.6	3.9	16.4
Prostitution	71.5	6.0	7.3	15.2
Earnings in games of chance (cards, billiards and backgammon)	71.1	4.5	6.9	17.5
Remuneration for the performance of religious rites	62.3	7.5	14.3	5.9
Payment for transporting persons in private vehicle	35.2	33.2	11.6	20.0
Inheritance	25.4	33.1	19.4	22.1
Private repairs (apartments, motor vehicles, appliances and so forth)	24.0	45.8	12.2	18.0
Private making of clothing, footwear and so forth	20.1	50.3	11.0	18.6
Winnings in a lottery, sports lotto	13.4	56.2	13.1	17.3
Sale of fruits and vegetables from private farm on the market	6.7	72.4	7.4	13.5

From the 1st through the 6th position—from speculation to payment for religious rites—the over-all opinion was sufficiently clear: a majority viewed this income as unearned. Then from the 7th item of transporting in a private vehicle—to the 9th—the receiving of an inheritance—the opinions were extremely contradictory. Income related to private repairs on apartments, the making of clothing, winnings at a lottery, were inclined to be viewed by those questioned as earned income. As a whole, it can be said that in terms of the assessments of unearned income, public opinion had still not been formed. An unique indicator of this was a percentage of those who had difficulty in determining or who did not determine income related to speculation (their share was, respectively, 1.0 and 9.8 percent) and with the receiving of an inheritance (19.4 and 22.1 percent). As is known, many people in certain instances consider it acceptable to overpay for goods and services (particularly for gratis ones) as a method of expressing gratitude. Such an attitude was considered correct by 9.4 percent and condemned by 77.2 percent. Regardless of the fundamental condemnation of such a practice, 76.5 percent of the respondents, in replying to the following question "whom would you personally be ready to thank in such a manner?" indicated a physician (44.9 percent), a taxi driver (26.0 percent), a nurse (22.4 percent), a medical worker (29.9 percent), a hairdresser (13.3 percent), an expert tailor (12.8 percent), the cashier for airline tickets (12.2 percent) and a sales person at a newspaper stand (10.2 percent).

Undoubtedly, public opinion on the question of unearned income is basically shaped under the effect of the mass information media. Around 70 percent of those questions pointed to the press and television as the source of information on this question. In second place was radio (44.9 percent), and in the third "talks with acquaintances" (38.5 percent). In the latter item one can also clearly put rumors. As it turned out, "acquaintances" were basically "comrades at work (school)" with

74.4 percent, followed them by "family members and relatives" (46.5 percent) and to a much less degree others. These are the main channels for shaping public opinion on unearned income, not counting the personal experience of the respondents as we will take up below.

Possibly, not only proceeding from personal experience but also to a definite degree in relying on talks with acquaintances, the respondents were providing an assessment of the activities of the mass communications media in treating the course of the struggle against unearned income. The highest number of points was obtained by central television as its activities in the designated sense satisfied 54.7 percent of those questioned, a slightly smaller number of votes was received by the central press (50.6 percent) and the lowest indicator by the republic radio (25.8 percent).

The main reasons for the dissatisfaction of the respondents with the activities of the mass communications media were "insufficient depth and breadth of analysis" (indicated by 35 percent of those questioned), "incomplete coverage, the concealing of details" (31.1 percent) and "silence about the most acute aspects" (26.5 percent). All the aggregate information gained from the mass information media, rumors and personal experience made it possible for those questioned to respond in the following manner to the question "do you consider that in your republic a principled struggle is being waged against unearned income or is just the appearance of this struggle created?": 27.3 percent of the respondents felt that a principle struggle was being waged, 45.5 percent considered that only an appearance has been created and 21.9 percent found it difficult to assess the situation.

At the same time, 89.7 percent of the sampling aggregate was supporters of intensifying the struggle against unearned income, in truth, of this number only 45.2

percent was hopeful for its success. Some 23 percent of those questioned assumed that the results of the struggle would be insignificant, while 4 percent adhered to the opinion that the situation would even deteriorate. Consequently, as a whole while condemning unearned income and being in favor of intensifying the struggle against it, the public shows restrained optimism in assessing the possible results.

It is logical to assume that the latter consideration to some degree is based upon the public's notions concerning the encountered spheres and structure of unearned income. In the opinion of the republic workers, this income is encountered mostly in the following 6 (of the 27 proposed in the questionnaire) "shadowy niches": trade was mentioned by 73.2 percent, in gaining admission to the VUZes and technical schools with 62.0 percent, in the police bodies (GAI [State Automotive Inspectorate], OBKhSS [Section for Combating Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] and so forth) with 57.6 percent, medical facilities with 56.7 percent, public dining facilities with 50.6 percent, procuracy and court bodies with 40.7 percent. We should point out, for the sake of comparison, that the lowest value of this indicator was in the Komsomol bodies with 1.7 percent.

The idea of the structure of unearned income was determined by the following question "what methods of extracting unearned income are most widespread in the republic?" As the materials of the questionnaire showed, in the mind of the workers, the most widespread was bribery (75.4 percent of them pointed to this), followed by bride money (63.6 percent). Further, the replies were distributed in the following manner: "deception of customers and clients" with 61.6 percent, "the obtaining of overpayment for scarce items and services" with 60.4 percent, "theft of socialist property" with 51.5 percent and "selling drugs" with 48.2 percent.

Now let us compare the notion of the respondents on the structure and spheres for the extraction of unearned income with the replies to the question of whether a principle struggle is being waged against these and is there hope for success. In the opinion of those questioned, among the spheres where illegal income is most widespread are: the police bodies, the procuracy, courts, that is, precisely those organizations which they pointed to in the reply to the question "what bodies have competence in the struggle against bribery?" (61.0 percent of those questioned mentioned the internal affairs bodies and 47.7 percent the procuracy). Precisely this also determined the assessment of the struggle against this phenomenon: "an appearance is created" mentioned by 45.4 percent and over one-half did not count on success in this struggle. From the viewpoint of those questioned, the following chain of reasoning emerges: the most widespread of the illegal income is bribery and the police and procuracy should primarily combat this while there they "take" more than the rest (in the aggregate 98.3 percent). This also determines the pessimism in assessing the prospects for the struggle against unearned income.

To what degree is this widespread stereotype valid and to what degree does it reflect reality? Two control questions were incorporated in the questionnaire: "has someone taken a bribe from you?" and "did you often personally have to purchase something at a speculative price?" It turned out that 38.1 percent of the respondents had personally encountered instances when bribes were requested from them, that is, 797 out of 2,095 persons questioned. If we add to this those who paid a bribe without any coercion, then it must be agreed that this is actually one of the most widely-spread methods of obtaining illegal income. The distribution of opinions over the issue "for what reason are bribes most often solicited under the conditions of our republic?" was as follows: "for admission to VUZes" with 23.6 percent of those questioned, "for obtaining a position" with 14.8 percent and "to workers of the court, the procuracy and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]" with 6 percent. It is interesting to note that, in the opinion of those questioned, bribes are not only very widespread but are the most difficult-to-eradicate phenomenon. This can be seen from comparing the answers to the questions concerning the prospects of combating unearned income as a whole and bribery in particular. It turned out that 45.2 percent of those questioned counted as a whole on success in combating unearned income, in terms of eradicating bribery the optimists were half the number with 22.3 percent. The most widespread opinion was that bribery could be reduced, albeit insignificantly, as one-third of those questioned felt. As a whole on this issue public opinion was rather pessimistic as one out of ten felt that the situation could only deteriorate. A large share of those questioned did not make any effort to answer these questions with virtually one out of five.

As can be seen from the obtained answers, a majority of those questioned (80.3 percent) had also encountered speculation. In detailing this type of unearned income, it can be said that here the leading position is held by the speculating in clothing, footwear and perfumes (50.7 percent of those questioned pointed to this) and alcoholic beverages (47.3 percent). Speculation in three other types of goods (spare parts, textiles, medicines and narcotics) is spread approximately to an equal degree and these were pointed out by over one-third of the respondents.

The respondents in the form of a semiprivate question were asked to express their opinion on the issue of the most effective measures to combat unearned income. From a list consisting of seven enumerations, in first place was the police: "it is essential to put honest and principled persons in responsible positions" (58.8 percent of the persons questioned pointed to this). That is, in public awareness there is a dominant notion that "personnel determines everything." After this preference was given to an "indoctrinational" concept: 50.5 percent pointed to the need for a greater publicizing of instances of obtaining unearned income and the punishment of guilty parties. Some 48.5 percent of those questioned insisted on a need to introduce stricter measures, 45.5

percent were hoping on better work by auditors and inspectors, while 37.8 percent proposed strengthening the work by the internal affairs and procuracy bodies.

In answering this question, only 4 percent of those questions made use of a "moment of frankness" employing the item "if you have a different opinion, please write it." Among the proposals one can not typical ones: "strengthen the powers of people's control, subordinate this exclusively to the center and provide it with a printing organ," "give the right to any Soviet citizen to inspect the activities of industry and trade." Among these 4 percent were the representatives of "philosophical pessimism" whose opinion was "as long as a monetary system exists, unearned income are inevitable as history is its witness."

In line with the above-given figures concerning the distribution of unearned income and the moral and economic harm which this causes to our society, it was quite natural for the questionnaire to include the question "why, in your opinion, do citizens not inform or very rarely inform the official bodies about instances of obtaining unearned income?" The first group of replies which could be lumped under the formula "they do not believe in success" was 41.6 percent of the persons questioned. The typical explanations were "this would still not lead to anything," "useless," "the unearned income links officials in a chain" and so forth. The second group of replies could be generalized by the word "they are afraid." They are afraid of trouble ("they will call you as a witness"), oppression ("don't want to make enemies"), persecution ("hounded to death") and simply inconvenience ("would like to benefit oneself" or "don't want to quarrel with friends or relatives"). The share of "apprehensive ones" was 35.1 percent. Thus, in the opinion of the respondents, the main reasons for the social passivity of the workers in combating unearned income was mistrust in success and fear with 76.7 percent of those questions holding this position.

At the conclusion of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked: "would you yourself participate in the struggle against unearned income?" Some 62.3 percent of those questioned answered this in the affirmative, 19.0 percent in the negative while 18.7 percent could not answer. This was followed by a clarification: "against what types of unearned income and in what form would you like to fight?" Regardless of the broad spectrum of opinions, one can isolate two polar positions: the supporters of constitutional methods, that is, "by official requests to production and to the procuracy bodies" and extremist, completely terroristic views "I would be very happy to shoot them without a court and evidence" or "with an AKM assault rifle."

As a whole, an analysis of the replies to the last question indicates that on this issue public opinion does not show any formed concept and here one can feel a certain confusion and even impotence.

In generalizing what was set out above, one can conclude that as a whole the persons questioned correctly assessed unearned income, they condemn this and show great interest in combating it. The main sources of information on this question are the press, television and personal experience. The press and television, from the viewpoint of over one-half of the sampling aggregate, treat the problem effectively. As for combating this phenomenon, 45.4 percent feel that in the republic only an appearance of this is created. For this reason, 54.8 percent of those questioned did not support the opinion that great successes would be achieved in this struggle.

Among the unearned income, in the opinion of the respondents, bribery and speculation are most widespread. Public opinion assumes that the MVD and procuracy bodies should combat this primarily, but it is precisely here that these failings are most widely found. Hence, the pessimism in assessing the prospect for combating the vicious phenomena. The opinion of the respondents concerning the degree to which unearned income is widespread to a significant degree rests on their personal experience of contact with the shadow economy and for this reason is sufficiently valid. In combating unearned income, the chief hopes are placed on correct personnel policy and indoctrinational measures.

In an analysis of the sociodemographic features of those questioned, two groups emerged and differences in the obtained answers were linked to them. The first group were Turkmen living in the countryside and engaged in agricultural employment with large families. The second group was persons of European nationalities (predominantly Russians) living in the city, workers and employees having a small- or medium-sized family.

The distribution of answers for individual questions in these groups differed sharply, approaching 30 percent. In the first group, by a margin of over 2-fold they assumed that the republic is conducting a principled struggle against unearned income, they much more approve this income and, respectively, condemn it less. The representatives of the first group by a margin of 2-fold support the assertion that great successes will be achieved in combating unearned income and that in the near future bribery can be significantly reduced. In the first group, a significantly larger share of persons desire to take an active part in combating this failure than in the second (respectively, 79.3 and 50.3 percent).

In our view, the above-described difference between the two groups most probably arose as a consequence of the fact that the urban residents have a more intolerant, critical attitude toward unearned income. Their existence plagues the urban dwellers more than the village dwellers. In the second group there is a smaller number of persons wanting to take an active part in combating this phenomenon, because, on the one hand, the representatives of it are more critical and believe less in a quick success and, on the other hand, here there is a

widespread opinion that order should be imposed by special bodies: "each person should be concerned with his own business" was one of the replies to the question of personal involvement.

The results of the conducted questionnaire provide grounds to assert that a significant portion of those questioned show great interest in combating unearned income, they have a negative attitude toward the facts of its receipt and express a desire to participate in this struggle personally. As a whole, in this sphere positive values dominate and a set has been formed for manifesting social activeness. Clearly, wherever this is possible, it would be advisable to use the activeness of those 62.3 percent who expressed a desire to take a personal part in combating unearned income. Any social evil can be combated, emphasized V.I. Lenin, only under the condition that "the mass of people themselves help" [1].

Footnote

1. The working part of the population of the Turkmen SSR was questioned. We employed a zoned quota sampling (N = 2095). The questioned aggregate reflects the structure of the general aggregate broken down for the oblasts in four parameters: sex, social status, place of residence, nationality. The questionnaire was conducted by the method of an audience questionnaire. Two versions of the questionnaire were employed—Russian and Turkmen.

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Sociodynamics of Suicides

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[Text] In the industrially developed countries over the last 20-30 years, the level of suicides has increased substantially [3, pp 20-32]. It is also indisputable that in

a society, where man has been proclaimed the highest value, direct efforts should be taken to prevent suicide. There is a great need for accurate knowledge of its causes, contributing factors, risk groups and so forth. Moreover, being one of the forms of deviant behavior [4], suicide often serves as a model for analyzing other forms of social deviations.

Suicide is the intentional taking of one's life (from the Latin sui—oneself and caedere—to kill). Certainly here the question must not be reduced to concrete actions. As a social phenomenon, suicide differs as much from an individual act of behavior as criminality differs from a crime. Unfortunately, in Russian there is no corresponding general concept (such as "suicidism") and this often entails methodological inaccuracies. In suicidal behavior one usually puts successful suicides, suicide attempts and intentions. But there is also a broader interpretation of the problem which encompasses the most diverse potentially autodestructive actions—from smoking and gluttony to participating in mountain climbing and motor racing. In the medical and legal sense, suicide is a type of violent death with the indication of its cause.

Suicides, obviously, are as old as the history of mankind [5]. With good reason, J.P. Sartre viewed the distinction of man from the animal in the fact that man could take his life.

The comprehensive nature of the problem also requires an appropriate approach to it. It is worthy of note that Soviet suicidology has developed as an interdisciplinary science [3, 6, 7, 15]. It has achieved substantial results. However, they still clearly lag behind the practical requirements. One of the reasons for the lag is the completely unjustified concealment of medical and criminological information on this phenomenon. We are particularly aware of the gaps in the sociological study of suicidal behavior. For this reason, for a start let us endeavor....

To Look Death in the Face

The work of E. Durkheim [8] as well as the book of M. Halbwachs [9] are considered the classic sociological studies of suicide and the latter author endeavored to supplement the purely sociological concept with psychological factors. For the sake of justice it is essential to point out that more than 70 years prior to Durkheim's work (1897), the Russian scientist Herman in 1823 at a session of the Academy of Sciences gave a report "Research on the Number of Suicides and Murders in Russia in 1819 and 1820" and this was later published in French [10]. In comparing the number of murders and suicides with the level of alcoholism and with economic conditions, the author concluded that the causes lie in the economic area (extreme poverty or excessive wealth) as well as in the political sphere (anarchy or political suppression and the consequences of war). Among the domestic researchers of a later period, one cannot help

but mention M.N. Gernet who consistently provided a sociological approach to the problems of suicide, criminality, drug addiction, alcoholism and prostitution [11].

Presently, the greatest prospects for a sociological investigation of suicidal manifestations can be found within the concept of deviant behavior as a special (particular) sociological theory [4, 13]. The theoretical and methodological prerequisites for such an investigation can, in our view, be the following ideas. Along with other types of social deviations, suicide ultimately is caused by the contradictions of social development, primarily between the universality (totality, as K. Marx loved to say) of human existence, its concrete form and the system of social relations; between the individual attributes, gifts and abilities of the members of society and the social structure, the aggregate of social positions, the quantity and "quality" of which were set by the achieved development level of the productive forces and by the nature of social relations; between the needs of people and the opportunities to satisfy these [1, 2, 12]. In the determination of suicides (as in other deviations), of particular significance is the unsatisfied need for self-assertion and self-realization. A person can view such a situation as a loss of the sense of life, a circumstance present ultimately in each suicidal act (it is here an issue of mentally healthy people). This is why an increased suicidal danger arose in the period of stagnation, social apathy and rule of the principle of "it is not better to excel."

On the level of individual contact, the source of deviations consists in the discrepancy of the objective personal qualities of an individual to the requirements of the position occupied by him, that is, the "social incompatibility"; psychologically this can be manifested as dissatisfaction [14, pp 89-90]. (We have not dwelt specifically on the psychological motives of suicides, as this question has been taken up in detail in a recent publication in the journal [15].

Suicide, or more accurately its level, correlates with social cataclysms and other forms of social pathology. The number of suicides rises during a period of economic depression and declines substantially during wars, initially in the belligerents and with a certain "lag" in the neutrals as well [8, p 165; 11, pp 444-460; 16]. The latter dependence is explained, in the first place, by the fact that when confronted with a common danger, personal misfortunes retreat into the background and it is these misfortunes which often serve as the impetus for suicide. Secondly, a war leads to the unification of the populus. Even E. Durkheim that the level of suicides is in an inverse relation to the degree of solidarity (integration) in the community. Finally and thirdly, persons with an unsatisfied need for self-assertion and who have lost their sense of existence can acquire this in fighting against a common enemy.

In order to bring out and concretize the patterns of suicidal conduct, it is essential to have special research, primarily a study of its level, structure and dynamics. It

is indispensable to know both the qualitative changes (the number of suicides and attempts at suicide per year calculated per 1,000 inhabitants), as well as the "qualitative" ones: the sociodemographic composition of the suicides, the ratio of successful and unsuccessful suicides, the share of persons suffering from alcoholism, drug addiction, mental disorders, the relation of suicide with other forms of deviant behavior and primarily with violent crime. For characterizing the designated processes it is possible to use a coefficient of suicidal activeness. This expresses the ratio of the share of a certain sociodemographic group among the suicides and the share of the same group in the population and thereby makes it possible to determine the groups of increased suicidal risk.

In addition to an analysis of the statistics, of important significance is a study of the criminal cases initiated under the qualifications stipulated in Article 107 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (causing someone to commit suicide) and the materials of investigations by the internal affairs and procuracy bodies of the facts of the suicides. For an analysis of the data, one usually employs an investigation sheet which includes information on the sociodemographic characteristics of the suicide, is "involvement" in the main spheres of activity, the act of suicide itself (reason, time, place and method of suicide, the presence of suicide attempts in the past, mental illnesses or alcoholism, drug addiction or substance abuse). A general picture can be obtained by analyzing the spatial-time distribution of suicides and other types of deviant conduct. For this, charts are compiled for the suicide attempts, murders, arrests for drunkenness and so forth and which occurred on a certain territory as well as time graphs for similar instances by hours, days of the week, days of the month and months.

Finally, it is essential to also study the psychological mechanism of suicidal conduct. Here the basic thing is the concept of the sociopsychological deadadaptation of the individual under conditions of conflict [6, pp 6-28, 44-59].

On the Sidelines of Life

Let us examine certain results of research conducted by the authors in 1971-1982 in Leningrad. The object of our analysis was the circumstances involved in 291 successful suicides in four rayons of the city (two central and two suburban); the materials of the psychological questioning (N = 1031) and the clinical-psychological investigation (N = 376) suicides hospitalized at one of the psychiatric hospitals in the city and the suicides in for treatment at the Center of Medicinal Intoxications after attempting suicide; as well as data from a sampling of over 2,000 inhabitants of Leningrad (for more detail see: [3, pp 75-79]). The sociodemographic characteristics of the suicides were compared with the statistical data, with the results of the sampling and with the corresponding characteristics of the population in one of the rayons chosen as the base. Deviations in the age-sex makeup did

not exceed 2.3 percent. For the designated point, the result can be considered representative and this does not exclude a broader spread for other indications. Moreover, the sampling research and the analysis of the statistical results for 1983-1987 show a relative stability in the trends disclosed by us.

Initially on the most obvious dependences. In the risk group there are more males than females. Thus, among those who did away with themselves, the share of the former was 57 percent and the coefficient of suicidal activeness (K_s) = 1.6; among women it equaled 0.6. In truth, there were somewhat more of women among those who attempted suicide (50.5 percent). However, it is essential to consider that women predominate in the city's population. For this reason, in the group of attempts, the mentioned coefficient for males was higher (1.2) than for females (0.9). They also have a higher fatality coefficient (K_f), that is, the ratio of the share of the group among those who committed suicide to the share among those who attempted to lay hands on themselves. The amount of the indicator is, respectively, 1.4 and 0.6.

A comparison of the obtained data with the results of the research conducted in several regions of the RSFSR under the leadership of Prof A.G. Ambrumova shows that it is a question of general, stable trends. There is only one essential difference. Among the women of Leningrad, suicide attempts were higher than among women of other regions. Why? Obviously, under the conditions of a large city, various forms of deviant behavior are more widely spread. This assumption is confirmed, if one assesses the regional differences in the distribution of crime, alcoholism and other forms of social pathology.

Definite patterns were also disclosed from the viewpoint of the age composition of the suicides. The number of suicides gradually increased, beginning with the age of 14, and reaches its maximum amongst persons 40-49 years of age (K_s = 1.6). Then the curve declines and a new burst is observed in the group of persons older than 60. Among those who attempt to take their life, the picture is directly opposite: with age the number of unsuccessful attempts or feigning suicide becomes less and less. The peak in the given instance occurs at 16-17 and 18-24 years. What causes the high level of suicides among persons 40-49 years of age (particularly males)? Obviously, this is a period of summing up, of reassessing values and a heightened search for a new purpose in life. Not each person is able to adequately solve these fundamental questions of life. Characteristic in this regard are the suicide notes: "I was unable to promptly understand my purpose.... Nature does not forgive this" or "I did not succeed in carrying out everything that I planned in life."

A serious problem is the increased number of suicides among children [17] One other fact. Among those who killed themselves, young people (under the age of 29) make up 28 percent and among those who endeavored to do away with themselves, over 37 percent.

The dynamics of suicides is also influenced by the level of education and vocational training. Persons with a low education often experience a feeling of social inadequacy, dissatisfaction, particularly under the conditions of a large city. Such a situation can serve as a cause of suicide. This is also confirmed by research results. The share of persons who did not obtain a secondary education was 25.1 percent in the city population; among those who attempted suicide were 41.6 and among the suicides 63.4. At the same time the number of persons with a higher education is 1.5-fold lower among the suicides than in the city population.

One other factor contributing to suicides is loneliness and the inability to fit into a family and domestic sphere. Among those who attempted suicide, the share of persons with a family (41.3 percent of the males and 40.1 percent of the females) was significantly less than in the adult population of the city (respectively, 74.7 and 66.6 percent according to the sampling data). Of course, one must not absolutize the significance of any isolated factor. As is known, at times precisely family problems lead to the fatal step.

How does social status influence suicidal conduct? The results show that in the examined group, both in absolute and in relative terms there is a predominance of workers (53.7 percent of those who committed suicide and 40.8 percent of the suicide attempts), and among these are persons who are engaged in unskilled labor. Noteworthy in this regard is the suicide note of worker R. and left to his son: "Sasha! Climb as high as you can above your father on the social ladder." Engineers, technicians and white collar personnel with a higher and specialized secondary education were 10.3 percent (successful suicides) and 18.5 percent (attempts), pensioners were 15 percent and 10.6 percent and students were 5.5 percent and 6.6 percent. The increased degree of suicidal risk is also characteristic for the marginal groups including: white collar personnel without special education (9.3 percent and 12.8 percent) and persons without definite occupations (6.2 percent and 10.7 percent). Unfortunately, the data on the city population available to the authors made it possible to calculate the coefficient of suicidal activeness only for consolidated social groups. The results are as follows. Workers: 1.7 for suicide and 1.2 for attempts; for white collar personnel 0.7 and 1.1; students 0.3 and 0.4; pensioners 0.8 and 0.6.

That Day, That Hour

Thus, the results of our and other research shows that the most significant factors determining suicidal conduct are: sex, age, education, social and family status. Their combination makes it possible to isolate several types (sociodemographic groups) which differ in the degree of "contagion" with various forms of social pathology. The authors (together with N.N. Proskurina have attempted to construct a similar typology and establish the relative

level of antisocial activeness (deviance) in the specific sociodemographic groups for such parameters as the committing of severe violent crimes, suicidal conduct and drunkenness.

The grouping was carried out for the following indicators: sex, age (16-29 years, 30-49 years, 50 years and older), social status (workers, white collar personnel, engineers and technicians, students, pensioners, persons without definite employment, family status (those with registered marriages or in actual marital status, bachelors, divorced, widowed). As a total 28 different groups were established, for example: young, unmarried males, workers; elderly women with families, pensioners and so forth. The groups were ranked according to the degree of the distribution of the mentioned forms of deviant conduct in them. For each we calculated coefficients of "alcoholization," "suicidal risk" as well as a general "coefficient of deviance." (For the methods and results see [18].)

Nine types out of the 28 form an increased risk group (K greater than 1.5). Its share in the population is 11.1 percent. Here males predominate somewhat and virtually all of them are solitary. Only young workers are

found here among persons with families. Incidentally, the group represents workers of all ages, while among the white collar personnel, engineers and technicians there are only middle-aged persons. The reduced risk group (K less than 0.5) includes seven types and comprises 35.0 percent of the population. Here there are a few more women, almost all of them are married; there are also unmarried persons and these are young female white collar personnel, engineers and technicians. Incidentally, the mentioned categories of specialists are represented by persons of all ages. In the group are also many married pensioners.

Subsequently, the characteristics of the main groups were concretized for several parameters. As an example, let us give the data on the medical-psychiatric state of hospitalized suicides (see the table). Incidentally, these results show the absence of a direct dependence between suicidal conduct and the mental state of the person. On the other hand, a different pattern was confirmed: alcoholism is an accomplice in suicide. Forensic examination has established that 68 percent of the males and 31 percent of the females who took their own lives were in a state of intoxication. Registered as chronic alcoholics were 20 percent of the males who committed suicide and 20.2 percent of all those who attempted suicide; 1.3 percent suffered from alcoholic-induced psychosis.

Medical-Mental State of Suicides Related to Different Risk Groups, %

Presence of Pathology	Increased Suicide Risk Group	Reduced Suicide Risk Group
Psychotic disturbances	22.4	18.9
Borderline disturbances	20.1	13.5
Suffering from alcoholism	18.7	10.8
Seemingly healthy	38.8	56.8

Suicidal activeness has definite time cycles. Here there are rather clear seasonal fluctuations. The number of suicides increases in March-June and declines in September-December. It must be said that the fact of the spring-summer peak and autumn-winter decline was pointed out even by E. Durkheim and this seasonality repeats itself with amazing constancy in various years and in various regions. Seemingly the described situation contradicts common sense: in the spring and summer life is more attractive than in the autumn and winter! But it is also true that the spring and summer revival in the spirits of a majority of people intensifies the state of crisis and heightens the fatal decision.

The number of suicides increases on Tuesdays and declines on Wednesday-Thursday. The end of the week (Friday-Sunday) is "suicide-dangerous" for males and "safe" for females. It is interesting that in the distribution of suicidal acts by days of the month, the peaks in the activeness of women are 1 or 2 days behind in comparison with the peaks of males (4-6, 15-17, 22-24). In the interval between 7-14 and 20-24, one observes an inverse ratio of male and female suicides. This shows a possible dependence of their suicidal conduct on definite

situations. Men are impelled to the fatal step by the abuse of alcohol on a payday or when receiving an advance and the women are influenced to this by the drunkenness of males.

Research has also fixed a "mirror" (reverse) distribution in the tie of successful suicides, on the one hand, and suicide attempts, on the other. The designated fact serves as indirect confirmation for the opinion on qualitative features in these forms of suicidal conduct.

Finally, the obtained results have confirmed the link of suicide with other forms of social deviations. This circumstance has long been noted in the literature [11, 14, p 103; 19]. In our research, in particular, a relatively stable correlation has been established between the space-time dynamics of suicides and the intentional severe violent crimes and drunkenness. We feel that the various forms of social pathology are related not as cause and effect. For example, the rather widespread notion that drunkenness is one of the causes of crime is not accurate. Such social phenomena do have common social roots, they can intensify one another, and may also be in an inverse dependence and "cancel out" one another. The mechanism of such "interference" requires further study.

Hurry To Do Good

The genetic commonness in the various social deviations does not exclude specific factors which cause each form. Suicide, like drunkenness and drug addiction, is among the deviations of a sociopassive type [4, pp 111-113] and represents different variations of retreatism, the "running away" from disasters and sadness, from life itself. Even R. Merton explained such a situation by a so-called double failure: by the inability for the person to show his activeness in socially approved forms and through antisocial activity [20]. In addition to this, an important role is played here by the characterological features of the individual and, possibly, by the insufficient energy level of the individual's organism. In the latter instance, suicide, drunkenness and drug addiction are versions of adaptive conduct with a reduced energy level while violent crimes are a method of adaptation with high energy potential. Incidentally, the stated assumptions require verification.

Different ages and different cultures have had their own views of suicide: at times this was condemned, at times permitted, and at times considered requisite in certain situations (the self-immolation of widows in India, the hara-kiri of samurai in the event of an insult to one's honor and so forth). The humanizing of human relations has also assumed a sympathy for those who, in falling despondent, decide to take their own life. At present, one would scarcely find persons who would condemn S. Yesenin, V. Mayakovskiy or E. Hemingway for having done away with themselves. "To abandon life under the influence of intolerable inner collisions is within the ability of only rare, exceptionally noble souls," commented A. Einstein on the tragic death of P. Ehrenfest.

Of course, in assessing specific suicidal acts, a great deal depends upon the personality of the suicide, the motives and circumstances which drove him to this desperate step. However, under all conditions, society should do everything possible to prevent suicide, to eliminate the general causes of this, and to bring help to a person during difficult moments for him. A questioning of the populus conducted in Leningrad [3, pp 75-79] showed that such an idea is supported among the general public. A majority of respondents (74.4 percent) showed sympathy for those who endeavored to do away with themselves. Only a few voiced a sharply negative response. It is worthy of note that the number of sympathizers increases with a rise in the educational level of those questioned (among workers such an attitude was shown by 56.6 percent and among white collar personnel with a higher education, 81.8 percent). In assessing the need for individual types of medical and social aid, 50.6 percent of the urban dwellers, 61.2 percent of the psychiatrists and 51.4 percent of physicians in other specialties supported the opinion on the need to organize for persons requiring this consultation with suicide counsellors and a psychological aid service (for comparison, we would

point out that only 1.9 percent of the respondents and in particular around 5 percent of the physicians placed any hopes on emergency hospitalization).

Such support makes it possible to hope that in all regions of the nation we will establish services analogous to those which are operating in Moscow under the All-Union Suicide Research Center (for more detail see [7]). In any instance, the need for this has long been present, just as there must be the conducting of systematic integrated research on suicide. Moreover, in our opinion, a preventive suicide service should become an inseparable part in a broader social assistance service. It should be concerned in working with children who are abandoned without parental supervision and care, with aiding elderly and disabled who are alone, it should include a service of acquaintances, consultation points for family problems and sexual pathology, and should have subdivisions which would help in the readaptation and resocialization of alcoholics and drug addicts who have undergone treatment.

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Cult and Servility

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[Text] "Seemingly at present the entire nation is reflecting on the phenomenon of Stalin," begins the article by G. Volkov "Ascension. How Stalin Became a Great Philosopher" published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in June 1988. It is difficult not to agree with this assertion. But still, in my view, numerous historical, sociopolitical and current affairs articles recently have not treated the Stalin phenomenon completely, as even the "politically correct" assessment could not replace, let alone compensate for the insufficient understanding of this phenomenon. Western "analyses," predominantly of the anti-Soviet school (see, for example, [3, 4]) are also unable to fill in this gap albeit because the essence of Stalinism and its consequences are incomprehensible outside "their own" social experience which formed a subconscious cultural and historical stratum which determines the civil identity of a person so essential for such research.

Conformism or true reverence? The idea of the research discussed here arose several years ago. The collection of verses which accidentally fell into our hands simply shook us, using the words of V.I. Vernadskiy, "with the slavish phrases" [2]. After our emotions had settled down, the idea arose of somehow limiting the spectrum of interpreting the question to dependable scientific limits and at the same time to "ground" the analysis on reliable empirical material.

A cult is such predominantly due to the unconscious action of a relatively common conventional image or object of veneration. Consequently, having understood the object (symbol) of the cult, it is possible to arrive directly at disclosing its imminent essence, its inner dynamics and motives of origin. Precisely here lies a set of determinants which cause fanaticism as a commonness of the social and the individual: the sacral-social by means of personal ideas is internalized into the flesh of the secular-individual.

The image of Stalin became a subject of investigation. Furthermore, it was essential to clarify certain details. In the first place, considering the historical variance of Stalin's image in the various periods of his power, it was essential to choose that time interval during which it remained most stable and characteristic. The available

materials, including memory evidence of contemporaries, provide grounds to assume that the 1930s and 1940s were the period of such naked consolidation.

Secondly, it was essential to determine the specific spheres of the most representative and typical crystallizations of the image. Above all, these are literary sources, where Stalin's image was depicted uniformly: scholarly and current affairs works, prose, poetry, folklore and so forth. Just why did the choice fall on poetry? This possesses greater emotional expressiveness and, consequently, psychosemantic reliability. Subsequently, certain biographical sources were also analyzed (for example, [5]) and periodical materials [6]. Since the latter were used predominantly for verification and validation of the main theses in the research, the obtained results were not incorporated in the final results of the quantitative processing of the data. A total of more than 160 verses were studied from the 1930s-1940s and devoted to Stalin (in Armenian [7, 8]). In order to avoid the influence of ethnopsychological factors, translations were also examined [9].

Content analysis as a method of investigation was dictated by the very nature of the material. As for solving the problem of operationalization, this assumed a choice of analysis categories ("units of content") as well as the differentiation of the analysis units and the quantitative processing. As the former, we chose all possible qualifications and ascribed conformational characteristics of Stalin's image (tropes), regardless of what part of speech they were, and as the latter, an individual word, a characterizing phrase, and in varying instances, a symbol.

Quantification of the research results was carried out by the method of counting the frequency of the analysis units in combination with an intensity scaling. Then the mean frequency indicators, the standard deviation, the standard assessments and the percentages were calculated and ranked by dominance.

The total number of all possible qualifications was 1,988 and for the semantic units 238. Before moving on to the sociological and psychological interpretations of the content (in the course of the exposition we will back them up and illustrate them with concrete data of quantitative analysis), let us voice our considerations on the very widespread notions of the Stalin era.

In artistic, current affairs and historical works (see, for example, [10, 11]), this has been traditionally viewed as a period of enforced conformism and imposed cult. Obviously, here also there was at work a sort of archetypal mythological rudimentary logic which is more reminiscent to the mythologer as the opposition between good and evil. The impression is created that with the exception of Stalin and certain "monsters" from his close associates, everything was submerged in the gloom of despotism and terror. Moreover, until recently one constantly heard voices endeavoring to show the innocence of Stalin himself in what happened around him.

No matter how comforting this myth was on the personal and sociopsychological levels, it did not change its mythical essence or at least three reasons.

In the first place, if it is a question of an imposed cult and conformism, then one cannot understand in what manner this enormous social structure could function and how the generally recognized successes could have been achieved in the area of the economy and foreign policy. To explain these exclusively by terror is scarcely valid as history from the times of Nero and Caligula has uniformly shown that the macrostructure cannot function on the basis of naked terror over an extended time.

Secondly, what has been said is contradicted by a clear trend to idealize Stalinism and a certain nostalgia for the "strictness of those times" observed among many of our contemporaries. It would be an oversimplification to interpret the labor enthusiasm and combat zeal of the people for the sake of the "leader" ("for Stalin, for the motherland") solely in terms of conformism and demagoguery.

And, finally, the view of Stalinism as a violent cult is also repudiated by the results of current research which, in my view, provides every reason to assert that the cult of Stalin's personality was not a compulsory or even feigned veneration of the propagandized image but a completely real and authentic respect.

What are the sociopsychological mechanisms for the rise of a cult?

In the studied sources, the central place among the dominant qualifications of Stalin is held by the triad "great" (frequency = 151), "father" (119) and "sun" (116). Rather frequently (105) the element of "jan" which is employed predominantly in the Central Asian folklore verses and basically has a formal-conversational semantic meaning of a rhyming agent. The listed words stand out from all the remainder in a statistically significant interval of 31 histogrammic units.

The semantic field of the key triad is supplemented by other elements of the dominant interval in the histogram: leader—69, genius—63, powerful (strong)—59, guide (leader)—56, steel (iron)—49, undying—40, light (radiant)—37, bold (brave, intrepid)—35, wise—28, and bright (shining)—26.

As a more thorough semantic contextual analysis of the designated qualifications disclosed, all the main qualities of the dominant interval can be clustered around the semantic field of the main triad: "great—father—sun" which, in turn, comprises a single semantic whole. "Great" relates to the remaining two elements, since they (both "sun" and "father") include such concepts as strength, might, unattainability, unconditional greatness and authority. (Certainly, the symbolic sense of the

designated elements is not exhausted by this. However, according to the data of ethnopsychological research, the given values comprise a sort of semantic nucleus for the listed symbols which obviously have archetypal roots [12].)

Hence, we obtain combinations such as "great father" and "great sun." "Great sun"—"unfading," "light," "radiant" and "shining." And "great father" with "steel," "powerful," "brave," "wise," "genial" on whom one can rest and rely. (The father points to the road and the sun illuminates it.)

The contours of the described image become even clearer drawing on the elements of the semidominant and low-frequency intervals of the histogram. The semidominant interval contains the following essential additions: eternal (immortal)—21, conquering—19, strong willed—18, defender—18, firm—14 and so forth. The basic content of the lower limit is comprised of elements of the sort: love—7, brother—7, considerate—4 and so forth.

In relying on the experience of employing a test of terminal and instrumental values as proposed by Rokich concerning the mean interval of preference (in the interpretation of the results of this test, the mean level of preference is considered to be the interval of indefinite answers), we were guided predominantly by the upper and lower levels of the distribution.

Let us now move on to an interpretation of the obtained data.

The Cult. First of all, one is struck by the amazing similarity of the given qualifications with the traditional historical forms of praising and exalting medieval monarchs and this leads one to the notion of a totalitarian-monarchic essence of the Stalinist macrostructure. At the apex of the hierarchy is the "radiant Vladyka" who possesses unlimited power. For observing the complete court quorum, one needs only a poet who lauds to the skies and humors the ear of the ruler. In this sense it is indicative that many verses are preceded by the high-sounding dedications, for example: "To the sole friend and leader of the peoples...from an insignificant poet of the dedicated people) [8, p 1004].

But historically the monarch has simultaneously been a demigod, an object of religious veneration, at least in his lifetime. "Great," "father" and "sun" with their epithets are also traditional forms of religious exaltation. Here is a line-by-line translation of a verse of "Our Hope is Stalin":

You are the sole saviour of our life, you are our protector—Stalin,
The curer of all the illnesses of our heart, the balm—Stalin,

You are the eye of light and the source, the sun of thought against darkness,
The destroyer of black, storm clouds, brilliant rainbow—Stalin.

Faith in our hearts is always bright and unshakable today,
Like eternal sun, infinite, eternal Stalin [7, p 102].

Here one can clearly trace two basic elements of a religious ideology—belief in the real existence of a supernatural being and a belief in supernatural links between natural phenomena [6, 13]. The supernatural being—Stalin—is all-perfect, all-mighty and all-knowing. Eternal (immortal), omnipotent and life-giving, he has been imparted with the features of a classic (in no way modernized) theistic god. A god who is personal and for whom even the definition "Leninist" is only one of the qualities from the low-frequency interval of the histogram (just eight mentionings). This is a truly textbook example of what Engels termed the "embodiment" and "fantastic reflection...of external forces."

Thus, out of the irony of history, the atheist Stalin ends up in the role of a divinity. However, in developing this idea further, we arrive at the following conclusion. Since the authors of the analyzed verses are representatives of a people of the Christian faith, seemingly it might be expected that the principal who has been put on the pedestal of divinity will also be ascribed such properties as "loving," "all-forgiving," and "merciful" as in the Christian religion, God is primarily "...loving, warm, even a subjective human being" [14, p 79]. At the same time, in the frequency distribution, for the mentioned significance one finds only the elements "warm," "human," "sensitive" and "mother" (!?) with a mean frequency measured in a single unit, with clearly a persuasive superiority of volitional and intellectual qualities over emotional ones.

The new god is a "steel" one (read: cold, dispassionate, emotional alien), "mighty," "strong-willed," "hard" but in no way not loving and all-forgiving, strong in an unassailable greatness and punishing, the certainty of which presupposes unquestioned obedience. If this is not the Holy Trinity, then what is it?

The empty space of the overthrown Christian God has been taken up not by a new divine personality of a theistic modification (for this it lacks complete transcendental being), but rather a pagan divinity forgotten almost two millennia ago and which can be merciless, punish severely, beat mercilessly and resolve questions of life and death without challenge.

The pagan god arose, like a Phoenix, from the gloom of a millennium of neglect and instead of Christian churches erected its own terrifying likeness from bronze and granite throughout the nation. Christianity was trod down in the mud of idolatry. The new divinity was firmly established not only in the spiritual life of society

but it also gained an embodied, material realization. For this reason the answer to the question posed by the old woman in the film of T. Abuladze "Repentance" is not completely accurate. The road still leads to the church but not to a Christian one, to a pagan one.

Thus, the content of faith has been changed and, consequently, its object and, most importantly, the method of its manifestation in the life of others. Having declared a crusade against the "opium for the people," the new divinity and new faith have themselves become the same "opium."

In all modern developed societies, Christianity is being replaced by a perception of the liberated individual and an existential-oriented self-awareness. This presupposes a dialectical transformation of the image of god into ethical principles of justice, truth and love [15, p 61]. In other words, the religious and sacred values turn into personal-secular which presuppose the self-realization and self-actualization of the individual on a basis of the "values of existence" [16].

However, in the designated instance such an evolution was halted. It did not eliminate the new pagan divinity which had declared religious war against all "competing" gods. The centuries-long humanistic (albeit abstract) traditions of Christianity were replaced by a pagan concept of man the animal and this led to a spiritual and, most terribly, to a moral and psychological regression. Trampled in the mud was the category of universal love and, consequently, the entire Christian value structure presupposing a common human level of moral and psychological development.¹ This was too abstract for the pagan mind. For it there was no value either in the common human (although in theory, as in Christianity) or even the national even as a way to the former. There is one dominant, one value starting point, the "class-Soviet." For its sake and for the Great Father—the God of Stalin—everything was permitted including murder, slander, violence and terror. The main goal was accessible and comprehensible to the "wise leader" who thinks for you and is responsible for what is perpetrated. The remainder is rubbish and "bourgeois vestiges."

It is worthy of note that in all the studied sources (let us recall that these were still the prewar years), a spirit of aggressiveness, opposition and hostility was clearly expressed. Everything that was not Soviet was hostile and against this they had to struggle. This guaranteed a greater solidarity in society and a firm establishing of our own positions as was reflected even in the indicators of economic development. Now there was no "man" as such, he had disappeared as a "generic concept" and as an "absolute being" [14, p 187]. There was the "class comrade" and "progressive mankind." Everything was reduced to an antinomy of "friend—enemy" as defined from the "heights" of pagan totalitarianism by the Supreme God and his priests. Everything was woven into a single causal chain. Crowning it was the notorious

theory of the "exacerbation of class struggle" against a background of universal paranoia with "spies of imperialism and uncaught enemies" teeming around.

However, let us return to the Great Divinity. The evolution and functioning of the cult were determined by a strict sociopsychological logic. Stalin was surrounded with a halo of ambiguity. He was not fond of coming into direct contact with the masses and, as a rule, particularly during the first years of his power, was in contact with the people through his intermediary cohorts, thereby providing freedom for the action of the mechanism of attribution of desired qualities. The wall of silence and mystery erected in the aim of concealing his incapacity as a speaker subsequently actually ended up as one of the most effective prerequisites of the cult. The scarcity of information gave rise to myths through the attribution of a role, but it was an unusual, unprecedented and unforeseen role, a divine one. In this sense it is worthy of note that not Stalin the man, but rather his image in the form of busts and pictures often became the object of honor. If one were to employ religious terminology, then here one could completely employ the well-known thesis of the Catholic church of a "God unknowable. He is knowable in his manifestations and everything is the essence of His manifestation."

The pagan god of Stalin was also unknowable. "He dwells in the gloom," he can be seen only in his manifestations and the manifestations are the entire country. Such vast expanses for a creative imagination! Here then the hope, the faith, as well as the unsatisfied subconscious desires. Stalin was both the "savior" (14) and "liberator" (12) and "defender" (18) and "brother" (8) and "balm" (7). It merely remained for official propaganda to "feed" the legend and insist upon the correct path in the event of the occurrence of individual, atypical deviations.

The impression is created that a specific sociogenic need was functioning, almost a vital necessity for religion and faith, albeit in a pagan deity. For realizing this need there existed objectively not only the inner psychological but also the external social conditions. In any event the pagan god was more concrete and tangible in bronze, in granite and on canvases than were the earnestly and virtually unsuccessfully inculcated ideals of a "bright future." Around one was a stalemated, dark present and ahead lay an indefinite future and only God could direct, determine and point to the way. And He arose as from now on everything would be directed by the Great Father, Stalin.

Servility. Thus, there is the external and internal imperative: it is essential to believe, for there is no safer way of psychological defense. There was no assumed jump of mankind from the realm of necessity to the "realm of freedom." Blind necessity in the image of the pagan deity, its merciless priests and the social reality dictated by them and only by them did not cease "...to be a blind force, alien and hostile to others" [17, p 37]. There was

no other so effective choice, and the people chose. It was essential to believe, even if the god was a pagan one, and even if this led to moral and psychological regression.

But regression to a certain point is also desirable, as it provided liberation from ages-old intrapsychic moral-religious fetters and feelings of guilt. Instead of this, the new religion offered behavioral criteria and broader opportunities for manifesting freedom of conscience: "from now on it is not sinful to think but criminal to act." This meant you could think and desire what you may wish ("fornicate," "look with 'lust'"), but do not act thus, otherwise you will be punished. And not from within (in accord with an inner morality) but from without by the deity and its priests, its mirror images.

Thus, one of the greatest moral and psychological achievements of Christianity—inner moral control—was replaced by external. Moreover, man previously did not have the right to slay or betray even enemies, and even for the sake of faith and the Holy Trinity, but now one could give free rein to base instincts if, of course, you were confronted with a "class enemy" as this was in the name of Stalin, in the name of the new pagan deity.

But how did such a notion conform to the thesis of true belief? Or was this just fear? I feel that one can speak about fear only initially and then it was transformed into belief. But it is not merely a question that psychologically that people are unable to exist for an extended time under conditions of permanently frustrating, stress-producing fear. According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, in acting in a certain manner, a person should somehow justify his conduct, introduce an optimum cognitive harmony, and persuade himself that this is precisely how he thinks. The postulate that "everyone behaves in this manner and hence this is what they think" serves as support for this conviction. And responsibility for the ethical action is equally distributed among the gray amorphous majority (diffusion of responsibility) and about which a person can judge from timid hints which have undergone the strongest censoring of information. The approval by the deity-father who in many regards has replaced "my own" patriarchal father (transference) eliminates any problem. Pavlik Morozov undoubtedly is a hero although he betrayed his own father, for what is his own father in comparison with a godfather?

In light of what has been said, it is not hard to see the sources of servility. Everything has its obverse side. If Stalin is great, it means I am small, insignificant and unnoticed; if he is the father, then I am the son humbly trying to win paternal love, and if Stalin is the sun, then I am mere dust. He is a genius, a wise man and I....

Man was brought down from the Christian pedestal of the "deified human individual" and "absolute being" to the level of a pagan "animal-man" [14, p 178]. The "I" is a nothing and the "we" is everything. Outside the

"we" you are a faceless uncertainty, a "belittled" insignificance. "Everything is clearly moral since it is done on behalf of the masses [18]. And the "radiant" leader of the masses is the father Stalin. This is instilled by official propaganda and this is the choice of the pagans.

Such a choice would have still another subconscious premise. In accepting the unconditional mastery and superiority of someone, a person thereby recognizes his subordination and slavery. And the latter has definite advantages as if an individual in his development has not reached a level of personality, then "slavery" gives him a feeling of psychological comfort, security, a lack of responsibility and inner calm (a clear conscience!). The "set" certainty frees one from the burden of responsibility for social and ethical decisions. "Up above" are the leader and "persons smarter than yourself," and they think and decide for each and every one. In this image it is not difficult to recognize that slave about which V.I. Lenin wrote: "A boor and toady evoking a legitimate feeling of indignation, disdain and loathing" [1].

The question arises: What should be done with the inevitable negative manifestations? Certainly this is something for us to decide.

And here begins to operate a powerful vortex of group thinking, rationalization and selective perception. First of all, a person refuses to see the obvious. He does not want to see because this contradicts the formed and propagandized image, but if he does wish to he cannot as everything is justified by references to the complexity of the domestic situation, spies, the inevitability of errors, and the inevitable "you can't make omelets without breaking eggs." Again a slavish cognitive harmony is established where there are not and cannot be any half-tones, only black and white.

Let us assume, however, that a person does see the repressions and the flagrant injustice. But if he is unable to say what he has seen even to himself, or all the more do something, what is the benefit from all of this? Moreover there is a "safety exit," one other dependable cover: the Great Helmsman did not know about this. Beriia and Vyshinskiy may be to blame but not Stalin. If he had known what was going on in the nation, the avenging sword would immediately have descended on the heads of the guilty.

Let us assume furthermore that a person realizes what is happening and sees the role which the Great Father plays in this. But how can one appear honest and straightforward in one's own eyes as certainly you have seen and understood, you have not done anything and hence you are a coward and hypocrite. In such instances a new rationalization comes into play: "I could not change anything by myself" or "possibly all of this is actually necessary for we are in a hostile encirclement." In a word, silence is again justified and even beneficial.

A person who has followed such a path becomes doubly dangerous. The urgings of conscience which he hurriedly suppresses from time to time make themselves felt, particularly in encountering another "understanding, aware and conscious" person. Each such burst gives rise to a moral sense of failure in him and in order to acquire spiritual comfort, he joins the ranks of those fighting against the "dissidents" with the aim of destroying the "competitors." The methods are well known usually defamation, betrayal and calumny. Here the most dangerous thing is the formula for justifying such conduct: "I am also honest, no less so than you and you cannot and do not have the right to be more honest than I." The person who has started out on the path of baseness and bloodshed has no way back and he can merely once and for all persuade himself of his own rectitude.

The busts of the pagan god have been destroyed, but it is still alive, it is at work in me, in you, in all of us and between us. It operates as some invisible specter which from time to time emerges from the subconscious and is projected in all that conservative-progressive thinking, making our children too "disciplined" (in the worst sense of this word), confounding us with all sorts of inner barriers ("be silent and they will be sent away"), moving the focus of our internal control toward an external object ("seek a scapegoat") and so forth. The echoes are numerous and diverse. They must be studied thoroughly and carefully, without limiting ourselves merely to a superficial examination.

I would assume that what has been set out above would evoke dissatisfaction in certain colleagues who are saturated by the spirit of the 1930s and 1940s. But think a bit. Is there not an interiorized Stalinist pagan talking in you?

Footnote

1. Due to the obvious incomparability of the levels and content of the moral and psychological value structures of Christianity and Islam, the latter is dropped completely from the analysis.

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Is There a Measure of Social Harmony?

18060003j Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
to press 5 Oct 88) pp 72-73

[Article by Andrey Alekseyevich Davydov, junior science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] The attempts to find some universal, absolute conditions of social harmony clearly relate to the category of tasks for an eternal engine. There is scarcely no philosopher or sociologist, economist or demographer who would dare assert that the diversity of social processes can completely be expressed in quantitative terms. The author is also far from such an idea. However, in studying the problem of satisfaction with life, I have encountered one very curious circumstance.

Among the subjective social indicators, one of the central places is held by the indicator of satisfaction with life. This notion in one way or another is present in the most diverse research, and special questionings both national and international are devoted to it. In an analysis of their results, one is struck by two facts. In the first place, naturally there are national differences in the dynamics and trends in the change of the indicators. For instance, in the United States in 1986, the share of persons satisfied with their lives increased in comparison with 1979 by 11 percent and was 84 percent [1]. But in West Germany, if we compare the years 1978, 1980 and 1984, it turns out that the average arithmetic satisfaction with life (according to a 10-point scale) virtually did not change; the values of the index equal, respectively, 7.8, 7.7 and 7.7 [2]. Secondly, the share of persons satisfied with life, as a rule, is always higher than the share of the dissatisfied. What is the mean value of this proportion?

For an answer to the question, we randomly selected 9 studies from the data bank of the ISI [Sociological Research Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences and aggregated with them 2 studies conducted by the Gallup Institute [1]. The total number of analyzed replies was 25,982. For each distribution we calculated the mean arithmetic and then the number of gradations of the scale was divided by the obtained value. Thus, the results were standardized. The mean proportion for all 12 studies was 1.605 ± 0.076 . If we take an arbitrary 2-point scale (satisfied—dissatisfied) and divide the number of gradations by this scale, then the mean arithmetic of the distribution will equal 1.236 and this corresponds to 62 percent satisfied.

Furthermore, what were the possible variations in the mean share of persons satisfied? Calculations showed that the confidence interval on a 95-percent level equaled 56-70 percent. In other words, the true value of the indicator is within the limits of not less than 56 and not more than 70 percent of those satisfied. This result conforms well with the averaged data of an international

survey in 11 countries (United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Japan, Australia, India, the Philippines and Brazil). Here the average share of persons satisfied with life was 62 ± 4 percent and the confidence interval equaled 54-71 percent [3].

Is it possible to extend the found dependence to other phenomena? Co-workers from the Section of Procedural and Information Support at the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences, N.Ye. Belmesova and O.A. Kryshantnovskiy, kindly acquainted me with the preliminary results of the project being carried out by them. The essence of the matter comes down to the following: following a special method [4] which differs from the one employed by the author, they analyzed 40 studies from the data bank of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted to satisfaction with work. It turned out that the mean arithmetic of distributions under a conditional 2-point scale equaled 1.260 and this corresponds to 63 percent of those satisfied with work. The difference with our results was minimal, just 1 percent!

One further confirmation for the conclusion drawn can be gained if one turns to the data of V.V. Krevnevich on satisfaction with work in 15 countries (Hungary, GDR, Poland, USSR, Yugoslavia, CSSR, Austria, England, Denmark, Italy, the United States, Finland, France, West Germany and Sweden) [5]. The calculations showed that the degree of persons satisfied was 65 ± 4 percent and the confidence interval equaled 57-72 percent. Thus, the results of V.V. Krevnevich, N.Ye. Belmesova and O.A. Kryshantnovskiy and ours match well.

Thus, we have established to a certain degree a constant of 63 percent. If now 100 percent of the respondents were divided by this number, we would obtain a share of persons satisfied equal to 1.587. The given amount is very close to the Fibonacci number (1.618) expressing the so-called golden proportion (golden cross-section). Let us recall that this represents the ratio arising in dividing a segment into two unequal parts in such a manner that its larger portion relates to the smaller as the entire length does to the larger part. It is felt that the dividing of a length into such ratios was discovered by Pythagorus. It is presently known that the golden mean is inherent to many natural objects, masterpieces of architecture and is one of the fundamentals of musical harmony. For example, many golden proportions are to be found in the edifice of the Pokrov na Nerli Church. They are found in 90 percent of the works of Beethoven, Borodin, Hayden, Mozart, Skryabin, Chopin and Schubert [6]. As a whole it can be said that the golden proportion reflects a symmetry, an equilibrium, an optimum, in a word a harmony. Is it not possible that the 62 percent of the satisfied and 38 percent of the dissatisfied are a social harmony?

A search for the answer to this question should be continued. One of the variations of such a search could be the following. In the course of the research it was

established that the mean share of persons satisfied resides in the interval between 56 percent and 70 percent. Possibly, the designated values represent critical points beyond which begin zones of nonwell-being? If this assumption is confirmed, it would serve as proof in favor of a hypothesis concerning a golden proportion or mean as a measure of social harmony.

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Attitude of Industrial Enterprise Workers to Elections of Leaders

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[Article by Stanislav Lvovich Katayev, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent at the Zaporozhye Industrial Institute. Our journal has published his articles "Professional Relations in a Production Association" (No 1, 1982), "Musical Tastes of the Youth" (No 1, 1986), "Content and Intonation of a Youth Song" (No 1, 1987) and "Who Are We (Youth On Themselves and the Elder Generation)" (No 1, 1988)]

[Text] At two plants in Zaporozhye, a machine and a metallurgical, we attempted to study the attitude of workers and white collar personnel to the electing of leaders. With the aid of a quota sampling, we questioned an approximately even number of workers, ITR [engineer and technical personnel] and managers, with a total number of 400 respondents (Table 1).

Table 1: Opinions on the Electing of Leaders, %

Alternatives	Share of Those Agreeing With Given Opinion Among:			
	Workers	ITR	Leaders	Foremen
Disinterest on a part of the personnel leads as a result of elections to deterioration of leadership personnel	43	55	52	48
Leaders will be accepted among rank-and-file workers	12	28	8	5
Rank-and-file workers are incapable of assessing professional qualities of claimant of leadership post	34	44	44	35
Elected leader can better organize collective	58	33	37	64
Elections of leader are essential only with full cost accounting; under other conditions no need for elections	36	18	21	38
Collective is capable of taking correct decision in electing leader	70	45	47	56
In elections secret balloting is essential	47	59	56	55

As is known, the extending of democracy in production is impossible without introducing cost accounting. Conversely, the latter should be accompanied by the democratization of management. However, on the spot this idea has been assimilated by far from all. And it is not only a question of a lack of information. A survey has shown that the share of those linking elections to cost accounting among the workers and foremen is significantly higher than among the ITR and leaders. In the shops, they are expecting economic results from the elections while in the offices of the leaders they are expecting noneconomic ones. As a whole, the workers

take an affirmative attitude toward elections. Their position, as strange as it may seem, is closer to the opinion of academic economists, although the workers have not read scientific works and have scarcely studied all the documents concerning production democracy.

One of the important conclusions from the research was the low level of mutual confidence between the leaders and subordinates concerning the readiness to implement changes (Table 2). Only 23 percent of the workers pointed out that they were confident of the desire of their immediate superiors to carry out a restructuring. Among the foremen,

such an opinion was voiced by 17 percent and among the leaders of higher rank some 32 percent. In other words, the foremen underestimate the confidence of the workers in them while the other level leaders overestimate this confidence. At the same time, among the workers 27 percent and among the regular ITR 20 percent feel that

the leaders are confident in the desire of the collective to carry out restructuring. Among the leaders themselves, approximately one-half think this way. Hence, the leaders have confidence in the personnel to a greater degree than the rank-and-file workers feel about this.

Table 2: Opinions on Restructuring, %

Alternatives	Share of Those Agreeing With Given Opinion Among:			
	Workers	ITR	Leaders	Foremen
Restructuring is temporary campaign	24	19	14	10
Restructuring is extended process	80	83	86	76
Many psychologically unprepared for restructuring of their job	83	88	86	85
Leaders confident in the desire of rank-and-file workers to restructure	27	20	48	43
Workers confident in desire of leader to carry out rapid and profound restructuring	23	21	32	17
Social organizations take active part in restructuring	16	17	21	20
Real changes are already visible now	11	14	29	14

There is the curious fact that among those who are positively inclined toward restructuring, only one-half feels that the election of leaders is required. Elections are viewed with a difference of approximately 10 points higher by those who are socially passive than for those socially active. The covert variable here is obviously the position held. Managers are unwilling to accept the prospect of electing leaders and they assume that the "the disinterest of a portion of the personnel in the result of the elections will lead to a deterioration of leadership." This is a moral and psychological factor. The factor of incompetence is somewhat less. This is reflected in the opinion that the "rank-and-file workers are unable to assess the professional qualities of the claimant for a leadership position." Understandably the share of leaders who point out these factors is higher than the share of workers who do not consider themselves at all as incompetent or insufficiently aware.

The problem of electing a leader is a new one for our society. As yet there is much that is unclear here. Various worker categories have a varying understanding of the

importance of elections as well as the consequences and procedure of their holding. The idea of the supporters of elections derived from a conviction that an elected leader would be able to better organize the collective under the new management conditions. However, far from all share this opinion as only one-half of those questioned agreed with this. Here the share of workers is higher and that of the leaders lower.

Opinions differed particularly sharply as to what rank of leader should be elected (Table 3). The opponents of elections feel it possible to elect brigade leaders and sometimes foremen. But even among the supporters of elections only 50 percent recognize the advisability of electing a director. Practice shows that to some degree such fears are valid. However, one must not hurry to conclude that the opponents of elections are merely bureaucrats. Many of them love their job and are concerned for the interests of the enterprise. And for precisely this reason they fear the prospects of elections, in assuming that this is the next campaign which must be lived through with the least losses for the plant.

Table 3: Attitude Toward Election of Leader Depending Upon Position, %

Attitude Toward Elections	Position of Elected Leader				
	Director	Section Chief	Shop Chief	Foreman	Brigade Leader
Positive	50	39	63	59	70
Negative	11	13	14	32	77

Research has shown that the people who believe in restructuring, as a rule, also have confidence in their immediate leaders. The party members view the level of

trust between the leader and the subordinates more highly than do the nonparty persons.

The research results show the contradictoriness of the process of developing production democracy as well as the presence of sociopsychological obstacles for its further realization.

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Interpersonal Assessment in Professional Interaction

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[Article by S.G. Klimova and V.A. Rybalov. Svetlana Gavrilovna Klimova is a candidate of philosophical sciences and science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published her article "Attitudes of Urban Residents to Close Social Circle" (No 3, 1979). Vladimir Aleksandrovich Rybalov is the director of the State Design Institute for the Karaganda Industrial Construction Design. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] Presently in industrial sociology, expert methods of evaluating workers are widely employed. Among the formalized evaluation methods the most popular is the GPA method (Group Personality Assessment) and which is being constantly improved [1]. However, the main questions (What can be ascertained by it? What can with certain stipulations? What cannot?) remain unclear.

Over a period of 10 years, we have thrice (in 1977, 1982 and 1985), with the aid of a modified GPA method, ascertained the opinion of co-workers at one of the Karaganda design institutes concerning the professional and sociopsychological qualities of the subdivision leaders. Even the first results of this work showed that the GPA method measures not so much what its developers envisaged (traits, personality characteristics) as it did various aspects of professional interaction. In our instance, as in many others, it was absurd to fix a general conformity or disconformity of the position, as a situation of competition was virtually completely absent. It was essential to reallocate or change the functions, to establish effectively cooperating "leader—deputy" pairs, to ascertain the reasons for conflicts and differences of opinion in joint activities and correct the conduct of the leaders. The work also made it possible to broaden the notion of evaluation functions in professional cooperation.

For social practice the important thing is not what a person himself is but rather what is the assessment which is shared (or is not shared) by his colleagues as the assessment sets the methods of interaction between its subject and object. Various human qualities assume a social sense only in a specific situation and among specific people. For example, it cannot be said that such a quality as a "creative attitude toward work" is an

absolute value. When it is essential to obey rigid production standards, times and norms, the attempts to violate these principles of mass production can be fraught with serious failures.

In a majority of the existing methods, the characteristics to be evaluated are chosen proceeding from the opinions of the experts. A group of competent individuals is told to list the professional and personal qualities and they put down (in order of preference) those which are most significant for the given collective.

In recognizing the admissibility of such approaches, we also see their limitations. In the first place, the sets of personal qualities, as a rule, are abstract and are not linked to the specific socioprofessional environment and production situation; secondly, in order not to omit any significant characteristic, in the assessment it is essential to draw up long lists but after the 18th quality, the ability of an expert to distinguish their significance declines sharply. For this reason, we have not tried to impose a list of qualities to be evaluated on the experts. Initially, we disclosed the ideas of the leading specialists at the institute on the most important characteristics of a leader and essential for successful work. A system of these ideas forms the standard in the space of professional interaction. The very set of qualities gained as a result of generalizing these ideas and subject to evaluation was defined by us as "perceptible qualities," that is, the qualities which are the most significant in the given socioprofessional and psychological context.

The research method consisted in turning to a group of experts (the leaders of groups, bureaus and sections of the institute and to leading specialists) with a request for one minute to write down the associations evoked by a pair of symmetrical incomplete sentences. It was proposed to recall from one's past two leaders: the one with whom it was easiest to work and the one with whom it was very difficult to work, and in several words to explain why it was difficult with one and easy with the other. Some 630 statements were obtained on a leader with whom it was easy to work and an equal number on the one with whom it was hard.

The analysis of the data was made in two stages. In the first the volunteers (from institute workers) were asked to group the statements close in importance. Then each group of statements was assigned one generalizing characteristic (or several clarifying the main import). Thus, the semantic group "creative approach to work" included statements characterizing the ability of a man to find new or optimum engineer ideas and involvement with work (for example: "interested in solving problems, endeavored to understand essence"). In the semantic group "restraint, self-possession" were characteristics of the sort "restrained and balanced," and the reverse "hot tempered."

In the second stage the volunteers from among the leaders of the institute subdivisions were asked to correlate the established groups of characteristics with three main areas of their activity (interpersonal relations, the organization of work and the carrying out of scientific and technical policy). The assessment of importance was made using a 10-point scale. Of the 24 characteristics related to the first group, the links with 9 indicators were statistically reliable (on an 0.05 percent level of confidence), and of the 20 characteristics in the second group, with 7, and of the 18 in the third group with 6.¹

The final evaluation scale consisted of three blocks. The first of "relations with persons around" corresponded to what is termed moral qualities; the second corresponded to the function of "organizing work" (professional qualities) and the third "attitude toward work" corresponded to the function of "carrying out scientific and technical policy," since precisely the realization of scientific and technical achievements in the plans is the main content characteristic of the work of the subdivisions. Even this stage of the work made it possible to gain an empirical confirmation that the significance of one or another group of qualities varies in the different socioprofessional groups.

Let us compare the number of statements related to the various blocks in the main and auxiliary subdivisions of the institute:

Subdivisions	Attitude to Associates	Organization of Work	Carrying Out Scientific-Technical Policy
Main	39.8%	34.9%	25.3%
Auxiliary	38.6%	51.5%	9.9%

From the table it can be seen that in both groups there is a strongly expressed expectation for the conduct of the leader to conform with common human moral standards. Here professional competence does not compensate for moral failings: "possessed sufficiently high level of knowledge but was impolite and conceited." Also varying was the significance of moral values. In the first group there was a prevalence of indications to the leader's ability to respect the opinion of others: "argues but listens to advice"; "supports ideas of others." In the second most clear is the demand for justice: "deals equally with all" and conscientiousness: "carried an enormous load and maintained optimism."

The distribution of replies on the groups of managerial functions also shows a varying importance of them for persons around in the different subdivisions. In the first group there are strong demands on the ability of the leader to carry out an active scientific and technical policy: "a good specialist," "capable of analysis and

forecasting." In the second the demands were higher on organizational qualities: "an able organizer." There was also a difference in the semantic interpretation of the same quality: in the first group "enterprising, constantly searches for new technical ideas" and in the second "enterprising, does not wait for instructions from superiors."

Thus, it was ascertained that in the assessment they fixed the conformity of the leader's conduct to unofficial standards which in many ways are determined by the nature of labor. In the first group of subdivisions, it was to a greater degree saturated with creative elements and for this reason here the main thing for the leader was to encourage collective creativity, to see the aim of the work and to be a specialist.

In the aggregate of assessments, in addition to the nature of labor, the real system of professional ties existing in the organization was established. We drew this conclusion after the choice had been made of the subjects of evaluation. Each person was asked to point out who of the superior leaders, colleagues and subordinates knew him best in joint work and could evaluate him. After the assessments had been obtained, we compared the formal scheme of professional ties with the one which had been discovered in the course of the choices of experts. It turned out that these schemes coincided only partially. The formal hierarchy of positions which was set out in the documents and considered in promotion appeared as follows: engineer—group leader—main specialist—section chief—chief project engineer—director (deputies). It was assumed that the cooperation was organized according to a hierarchical-subject principle. An analysis of data concerning the choice of the subject of evaluation showed that professional contact occurred in the following manner: group leader—section chief; chief specialist—chief project engineer. But the most important thing was that the evaluation set the choice of the partner for professional cooperation, at times coming into contradiction with the methods of working out the design specifications. Thus, in the group of chief project engineers, of the 47 ties within the group, and envisaged by the production technology, 13 did not appear. Professional contacts in the group of section chiefs were also very weak: of the 30 theoretically possible relationships in choosing the subject of evaluation, only 5 appeared. Moreover, persons selected their partner in professional contacts without violating the official instructions.

In other words, the scheme of professional ties indicating not the formal (set out in the documents) but rather the actual human contacts can be of independent practical value in assigning jobs and in analyzing collective opinion and the mechanisms of its functioning.

In the diagram of professional ties we recorded not only the direction of the choices but also the nature of the assessments which each leader gave himself and associates and his sociometric status. The assessment of others in comparison with the self-evaluation and the average expert evaluations characterizes the expert's perceptiveness, that is, his subconscious inclination to overstate (or understate) the evaluations for all qualities or for one

group of them. In analyzing the mass of evaluations given by the expert, we were able to conclude not only how his colleagues were from his viewpoint but also how he himself was. A comparison of the number of negative, positive and adequate perceptive views in the various official groups showed that the meaningful characteristics of the professional contacts, the type of dependence of one person upon another in the process of joint labor developed a predominant inclination in one or another group to assess associates in a certain manner. Thus, in the group of chief project engineers, there was a marked inclination to overstate the assessments of associates. This was due to the fact that the representatives of the given group have a great deal of contact with persons who are not subordinate to them. And greater successes are achieved by the person who is able to establish relations and be kind-hearted.

The section chiefs set evaluations more accurately: in this group there is almost 50 percent adequate evaluations while in the previous one there was not one. Here the authority of the leader is backed up by his formal rights and he has no need to demonstrate benevolence, although in this instance an inclination to understate evaluations for co-workers creates serious difficulties in relations. For example, a leader (code 175) did not receive a single vote from subordinates because he was viewed as a person with greatly overstated pretensions, he was rigid and inclined to petty interference over the activities of subordinates.

Thus, the assessment can not only be determined by the nature of professional ties, but can also optimize them or, conversely, destroy them.

The evaluation of personal and professional qualities influences the form and character of functional and interpersonal relations. If a co-worker is assessed as neat but not inclined to creativity, the appropriate job is assigned to him. The assessment also sets the reverse (from the subordinate to the leader) methods of cooperation. A leader who is viewed as demanding but not concerned for others shapes a behavior in subordinates which is oriented at the scrupulous performance of duties, limited initiative and isolation.

The task of the researcher is to disclose to the participants a situation which, as a rule, they are not aware of, to analyze this either confidentially or in a collective discussion in order to prevent interpersonal conflicts.

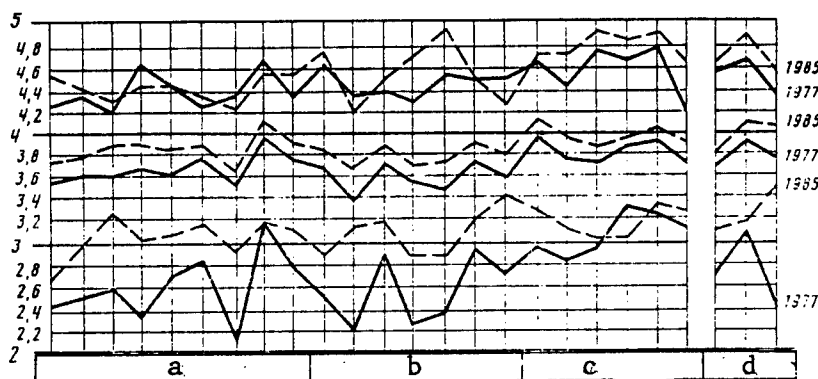
Let us examine a concrete example: the link of the evaluation with the allocation of managerial functions in one of the institute subdivisions. The subdivision leader (code 197) was an expert for eight co-workers. He gave five of them overstated evaluations and the overstatements related to the same quality groups, more often for the ability to foresee, self-criticism, efficiency (the evaluations of the last quality were most overstated). The experts gave this leader low evaluations for organization, a feeling of responsibility, accuracy and neatness. He

also gave himself low evaluations for the last of the listed qualities (plus the ability to anticipate). Such a combination does not seem accidental to us. Associates highly regarded the leader as a technical specialist. He had good relations with subordinates in that he was polite, tactful, restrained, attentive to others and capable of establishing and maintaining a good mood. But he was no organizer. He himself recognized this and, in setting overstated evaluations for efficiency for his subordinates, tacitly agreed that they should resolve the questions of the organization of labor, compensating for his shortcomings. An observation of the allocating of jobs showed that these co-workers actually protected their chief in solving organizational, and, as a consequence, interpersonal problems. It is worthy of note that the leader received high evaluations for the entire range of qualities "relations with associates" with the exception of "honesty and sincerity" precisely because he did not want to delve into the problems of relations between co-workers. If the behavior of this leader were not corrected, he would gradually lose influence in the section and would be turned either into a puppet in the hands of those who settled the interpersonal and organizational questions for him or would be forced to give up this position.

The given type of interaction can be viewed as requiring only a certain adjustment in the leader's conduct. For complicated situations arise when the standards of conduct assimilated by persons as a result of previous experience do not coincide. Then what may seem to one person as efficiency is perceived by others as excessive business, politeness is seen as flattery, efficient performance as toadying and so forth. But in the process of the forming of the collective and the creating of group standards which is backed up by effective indoctrinational work, a person begins to see himself in the eyes of others and this provides an opportunity for him to correct his conduct.

Generalized results of reciprocal evaluation can show the attitude of one group of workers to another. In analyzing the evaluations given to superiors, colleagues and subordinates, we have concluded that in the institute there was neither clearly expressed admiration for the leaders nor alienation or a hostile attitude toward them as the number of understated and overstated evaluations was the same.

The results of generalizing the reciprocal evaluations have been submitted in a graphic form. The drawing serves as an indicator for the integration processes in the collective, and fixes the change in reciprocal demands as related to a change in the social and production situation. In the diagram the two middle lines show the change over years (the solid line for 1977 and the broken one for 1985) in the average evaluations given by all experts for all evaluated co-workers (in 1977, 105 persons were questioned and in 1985, 214). The fact that the average 1985 evaluations were higher shows greater satisfaction with relations in the collective; identicalness of the curves shows the stability of the group standards.



Key:

- a—Relationships with associates;
- b—Professional qualities;
- c—Attitude toward job;
- d—Authority

The two upper lines are the average maximum evaluations for the years and these describe the preferred development level of the qualities under the given conditions. This is a sort of collective portrait of the "socially desired" leader. The two bottom lines are the minimal averages calculated for each quality. This is the least desired limit in the development of the qualities and a hypothetical portrait of a repudiated leader.

The indicators for the difference in the mean evaluations can also be interpreted in an informative manner. A large difference between the mean, maximum and minimum evaluations shows the existence in the collective of a significant number of repudiated co-workers against a background of an exaggerated preference for others, and the indication of hidden destructive processes. A reduction in the difference between the general mean and mean maximum shows an improvement in the psychological climate in the collective as well as increased mutual respect and confidence. The general trend for the curves to draw closer together in our case means greater conformity of the evaluations and an ongoing process of forming a collective opinion. The conclusion of integral processes in the collective is confirmed by data on reduced personnel turnover (from 18 to 8 percent in the investigated period), an increased number of workers with from 5 to 15 years of employment, greater skills, an optimum age structure for the collective which provides both for its renewal as well as the possibility for successiveness in production and moral experience.

In the graph it can be seen that the process of integration and an over-all rise in the evaluations has varied. Against a background of a reduced difference between the overall and minimal averages, between the minimal and maximal averages for certain qualities, the difference has increased and has remained on the former, rather high level. In the block "Relations With Associates" this is

"politeness, sensitivity, tactfulness" and "probity." Rather great is the difference between the maximum and minimal assessments for the quality "concern for others." In the block "Professional Qualities" this is "the ability to persuade and indoctrinate," "the ability to foresee" and "efficiency." In the block "Attitude Toward Work," it is the "ability to assimilate the new," "accuracy and neatness" and "a creative approach to the job."

It is no accident that the maximum deviations toward an understatement, as well as the greatest difference between the maximum and minimum evaluations, are to be found in the listed qualities as they characterize the ability of the leaders to understand others and organize their work. Due to the increased complexity and stress of the job in 1985, the attitude of the institute co-workers changed toward such qualities as the ability to master the new, for creativity, accuracy and neatness which became more significant than in 1977. It became obvious that the ability to establish relations and organizational abilities were important only when the leader sees the prospects for the work of the subdivision and possesses high skills and a feeling for the new. This is quite natural. A leader who is energetic and demanding but who is little concerned with others, who is not inclined for creativity and to assimilate the new, is incapable of working under the conditions of restructuring when the ability to persuade and lead others is essential.

A special word must be said about the dynamics of a comprehensive assessment for the leaders' authority. Over the investigated period, their technical qualifications rose more rapidly than the ability to establish relations with subordinates. However, the average minimal evaluations ("as a leader" and "as a man") increased sharply and this provides hope for positive changes. In this instance, a generalizing of the results of

the evaluation could set practical directions for indoctrinational work in the collective as well as concretize the programs for raising psychological competence and professional skills of the leaders.

An analysis of the results of reciprocal evaluation opens up great opportunities for interpretation. However, it is advisable to employ the group personality assessment method or GPA not so much for specific conclusions on the object of the evaluation as it is for conclusions concerning the particular features of professional cooperation in the collective. The prospects for this work for us is linked primarily to constructing a typology of interactions and not a typology of personality. The typology could be based upon the features characterizing the content of the job, the particular features of professional ties, and the allocation of work in actually cooperating groups. Such groups and the allocation of jobs in them often do not coincide with the functional-official hierarchy set out in the documents but rather come into being spontaneously, under the influence of the ideas of the co-executors concerning what each of them is capable of. In instances when such a spontaneous reallocation of duties is to the liking of the participants and encompasses all types of work, there are no conflicts and problems which arise. However, the violating of the "collective agreement" as caused by attempts of the administration to bring real cooperation "into conformity" with the papers without considering the mutual evaluations are fraught with conflicts or silent resistance.

Certification based on the GPA method remains largely formal and does not have a substantial influence on the results of the work, if one does not consider the circumstance that the "qualities" are important not in and of themselves but in a real, actual context. The evaluation data are not the entire but a significant component of this context. They create a social standard for the activities of the leader and are transformed with a change in the situation. The evaluation sets the methods of interaction of the object and subject of evaluation and the corresponding reallocation of jobs. We well know how much harm can be done by stereotypic evaluation judgments such as "all programmers (designers) are idlers."

The evaluation determines the nature of the interpersonal relations in a collective. In our research the sharp discrepancy in the evaluations and self-evaluation made it possible to detect points of potential conflicts and eliminate them, having altered the position of the participants vis-a-vis one another. An evaluation is proof of sociometric status. The number of choices of the co-workers as the subject of the evaluation and opinions about this are the most important indicator helping disclose the informal leaders in order to rely on them, for example, in shaping public opinion. The experience of interpreting the evaluation data has made it possible to disclose a leadership style prevailing in various groups, to determine the ways for increasing sociopsychological competence of the managers and create a reserve for promotion.

Footnotes

1. The procedures to assess significance of characteristics were worked out by E.S. Chugunova, see [2].

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Use of GPA Method in Plant Sociology
18060003m Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88
(signedtopress5 Oct 88)pp 90-94

[Article by Vyacheslav Vyacheslavovich Shcherbina, candidate of philosophical sciences and chief sociologist at Glavmosavtotrans [Main Moscow Motor Transport Directorate. He is the author of the book "Vyyavleniye i ispolzovaniye sotsialnykh rezervov v deyatelnosti avtomobilnogo transporta" (Disclosing and Employing Social Reserves in Operations of Motor Transport) (1985, co-author). In our journal he has published the articles "Experience of Evaluating Professional and Personal Qualities of Middle-Level Leaders From a Standard Criterion" (No 1, 1984, co-author), "Face to Face With Production" (No 2, 1985) and "Techniques for Evaluating Candidate for Leadership Position" (No 4, 1987)]

[Text] Among the methods most frequently employed by plant sociologists for evaluating leaders is the method of group personality assessment or GPA. This has been employed in various modifications at the nation's enterprises [1-5]. Approximately two-thirds of all tasks related to the evaluating of leaders and other categories of engineer and technical workers [ITR] are carried out by sociologists on the basis of such methods. Among the indisputable merits one could put their relative simplicity, efficiency, visibility of obtained results, effectiveness in carrying out the entire cycle of work and the lack of complicated calculations. Combined with the not very high professional training of the plant sociologist, this has determined their popularity.

However, the use of GPA methods in plant sociological practice has given rise to a whole series of procedural and methodological problems and the ignoring of these has told on the quality of management decisions. It is a question not merely about a method but actually a

uniform approach to evaluating the leader characteristic of a number of methods which have noticeable differences but use similar methodological principles and procedures.

Let us formulate the particular features of the GPA approach.

1. GPA is among the class of methods of leadership evaluation employing the method of expert evaluation of professional and personality qualities.¹ A particular feature of GPA is the fact that it employs a three-level expert point evaluation for the professional and personality qualities ("from above" by the leaders of the person being evaluated; "from below" by his subordinates; "from the side" by colleagues having the same administrative status as the person being evaluated).

It is assumed that the evaluation on three levels makes it possible to increase the statistical reliability of the obtained data by increasing the number of experts, to make it "all-encompassing" and more objective by the different positions of the evaluators as well as increase the objectivity of information.

2. The procedure envisages that each of the experts evaluates the leader according to the proposed scale (3-, 5-, 7- and 10-point) for each parameter presented in the questionnaire (the number of questions varies usually from 15 to 70). The point grades obtained as a result of the expert evaluation are totaled, averaged and employed without additional processing.

3. The assessed qualities are selected using conceptual schemes and represent a list of socially approved "positive" properties of a leader. The number and range of qualities presented in the questionnaire as well as the method of establishing them are, as a rule, the main difference of the methods within the given approach. All the qualities which are initially set and presented in the questionnaire in processing and analysis are viewed as of the same order while the high expressiveness of the designated qualities is seen as a criterion of matching the workers with the job.

In working out the GPA, it is usually assumed that objectively there exists a more or less stable set of qualities which can be viewed as positive qualities of a leader generally outside the specific features of role requirements and situational requirements. It is felt that such qualities as initiative, democracy, over-all culture should be inherent to any leader, regardless of the functions specifically performed by him. At the same time, it is assumed that all these qualities do not contradict one another and can be developed in the same leader simultaneously. (A typical example would be such qualities which are opposite in content as, on the one hand, independence and initiative and, on the other, efficient carrying out of orders.) They all to an equal degree influence the integral assessment of the leader, and for this reason a high evaluation for the entire list of

proposed qualities serves as a criterion for the matching of the worker to the position held while the maximum average evaluation for the entire list of qualities acts as the standard.

4. One of the results of the diagnosis made is the conclusion by the sociologist on the development in the worker of various qualities and frequently the evaluation graph is supplemented by indications that one or another quality has not been developed sufficiently in the given worker.

The simplicity of the procedure for such an evaluation, the absence of complicated mathematical calculations and the seeming obviousness of the assumptions residing in it make the method the most widespread among plant sociologists. At the same time, its employment has given rise to a number of very complicated problems.

First of all, this concerns the validity of one of the most essential features of the GPA method, the three-level expert evaluation.

As is known, the results of a point-based expert evaluation form one of the varieties of the ordinal scale widely employed in sociology [6, p 61]. A particular feature of the latter is the absence of a fixed starting point (0) and clearly defined intervals between the gradations and they are capable of merely stating that one value is greater or less than another [6, p 65]. An essential condition for employing this scale is compatibility of the objects for the same criteria, since such a procedure only makes any sense at all in correlating the assessed objects according to the principle A less than B less than C.

Let us examine to what degree the principles of the three-level evaluation of a leader employing GPA correspond to this requirement.

1. In assessing the qualities of the leader "from above," the procedure completely meets the given demand. Experts who are leaders of a higher rank assess their subordinates (the leaders of subordinate structural subdivisions of the same type) on the basis of demands which are sufficiently clearly set by the role position. The expressiveness of the professional and personality qualities of the evaluated can be judged by the leader from the results of his activities.

2. In the evaluation "from below," this condition is not met. Regardless of the fact that subordinates see the leader in the work process and know him better than the immediate superiors, an expert point-based evaluation cannot provide a comparison of one's leader with the leaders of similar structural subunits as subordinates are unable to assess the latter leaders as they do not interact directly with them on the job. In this instance the standard for evaluation is a subjective, collective notion of a "good" or "average" leader. Since these ideas are different in different collectives, the "from below" evaluations gained in each structural subdivision cannot

operate as comparable. Moreover, subordinates lack clearly set criteria for assessing the effectiveness of a leader's activities in terms of output.

3. In an assessment "from the side" (by leaders of the same level as those being evaluated and heading similar structural subdivisions), there is an immediate lack of two essential demands for conducting the expert evaluation. In the first place, the leaders of the same type of structural subdivisions, as a rule, are unable to evaluate one another from the results of their activities, as the work results of each are not summed up. Secondly, they do not know the professional and personality qualities of colleagues, since, as a rule, they do not interact with one another directly. Thus, in an expert evaluation "from the side," the basis for the evaluation will be nothing more than a subjectively reflected notion of the superior leadership concerning the person being evaluated. For this reason the use of the three-level evaluation as the main method of the GPA not only does not help to increase the reliability and dependability of the evaluation, but also makes the evaluation hazy, incompatible and unsuitable for statistical processing and analysis.

The second problem is the content and mathematical irreducibility of the evaluations gained on three levels as a result of the expert evaluation; the necessity of aggregating the evaluations obtained on different levels from different expert groups. One of the conditions for carrying out a point-based evaluation is the creation initially of a concordant group of experts having a sufficiently similar role position. There are special methods for forming such groups [7, pp 94-123]. The observance of this condition in carrying out the expert evaluation is essential: it is necessary that the evaluation of the various experts be given from one viewpoint and have a single content and mathematical sense. At the same time, the three-level procedure is based upon different role positions of the experts and excludes concordance. The initial discrepancy in the positions of the evaluators makes absurd even such simple mathematical operations as the totaling of the points, the finding of the average for each quality or for all qualities.

Considering the problems of the irreducibility of the expert evaluations, a portion of the sociologists working with the GPA has refused to reduce them to a single point (both for individual qualities as well as on the level of a unified integral indicator) and prefers to view them as three independent evaluations. However, this gives rise to a new problem: which of the obtained evaluations (with their essential mismatching) must be taken as the basis in settling the question of the conformity of the worker to the held position. Since it is impossible to view these evaluations as equal-ranking, and the problem of introducing weighted coefficients into each of the evaluations does not have a valid basis, such a method for employing the obtained data is not justified.

The third serious problem is the integral assessment of the conformity of the worker to the position. A number of sociologists employs as such a criterion the mean

evaluation for all qualities and as the standard the maximum mean for these qualities. The following assumptions are the basis for viewing the means as the integral evaluation: a) the set of "affirmative" qualities of a leader exists objectively, it is sufficiently stable and well known to all; b) such a set is easily conceptualized by a sociologist or by experts and can act as an objective criterion for evaluating the leader; c) all the "affirmative" qualities are independent of one another, that is, they are of the same ranking and here the development of some qualities does not impede the development of others.

Thus, a standard leader is the one who has more "good" qualities. At the same time, these principles are not obvious. The first assumption does not consider the well known methodological thesis that there are and cannot be positive and negative personality qualities outside the context of activity. A change in the elements of the external situation (organizational structure, system of encouraging and evaluating labor and so forth) causes a substantial shift in accents in evaluating. And since the initial situation is not completely clear to the expert and the linkage of the end results of the activities and the range of personality qualities is not apparent, then the set of leader qualities cannot serve as a suitable evaluation criterion. Practice indicates that the very set of qualities established by a sociologist as the evaluation criterion is burdened with value sets and most often reproduces the stereotype of mass conscience. Such a rational set of demands on a leader does not correlate with the indicator for the effective activities of the subdivision headed by him. For this reason the forecasting capabilities of the method are very limited. As for the third assumption, it does not consider the well known idea in modern psychology on the individual as a particularly integrated whole: the predisposition of an individual for a certain type of conduct is viewed as caused by a certain type of quality structure and not by individual personality properties. The viewing of a leader's individual properties (and not their aggregate) as the determinant of his behavior forces the sociologists to limit themselves to recommendations on the correcting of individual qualities, ignoring the fact that such a change (if it is possible at all) would lead to a change in the entire structure of the personality.

A major problem closely tied to the previous one is seen by us in the pseudomeasurement of both the individual leader qualities as well as the integral indicator for assessing the worker. In a majority of the GPA methods, such an indicator is the mathematical mean of the expert evaluations, but precisely this ignores the systematic errors known in psychology and related to the employment of the expert evaluation method [8]. The most serious of these is caused by the "gala effect": an expert, in voicing his opinion on socially approved qualities, systematically overstates all the evaluations (even the mutually exclusive ones), if the integral evaluation of the worker, in his opinion, has been high and correspondingly reduces these if it is low. In other words, in a good

worker all qualities are overstated and in a bad one understated. These and other systematic errors are inevitable if the method does not incorporate a system of a special purge procedure [8]. Thus, even on the level of measuring individual qualities, we are confronted with distortion. As for the integral evaluation, since in the GPA this is viewed as the averaged total of particular evaluations and in each of these an over-all evaluation has already been incorporated latently, the entire GPA procedure is an artifact. Without any essential loss it can be replaced by a single question: "Evaluate on the basis of the proposed point scale how effectively the given leader handles the duties entrusted to him?" For this reason, the entire computational part of the procedure, from the viewpoint of the end result, is merely an attractive but useless entourage.

The last and, in our view, most serious problem is the fact that the GPA methods usually make no provision for the following: 1) the elaboration of a sound criterion for evaluating the leader and constructed considering the real particular features of the collective's work (situation); 2) there are no methods of verifying to what degree the set of leader qualities correlates to the actual effectiveness of his activities. Attempts to derive a norm (standard) for evaluating the leader on the basis of a direct expert questioning [1] entails the errors of overstating the role of the respondent's reflexes in carrying out the tasks of modeling an ideal object.

From all that has been said, the conclusion emerges that it is problematic to employ methods of the GPA type in taking management decisions involving official moves at enterprises. But this does not mean the complete abandoning of the expert evaluation method. At present, attempts are being made to work out a method for leader evaluation which would remove the designated shortcomings [8-10] and for a number of years one of these [8] has been employed at the enterprises of Glavmosavto-trans as a diagnostic means for evaluating a leader. The method envisages the abandoning of the three-level evaluation system, it contains procedures aimed at eliminating the systematic error and provides a normed criterion of leader assessment which would take into account the specific features of his role position as well as the context of the managerial activity and, finally, definite verification procedures.

Footnote

1. In a number of methods, the latter are termed personal.

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Professional Code of a Sociologist

18060003n Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed to press 5 Oct 88) pp 95-96

[Unattributed article published under the heading "Consultations"]

[Text]

I. General Provisions.

As a citizen of Soviet society to whom opportunities and conditions have been provided for conducting sociological research, a sociologist in his daily activities is guided primarily by general state interests. As a representative of Marxist-Leninist sociology, the sociologist supports the principle of a party approach to science, holding a clear class position in analyzing social reality.

A sociologist does not have the moral right to put off responsibility for the economic, social, political and moral-psychological consequences of employing (introducing into practice) the results obtained by him. This responsibility does not end when the obtained results have been submitted, approved or adopted for implementation by state or social bodies, institutions or organizations ordering the research.

II. Research Activities.

1. A sociologist shows professional competence, scientific honesty and correctness in all stages of sociological research.

2. In being guided by the ideal of achieving the truth, a sociologist gives particular attention to the desire for maximum reliability and dependability of the sociological information and conclusions which are drawn on the basis of an analysis of this information.

3. As a representative of the sciences dealing with society, a sociologist in analyzing social problems and processes must prevent his personal interests and other outside influences from establishing scientific truth.

4. A sociologist bears personal responsibility for the results obtained by him on the basis of the programs and methods of other researchers as well as for using others' ideas and results in his own scientific work.

5. Plagiarism and the use of the ideas of others in any forms are inadmissible and incompatible with the profession of a sociologist.

6. A sociologist considers it his duty to rely not only on the ideas and results of direct predecessors in his science but also on knowledge obtained in definite spheres of scientific research.

7. A sociologist must organize his research activities in such a manner that they do not go beyond the limits of restrictions related to the amount of available resources as well as to the cognitive capabilities of the research methods and techniques.

8. In dealings with clients a sociologist is to ensure the professional solution to the problems and strictly observe the conditions provided for by the contractual relations or obligations assumed in any other form.

9. A sociologist has the right to rely on the support and aid of the Soviet Sociological Association [SSA], its bodies and departments on the spot in establishing conditions for his research activities as well as for defending his professional dignity and honor.

III. Scientific Debates and Polemics.

1. A sociologist is to defend his own views, ideas and concepts, disregarding competitors and authorities. The defense of his own viewpoint, the manifesting of scientific honesty and principledness demand from him a moral firmness and civil courage and the ability to enter into a dispute against the generally accepted views of one or another phenomenon of social life as well as with authorities in science. The prerequisites for assuming such a stance are a firmness of personal ideology and the presence of a clear political and moral position.

2. The attitude of a sociologist toward other ideas and persons—authors or supporters of other ideas—should be marked by patience and respect. Scientific criticism and debate, as natural forms for the development of a science, are incompatible with the applying of ideological tags and particularly with any attempts to settle scores or seeking vengeance against opponents.

3. The daily activities of a sociologist, his contacts and ties with colleagues should be characterized by mutual support in the struggle for the truth, a high level of feelings, tactfulness, cordiality and the ability to behave without damaging the dignity of a social scientist.

IV. Scientific Publications.

1. Regardless of the objective need for publicizing the obtained new knowledge as quickly as possible, a sociologist is to refrain from hurried publications, when their conclusions and recommendations are not sufficiently tested out and sound.

2. Sociological publications, particularly if they are based on an empirical base, in addition to conforming to general scientific requirements, should contain information making it possible to professionally assess the correctness of setting up the research tasks and the achieved degree of reliability for the obtained data.

A sociologist is to show concern so that the materials of the press, radio and television which directly or indirectly employ the results of the research conducted by him should also meet these demands.

3. Respect for the work of one's colleagues and predecessors, the obligation of mentioning the share of their participation and link with the published scientific work (research report) and gratitude for any help which does not involve the right of co-authorship are indispensable standards in the scientific dealings of a sociologist.

V. Respondents and Persons Questioned.

1. In dealings with respondents a sociologist is to strictly observe the guarantee of confidentiality and the nonrelease of information provided by the respondents. An exception would be instances when this is not provided for by the data gathering program and the respondents (persons questioned) should be made aware of this ahead of time.

2. A law of sociological activity is not to permit the use of methods, techniques and procedures which damage the dignity of the respondents (persons questioned) or their interests.

VI. Responsibility for Violating the Professional Code of a Sociologist.

1. Membership in the SSA is simultaneously an act of assuming the responsibility and obligations stemming from the provisions and requirements of the professional code of a sociologist.

A sociologist is obliged to maintain the dignity of his professional community and he must not employ membership in the SSA in such a manner to cause harm to the public reputation of the SSA.

2. A member of the SSA who violates the professional code and particularly intentionally refuses to observe its provisions and requirements is subject to moral condemnation and criticism by his colleagues and in particular instances can be warned against expulsion or be expelled from membership in the SSA.

3. Instances of a flagrant violation of the professional code of a sociologist are to be made public at the general meetings (conferences) of the SSA members as well as in the appropriate SSA publications.

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Decree of SSA Board on Approving the Professional Code of a Sociologist and Establishing Council for Professional Ethics Under SSA Board

18060003o Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
to press 5 Oct 88) pp 97-98

[Decree of the SSA Board on Approving the Professional Code of a Sociologist and Instituting the Council for Professional Ethics Under the SSA Board]

[Text] Considering the high professional and moral responsibility of a sociologist to society and particularly under the conditions of the revolutionary restructuring of the economic mechanism, the development of socialist democracy and glasnost, the growing need for objective information concerning the social processes and

positions of the citizens, social groups and strata on urgent problems of social life, the Board approves the Professional Code of a Sociologist with the incorporated corrections and supplements and establishes the Council on Professional Ethics Under the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] Board.

In being guided by the Professional Code of a Sociologist, the Council on Professional Ethics is to carry out the following functions:

a) Discusses and presents for resolution by the SSA Presidium proposals on professional-ethical problems of sociology and sociological research not provided for in the Professional Code;

b) Encourages the theoretical elaboration and discussion of moral-ethical problems of sociology and sociological research at the SSA meetings and scientific conferences as well as in its publications in the broad press;

c) Reviews the appeals of the SSA members addressed to the Presidium and concerning a defamation of the personal or professional dignity of the SSA members by officials in line with the sociologist's carrying out of his professional duty;

d) Discusses and hands down decisions upon appeal of the SSA members in the event that they disagree with the penalties imposed by the bureaus of the SSA regional divisions for failure to observe the Professional Code.

The Council for Professional Ethics Under the SSA Presidium is elected by the SSA Board for the term of its powers with a membership of 15 persons. The Council reports on its current work to the SSA Presidium and on the results of its term to the SSA Board.

The Council for Professional Ethics Under the SSA Presidium elects a chairman, deputy chairman and determines the forms of its work depending upon the goals and content of activity (work commissions, broad discussion, the presenting of a question at a session of the presidium and so forth).

Membership of the Council for Professional Ethics Under the SSA Board

G.M. Andreyeva, Moscow, MGU [Moscow State University] imeni M.V. Lomonosov; L.A. Gordon, Moscow, Institute for the International Worker Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.I. Gerchikov, Novosibirsk, Institute for the Economics and Organization of Industrial Production at the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.G. Zdravomyslov, Moscow, Institute of Marxism-Leninism Under the CPSU Central Committee; E.I. Kodua, Tbilisi, Tbilisi State University; I.S. Kon, Moscow, Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences; N.I. Lapin, Moscow, Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Yu.A. Levada, Moscow, All-Union Center for the

Study of Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions Under the AUCCTU; N.F. Naumova, Moscow, All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Systems Research Under the USSR Academy of Sciences, State Committee for Science and Technology; M.E. Pavelson, Tallinn, Tallinn Polytechnical Institute; I.M. Popova, Odessa, Odessa State University imeni I.I. Mechnikov; V.Ye. Khmelko, Kiev, Institute of Party History Under the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; B.M. Firsov, Leningrad, Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.N. Shukin, Moscow, Institute of International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.A. Yadov, Moscow, Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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Professional Morality in Sociology

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
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[Text] The current social atmosphere is full of words which in some manner have without notice begun to disappear from our common usage, initially from official

and then from ordinary and professional speech. Lamentable as this is, these words designate such concepts as personal honor, human dignity, professional conscience and duty. The moral-political and ideological atmosphere prevailing in society, unfortunately, has left its imprint both on science as well as on relations in the scientific milieu. This atmosphere has directly influenced the development of Soviet sociology which in essence was deprived of the status of an independent scientific discipline and reduced initially to "applied social research" and later to "sociological research." Command-administrative and bureaucratic methods of management have also been felt in the social sciences with particular force. The standards and ideals of the science itself have gradually been eradicated from the science. Precisely during this time, as R.V. Ryvkina correctly wrote [2], three types of sociologists came into being: the ideologue sociologists concerned for the struggle against the penetration of alien ideas; the pragmatic sociologists oriented at giving a "commodity appearance" to the conducted research considering the interests of the client and the potential consumer; and, finally, a thin layer of research sociologists who were gradually pushed into the background in the official structure of the scientific subdivisions.

The social renewal of our society cannot be carried out without sociologists and among them morality and professional morals should hold a proper place. In speaking at the section of social sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A.N. Yakovlev pointed out that "our social scientists have been divided into two parts. Some are working and posing problems. Others during this time are watching carefully and are waiting until the former ones make a mistake or suffer a failure.... There is a category of persons who, when not agreeing with something, avoid open debate and do not defend the truth in a scientific discussion.... It is essential...to constantly introduce into life the ethics of high scientific and human decency" [3, p 21]. In actuality for a real restructuring of science, scientific ethics or more accurately the professional morality of a scientist and which in everyday parlance is called "professional ethics"¹ must play the role of one of the main regulators of relations. The "science-morality" problem has many aspects, one of which is linked to the restoration of such concepts as professional honor, professional conscience, duty, decency, intelligence, with the concept of the prestige of the scientist and the science as a whole [4].

At the same time, there is the widespread opinion that it makes no sense to establish some other professional ("corporative") or family morality along with public morality. Group morality is supposedly a heritage of the past while our socialist morality is the same for each and every. Of course, there should be a single socialist morality for all members of a socialist society as this is a most essential element in the concept of social justice. But the presence of a professional morality in a society is one of the consequences of the historically formed division of labor. The most worked out are the moral and

ethical aspects of the professions of a physician, lawyer, teacher, actor, artist, journalist, scientist, that is, the professions which have been named "free" [5]. This is precisely those professions where man acts as their object in terms of his physical, mental, moral and spiritual health. Here the main professional activity can little be subject to a detailed, rigid legal or administrative regulation. But the most important thing is that these are professions in which creativity predominates and this presupposes a developed individuality, independence, the nonroutine and often risky resolving of professional tasks. There is a natural tendency toward the broadening of the range of such professions which acquire the right to their own morality and this now includes managerial and engineer activities, the service sphere as well as other human-centered spheres of activity.

A moral assessment of a profession by society is brought about by a minimum of two factors: a) what is objectively provided by the given profession for society (hence the degree of its recognition as necessary, useful and so forth); b) what it subjectively brings man (in the sense of a moral impact on him, moral self-improvement, self-affirmation). As soon as professional relations have assumed qualitative stability, in a society definite moral sets were formed and demands on the appearance and actions of the representatives of the given profession and expressed in the standards of a written or unwritten code of honor. The social prestige and recognition of a profession depend not to a small degree upon the observance of these standards by each professional.

Our predecessors have long been aware that the professions called upon to save people in critical situations related to the health of their soul and body can easily put a person on the brink of death if the representatives of these professions do not adhere to definite moral standards. Was it not for this reason that the Hippocratic Oath appeared?

The standards of professional honor regulate: the relations of a professional to the subject of his labor; relations with his colleagues (within a profession); the relation to one's profession, to its standards and system of values. The code of professional honor inevitably includes definite standards of personal honor related to the execution of professional, civil and human duty. With all the disparities in concepts concerning personal honor during various ages and in various social strata, we can seek out in these something common, namely: a) the notion established in a social milieu as to what is honest, moral, noble, honorable, in a word, a code of social morality; b) the conformity of the moral makeup of an individual and his conduct (actions) to the moral code; c) the recognition of this conformity by others, that is, public opinion about the individual [6]. But if the concept of dignity is determined by the attitude of a person to himself and reflects the height of voluntarily chosen barriers of a moral order below which he does not consider it possible to descend in any instance, then the concept of honor is tied to the social expectations from a

man. The notions of honor depend upon to what professional circle a given man belongs. Public opinion about personal honor forms, consequently, the connecting link between the social and personal moral values.

The resurrection within the context of socialist morality of high significance for such concepts as personal dignity of a professional, the personal and professional honor of a scientist, is not only not a retreat from the principles of communist morality, but, conversely, only by the instituting of a new content for these concepts is it possible to speak about the viable development of the human factor, the growth of professional responsibility, and establish the merits of individuality in labor, in society as a whole, that is, overcome the "philosophy of a loose screw."

Just why is it so imperative to bring together into a single whole the social, professional morality and personal honor in the moral support of science? "Restructuring is a decisive turn toward science, and a professional partnership between it and practice in the aims of achieving superior end results..." [1]. On the one hand, there must be scientific soundness for our plans and initiatives and, on the other, an increased return from the science itself, be it natural, humanitarian-social or technical. Either instance presupposes a mutual confidence between the science and society. Over recent decades this confidence has been greatly shaken and this has reduced the prestige of science in public opinion.

The abstract responsibility of the social scientist to fellow citizens and the state presently requires a deciphering and a defining of the professional and ethical facets of what is possible and what is impossible in one's professional activities. While this up to now has applied to the ancient human-centered professions, for sociology the status of which has still not gained persuasive social recognition and a reliable shaping, where the traditions of maintaining professional honor and defense of one's representatives are just being formed and duty at the same time demands being at the crux of social problems and at the hottest points of social life, this is all the more so. In repeating the words of T.I. Zaslavskaya [7], it can be said that the most important task for sociology is to establish feedback from the masses to the management bodies, examining and informing society and its social institutions on how the adopted decisions are being carried out and how all the elements of the complex social mechanism interact. There is one other very important goal for this science, that is, the forming of sociological thinking in society.

Sociology is not required in a stagnant social atmosphere. For this reason, in our nation it began its path twice: in the first decade after the October Revolution and then later, with a great break, at the end of the 1950s. What was characteristic of the sociologist and, more accurately, the philosophers, historians, social psychologists, economists, mathematicians and representatives of other specialties who arrived in sociology 25-30 years ago in order to assist in the second birth of this area of

social science? First of all, there was the scope of the ideas and optimism with which they looked at the future of their science. The hopes were not realized and the optimism in the mid-1970s had given way to skepticism. Under these conditions, and we recognize this self-critically, the sociologists as a detachment of social scientists behaved far from consistently. A certain portion of the researchers removed themselves from analyzing real social contradictions. Another, working upon orders, frequently made compromises, setting the norm where a pathology would have to be recorded. A theoretically sound view of social processes was frequently replaced by flippant empirical pastorales. The main professional cannon of science, that is, to embody the courageous conscience of society, was undermined.

Moreover, there have also been the "blows of fate." One of the most strongly felt was launched by the "comrades in arms," that is, by social scientists from related sciences. The discussion over the subject of sociology took up (or to put it better, took away) over 2 decades and cannot yet be considered ended. It must be said frankly that behind the pluralism in the assessment of sociology and its subject one often discovered far from scientific goals and attempts to ensure the dominating by other disciplines which had gained official recognition. This became particularly noticeable when the empirical data did not fit into the official schemes or notions of social development based upon an illusion of the growing prosperity of the Soviet people. However, until recently sociologists were particularly feeble in resisting the organized attacks on their positions. Here one can see the abandoning of the standards of professional honesty requiring a defense of the fate of a true cause. Not the last role here was played by the fact that all the debates concerning the subject of sociology, as a rule, were accompanied for those not agreeing with the official viewpoint by accusations of an ideological stripe of destroying the purity of Marxist-Leninist teachings and of an uncritical attitude toward bourgeois sociology. All the disputes—the only means for elucidating the scientific truth—were suppressed by strong-arm methods and which at times opponents did not shy from employing against scientific enemies.

The situation in sociology was complicated by the relations with the managerial bodies of various levels and by the varying departmental affiliation. At the beginning of the 1980s, for example, a study of the social causes of alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, crime, instances of suicide and other forms of so-called deviant behavior was inversely proportional to the scale of their actual spread in society. In other instances, the boundary of the permitted and nonpermitted was set by local conditions and attitudes. In such instances, sociology was viewed as a source of the leaking of information concerning the actual state in one or another republic, oblast or city. Even when individual acute problems were raised due to journalists on the pages of the press, attempts by sociologists to take up the same questions in their research were sharply curtailed.

Did sociologists struggle for changes in their science, for lifting the bans on research subjects and against attempts to introduce the censoring of thoughts? Definitely yes! But these were only individual instances.

The narrowing of the subject involved not only individual researchers but also entire areas in the development of sociological thought. Since the 1960s, there was an idea of establishing an all-Union public opinion institute which would be based upon the open conduct of mass and representative sociological surveys of the public in all the nation's republics and in the long run with collaboration with analogous institutes of foreign countries, as well as for publicizing the obtained results and constantly employing them in the practice of the political and economic leadership of the nation. The All-Union Center for Studying Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions which was organized in accord with the Decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has just begun its work. Had this happened 25 years ago, how much richer would have been our notions of ourselves and our society.

The administrative bans and orders, unfortunately, did not encounter an organized rebuff from the scientific community which was not only removed but also removed itself from involvement in determining the fate of many very important directions and, in a number of instances, the fate of individual scientists who became victims of embittered, envious and untalented leaders. In looking at the changes in the creative unions such as cinematographers and theatrical workers of the RSFSR and USSR and at their decisive actions against the attempts to bureaucratize creativity, we would like to gain their social boldness and activeness. Science is also a creative sphere and its development should be free of administrative arbitrariness, incompetence, the dominance of a dismal departmental approach, and from the dictating of terms by certain scientific areas over others. Had our scientific corporations (associations, societies) been more organized and authoritative, they would scarcely have permitted the driving out of schools and currents in biology, genetics, cybernetics and other sciences. To defend the purity of the goals and means of science, to protect scientific comrades and to come to their defense are the duty of such corporations and a matter of their professional honor. Professional associations have always united persons, particularly if a spirit of mutual equality, respect and intelligence reigned in them. We must link the guarantees that modern professional societies will not be turned into castes or clans not only with the system of values and which the members of these societies consciously dedicate their lives to serving, but primarily to the predominant spirit and morality of the movement for restructuring.

How does one see the role and opportunities of the professional and ethical code of a sociologist? The code places high demands primarily on the competence of the researcher and on his professional intelligence, that is,

qualities the observance of which determine the authority of sociology in public opinion and trust in it. More and more people are becoming accustomed to the fact that their opinion is requested and that in society there are other viewpoints on important aspects of social reality. Negligence and nonprofessionalism in carrying out such surveys the data of which are widely published can lead the public astray. In particular, there must be commentaries on the structure of the samples which, as a rule, is not done. The publications announce the differences in opinion but no mention is made of whether these should be accepted as reliable and significant.

The professional code establishes confidential relations between the researcher and respondent. Now, after its adoption, we have the right to point out on the questionnaire and in speaking with the interviewee that according to the requirements of the Professional Code of a Sociologist the obtained information will be employed in observing proper attentiveness to the interests of the respondent and in no way will his interests be harmed.

Our code obliges us to observe the generally accepted standards in science for scientific contact and in particular the standards related to the use of borrowed methods. Here there are numerous unclear questions which await their solution.

The code must be least of all likened to a collection of legislative enactments regulating an area of uniform relations between sociologists within the science and the relations between sociologists and society. These are in no way legal standards but rather a compendium of principles for professional conduct and actions which a sociologist voluntarily and consciously promises to observe before his professional community and valuing the right to belong to it. In turn, our professional community states that "a sociologist has the right to rely on the support and aid of the SSA, its bodies and departments on the spot in establishing conditions for his professional activities and for defending his professional dignity and honor" (Section II, Paragraph 9 of the Professional Code).² Without idealizing our code as a regulator of professional conduct, it can be said that were it adopted, for instance, 15 years ago, it would have forced the association to intervene into the fate of many of our comrades and protect them against various sorts of administrative troubles.

Conflict situations involving the sociologist's performance of his professional duty arose in the past and will occur in the future. An extreme expression of such conflicts is the fate of the Leningrad sociologist A.N. Alekseyev with the press repeatedly coming to his defense. It is particularly bitter to admit that SSA members also participated in the actions against Alekseyev.

Professional honor requires an irreproachable personal attitude toward the profession as well as increased civil and moral responsibility for the consequences of one's actions. Violations of the code of honor should entail a discussion in the professional milieu while those committed consciously would mean removal from the society and dismissal from the professional milieu for misdeeds incompatible with the moral values and ethics of a scientific activity. Thought must be given for introducing the right of a guarantee of honor. A person should be able to place his own dignity on the scales for the sake of a just solution. The establishing of such an action as a standard of self-defense or defense of another person conforms to the spirit of the most serious changes occurring in our life, where the returning to each man of a belief in such moral values as justice, dignity and respect of the individual is being put at the center of everything.

The SSA Board has elected a Council for Vocational Ethics and in a general form discussed the main areas of its activities. The first and main thing is to establish a moral atmosphere for preventing possible deviations from the professional and ethical principles and standards in the work of the sociologists as well as elaborating an effective mechanism for maintaining them. Naturally, the most important role here is played by the Professional Code itself and from the Council they expect that it will focus attention of the sociological community on the questions of professional ethics and encourage their discussion at scientific conferences, symposiums and congresses.

The second area where the Council can be active involves many already existing or potential moral-ethical situations where opinions have not yet formed. The problem of authorship and its limits, as we have already mentioned, is presently assuming a particular cast. Sociological cooperatives are arising and these employ methods and techniques worked out by others. In this instance should fees be paid to the authors of the borrowed procedures? From our viewpoint, they should not but in this instance the client must not be asked to pay for the used methods.

Does an author continue to bear responsibility for his method used by someone for selfish or antihuman purposes? This is also a problem. In research carried out in multinational communities, can we deprive a respondent of the right to choose a language for a dialogue or reply? The practice of the Baltic sociologists in this regard merits a kind word as here, as a rule, they employ questionnaires in two languages and the respondent has a choice (incidentally, this has a greater indoctrinational effect than any slogans on the subject of internationalism). But we still are not seeing field documents of sociologists from the Central Asian republics and employing the language of the people in the given republic.

Sociology has become actively involved in the process of assisting democratization and glasnost. The public opinion polls are disclosing differences of opinion and a clash of interests. Already voices are heard that it is time for sociology to abandon the principle of anonymity and a law has been adopted according to which it is impossible to accept anonymous information in a calculation. But on the same grounds it would be possible to demand the release of a secret by a physician or lawyer. And anonymity of a reply is a moral guarantee for the respondent for his frankness and sincerity.

The sociologists conducting public opinion polls under the conditions of democratization and glasnost assist in the social renewal and make a contribution to restructuring. At the same time, a disassociation of public stances has also become noted. For precisely this reason the civil and moral responsibility of a sociologist is so great for the reliability and correctness of the results of such polls offered to society. But equally great is his responsibility for actively assisting social integration, that is, to set out zones of common interests and zones of differences, isolation and differences of opinion. This requires a special specific analysis and not merely the stating of the facts of congruity or a substantial discrepancy in the opinions and estimates. To a large degree the measure of objectivity is determined by the morality of the scientist and by his professional conscience and duty.

A new situation is coming into being in the area of our international contacts. They are actively broadening with the conducting of international public opinion polls and international research projects. The sociologist participating in these understand their responsibility and, it must be hoped, will make every effort to maintain their professional status properly. However, the press is joining in these activities and there are already examples of the conducting of polls such as "Japan-USSR" and carried out by the representatives of publications from both nations. Obviously, there will also be other precedents. While on behalf of the Western partners, one can expect proper professional responsibility merely because the practice of public opinion polling and the use of professional knowledge and skills in this area has long been widespread, in terms of our mass information bodies as yet this cannot be said. What should the SSA undertake in such a situation? This is not a simple question.

The main purpose of adopting the Professional Code of a Sociologist and the establishing of the Council on Professional Ethics is to assist in shaping the professional awareness of the sociologists, to unify them, and to help them understand their civil and moral responsibility to society and, on this basis, to strengthen the prestige and trust shown for sociology and sociological research.

Footnotes

1. Without entering into the dispute between ethics on the definition of morality, we should point out that

the use of the concepts of "ethics" and "morality" as synonyms is based on a certain common content of these concepts: morality contains something from ethics and vice versa.

2. Let us remind the reader that the Criminal Code also provides for the protection of personal dignity and honor of a citizen against insults, slanders, denunciations and plagiarism. However, practice knows very few examples of the defense of honor and dignity under Articles 130 of the RSFSR Criminal Code "Slander," 131 of "Insults" and 180 "Knowingly False Denunciation." The insulting of professional honor or dignity can be competently ruled on only by a group of professionals in the given area, in our instance, by sociologists.

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Discussion of CPSU CC Decree on Sociology at Sociology Institute

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[Session report published under the heading "Chronicle of Scientific Life"]

[Text] In June 1988, there was a joint session of the Scientific Council and Party Bureau at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and devoted to discussing the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Raising the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Resolving the Key Social Problems of Soviet Society" and working out a program for the institute's activities in accord with the new tasks set out in the decree. The session was attended by Academicians T.I. Zaslavskaya, V.N. Kudryavtsev and P.N. Fedoseyev, the Deputy Chief of the Science Section of the CPSU Central Committee, V.V. Ryabov, the Instructor from the Science Section of the CPSU Central Committee, A.T. Khlopov, the First Secretary of the Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykom in Moscow, A.M. Bryachikhin, and the Editor-in-Chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, A.V. Dmitriyev.

In the course of discussing the decree, all speakers unanimously recognized the enormous significance of the document for the further development of sociological science. Having acquainted those present with the contents of the decree V.V. Ryabov emphasized that the tasks posed by the CPSU Central Committee are directed primarily at the Sociology Institute, as it is now termed. The fact of changing the name of the institute is not accidental: it means a transition to a qualitatively new level, from empirical research on particular social problems to fundamental studies and profound theoretical generalizations, from the dominance of empiricism to an analysis and search for ways for controlling social processes. As for the questions of coordinating sociological research in the nation, V.V. Ryabov pointed out that the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences has not yet become the leading center and poorly coordinates the work of the sociological institutions. The institute together with the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] has great work to do in organizing a network of sociological scientific subdivisions, in training skilled personnel and developing sociological education in the nation. In conclusion, V.V. Ryabov pointed out that under the conditions of the restructuring of all social relationships, it is impossible to tolerate a lag in sociology and it is essential to overcome the underestimating of its role in carrying out the key tasks of social transformation.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof V.N. Ivanov drew attention of those present to the fact that with the adoption of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee qualitatively new demands are being placed on sociology not only in resolving fundamental theoretical problems

but also in shaping the sociopolitical thinking of the broad masses of workers and in strengthening the feedback between the sociological research and the practices of managing social processes. Just to what degree the sociologists are able to successfully resolve the problem of shaping the sociopolitical and sociological thinking in the so-called managers, the production commanders and the rank-and-file workers presently determines a very great deal: both the overcoming of social apathy, political alienation and the development of the activeness of all population groups, the real involvement of the masses in managerial practices and a radical restructuring of the management system. The speaker then drew the attention of those present to one of the most important theoretical problems, the elaboration on the basis of Marxism-Leninism of a concept for the social development of society under the conditions of restructuring. The resolution of this problem requires the consolidating of efforts by the sociologists, philosophers, economists and legal experts.

A major place in the report by V.N. Ivanov was taken up by a discussion of the ways to seek out new forms of interaction between sociological science and practice. One such form should be a sociological expert evaluation of the laws, decrees and specific programs being drawn up and adopted. The absence of serious sociological expert evaluation has already produced negative results in implementing the Law Governing a State Enterprise. The data of the sociological study conducted by the Sociology Institute in 1988 in nine industrial centers of the nation (1,800 persons questioned) show: only 11.3 percent of the respondents feel that the Law Governing a State Enterprise is being carried out successfully. Another new form of organizing work is the intersectorial scientific collectives on individual social problems. There is already such experience: on the basis of the Sector of Sociological Forecasting and Designing of the Sociology Institute an intersectorial scientific collective has been established and is working actively on the social problems of urban development in the Moscow agglomeration. Here sociologists, architects, construction workers, ecologists and other specialists have pooled their efforts. Great hopes are also being placed on a number of specialized centers (Center for the Study of Public Opinion, Center for Managerial Innovations and Center for Procedural Support and Software of Sociological Research) and these should play the role of the coordinators of different-level sociological services as well as provide methodological and procedural aid to the nation's sociologists. A special role is being assigned to the Center for the Study of Public Opinion. It must overcome the lag which exists in the given area of research and increase the significance of the results of public opinion polls in the process of preparing and adopting managerial decisions as well as deepening democratization and glasnost.

The speech by Prof F.R. Filippov was devoted to the problems of elaborating a new modern concept of social structure as an important component in the concept of

social development. In saying that the study of the social structure has been one of the leading areas of research done by the institute in previous years, he emphasized that precisely now, when a fundamental restructuring is occurring in the socioeconomic sphere, when the relations between the labor collectives are changing radically as well as the nature of managing the affairs of society, it is particularly essential to have the elaboration of a new understanding of the social structure. The problems of socioclass analysis require a consideration of all aspects, all elements and subelements of the social structure, both those which are part and those which are not part of classes and which lie beyond them. We must not overlook the new stratal formations and the new forms of social differentiation. Sociology is confronted with the task of analyzing a complex process of reflecting socioeconomic changes in the status of the classes in the awareness of people as well as studying various deformations in this process and the sources of social tension.

In taking up the questions of the sociology of education, the speaker commented that the main brake in this area of research is departmental boundaries. The USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the State Committee on Public Education can in no way reach agreement between themselves as to what department the given problem "belongs." At the same time, the restructuring of education should be an inseparable part of the restructuring of our entire society and viewed in the broad social context and in the relationship with changes in the way of life and the social structure. The problem of education has a common humanistic content and it presupposes contacts among specialists who maintain the most diverse views, including religious approaches to education. Any contacts on a common humanistic basis may be beneficial and fruitful.

In assessing the importance of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee for the development of sociological science, the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, **G.V. Osipov** emphasized that it creates all of the essential conditions not only for the development of sociological knowledge per se but also for using the research results for the qualitative renewal of Soviet society. Sociology has been given a significant role in the process of restructuring and in its scientific support. In the opinion of the speaker, it is essential to resolve the problem of working out a general sociological theory, a social theory of socialism, and the connecting of theory with empirical material. For this there must be a unity of work by the institute and the SSA, an integration of the theoretical and empirical workers as well as specialists in the area of sociology, historical materialism and scientific communism. There must be close collaboration in working out the problem of the social indicators in the development of society. The sociological research conducted by the Sociology Institute in 1980-1988 provides an opportunity to define the nature of the changes in the social processes related to restructuring. The research materials acquired by the institute's scientists were virtually unused prior to the decree of the CPSU Central

Committee. At present, sociologists can and should provide the party with concrete proposals and recommendations. A fundamentally important aspect for the development of sociology, **G.V. Osipov** went on to point out, is an increased professional level in the training of the sociological personnel. Here the question should be primarily one of creating textbooks and teaching aids. This work must be accelerated as much as possible since practice shows that the teaching aids require 10 and more years to prepare. In the meanwhile the students and graduate students specializing in sociology do not have any textbooks.

The speech of Prof **I.T. Levykin** emphasized that sociologists must overcome the stereotypes existing in the study of the way of life and must work out a new system of indicators for the way of life, since the old indicators do not work in the changed system of social relations. The widened limits of the cooperative form of ownership have important social consequences. Along with studying the new groups and strata of the population, the sociologists are also confronted with another important problems, the working out of the problems of social justice. Up to now this has not been provided with a scientific underpinning and all the existing publications on this question are limited by their emotional judgments.

The secretary of the institute party bureau **K.V. Andreyev** in his speech pointed out, in particular, that in order to meet the tasks set out in the decree it was essential to reform sociological science itself. And here the availability of personnel is a fundamentally important aspect. It should be a question not only of developing sociological education and opening up specialized faculties and subdivisions, that is, of an extensive path for resolving the question, but also intensifying the labor of all the currently working sociologists. There is also the urgent question of improving the practice of electing the director and scientific council of the institute. It is essential to work out a strategy for the development of sociology and to elaborate and firmly support in the future the main areas of the institute's work as outlined in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee.

For a long time, an effort has been made to divorce the sociodemographic problems from sociology, said Prof **L.L. Rybakovskiy** in his speech and these attempts have continued until recently. However, the very course of the development of the science has shown that the content of sociology is emasculated when one eliminates from it an analysis of the demographic groups in the population, the reproduction of labor potential and a study of migratory processes.

The chief element in working out a program for the institute's operation in response to the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, in the opinion of **L.L. Rybakovskiy**, should be the formulating of a unified scientific plan which would determine the institute's appearance: "It is an easy matter to obtain a sign and a new building

but it is impossible to enter it with the baggage of old problems and directions. It is essential to work out new directions and determine the concept for the development of the institute." The replacing of the institute's leadership should become a fundamentally important element in carrying out personnel policy. This work will probably take 3 or 4 years. The process of democratization in science should be expressed in the more active involvement of youth and the nonparty persons in the leadership.

The First Secretary of the Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykom in Moscow A.M. Bryachikhin pointed out that the research which specialists from the Sociology Institute conduct upon the initiative of the party raykom, often does not end with any recommendations of a practical sort and does not have any fundamental conclusions. Most often the research makes it possible to merely state the existence of a situation in the rayon. At the same time, we have a different requirement and its essence is one for fundamental generalizations and working out real methods for solving social problems. An important role in the restructuring of sociology is played by the development of the self-financing sociological subdivisions and self-financing research.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the materials of the XIX Party Conference focus the sociologists on more profound research concerning the nationality and interminority relations. The acuteness, pertinence and at the same time poor elaboration of this range of problems are obvious. In turning to the theoretical aspects of the question, Prof L.G. Bondarevskiy pointed out that up to now there is still no definition of a nation which is accepted by all researchers, the social aspects of national religions have not been studied, and no feedback mechanism has been developed for sociological research with practical work carried out by the republic party and economic bodies. L.G. Bondarevskiy proposed establishing an Institute of the social science problems of restructuring and the concentrating here of the finest forces of social scientists who would consult with party committees and managerial personnel on the social aspects of restructuring and would analyze conflict situations and disputed ideas. The establishing of such an institute, in the opinion of the speaker, could provide a new impetus for restructuring.

The Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences P.N. Fedoseyev in his report sketched in a broad panorama of the work being done to train sociological personnel in the nation and establish a network of sociological institutions. He pointed out that the first and essential step in executing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee in achieving a new qualitative level of research should be a step in the direction of developing a network of sociological institutions and subdivisions not only in Moscow but also in the periphery, the strengthening of the existing subdivisions on the basis of the scientific centers in Siberia and the Far East, establishing in the field a number of affiliates of the Sociology

Institute and the reinforcing of the already existing subdivisions of it in Gorkiy and Krasnodar. The USSR Academy of Sciences together with the USSR Ministry of Higher Education are to immediately increase the admission to graduate and doctoral studies in sociology as well as the admission of students to the sociological divisions of universities. In a short period of time it is essential to determine the demand for teaching aids and textbooks in sociology as a whole and for its individual sectors and provide conditions for their effective preparation and publishing. An important role in increasing the professional level of sociologists is to be played by the only specialized sociological journal in our nation SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee provides for an increase in the number of issues of the journal from 6 to 12 a year. This is merely the first step along the path of increasing the propagandizing of sociological knowledge.

The speech of P.N. Fedoseyev also took up the notion of the need to work out long-range academy-wide programs for the global problems of today. The Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences will find its place in implementing these.

CPSU Central Committee Meeting on Social Sciences Publications

The CPSU Central Committee held a meeting of the co-workers from the Science Section with the leaders of journal editors from the social sciences area. In describing the present state of social sciences, the Deputy Head of the Section, V.V. Ryabov, pointed out that they are presently living through a crisis. The overcoming of the crisis to a significant degree depends upon the journals published by the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In the course of discussing the tasks confronting the journals, they analyzed the activities of the editorial staff of VOPROSY FILOSOFII, FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, PSIKHOLOGICHESKIY ZHURNAL and VOPROSY ISTORII YESTESTVOZNANIYA I TEKHNIKI. The exchange of opinions held made it possible to set out specific measures aimed at a fundamental improvement in the work of the editorial staffs.

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Soviet Worker: Shaping a Creative Personality

18060003r Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed to press 5 Oct 88) pp 151-152

[Review by V.G. Alekseyeva and V.I. Mukhachev of the book "Sovetskiy rabochiy: formirovaniye tvorchestkoy lichnosti" (The Soviet Worker: Shaping a Creative Personality) by I.P. Smirnov, Moscow, Mysl, 1987, 171 pages]

[Text] The initiative and independence of the masses are the main driving force of restructuring and the renewal of socialism. But at present we need not abstract slogans

but specific ways and methods of conscious purgative work. Success will come about only when each person can carry out the tasks confronting him and society in a competent, thoughtful and tenacious manner. For this reason the reader has shown particular attention to publications devoted to the problems of the individual personality and particularly those based upon the results of representative sociological research and statistical data. Among such studied is the book by I.P. Smirnov.

At the center of the author's attention is a study of the theoretical bases and practical ways for forming and developing the creative activeness of the individual. From the first pages of the book I.P. Smirnov links his research with the specific tasks of democratic and socio-economic changes. All of this is viewed in the context of the ideological struggle over the historical mission of the working class. As was the case a hundred years ago, at present in bourgeois social studies there is a prevalence of ideas concerning the elitist nature of creativity the primacy of the technocracy in scientific and technical progress, and the failure of the workers to play the role of executors even under the conditions of modern automated production. On the pages of the book much attention has been given to the debunking of such views.

It cannot be said that social scientists have not investigated the problem of creativity. In the last decade alone, several works have been published on this subject by philosophers and psychologists and ethicists (see, for example: [1]). The reviewed book is an attempt at a sociological analysis of the phenomenon and, what is particularly important, it is focused on solving practical problems.

The author proceeds from an approach which is being worked out intensely today. He views creativity as one of the most important characteristics imminently inherent to human activity. I.P. Smirnov defines it through activeness as "a measure of activity and a measure of the state of development of essential forces" (p 13). Thus, activeness and creativity are isolated as the main moments of activity. Creativity itself is understood as a characteristic pointing to the "qualitative content and effectiveness of activity, the newness of the obtained result and the method of producing it" (p 30). This definition supplements and develops the generally accepted concepts of creativity as "creative activity," a process of the "creation" of something new and "the result of this process, action and creativity."

An analysis of various concepts (up to and including the modern theory of biorhythmic cycles) has made it possible for the author in a persuasive and well-argued manner to show the leading role of socioeconomic conditions in the development of the creative activities of an individual. In relying on statistics and the data of sociological research, the author has profoundly described the influence of the social consequences of the scientific and

technical revolution on the activeness of the workers within socialist and capitalist production as well as the dependence between its level and the social organization of the labor collective.

The readers interest will be pricked by the pages devoted to the ways of preparing youth for labor, the adaptation of young workers on the job, and the impact of the intensification of production on the development of initiative and scientific-technical creativity. From the viewpoint of the designated problems the book examines the reform of the general education school and the PTU [vocational-technical school] system. The author validly focuses attention on the separateness of the existing forms of vocational training as this significantly reduces its quality, involves a number of negative consequences both for the youth as well as for society. In a completely valid manner, in our view, the author links a further development of education and creative abilities with the integrating of the general educational and vocational schools.

In developing the approach set out in the book, we would like to voice certain considerations. It is essential to establish the unified social system for the adaptation of youth. This system can be created on the basis of effective adaptation systems operating at a number of the nation's enterprises. The question is being held up primarily by the lack of unified, well-established demands on such systems. At present, everything here is determined by the initiative of the individual workers and the social organizations. We feel that a unified statewide system for the adaptation of young specialists on the job should be given legal reinforcements in the USSR Law Governing Youth now being worked out.

The book pays a great deal of attention to the problems of restructuring the socialist competition which reached a stalemate in the period of stagnation. The author analyzes the recently occurring forms of real competitiveness among the workers and brings out those obstacles which prevent the introduction of innovations in this area. Significant interest is aroused by the sections concerning scientific and technical creativity in the workers and, in particular, the idea of comprehensive training for the youth in creative skills both in the period of vocational training as well as on the job. The notions concerning the dependence of creative activeness upon the level of the personality's moral development are fruitful.

The breadth of the problems raised by I.P. Smirnov did not make it possible to review all of them with equal thoroughness. In our opinion, not enough attention has been paid to the theoretically and practically important problem of the social indicators of creative activeness. This circumstance has brought about the fact that in the book there are substantial gaps in the real picture of the creative activeness of the workers and the factors restraining its development. It is a question primarily of the contradictions between the official and unofficial

labor ethics and of groups the objective status of which in no way encourages social creativity. The influence of the economic reform and the new forms of organizing labor on the production adaptation of youth has not been analyzed with sufficient thoroughness. The author has missed certain new progressive forms of the socialist competition.

As a whole, the reviewed book is one of the few works examining the forming of the creative activeness of a personality on a specific sociological level and this, undoubtedly, will evoke interest among specialists.

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Ecological Prospects of the City

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
to press 5 Oct 88) pp 152-155

[Review by V.Ye. Gempelson and N.N. Nozdrina of the book "Ekologicheskaya perspektiva goroda" (The Ecological Prospects of the City) by O.N. Yanitskiy, Moscow, Mysl, 1987, 279 pages]

[Text] The term "ecology" and the concepts derivative from it go back, as is known, to the Greek word "okos," that is, home. For this reason an ecological city in translation into ordinary language would be a "home" city created with love for man and for man.

The timeliness of the reviewed monograph is difficult to overestimate.

For the first time in Soviet monographic literature, a city is viewed in a broad ecological context, where "ecologicalness" is both the criterion and the means of urban development. Here the ecologization of thinking and the way of life of urban dwellers operate as a necessary trait of the modern sociocultural process.

In studying a modern city, the author has "preserved" the object of his investigation in its entirety, without simplifying it to a set of albeit very important but still particular spheres and problems.

The proposed socioeconomic understanding of the city and urban development arose as a result of an extended evolution of urbanistic views. The book traces the change in the main concepts of the city over the 20th Century. They all included an ecological component which without fail was related to social and ideological

problems. For example, E. Howard, in favoring the "garden city," in essence was proposing to turn the urban dwellers into rural ones each living behind his own fence. Here life was split into the "life function" in the mechanism of the city and the "true life" in one's own home on one's own piece of land. Such a divisioning was not overcome either in the technocratic notions of the "machine city" or in the urbanistic plans of the 1920s and 1930s and was strongly established in the minds of many urban developers as well as in the practice of urban development and city planning. Incidentally, this completely corresponded to that stage of socioeconomic development when attention to man as an individual was minimized. The primacy of material production over spiritual life and the relative simplicity of material production itself made the forgetting of the "small world" not only possible but also inevitable. As a result, the "universal" got the upper hand and suppressed the "local."

In the contemporary age the more the socioreproduction processes are concentrated in the family and at home, and the more dependable their link becomes with the world, the more life "of the here and now" is socially significant. As a result, "that which in form operates as a local interest (action, organization) in essence serves as a manifestation of universal interests and actions" (p 60).

In viewing the world of the urban environment, the author points out that the main criterion for its improvement is the quality of the "human material" which is reproduced in it. Seemingly, the given assertion is self-apparent. However, urban development practices in our nation show that the following of this rule is still not the norm. In the awareness and activities of many workers responsible for urban policy, a technocratic approach has taken hold and this is based, for example, on a comparison of the actual saturation of the urban environment with service facilities with the standard requirements. Here it is not merely a question of someone assuming the right to judge such a delicate matter as the demand of the various social groups inhabiting a city. With such a normative approach, the link between the creation of the environment and its functioning is warped and life merely repudiates the urban development plans.

The examples of the discrepancy between the following of standards and the real processes of the functioning of the environment are beyond reckoning. For example, the rather rapid drop in the attendance of the capital's movie theaters is noted when the availability of viewer seats is less than 60 percent of the norm. What is happening? Should one develop the network or, on the contrary, curtail it? Here the normative approach is hopeless.

O.N. Yanitskiy proposes three principles which he terms principles of agreement (pp 127-132).

The first consists in the fact that a diversity of the environment should correspond to the diversity of social groups with their different requirements. In other words,

each social subject has its own optimum environment toward which it works. The essence of the second principle is in the agreement of the organizing activities of the urban bodies (planning, designing and sanctions) and self-organization. The spontaneous activities of the population, the directions of these activities, the forms and intensity here become one of the most important measures in the ecologicalness and "humanness" of the urban organism. And, finally, the third principle is the agreement of the production and nonproduction sphere of the city. As experience has shown, the priority of production over the social sphere ultimately turns against production itself. The party documents of recent years have reaffirmed the primacy of the social orientation, however, in order to ensure the realization of the latter in urban development policy, a fundamental restructuring has been required in many elements of the operating urban development mechanism. In line with this completely valid is the attention shown by the author to the problem of departmental affiliation. Like a malignant tumor, departmental affiliation in the social sphere releases metastases into all spheres of urban life, scattering resources and warping the way of life of people. The timeliness of this problem at present is also caused by the fact that the introduced "Law Governing the State Enterprise (Association)" which encourages social construction drawing upon the funds of the labor collectives, can in a certain situation become an additional catalyst for a departmental incursion into ecological structures. In correctly, in our view, qualifying the entire range of phenomena engendered by departmental expansion in urban development, the author, unfortunately, avoids a direct reply to the question of the ways and mechanisms for overcoming its consequences. The importance of space around a house is clearly seen from the example of the old Moscow courtyard. The role of the courtyard did not come down in the recent past merely to the freedom of the urban development organization of the territory surrounding the house. It was the organizer of the community and neighborly relations, and it exercised social control as well as the socialization of the younger generation. The "courtyard community" aided in social adaptation and prepared for coming out into the larger world.

In the new residential areas, as in a majority of the old ones, there is no courtyard. The functions of this primary ecological structure have survived but their realization has become substantially more complex. At the same time, the conditions of a microrayon are extremely important for children as their fate has often been shaped under the influence of the street "universities" as well as for elderly persons whose mobility declines with age. Equally essential is the role of the place "where we live" for active, working persons. The limited free time and an inclination for spatial "out-creeping" of a territory have objectively reduced the opportunities for the development of other rayons, they impede mobility after the workday and reduce the real range of forms of leisure. For this reason, the sociocultural potential of a place of residence and the adaptability of the primary

ecological structure to man are of enormous reproduction importance. The development of man as a personality and as a worker of the scientific-industrial type is impossible at present without the involvement of the immediate environment of life which for this itself should be rich, diverse and continuously developing. The monograph by O.N. Yanitskiy makes it possible to take a new look at all these processes, in establishing the main guideline for the scientific search being carried out in the given area, that is, the good of man.

The incorporation of public initiative and independent activities in the processes of urban development is the main instrument for realizing the socioecological concept. "The city is simultaneously the environment in which a man lives and the organism which he creates" (p 235). The more advanced and harmonious the environment surrounding us, the more intense the social activeness of the urban dwellers. The reverse is also true. Ignoring the opinions and requests of residents and insufficient accounting of the needs of the various socio-demographic groups of the population turn residential development areas into faceless, standard Cheremushki. Certainly, an independent initiative can become a real force only under the conditions of effective democracy. At present, the area of urban policy is emerging from stagnation. The population is boldly engaging in conflict, in handing down a verdict of rejection for plans compiled according to the principle of "one can see better from the office." Social "activeness, in having a character extending beyond a single department is aimed directly at realizing the interests of the city population as a whole: in adopting decisions being taken to local conditions, it at the same time carries out feedback between the population and the municipal administrative bodies" (p 239).

At the beginning of 1988, in Moscow around 200 construction projects were halted as a result of actions and protests by the Muscovites [1]. Of course, the initiative groups of residents, in disputing the adopted decisions, were not always right. But the given circumstance precisely confirms the acuteness and pertinence of the arising situation. Another aspect of this problem is tied to the use of urban development standards. Such standards can fix only the general principles for organizing the urban environment but in the process of inhabiting the rayon, it is essential to have their clarification, adaptation and adjustment to the requirements of the specific rayon considering the specific features of habitation. This is particularly important if one considers that the cost, market criteria for the quality of development and the employment of the territory here are virtually inactive. The response of the population and its involvement (including in noninstitutionalized forms) in developing the habitat to be transformed are becoming the most important channel of feedback. Here we completely share the author's viewpoint according to which no normative approaches are capable of forming a developed and rich environment. This can be achieved only by releasing the population's energy of self-organization.

How is it possible to reconcile public initiative with the normative mechanism of urban planning? How is it possible to balance the noncoinciding interests of the various sociodemographic groups living in one rayon or microrayon? These and a number of other questions which naturally arise in reading the book, unfortunately, remain unanswered. One other comment. In examining the forms and directions of social activeness in the socioecological sphere, the author takes only its nature conservation aspect. In so doing the subject limits of a city's ecological prospects are restricted. In truth, it must be recognized that precisely in the bioecological, nature-conservation sphere the tradition and experience of such activeness have undergone the greatest development. However, at present there are numerous examples of how initially purely ecological initiatives gained a much broader social recognition.

Sociologists, architects, ecologists, economists and geographers—all of those who work in the area of social urban studies, have gained a very wise and interesting book. It will influence not only the further scientific search but, let us hope, also the solution to urban problems.

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Phenomenological Cognition

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[Review by G.S. Batygin of the book "Fenomenologicheskoye poznaniye. Propedevtika i kritika" (Phenomenological Cognition; Propaedeutics and Criticism) by K.A. Svasyan, Yerevan, Izd-vo AN Armyanskoy SSSR, 1987, 199 pages]

[Text] The circumstance that a review is one of the most labor-intensive and, possibly, thankless genres is recognized fully both by authors and editors. Most often there are annotation reviews and indifferently formal, like reference material. They are very convenient and fit well in the standard scholarly-literary flow, without forming any undesirable turbulence. They contain a condescending, indifferent or slightly admiring delving into the author's statements and—without fail—the concluding paragraph: "At the same time, we must point out the following shortcomings which, incidentally, do not reduce the over-all level...."

But, thank God, in science there are events which do not keep in the standard flow of things.

It would make no sense to try to annotate the book by Karen Svasyan. Here also judgments according to the scheme "correct—incorrect" are also out of place, if only because the book does not keep within any limits but on the contrary it destroys limits which impede the self-awareness of the individual and opens up human thought in its completeness. And possibly, for this reason, the very thought of the author is accessible to an equal degree to the person able to see, that is, "he has a sharp eye in his head," and for the person who still requires explanations as to "what the author had in mind?"

Everything that was written by K. Svasyan is not to arouse debate as here school logic is completely inapplicable just as the classic syllogism "all persons are mortal/Kay is a person/consequently, Kay is mortal" is inapplicable to life. The reader—the man!—must above all have an understanding of the purely human drama: the gap between eidos and logos, discussion and intuition, knowledge and cognition and, ultimately, thought and concept. Here philosophy ends as a social "discipline" and philosophy begins in its initial, age-old sense.

The author's language is again unique and does not remain within the context of scientific-economic usage as he shows an ability to say more than is written in words. Possibly a reader who inquires what the author has in mind will not discover here a customary "viewpoint." But is it possible to look at human cognition from a "point"? In the course of spelling out the subject—and precisely the subject!—there arise and dissipate certain allusions of a philosophical treatise, parables, Husserl's small dictionary on phenomenology as well as historical-scientific reminiscences...as well as a drama, where the actor still continues to play his actor's role but already sees the inexorably approaching real denouement of the entire spectacle, a denouement about the reality the nontheatricalness of which is still not guessed by the spectators, although death awaits not only the actor who assumed the role as fate but also they themselves, the naively optimistic. Incidentally, this is already an exposition of the book's text....

And why not try a comparatively new, still unfamiliar genre of review particularly as its ultimate task is to present the author's work to the reader's judgment? Each of us would willingly become a participant in the drama still being played out or, as they say, look at it in thinking about one's own affairs. And each would obtain his own reward.

Let us choose one fragment from the book. Let not our choice be logically based and it possibly can be a small paragraph and not the most important. But in it it is possible to see a great deal and primarily the nostalgia secretly recognized by us for the "triumph of the purely human" as Goethe wrote.

The Delphic Oracle [selection from reviewed book]

Know thyself. These words cut into the Temple of Apollo in Delphi are some of the most ancient words given to mankind before the end of an age. They are the invisible center of a blindingly beautiful circle of all human culture; from the lyrical flight of one Catallus through the insinuating cynicism of one Abbot Galiani to distorted neogeometric spaces and hypercomplex numbers, from Socrates' cup with the hemlock rod-thrashed Epictetus and the mob-butchered Hypathia to the murmur of post-Werther suicides and the idiotic mumblings of an outmoded Baudelaire runs this noble leitmotiv: know thyself. The center is a force of gravity, a certain solar proton and around which spins and is detained the entirety of the cultural circle; deprive this circle of a center and it instantaneously shatters into chaotic fragments; the cultural symbols end up as empty volumes and products of decay. Thus, in encountering the center of the circle, we encounter the central theme of culture, and humanitas is this theme: man, as a point trying to understand itself and spread to the circumference in order to carry out the highest mission of his calling. The circumference of culture precisely here is made transparent by the imagination of the wise head. "Over the years," we read in one of the verses by Jorge Luis Borges, "a man populates space with images of provinces, realms, mountains, tides, ships, islands, fish, residences, implements of labor, stars, horses and people. Not long before death it is revealed to him that the patient maze of lines carefully composes the features of his own face."¹ So says the poet and the rectitude of his words is repeated by the scientist. Werner Heisenberg, in approaching from the other end, unexpectedly ended up in a zone of literally microphysical jolts. And it was revealed to him that in investigating the Universe and in seeking objective properties in it, "a man encounters himself."² A strange coincidence, all the more strange as the agreement of the poet and the scientist has roots in the ancient symbols of mythical cosmography, where the unity of the microcosmos and macrocosmos is perceived through the formation of man from parts of the world and the world from parts of man.³ Thus, even one of the hymns by Rigveda depicts the rise of the world from the torn-to-pieces body of Purusha and in the later German-Christian mythology there is the reverse picture, where the body of Adam is formed from eight parts according to the principle of their conformity to the land, sea, plants and so forth. There is the same seven-part map of the world of Hippocrates showing the earth in the form of a human body. At present, in assessing these notions, we speak about naive anthropomorphism which has happened to come under the crushing blows of progressing scientific knowledge. Physics has carefully eradicated these images, replacing them with the growing might of abstraction until, at last, the structural cosmos of the myth has been completely removed by the functional cosmos of mathematical natural sciences, where the dismembered body of the "first man" has been transformed into the theory of invariants which is related, according to Kline's "Erlangen Program" to certain

transformation groups. The fact that the naive anthropomorphism entailed something more than mere naivete became clear later on. The infantile apparentness of pictures (the Plotinian metaphor of cosmos as a "embellished corpse") concealed an abyss of intact ideas which one of the creators of the physics of the microworld happened to look. A profound mathematical formula extolled by some for its purity of abstraction and condemned by others for its inhumanity was doomed to a surprise encounter with existence, but not without a "grain of salt": Neils Abel, the genius young mathematician who formulated the impossibility of an algebraic solution to equations of the 5th degree could with complete justice refute the Kierkegaardian monopoly on the riddle of man.

At the same time, the riddle has come under the shadow of a new sphinx. Behind the noisy successes of the growing knowledge concerning the world, a seemingly simple question has remained unnoticed: what is man? The analytical spring augmented by the possibilities of extension has seemingly crossed the limit beyond which deformation begins and has lost its elasticity in the impossibility of returning to itself. The differential equation of man drawn up over the course of the centuries has seemingly lost touch with its integral; man has become a specialist who has brilliantly mastered the "legion" of methodological aspects and here has ceased being an universal; the universality of man has been shifted from the plane of realism to the plane of nominalism. Reality has been left for the "specialists": the chemist, the logician, poet, mathematician, the postneofreudian and the neopostantifreudian, the "specialist" has taken it all; man taken as the integral of all these specialists was forced to assume the place of the 13th at the table; he became the *platus vocis*, the idle talker, the *socratitas*, the scholastic Latin, the rhetorical flourish, a gongorism, a footnote to the text on a "thinking computer," the Kay of school logic, in a word he ceased being and began to mean reaching the record level of a "theory of knowledge without a knowing subject."⁴ Who knows, perhaps the ghost of the ancient cynic carrying a lantern in hand may be wandering in the clear-as-day "propositions" of this theory as edification for those who can see?

Self-knowledge was similar to the pictures in childrens' books. There in the motley amalgam of patterns, lines and spots one had to seek out the figure of the hidden "hare" and here, in the roaring information boom one must find (and rescue) the "sorcerer's apprentice" drowning in the new universal deluge of our own stunning achievements.

The search for man has become the search for the ark. In essence, all roads have run to it with the ability of the traveler not to surrender to the temptations of the halts and the final calm in the acquired specialties. It would be essential to know man in the theme of self-knowledge and this would mean: to begin from the end, from the attitude of Faust reaching out for the poison cup on

Easter Night, from the decrepit Faust who has overpowered culture in the analyst of the "specialists" and has acquired a new unprecedented youth by the force of a magical awareness of himself as a "poor fool," from a Faust who has freed himself from the sorcery of the culture Circe in the theme of an infinite loyalty to rhythm, wanderings and the road. One must check the centripetality of knowledge by the centrifugality of a cknowledge and even more a self-coknowledge so that the center broadens to the volume while the volume is narrowed to the center, for creativity—no matter how it is manifested—is always self-creativity; otherwise it is nothing, the crashing cymbal, an idol in the mask of an ideal, a sterile exercise, a refined self-deception unmasked once and for all by the immortal clarity of Tolstoy's "Confession." Only then is the dehumanized functional world again colored with the incarnate of anthropomorphism but no longer naive but rather sophic and wise, and the measure of the cultural world becomes, in the expression of Goethe, the "triumph of the purely human": everything is meaningful only to the degree that it is human and assists in the growth of humanity. Possibly the harmful dividing of sciences into natural and humanitarian will disappear; all sciences without exception will be humanitarian (and to the same degree natural) as the humanist of the future will excel just as brightly in the reasonably analyzed and humanized scientism as the humanist of the past did in philology. Only then can we restore the undying truth of the Greek free-thinker imprinted by the miscomprehension of the ages: "Man is the measure of all things." The measure of the blade of grass rustled by the wind and the measure of glacial outer space, the measure of our own pride and the measure of our own infamy. In order that this truth does not entice with false consequences, we must exhaustively shed light on its horizon and analyze it completely. He is the measure of all things because all things, in turn, serve as the measure and the reminder of his own humanness.

Footnotes

1. J.L. Borges, "A Personal Anthology," New York, 1967, p 209.
2. Quoted in the book: Hannah Arendt, "The Human Condition," Chicago University Press, 1958, p 26.
3. Compare E. Cassirer, "Philosophie der symbolischen Formen," No 2, p 116.
4. For this, see the article by K. Popper, "Epistemology Without a Knowing Subject," in: K. Popper, "Objective Knowledge," Oxford, 1974, pp 106-152.

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Party Committee Sociological Information Service: Role, Possibilities, Development

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[Review by D.M. Gilyazetdinov and A.L. Marshak of the book "Informatsionno-sotsiologicheskaya sluzhba partiynogo komiteta: rol, vozmozhnosti, puti sozdaniya" (The Party Committee Sociological Information Service: Role, Opportunities and Ways of Development) by A.S. Kulagin and M.A. Karakhanyan, Moscow, Politizdat, 1987, 127 pages]

[Text] The employment of sociological data in the practices of party work is becoming a tradition. The authors drawing on concrete examples show the opportunity to move from individual sociological studies to a regular examination of various social processes, from the recording of the state of affairs in one or another area of party work to forecasting, from recommendations to improve the existing methods and forms of party action to the introduction of new ones. The basic theme of the book is the work of the sociological information service of a party committee. A.S. Kulagin and M.A. Karakhanyan examine the process of social diagnosis including the systematic collection of information using a standard armamentarium as well as social forecasting and the related coordination, inspection-procedural and scientific research work.

At first glance, such an approach does not contain anything new. Many researchers have been involved in describing such procedures. However, up to now there have been no works where a thorough analysis was made of the technology of information support or which examined the mechanism of such activities and the actual implementation of their results. Of great value is an analysis of the service's work: the choice of the base scientific institution; the adopting of the decision on its founding, the formation of the initiative group; determining the structure of the working body; preparing and adopting the regulation on the sociological information service of the party committee; drawing up the long-range (for 1-3 years or for 5 years) plan; working out standard methods and so forth.

In the first place, particular attention has been given to the information support for the decisions in the form of base (evaluation), forecast and normative sociological information. Secondly, they examine the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of personnel and the restructuring of personnel work. Here it is a question of such types of activity for the sociological information service as public opinion polling, and the establishing of the Personnel information analyzing systems; the elaboration and introduction of the personnel certification methods (questionnaire, colloquium, matrix method and professional games). Thirdly, the contribution of the sociological information service to monitoring and verifying execution.

The approach proposed by the authors is not iron-clad. One might argue over the direction of the work of the information retrieval system and the role of material and technical support has not been sufficiently examined. However, one must not forget that this is the first attempt at a comprehensive study of the problem. Relying on experience gained in Georgia, Estonia, Latvia and Stavropol Kray, the authors propose establishing in the nation a unified system of sociological information systems based on the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee (pp 49, 93).

Of interest are the proposals to establish a subdivision which would introduce advanced experience and scientific achievements into practice. This work consists of several stages: 1) a description of the problem situation and the state of the object; 2) a definition of the possible variations for resolving the problem situation; 3) experimental verification of the management decision; 4) the preparing of standard documents; 5) the elaboration of a procedure for introducing the innovations and providing help to the party committee in introducing these (p 84).

The establishing of an information retrieval service is possible with comprehensive scientific support. This can be seen from the experience of the territorial systems for recording sociological information (Moscow) and the automated system for counting public opinion in the Kommutator Production Association (Riga). The book describes the sociometer-2 (developed by the Institute for Sociological Research Under the USSR Academy of Sciences) and the sociological recorder SR-4 (developed by the Sverdlovsk Division of the Moscow Engineering-Physics Institute).

The authors raise a question which is of great importance for further increasing the scientific level of party work, namely the use of modern information equipment. The activities of the sociological information service will be effective if the service is provided with computers and other modern systems for the collection, storage, processing and transmission of information.

The system recommended by the authors for organizing the sociological information service is cumbersome. In describing the merits of the sociological armamentarium, the authors do not write about what opportunities are to be found in using the traditional party documents in the activities of the service being examined (under the condition of the sufficient formalization of these documents and ensuring optimum document handling).

As a whole, the reviewed book merits a positive evaluation. It is important that the authors rely not only on the applied sociological research being carried out by the scientific collectives and in particular the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee but also the experience acquired by the various sociological information services of the party committees as well as the experience of social scientists in the socialist countries.

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Notices

18060003v Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
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[Text] (p 5) As of January 1989, a new scientific-theoretical journal for Ukrainian philosophers and sociologists FILOSOFSKAYA I SOTSIOLOGICHESKAYA MYSL will begin to be published monthly in Ukrainian and Russian.

The journal has been established on the basis of FILOSOFSKAYA DUMKA and is to keep its ideological and historical-cultural focus. The thematic and subject range of the headings encompasses philosophical and sociological problems, fundamental research, debates, current information and forgotten pages of our philosophical heritage, an analysis of public opinion and statistical materials, current affairs and essays, social satire and philosophical lyric poetry. On the journal's pages the reader will encounter national and foreign scientists, public figures and representatives of the creative intelligentsia. The index for the Soyuzpechat [Soviet Press Agency] Catalog is 74526 for the Ukrainian edition and 74527 for the Russian edition.

The USSR Goskomstat [State Statistical Committee] Announces (p 24)

Over the first 3 months of 1988, the number of industrial robots put into operation has declined by one-quarter (in comparison with the corresponding period of last year). The reduced introduction of this highly productive but costly equipment has occurred basically at the enterprises of the Union ministries which have converted to full cost accounting and self-financing: Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automatic Equipment and Control Systems], the Minavtoprom [Ministry of Automotive Industry], Minelektrotekhprom [Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry], Minselkhoz mash [Ministry of Agriculture and Tractor Machine Building] and Minkhimprom [Ministry of Chemical Industry]. The data on the robots put into operation in 1986-1987 show their insufficient efficiency: two robots as an average frees one worker and the repayment time of the equipment is around 11 years.

The USSR Goskomstat Announces (p 83)

The procurement organizations of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan are responsible for 67 percent of the planned amount of vegetable deliveries to the national supplies. These republics fulfilled the plan for the 5 months of 1988 by 2 and 1 percent, respectively.

Delivery of Vegetables to National Supplies for Trade on 2 May 1988

	Delivered, thousand tons	Percent of Fulfillment of Jan-Apr Plan	In % of 1987 Corresponding Period
Total			
Vegetables	57.2	18	116
Including:			
Cabbage	2.6	1	158
Tomatoes	2.9	34	202
Cucumbers	33.2	62	108
Other vegetables	18.5	53	121
Of total amount delivered to Moscow			
Vegetables	41.3	44	112
Including:			
Cabbage	1.3	6	84
Tomatoes	2.8	34	219
Cucumbers	25.6	64	109
Other vegetables	11.6	47	109
To Leningrad			
Vegetables	13.0	41	115
Including:			
Cucumbers	6.8	62	101
Other vegetables	6.2	29	136

Express Information (p 115)

School Knowledge and School Buildings

For a number of years the sociologists from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V.I. Lenin have conducted mass studies of student knowledge. In 1985, the first census of school knowledge was undertaken in the RSFSR and this was supplemented by information on the financial and labor resources of the Russian schools. Is there a dependence between the knowledge of the school children and the indicators of the material infrastructure of education? This question was studied by the sociologists L.V. Bolotnik, Ye.R. Butkevich, I.A. Vinyukov, M.A. Sokolova and N.A. Tsykunova. They entered into a computer the results of written examinations on mathematics (a broadened scheme of analysis was employed including around 40 positions) as well as data on the expenditures of the state budget for running the schools, including expenditures for wages for the pedagogues, the cost of heating and lighting, the number of pedagogical personnel, the amount of fixed capital in the schools with a separate line for the cost of the equipment of the training labs, library holdings, sports, mass cultural supplies and so forth.

The special techniques for grouping and analysis of the data made it possible to measure the relationship of the indicators with a high degree of reliability. Better knowledge was found among students from schools with a larger contingent and a higher "filling" of the classrooms. The conclusions seem natural that grades are higher where the wage level of the teachers is higher. But the analysis also showed a direct dependence between

the knowledge in mathematics and the number of school children per teacher. As a whole, the obtained results indicate: instruction in large schools provides better results. Here "expenditures on capital and equipment per student and per class" (the indicator of the building census) has no effect on the results of the examination work in mathematics.

The given facts may seem fragmentary and schematic. But they are interesting symptoms of the present-day situation in the education sphere, where it is not easy to ascertain what determines the quality of student training. At least it is clear that here it is not a matter of the size of the school buildings or the amount of capital.

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Articles Not Translated from SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA No 5, Sep-Oct 88

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed
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[Text] Professionalism Against Technocratism (S.N. Zhelezko) (pp 47-51)

Kings and Pawns (On Deviant Relations in the Soviet Army) (Yu.V. Chizhov) (pp 76-83)

Afghanistan: Fate of a People, Fate of a Society (D.V. Olshanskiy) (pp 105-115)

Equipment and Bureaucracy (Yu.N. Davydov) (pp 116-127)

Along a Path of Radical Reforms (A.I. Salitskiy) (pp 127-128)

Sociological Support for Social Changes (by Li Zong-jiang, translated from the Chinese by A.I. Salitskiy) (pp 129-133)

Types of Leadership in the Sociology of Max Weber (R.P. Shpakova) (pp 134-139)

Charismatic Rule (M. Weber, translated from the German by R.P. Shpakova) (pp 139-147)

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